WORLD
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Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

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Détente and the working class /50

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Unite efforts against racism /79

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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With this May issue of *WMR* we begin a series to mark the coming fifth anniversary of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. Participants in the conference of fraternal parties on the work of the journal (Prague, January 1974) were asked to cooperate in this, and representatives of some 40 parties responded.

Their contributions provide a picture of the world Communist movement, its interests and goals, the variety of conditions in which it operates and the magnitude of the tasks facing it at this stage of history. The articles, accounts of discussions, interviews, talks and reports are part of the broad political panorama of today's world.

One could also say that this issue reflects the radiance of May Day, the day of militant solidarity of the working people of the world fighting for social and national emancipation. The ideas of May Day, the unfading ideas of proletarian internationalism, are entirely in harmony, now as in the past, with the spirit of the Communist movement, which seeks close unity of action of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. To quote the Communique unanimously adopted by 75 parties on June 17, 1969. 'the participants in the Meeting see it as a big event in unfolding the struggle against imperialism, in achieving anti-imperialist united action by the broadest masses of the people throughout the world, as an important stage in cementing the unity of the Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism.'

The material published in the issue shows that the above estimation was correct and far-sighted and that it has stood the test of time. It also shows that the participants in the Meeting were right in feeling certain that its results 'accord with the interests of each Communist Party and of the international Communist movement as a whole.' The atmosphere of frankness and fraternal solidarity in which the Meeting proceeded has remained the atmosphere of the Communist movement. The principle of equality of all parties and extensive use of collective working methods, a principle upheld both before and during the Meeting, is as valid as ever.

It is no accident that the contributors to this issue regard the anniversary of the meeting and its documents as a starting point and basis for analyzing events of the past and the situation today. And looking back at the struggles, historic victories and temporary reverses of the past five years one can fully assess the mobilizing influence the Moscow Meeting exerted on the brother parties' activity

by its explicit guidelines for the struggle. It is gratifying to realize that many of these guidelines have led to the goals set.

The results achieved since the Meeting have led the contributors to the logical conclusion that in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism historical development is further accelerated by the fast rate of scientific and technological progress and, above all, by the vastly increased activity of the masses in the public sphere.

It is safe to say that the role of the subjective factor in revolutionary struggle has never been as great as today and that never before has so much depended on the organization and political awareness of the working class, on its ability to rally the people and on the correct policy and leadership of its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties. It is understandable, therefore, that the issue devotes so much attention to problems of Communist revolutionary strategy and tactics in today's situation and, especially, the conditions of struggle for the unity of all anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and Left forces.

The anti-imperialist platform collectively evolved by the 1969 Meeting pointed out that the social and political situation in the world made it possible to raise the fight against imperialism to a higher plane. The Meeting also formulated an important requisite of success in this fight. *'The present situation,' the document of the Meeting said, 'demands greater militant solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of all contingents of the international working-class movement and national liberation in the struggle against imperialism.'*

The material in this issue aims at generalizing the experience gained over the past five years by the main revolutionary streams of our time and showing the policy and practice of their interplay both in ordinary times and during sharp conflicts, of which there have been many in this period.

In this issue the reader will also find facts and figures about the consolidation, growth and influence of the countries of the socialist world system, the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle. The community has made new giant advances toward economic integration, close coordination of foreign policy, and all-round cooperation. Its international prestige as a faithful ally of the forces fighting for justice, social and national liberation, and against reaction and imperialism, has never been so high. Socialism's peace offensive is making a tremendous world impact.

Broadly covered in the issue are the struggles in the developed capitalist countries for the vital demands of working people, against the abuses of monopoly, for democracy and socialism. The past five years have confirmed the crisis trends of modern imperialism recorded in the documents of the 1969 Meeting. The Marxist-Leninist forecast has proved to be correct. The scientific and technological revolution and state-monopoly regulation have not relieved modern capitalism of its congenital ills. On the contrary. A new stage has begun in the general crisis of capitalism, showing that imperalism's attempts to adapt to the present-day realities are misfiring. This adds sharpness to the class struggle, particularly the strike movement. The

fact that 225 million in the developed capitalist countries were involved in strikes in 1969/73, against 164 million in the preceding five years, speaks for itself.

Well represented are articles on the situation in the national liberation zone. Imperialism and home reaction have not laid down their arms; they are trying to counter-attack. And in some places they have succeeded. But the overall balance is obviously unfavorable for reaction. The imperialists cannot halt the internal consolidation of the Asian and African states, the latest addition to which is the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Cooperation among them is expanding, and so is their resistance to neo-colonialism. The greater maturity of the Arab countries and their solidarity steeled in struggle are illustrated by the course of the October 1973 war. Despite the tragedy in Chile, the movement for independent home and foreign policy is gaining ground in Latin America.

True to its historic mission – to bring humanity social liberation, and also spare it from the terrors of a nuclear world war – the Communist movement works untiringly against the war danger and for the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The Appeal in Defense of Peace unanimously adopted by the 1969 Meeting says on this score that 'a struggle is being waged for the greatest cause of all – the future of mankind.' The past five years, the articles in the issue show, were decisive in this historic struggle. The epic of Vietnam's heroic people – aiding whom the Meeting declared the cardinal aim of anti-imperialist united action – has ended in victory. The other most important objective – to impose the principles of peaceful coexistence on imperialism – has been highly successful. Now these principles are recorded in many important international diplomatic documents, the détente has made good headway, so has cooperation among states with different social systems.

All the same, and this many Communist leaders emphasize in their articles, the vigilance of the people must not lessen. The forces of imperialism and aggression have abandoned some of their positions, but certainly not their designs. In Europe and on other continents there still survive, or have appeared anew, seats of fascism, racism, and the most abominable reaction. This is why we must pursue the struggle against fascist and racist regimes, against eruptions of cold war, against NATO and its aggressive policy, and for complementing political détente with military détente.

The article, 'Indictment of Imperialism,' which, in a way, is a supplement to a similar document drawn up at the 1969 Meeting, contains incontestable facts exposing the crimes of the obsolescent capitalist system.

Directly or indirectly, the theme of proletarian internationalism, of the unity of Communists based on Marxism-Leninism, runs through the entire May issue as the indispensable condition of success. The past and present experience of the Communist movement shows that unity of outlook and action multiplies the strength of the international working class, of the laboring masses. This is why struggle for greater unity has been, and remains, an object of the Communists' special and continuous concern.

Community of vital interests and aims

Andrzej Werblan
Secretary, CC
Polish United Workers' Party

'The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favor.'

In the opinion of the authors of the articles on the following pages, the past five years have furnished fresh corroboration of this statement by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. For the three great forces of our time—the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement—they have been years of closer unity and greater opportunities for a new advance.

For imperialism they have been years of new upheavals and the deepening of its general crisis.

The socialist community is a cardinal socio-political factor of our time. The embodiment of socialist reality, it represents a powerful and dynamic economic, political and moral force and an entirely new pattern of relations based on unity and cooperation of its member states. Every passing year adds to the authority, importance and world influence of this fundamentally new community of countries. And world attention is riveted on the history and regularities of their relations and the motive forces behind them. For nearly 30 years our community has exerted an increasingly decisive influence on the development of mankind and is the source of the positive, heartening and optimistic trends of our time.

Socialism's impact on the world is becoming more and more tangible as the world balance of forces changes in its favor. In measuring these changes against the targets set by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, there is no underestimating the progress made over the past five years. And this suggests the need to set new targets in the struggle for the common interests of the working class, the need more precisely to chart the course of social development.

The regularities governing the development of the socialist community indicate the ways and means of solving the basic problems of our age. The rapid progress in science and technology has increased mankind's constructive potential, but also the destructive forces at its disposal. To a very great degree the future depends on whether or not relations between states and peoples will be based on principles that preclude conflicts, with all their attendant dangers; whether or not there will be international cooperation constant with the character of the productive forces. That indeed is the pattern of relations in the socialist community: its members belong to one and the same social system, are animated by common aims, ideology and proletarian internationalism. Their policy is free of any tendency toward exploitation or subjugation of one country by another, and is based on the principle of mutual advantage and identity of interests.

These are the factors that determine the fundamentally new nature of relations and alliances in the socialist community. Alliances of exploiter states were based on partial identity of interests and weakened by contradictions and rivalry. That made them unstable, temporary alliances. In contrast, the prerequisites for cooperation of socialist countries are being steadily strengthened, and the forms of their joint action in international affairs, and in the economic, social and cultural fields, steadily improved.

In his report on the 50th Anniversary of the Soviet Union, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev drew attention to a significant feature in the development of internationalist relations between peoples in the process of building socialism. He said: 'When, 50 years ago, the question arose of the Soviet Republics joining in a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Lenin said that this was necessary both to withstand the military assault of imperialism and safeguard the gains of the revolution, and to pool our efforts for successful solution of the problems of peaceful socialist construction.' That fully applies to the development of the community of sovereign socialist states formed as a result of the liberation struggle of the working people in the favorable conditions created by the Soviet Union's victory over fascism.

From the very outset the socialist countries have been united in a close alliance with the USSR. Together they built the socialist community, united in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. We created this community, as Comrade Brezhnev has emphasized, primarily in order to counteract the threats of imperialism and its aggressive military blocs, and jointly to defend the cause of socialism and peace.

That aim has been achieved. The positions of socialism are today stronger than ever and the cause of peace is scoring one victory after another. However, the need for unity of the socialist countries, far from declining. is increasing. Their unity and cooperation is becoming an ever more powerful factor in attaining our peaceful international aims, in giving our development a greater dynamic force, and in solving the social and economic problems involved in the building of socialism and communism.

This is fully borne out by the experience of our people. People's Poland will soon be celebrating its 30th anniversary. The PUWP Central Committee theses adopted in February reviews and assesses the struggle for popular rule and the building of socialism in Poland. Alliance with the USSR, membership of the socialist community, have played a key role in all the achievements of People's Poland. Friendship with the Soviet Union and comradeship-in-arms in the anti-Hitler war enable our people to win independence and re-establish the national Polish state within just frontiers. They helped us change the social system, opt for the socialist path and defend our country against the threat of imperialist armed attack. It is only natural, therefore, that our Party and people should attach so much importance to strengthening our alliance with the Soviet Union, developing cooperation with it and drawing on its experience of socialist construction. That policy has been comprehensively explained by Comrade Gierek, First Secretary of our Party Central Committee, in his report to the Sixth Party Congress:

'Poland's continued development, the possibility of bringing to reality our people's aspirations, especially those of the young generation, can be fully realized only through cooperation with the Soviet Union and thanks to that cooperation. That is the underlying principle of our national policy. We are translating it into practice in an atmosphere of friendship and brotherhood between the Polish people and the Russian and all other peoples of the Land of Soviets.' Poland is developing and strengthening its friendship and cooperation with fraternal Czechoslovakia and the GDR – the first peaceful socialist state of the German workers – with Hungary, Bulgaria, with all the countries of the socialist community.

The development problems of the socialist countries and the strengthening of their role in world affairs have always been at the center of attention of the international Communist and workers' movement. The 1969 International Meeting declared: *'The world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle.* Each liberation struggle receives indispensable aid from the world socialist system, above all from the Soviet Union . . . The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries.'

The socialist community is consistently putting into practice the proposition of the 1969 Meeting that now, with no leading center of the international Communist movement, greater importance attaches to voluntary coordinated action by the Communist parties for the successful filfilment of their tasks. Since the meeting, the socialist states have developed and improved their contacts.

There has been further development of all types of bilateral contacts – from meetings of Party and government leaders to exchange of workers' delegations – in all fields of political, economic, social and cultural activity.

Closer ties between the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the leading force of socialist society, are of cardinal importance in accelerating our

countries' all-round development. And the experience of our Party has shown that these ties are becoming more systematic and fruitful. In the two years since our Sixth Party Congress there have been useful contacts with the CPSU and other fraternal parties of the socialist countries.

Special mention should be made of summit meetings, in particular the annual meetings in the Crimea of the leaders of our countries and peoples. Initiated by the CC CPSU, they play an exceptional role in the political life of the socialist community and in international relations generally. For the Communist Parties of the socialist community they have become an important forum for reviewing the international situation, discussing common tasks and working out joint-action strategy. The Crimea meetings have made for closer interaction of the socialist countries in every sphere. Our Party also highly values the results of other multilateral meetings to discuss problems of economic cooperation and ideological and organizational work. Unity in international policy based on the principles determined by the internationalist character of Marxist-Leninist theory, and common aims in the anti-imperialist struggle and in socialist construction, are crucial factors in strengthening socialism's world positions. That was so when the socialist system was in many respects weaker than the capitalist in the economic, scientific and technical fields. That is so today, too, when socialism is gaining superiority in the chief areas of competition with capitalism. Today, all major issues are of global character. Imperialist strategy is global too. This makes it all the more important to counter it by a united policy and united action of all the socialist countries. That, in fact, is the main condition for the socialist system and world Communist movement to discharge their historic mission of assuring durable peace.

The past few years have seen major successes in peaceful coexistence, won in combat against the most reactionary imperialist forces. The basis of these successes is the changed alignment of world forces in favor of socialism. The main contribution to détente, elimination of the cold war and the centers of armed conflict, has been made by the consistent policy of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government and by Comrade Brezhnev's indefatigable activity to bring to reality the comprehensive Peace Program formulated by the 24th CPSU Congress. All the socialist countries share in elaborating and carrying out that peace policy. In keeping with the traditions and interests of its people, Poland is playing an important role in paving the way for peaceful coexistence, notably in Europe.

Among the positive results of the peaceful coexistence policy over the past few years are substantial improvement in Soviet-American relations, general acceptance of Europe's postwar boundaries, winning for the GDR its legitimate place in international affairs, successful completion of the first stage of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, and progress in the negotiations for a disarmament agreement.

The fraternal assistance of the socialist community to the heroic

people of the DRV and the national-liberation movement in South Vietnam helped to bring about the Paris Agreements, which represent a great victory for the Vietnamese people and for peace.

World public opinion highly appreciates the socialist community's efforts to resolve the Middle East conflict. The aid our countries have given the Arab peoples, our unswerving solidarity with their just aspirations and our decisive actions for peace, are producing results in this part of the world too.

In measuring these positive changes on the world scene against the aims formulated at the 1969 Meeting, no one can fail to notice how immense these changes have been. Some aims have been attained in full, a number of problems are being solved in a more favorable situation. However, new tasks have arisen and the efforts of Communists throughout the world are concentrated on their accomplishment.

The socialist states have proved in practice that their peace policy is of a class character. It is free of pacifist illusions, rests on real strength and aims at a just peace in which the peoples' sovereign right to self-determination is fully respected.

The socialist community is the main base of the peace forces. Its unity is essential to the effective struggle for durable security and peace. The PUWP is unfailingly guided by the desire to strengthen this unity and the ideological cohesion of the Communist and workers' movement.

The 1969 Meeting emphasized that one of the main aims of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries is to secure their all-round cooperation for continued achievement in the decisive area of the two-system competition, the development of science and technology. We can speak of new features in the social and economic policies of our fraternal parties. The level of the socialist countries' productive forces presents tremendous opportunities for raising the productivity of social labor. The competition between socialism and capitalism has reached a higher stage in an area which, as Lenin foresaw, will, in the final analysis, determine which social system will triumph.

The most comprehensive expression of the socialist community's development strategy is given in the social and economic program formulated by the 24th Congress. In Poland, the beginnings of this strategy were mapped out by the Seventh Central Committee Plenum in December 1970 and elaborated by the Sixth Party Congress.

It is only logical that in the past few years the socialist countries have given primacy to all-round satisfaction of individual and collective social requirements. This follows from the fundamental principles of socialism, and at the same time, is expressive of the bigger potentialities of the new stage, the stage of building and strengthening developed socialism, and of the vast opportunities offered by the scientific and technological revolution.

Cooperation played an important part in creating the prerequisites for the present social and economic policy of the socialist states. Its further development will largely depend on even closer cooperation. Hence the importance of socialist economic integration.

The decisions of the 23rd Special Session of CMEA (1969), in which the Party leaders and heads of government of member countries participated, gave strong impulse to economic cooperation. At the 25th Council Session in July 1971 the heads of government of CMEA countries adopted the Comprehensive Economic Integration Program. This 15-20 year program opened a new stage, abreast of present conditions, in socialist economic relations.

There are now many different forms of cooperation, including coordination of five-year and longer-term national economic plans, coordination of the main investments, joint planning of individual industries, joint use of raw materials and fuel, and the like. Thus, all-round integration is becoming the determining process of the ever closer cooperation of our countries. The elaboration of the Comprehensive Program and steps toward its implementation outlined at the 27th Council Session in 1973, are clear evidence of the closer unity of the socialist countries, contributing to the still greater consolidation of the socialist community's world positions.

Broad bilateral ties are developing along with the multilateral cooperation. This is reflected in Poland's relations with the fraternal countries, first of all the Soviet Union, backed by long and good traditions. At their December 1973 meeting – the second last year – L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, and Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, adopted important decisions, designed to still further expand the social and economic cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, and give added impulse to the integration processes.

Mindful of Poland's needs, the Soviet Union has undertaken – in the framework of mutual exchange – to increase delivery of important commodities, principally grain and agricultural machinery. It has also been agreed that in the next several years Poland and the USSR would jointly build several dozen industrial projects in the two countries. Deliveries of Soviet equipment for the Katowice metallurgical plant under construction in Upper Silesia will be speeded up. The new plant will radically modernize the Polish iron and steel industry. Poland's economic relations with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria and other socialist countries are also making good headway.

The significance of socialist cooperation is accentuated by the energy, raw materials, food and monetary crisis, which is wreaking havoc with production and marketing in the capitalist world. This crisis, a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism, has become highly acute of late. Its origins may be traced to the deepening contradiction between the present-day productive forces and the capitalist form of using them, and between the objective tendency toward integration and the way it is carried out by the big monopolies, highlighted by rivalry and the drive for supremacy.

It stands to reason that due to their participation in world trade, the socialist countries are also experiencing some of the negative effects of the critical state of the capitalist economy. However, this does not extend to the main fields of the socialist economy and

cannot alter its general dynamics. A determining role in the economic development of the socialist countries, in their economic, raw materials and food balance, and likewise in their technical progress, is played by mutual exchange of commodities, joint investment, and scientific and technical projects.

It can be safely said that the economic cooperation of the socialist countries has now climbed to a qualitatively new level, paving the way to further success in the historical competition against capitalism. This new level of cooperation is especially important for the perspective of scientific and technical progress and the uses to which it can be put in attaining social objectives.

The scientific-technical revolution should not be viewed solely from the angle of scientific and technological progress. Like the first industrial revolution, the scientific-technical revolution of today is a social process that is changing production, but also affecting relations between people, morality, and the way of life. In substance, the industrial revolution was in keeping with the then progressive capitalist relations, which it affirmed. And the scientific-technical revolution of the present day is in keeping with the most progressive, socialist social relations, and helps to consolidate them.

Capitalism has been incapable of using the constructive values of the scientific-technical revolution for the good of mankind. It is distorting its results, leading to environmental disaster, irrational use of resources, destructive effects on the life of society, and the disenchantment and ideological disaffection of people.

The problems bedevilling the world of today can only be solved by combining material progress with humane social aims. This can be done only by socialism. In socialist conditions, the scientific and technical revolution has specific features and regularities. Here scientific and technical progress is different not only in its rate, but is also filled with a different social content. Rather than create social problems as it does under capitalism, it is facilitating their resolution. And it is safe to assume that with the progress of socialist integration these distinctive features will become still more visible.

Integration is of special significance for the medium-sized and small socialist countries. Their relations with the Soviet Union bear conclusive evidence that in the socialist community no country would think of using its greater economic potential to subordinate another, and therefore antagonistic contradictions are totally ruled out. It is the socialist community that is showing the way in which every country can participate in large-scale scientific, technical and social-economic projects requiring a huge economic potential. Every nation can apply itself creatively to any field of the modern economy, and also benefit from the already available results of scientific development, space exploration, and new sources of energy.

Ideological cooperation is an important area. And with the progress of socialist integration, as the successes of the peaceful coexistence policy grow, its importance will increase. 'Socialist integration,' Gierek said recently, 'is also an important political process that consolidates the internationalist unity of the socialist countries and

the every-day contacts of the people in creating the general well-being.'

As many as 1,130,000 citizens of CMEA countries came to Poland on business trips or as tourists in 1967. In 1973 their number increased to 6,250,000. Some 680,000 people made trips from Poland to countries of the socialist community in 1967. In 1973, their number exceeded 7,000,000. The ideological effects of these rapidly growing contacts are enormous. They are enriching internationalist practice and changing the thinking of people. These positive processes, continuously deepened by the activity of the Communist parties, promote the principle of proletarian internationalism and fight all manifestations of nationalism.

In the years since the 1969 Meeting considerable progress has been made in uniting the Communist movement and eliminating tendencies that weakened unity. Revisionism has suffered new and crippling defeats. The revisionists who headed the attacks on socialism in the 1960s, are now on the fringe of international politics and have isolated themselves from the working class movement. Revolutionary practice has again shown that revisionism is politically barren and linked with the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

The disruptive plans and actions of Maoism have also suffered defeat. The nationalist degeneration of the Maoist ideology, its anti-Sovietism, unprincipled political juggling and obvious cooperation with imeprialism undermine illusions about the essence of Maoism not only in the world Communist, but also in the national-liberation movement. The Maoists find it harder and harder to hide their true face behind a Leftist mask, and no longer can their views of revolutionism and loyalty to Marxism convince anyone. Maoism is finding itself in isolation. Right revisionism and ultra-left opportunism have begun to converge on a nationalist and anti-communist platform. And this is exercising an incontestable influence on the Communists' ideological work.

The successes of Marxism-Leninism in combating centrist and opportunist trends show that the tendency toward unity based on the Marxist-Leninist program of struggle for peace and social progress has prevailed in the Communist movement, the working class, and the laboring masses in general.

Peaceful coexistence accentuates the importance of ideological work, and requires improvement of methods, and sets new problems. Forces hostile to socialism, especially the anti-communist subversion centers, have not laid down their arms. Dislodged from one position, they try to build up another. Of late, they have been exploiting the slander of renegades, hopelessly isolated and of no political weight in the socialist world. But lies have short legs, and ideological defection is repulsive to honest people. This is why these forms of ideological subversion are doomed to failure. But they are a reminder that we must maintain vigilance and fight all the designs of our class and ideological opponents.

Effective response to newly arising problems is no less important. The convergence theory holds a central place in bourgeois ideology. Formerly, its proponents peddled the idea of a gradual convergence

of socialist and capitalist society. Now the accent has shifted to the idea of a convergence of separate components of the two systems. This is buttressed by the theories of the 'industrial' or 'consumer' society, the 'techno-structure' and 'new elite.' All of them tend to obscure the class contradictions in capitalist society and the profound difference between the development trends of socialism and capitalism.

In these conditions, the ideological confrontation rules out any refusal to engage in discussion. Nor is there any reason for such refusal. We are quite capable of defending our interests in any field, and resolving every problem as it arises. This is being done by the ideological work of every Communist party, but is ten times as effective if the fraternal parties work in concert. The PUWP welcomes the international ideological and theoretical measures of recent years in connection with the centenary of Lenin's birth and the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union. They have added to the ideological experience of our movement.

The PUWP wants to make its ideological work dynamic, constructive and effective. Taking the proved superiority of socialism over capitalism as the point of departure, we strive to disseminate the socialist ideals as broadly as possible, and to eradicate from the public consciousness notions and habits inherited from the old social system. We attach great importance to combining social-economic and ideological work in socialist construction. A dynamic social-economic program, we hold, is sure to create a powerful foundation for Marxist-Leninist ideological work, while the socialist ideology, influencing the motives of human activity, is sure to help us achieve our socio-economic goals.

The socialist community has made tremendous headway toward aims jointly set at the international conferences of Communist and Workers' parties of the 1960s. Now, new perspectives have opened up. New common tasks arise before the entire Communist and working-class movement. And further agreed and coordinated efforts, further expansion of internationalist cooperation and unity, are required in tackling these tasks.

March of socialism

Facts and figures

The economic, political and social progress of the socialist countries adds to socialism's appeal for working people all over the world, and consolidates its positions in the historic contest with capitalism. In the five years since the world conference of Communists in 1969 this has been confirmed by incontestable facts. Socialism's influence on the world's social development has become still greater.

In these five years, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, have held congresses. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will hold its congress in May and preparations are under way for the first congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. The resolutions of fraternal party congresses have a common feature: all contain extensive social and economic development programs and provide for a further substantial improvement of the material and cultural condition of working people.

The socialist countries account for less than 26 per cent of world territory and less than 33 per cent of world population, but produce approximately 39 per cent of the world industrial output (1972). In other words, average prodduction per head of population is higher than in the rest of the world.

The advantages of the socialist mode of production are most clearly demonstrated by member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the 25th anniversary of which was celebrated several months ago. They account for about one tenth of the world population, but for about one third of the world industrial output, one fifth of the world output of electric power, one quarter of cement, more than one quarter of steel, and one third of mineral fertilizer. Yet before socialist construction began in them, all except the GDR and Czechoslovakia were economically underdeveloped or poorly developed. In 1973 their national income exceeded the 1950 mark by 470 per cent, whereas in the developed capitalist countries the accretion in the same period was 180 per cent.

In the three years of the current five-year plan period (1971-1973) the growth of national income was 25 per cent in Bulgaria, 19 in Hungary and the Soviet Union, 17 in the GDR, Mongolia and Czechoslovakia, 30 in Poland and 38 in Rumania.

At the present stage of building and perfecting developed socialist society the role of intensive factors, especially labor productivity, is of special importance for economic development. For several years now in most countries of the community agricultural output has been expanding while the farm population has remained unchanged or has decreased. In industry, higher labor productivity in 1973 accounted for 79 per cent of the growth of output in Bulgaria, 87 per cent in the GDR, 73 per cent in Poland, 82 per cent in Hungary and the Soviet Union and 88 per cent in Czechoslovakia.

Socialist industrial expansion is characterized by long-term dynamism and stable high growth rates.

Industrial growth rates (1950=100)

	World	Socialist countries	Other countries	Developed capitalist countries	Developing countries
1965	285	501	227	213	329
1970	388	723	298	284	459
1972	432	842	323	505	524

In the socialist world the economic levels of individual countries and regions tend to strike a balance through the faster industrial development of more backward countries with the fraternal support of the entire community. The trend may be illustrated by industrial growth rates in different countries (1950=100):

Countries	1965	1970	1972
Buugaria	691	12-fold	14-fold
Hungary	386	523	589
GDR	392	537	603
Cuba (1962=100)	106	116*	—
Mongolia	446	714	869
Poland	523	782	938
Rumania	649	11-fold	14-fold
USSR	458	689	791
Czechoslovakia	364	505	575
Dem. Rep. of Vietnam (1955=100)	947	10-fold	12-fold
Korean People's Dem. Rep. (1949=100)	12-fold	21-fold	—
Yugoslavia	434	582	692
Great Britain	160	178	184
USA	199	238	255
FRG	319	426	452
France	232	316	358

*1968

The economic potential of the socialist countries is oriented on the people's well being. In just 1973 the real per capita income increased 7.9 per cent in Bulgaria, 4.5-5 per cent in Hungary, 10 per cent in Poland (real wages), and 5 per cent in the Soviet Union. Incomes also increased in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Cuba and Mongolia. Apart from the regular wage and salary increases and the expansion of public consumption funds, the CMEA countries took other effective measures to improve standards of living in 1973. Minimum wages were raised in Bulgaria, Rumania and large areas of the Soviet Union. Basic salaries and wage rates, too, went up, and wages were increased for large categories of the labor force in Bulgaria, Hungary and the Soviet Union. Pensions, too were raised in Bularia, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. New benefits are in force for primary school pupils in Bulgaria, and higher scholarship allowances are issued to students in Poland. Supplementary social security benefits have been introduced in the German Democratic Republic and Mongolia. Sick pay has been raised in Poland, new holiday benefits are accorded to members of agricultural cooperatives in Rumania, pre-natal allowances have gone up in the Soviet Union, and so have allowances for children in Rumania and Czechoslovakia. More than three million homes have been built in the CMEA countries in 12 months.

The growing consumption may be illustrated by the following table, which shows growth of the retail trade in various countries (1950-100):

	1965	1970	1972
Bulgaria	452	684	777
Hungary	253	389	431
GDR	296	371	409
Poland	288	390	475
Rumania	479	726	842
USSR	395	586	668
Czechoslovakia	232	338	374
USA	159	177	197

The 1971-1975 five-year economic development plans of the socialist countries include measures assuring further growth of consumption.

The advantages of the socialist system are strikingly illustrated by the achievements of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist country.

The Soviet Union knows no crises. Production has been growing steadily at a rapid pace. The country has outstripped all other industrial states in output of coal, pig iron, steel, wheat, cement, tractors, cotton and woolen textiles, sugar, butter, etc.

All the national republics of the USSR have equal rights and have attained a high level of economic development. The Soviet Union is a land of 100 peoples where there is no national or racial oppression and where a new historical community of people has taken shape – the Soviet people.

The working week averages 39.4 hours, industrial accidents have gone down one-third in 10 years, and the last of the unemployed was registered nearly half a century ago. There has been no such thing as unemployment since. The pension age for men is 60 years, for women 55, and still lower for those in harmful occupations.

All prices are stable, while real incomes rise by some 5 per cent annually.

House rent amounts to about 5 per cent of the wage, and taxes an average of 8 per cent. Medical services and education are free. The schools and universities are wide open for the children of working people.

Attendance figures for theatres, cinemas, concert halls, libraries and museums are the highest in the world.

The Soviet voting age is 18. The powers of the elective bodies are expanding. As many as 25 million men and women participate in administration. People are supremely confident in the future.

The Document of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties notes: 'One of the most important tasks before the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries is to develop all-embracing cooperation between their countries and ensure fresh successes in the decisive areas of the economic competition between the two systems in the advance of science and technology.'

The past five years have seen important advances in the cooperation of the fraternal countries. It has been deepened and improved. The advances were initiated by the 23rd (special) CMEA Session in 1969, attended by the heads of Parties and governments of the fraternal countries. The Session set the general course on socialist economic integration, which conforms with the objective conditions in the present stage of socialist construction: most of the countries of the community have begun building and improving developed socialism, the scientific and technological revolution is expanding, and the economic development levels of the CMEA countries have evened out visibly.

In keeping with this line, the 25th CMEA Session in 1971 adopted a Comprehensive Program for the further deepning and improvement of cooperation and the socialist economic integration of member-countries, initiating a shift from isolated integrational measures to comprehensive integration – a system of interconnected actions in the coming 15-20 years. The way for this was paved by the preceding development of CMEA, and raises it to a new stage, a new quality.

The central administration of the power grid encompassing Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the West-Ukrainian power supply of the Soviet Union has been operating in Prague for more than 10 years, helping to save large quantities of electric power. Now, a 750-kilovolt transmission line from the Soviet Union to Hungary is to be built jointly, linking the power grid of the European part of the USSR with the power grids of other socialist countries. It will enable them to take advantage of the wide range of time belts and the resultant staggered peak-time loads. The effectiveness of cooperation will rise steeply.

This is only one of many examples. There are also the Druzhba oil pipeline and the international gas pipelines connecting deposits in the Soviet Union with consumers in other CMEA coutries. The Comprehensive Program was followed up with a series of agreements on joint use of natural resources. CMEA countries will collectively build the projected Ust-Ilym pulp and paper mills and Kiyembayevo asbestos works in the Soviet Union and receive part of their product. An agreement is being prepared for joint participation in the construction of a large iron-and-steel works, to be supplied with ore from the Kursk-magnetic Anomaly, with a planned annual output of 10 to 12 million tons of steel. It will supply rolled stock to the participating countries.

The economies of the fraternal countries are beginning to rely increasingly on integrated measures to tackle the fuel and energy problem. Notably, exports of electricity from the Soviet Union to other CMEA countries will increase from 14 million megawatt-hours in the preceding five-year-plan period (1966-1970) to 42 million megawatt-hours in the current five-year period; oil exports will rise from 138 million to 243 million tons, and gas, from 8,000 million to 33,000 million cubic metres. Collaboration is expanding in the construction of hydroelectric and nuclear power stations.

Cooperation in manufacturing is expanding rapidly. Seventeen multilateral specialization and cooperation agreements have been concluded in 1971-1973 for machine tools and equipment, covering more than 1,700 items. The Togliatti Car Works in the USSR, for example, gets car parts from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia while other parts, manufactured in the Soviet Union, are supplied to the automobile industry in Poland and other countries.

The forms of specialization and cooperation are also changing. Formerly confined to partial coordination of plans and production through international bodies, such as Intermetal in the iron-and-steel industry, Interkhim for chemicals, Agromash for agricultural machinery, etc., the accent has now shifted to coordinating national five-year economic plans, and to joint industrial planning. A new type of international organization is in the making, such as Interatominstrument, Interatomenergo and Intertextilmash. These are prototypes of what may be described as 'international socialist concerns.' Based on socialist property of the whole people, they naturally differ from the capitalist international monopolies: their function is cooperation and mutual aid on terms of full equality, in contrast to subordination and exploitation.

Since adopting the Comprehensive Program, the CMEA countries have concluded 49 multilateral agreements on scientific and technical cooperation. At the close of 1973 they had 37 coordinating centers on various aspects of such cooperation – two in Bulgaria, two in Hungary, four in the GDR, five in Poland, 18 in the Soviet Union and six in Czechoslovakia. They coordinate the work of more than 500 research bodies. In 1973, nearly 1,600 research institutes and similar organizations participated in more than 2,000 joint or agreed scientific and technical projects on a multilateral or bilateral basis.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has made imposing headway, highlighted by two events indicative of its growing international prestige: it was joined by Cuba and has concluded a cooperation accord with Finland.

The recent years have again confirmed the judgement of the 1969 Meeting that the mainstream of humanity's development is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class, all the revolutionary forces. Socialism's peace offensive has added to its international prestige and the political influence of the socialist countries. As a result, ruling quarters in the major imperialist states were compelled to accept the peaceful coexistence policy. The series of treaties concluded recently – USSR-USA, USSR-FRG, Poland-FRG, GDR-FRG, and Czechoslovakia-FRG – is another proof of socialism's greater influence.

The courage of the Vietnamese people, the firm support they had from the countries of the socialist community, and the greater influence of the socialist countries, ended the imperialist aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a socialist state. The political, military and economic aid of the countries of the socialist community to countries fighting Israeli aggression made a tremendous impact on

the course of events in the Middle East and facilitated the turn toward lasting and just peace.

The tenacity shown by the people of Cuba in defending the gains of the first socialist revolution in America, and the support they received from the fraternal countries, led to the collapse of the political and economic blockade of Cuba, especially evident in recent years. Cuba is building up political and economic ties with other Latin American countries and has commercial relations even with a NATO ally of the USA on the American continent, Canada.

The years of joint political work by the socialist community have changed things in the heart of Europe, where an end has been put to the policy of non-recognition of the GDR and to revanchist territorial claims against the socialist countries. As the time of the 1969 Meeting only 17 countries – 13 socialist and four developing states – had recognized the socialist German state. By the end of March 1974 the figure grew to 102 countries.

These five years have seen a new expansion of political cooperation among the socialist countries. The Crimean meetings of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist community have become a conspicuous event in world politics. The international conferences on ideological activity and organizational work, held in Moscow, outlined the way toward a further improvement of cooperation among the fraternal parties in these fields.

Socialism is conducting a peace offensive. It holds the historical initiative, has the sympathy of all the peoples of the world, and can look to the future with confidence.

Some new features of the capitalist crisis

Idris Cox
British publicist

The new economic recession which has shaken the capitalist world has had its political repercussions, with possibly more to come.

Take first the result of the February general election in Britain. Many commentators described it as a stalemate. True, neither the Tories nor Labor won a majority of seats in Parliament, but it's far from being a stalemate situation. The minority Labor government has to take into account the rising tide of mass struggle in Britain which defeated the Tory plans and insists that Labor strives to fulfil the demands of the workers.

Already in January 1972 the British miners, after a national strike, had forced the Tory government to concede substantial wage increases. In February 1974 the Tories were determined this would

not happen again. They imposed a limit of 16½ per cent for wage increases. This was opposed by all British trade unions, and the miners were again in the forefront with wage demands far above this limit. First, they declared a ban on overtime working. Then the miners' union organized a national ballot, in which 81 per cent of the miners voted for strike action. This result spread panic and fear in the ranks of the Tory government. It took immediate steps to declare a general election within 20 days – the shortest period for any general election campaign in Britain. So the election campaign took place in the midst of a miner's national strike, periodic railway strikes, and while the working week was reduced to three days.

This step was taken by the Tories not only to arouse public opinion against the miners, but to prevent all British workers from defending and improving living standards, and they embellished this strategy with a vicious campaign against the Communists, whose influence was growing. However, they made a serious blunder in choosing the miners as their target. Even within high Tory circles there were serious doubts about the government's strategy[1] and the Pay Board Commission which the government set up recognized the justice of the miners' demands.

The new Labor government granted the demands of the miners and so ended the strike. It declared that there would be no further increases in house rents in 1974 for seven million working class families – which the Tories had announced would take place. Old age pensions were raised to the level demanded by the British trade union movement. Neither the Tories, nor the Liberals, nor the smaller political parties dared to oppose these measures, which were extremely popular. The Labor government declared that the hated Industrial Relations Act would be repealed on May 1, that no arms would be sent to the fascist junta in Chile, and that the Tory plan to send a naval mission to fascist Greece would be cancelled. So a good start had been made, but if the Labor minority government embarks on nationalization and other basic measures it could be outvoted in Parliament, and this could lead to a new general election before the end of 1974. All this means that the political struggle in Britain will become sharper in the coming months.

There were also serious political impacts in other capitalist countries of Western Europe, in Japan, and in the United States.

The crisis extends

The economic recession had serious repercussions throughout the capitalist world. There were two general strikes in Italy in 1973, and early in 1974 strikes of automobile workers and metal workers, and a general strike in Milan which practically paralyzed the city. During March the Center-Right coalition government resigned, and the political situation of the present government is still extremely unstable. In France there was a general strike in December 1973 and further big strikes early in 1974. The French Cabinet was reshuffled, but its position is still unstable. There were strikes in the Ruhr factories of the Federal Republic of Germany, together with a big and largely successful strike of government employees. How-

ever, the social democratic coalition government suffered a serious political setback from the reactionary forces in the city and regional elections of Hamburg, the Rhineland, and Schleswig-Holstein. There were big strikes of building workers in the United States in February 1974, of airline personnel, truck drivers and electrical mechanics. The U.S. government itself is facing a crisis of confidence and a dark and heavy cloud hangs over President Nixon, arising from growing suspicion of his personal involvement in the Watergate scandal. On March 1 there was a general strike in Japan, and eight million more were on strike on March 26, with more strikes in April. This rising tide of struggle is likely to make its mark on the Senate elections in June, and perhaps even destroy the ruling party's majority in that body for the first time.

The class struggle in each capitalist country has different features but also many common aspects. The recession, rampant inflation, monetary turmoil, rising unemployment, and the sharpening of class conflicts – all these things, no matter what their national complexion, have in recent years shown their universal nature within the capitalist world.

Optimism has vanished almost overnight in the ranks of buorgeois economists and politicians on the present and immediate future of the capitalist economy. Early in February the Council of Economic Advisers to the U.S. president predicted a substantial drop in output in the first half of 1974. And the report of the European Economic Commission declared that 'real economic growth in the Community as a whole could well reach only two to three per cent in 1974' and that Britain would record a zero growth.[2]

The EEC Commission's report, like most of the other commentaries, and equally the bourgeois press, expressed the view that the main reason for this situation is the shortage of oil and higher oil prices caused by the policy of the Arab countries. This is rather a futile attempt to conceal the fact that the recession had started long before the Arab countries reduced oil supplies. As for the big increase in oil prices, this is mainly the result of the unscrupulous methods of the oil monopolies to extract maximum profits.

Table 1 below shows the general trend of the past year in industry, the key area of capitalist economy, and when precisely this trend had started.

TABLE 1

Industrial growth rates for 1973 (%)

	1st quarter	2nd	3rd	4th
USA	1.8	1.7	1.7	0
Japan	6.9	3.2	2.3	3.1
Britain	4.7	-0.9	1.8	-1.8
FRG	3.7	0.9	-0.9	1.7
France	4.3	0	2.5	0.9
Italy	-3.7	10.6	0.9	1.7
Belgium	0.9	-1.3	-0.9	4.4
Holland	1.7	0.8	1.6	1.6

Source: 'Main Economic Indicators,' OECD, February 1974, p. 26.

Inflation even before oil crisis

According to *The Economist*, after an unprecedented boom of the last six months of 1972 since March 1973 in 20 of the largest industrialized countries 'growth has been grinding toward a stop.'[3] As we see, the reversal from the boom of 1972 and the early months of 1973 occurred last spring and certainly not later than last summer, when the problem of the Arab oil supplies had not yet arisen.

There is still less reason to regard the inflation rampant in the capitalist world as having been created by the oil crisis. It is true that the upheaval following the October decision of the Arab countries sparked off a new price spiral. This was first and foremost the result of price increases by the oil monopolies and, in chain reaction, by all manufacturing companies consuming oil and oil products as fuel and raw material. But the present inflation began gathering pace long before – somewhere at the end of the 60s. Table 2 shows that the cost of living since 1970 rose more than double in Britain and the FRG, and nearly double in other capitalist countries.

TABLE 2

Average annual price growth rate for consumer goods, 1970-1973

	1960-1970 = 100
FRG	221
Britain	212
Belgium	193
Italy	192
United States	181
Holland	179
France	165
Japan	155

Source: based on figures in **The Economist,** March 9-15, 1974, p. 71.

Only recently, bourgeois economists considered it axiomatic that 'double-digit' inflation (i.e., an annual price increase of 10 or more per cent) was the lot of economically backward countries only. That sort of thing, they said, was inconceivable in an industrial capitalist state. However, a recent report by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) encompassing 24 of the developed capitalist countries, notes that 13 of them have become victims of 'double-digit' inflation.[4]

Monopoly-paid experts are trying to sugar the pill and pretend that the inflation has a sound basis. They describe the rising cost of living as an inevitable and necessary concomitant of economic growth. And since somewhat over a year ago business had still been good, they say, the inflationary explosion was only natural.[5]

Monetary Problem

However, what is significant is that, since early 1973 inflation, far from abating, has increased its pace while production has been on

a downward trend. This means that a new and ugly phenomenon has appeared in the economic life of capitalist society, named 'stagflation' or 'slumpflation' – a combination of inflation and stagnation or slump.

There had been signs of it many times in the past, but now it appears to have become more acute. In any case, even bourgeois economists accept it as an inevitable reality.

The turmoil reigning in the monetary system of the capitalist world is a striking expression of the malignant processes within the capitalist economy as a whole. No doubt, the energy crisis is complicating the monetary problem. On the one hand, for example, it has created the threat of a huge deficit (of up to $7.5 billion this year) in the aggregate balance of payments of the EEC countries. On the other hand, there is the prospect of new huge sums of dollars flooding the West European countries from the Arab states as the result of their greater oil incomes. This may lead to flight of West-European currencies away from the dollar – something that has, among other things, already twice in the recent past precipitated devaluations of the U.S. currency.

Again, the monetary turmoil in the capitalist world did not begin yesterday. The first of the bigger upheavals occurred in the summer of 1971, and since then all attempts of the leading imperialist states (quite irrespective of the energy crisis) to restore order in the monetary sphere have proved in vain. At its session in Nairobi in September 1973, the International Monetary Fund set July 31, 1974, as the deadline for a monetary reform. There seems little prospect of this being achieved. Even within the Common Market, two groups of countries have emerged – one consisting of Britain, Ireland, Italy and France with their separate floated currencies, and the other of the remaining five countries, which keep the fluctuation of their currencies within fixed limits.

In the circumstances, monetary troubles are unpredictable and become chronic. Yet any delay in solving the monetary problem is an obstacle to ending the inflation and normalizing international commerce or at least ameliorating other pernicious tendencies in the economy of present-day capitalism.

This new crisis in the capitalist economy does not mean it is likely to collapse. Imperialism is still strong and powerful, will strive for new methods to cope with the confrontation and competition of an advancing socialist world and a crisis-ridden capitalist world. However, the hopes that monopoly capital placed an active government interference in the economy and on government measures to iron out the kinks,[6] have proved futile. Direct financial support of monopoly by the state will not cure capitalism of its economic instability. Crises and cyclical fluctuations cannot be eliminated. The economic crisis has reached an acute stage, and persists despite all efforts to find a solution.

Basic factors

Precisely because capitalism cannot change its spots all attempts to regulate it by government interference are failing. The present

crisis of capitalist society, for all its specific features and peculiarities, and for all its new aspects (like the oil shortage and high prices), is expressed ultimately and most palpably from the social and political point of view, in the further sharpening of the basic contradictions of the capitalist system. More, this is occurring on an international, as well as national level.

It is more than evident, for example, that the energy crisis epitomizes the fundamental antagonism that divides the imperialist powers and their former colonies and semi-colonies. Instead of imperialism dictating terms to oil-producing countries and suppliers of raw material and fuel, these latter are making the formerly omnipotent metropolitan countries respect their interests and demands. This is mainly due to the growth and strengthening of the national liberation movement on a world scale, and the advance of the socialist world which extends its aid and solidarity to these countries. The imperialists are being forced to recognize that the world has come to a new historical reality. Among other things, the socialist world offers to the worldwide national liberation movement and the developing countries prospects of far more effective struggle for liberation from all forms of political and economic dependence. Those are the implications to be gleaned from the oil crisis if it is viewed in the context of the relationship between the oil exporters and importing consumers.

This new stage in the struggle between imperialism and the national liberation movement is one of the most salient international effects of the present structural crisis of the capitalist world economy. Another obvious result is the rapid growth of antagonism in the relations between the imperialist states, especially between the three main centers of modern imperialism – the USA, EEC and Japan. [7]

Lenin discovered and clearly defined the objective law of the uneven development of capitalism in the imperialist epoch, and made clear that all attempts of state-monopoly capitalism could not invalidate this law. It exists today in a much sharper form, and not even the carefully planned and organized government moves to smooth out differences and clashes of interests, and to promote and utilize integrational tendencies in the capitalist economy, can change this basic law.

At no other time in history have such strenuous efforts been made as those now being made for integration in the framework of world capitalism. Never before has the bourgeoisie had so far-flung a system of multinational economic and political alliances. And never before has the ramification of world ties, growing in step with the objective internationalization of all spheres of human activity, so forcefully spurred the growth of integrational processes, while at the same time imperialist internecine strife is intensifying precisely in these conditions.

The record of inter-imperialist relations of, say, the last six months consists of a succession of covert and overt, big and small, conflicts. That the United States and the West European countries went different ways during the October war in the Middle East, is not un-

usual. But the fact that the United States levelled outright accusations against its NATO allies – for the first time, the world press observed – is certainly a sign of a new quality in inter-imperialist rivalry. And signs of that kind are now many: the steadily sharpening differences between the United States and France of the recent months, and on a broader plane between the United States and the West-European Nine over Arab oil policy. Another sign is the repeated postponement of President Nixon's visit to Western Europe, originally planned for the autumn of the 1973 which is calculated to breathe new life into the trans-Atlantic partnership – a 'partnership' which has been seriously damaged by Kissinger's attack in March this year on the governments of Western Europe, and for which he has had to make a public apology.

None of the old disputes has been solved within the EEC framework, and new cause for disputes arises literally every month. The monetary problem, oil policy, energy crisis, military policy, economic and political relations with the United States – all these are objects of sharp controversy. While talk of political integration of the EEC continues, voices resound ever more stridently, asking a more trenchant question: has there been any real advance toward the economic integration of Western Europe?

In each of the EEC member-countries there prevails some degree of doubt about the benefits of the Common Market for its national economic interests. In Britain's case, her first year in the EEC has cost £1,000 million – her deficit in trade with her EEC partners. British exports to France and the FRG were half her imports from those countries.[8] And for a country whose economy is so strongly dependent on foreign commerce this may turn into a national disaster. It is not surprising, therefore, that the question of her relations with the EEC, is generally expected to become a source of more serious strains on Britain's political scene.

It is the multinational monopolies that skim the cream off West-European integration. The Political Declaration adopted by the January conference of Communist Parties in Brussels, says that these monopolies are '. . . entrenched in the advanced technology sectors (information processing, atomic energy, telecommunications, chemical industries) and large-scale consumption industries (food, car and optical), where they tend progressively to take control or determine the direction of the main lines of national production and international trade. In the capitalist countries the governments protect and promote the activities of these giant interests in their territories.'[9] In this context it should be borne in mind that in Western Europe three out of four such multinational corporations are dominated by American capital. It is estimated that in 5-6 years the multinational firms will control 80 per cent of the capitalist world market through 200 giant corporations.

Integration, which is helping the multinational giants to expand their activity, is thus becoming a powerful stimulant for unprecedented concentration and centralization of production and capital. Accordingly, it sharpens the fundamental contradiction of capitalism,

that between the social mode of production and the private – now chiefly monopoly – form of appropriation.

Huge profits

The rule of the big bourgeoisie and the parasitism of the ruling imperialist class is becoming more evident to the masses. The inflation, oil shortages and the monetary crisis have proved a bonanza for the monopolies. The figures in table 3 below show that both banking and industrial monopolies operating in the crisis-hit industries are making hay while the sun shines. They are battening precisely on the maladies afflicting the national economy and causing suffering to the laboring masses.[10]

TABLE 3

Growth of 1973 monopoly profits in percentages of 1972

USA			
All corporations	129	*Oil Companies:*	
		Exxon	159
		Texaco	145
		Standard Oil	140
BRITAIN			
All monopolies	142		
Banks		*Chemicals and Foods:*	
Lloyds	176	Imperial Chemical Industries	200
National Westminster	149	Unilever	151
Barclays	141	Shell Oil	161
Midland	153		

Sources: Financial Times, Feb. 22, 1974; Business Week, Feb. 9, 1974.

The full picture of the social allocation of the crisis burden becomes perfectly clear on comparing the dynamics of profits with indicators of the position of the basic mass of the population, the working class and working people generally. The *New York Times* (Feb. 2, 1974) remarked: 'What the worker could buy with his weekly take-home pay after allowing for higher prices and taxes left him 3 per cent worse off than at the start of 1973.' And this in a country where, over the same period, profits rose 29 per cent (see Table 3). Increases in nominal wages wrested from the monopolies in hard-fought strike struggle cannot catch up with the rampant inflation. More, state monopoly capitalism is trying to hold down wages as the main method of combating inflation. In effect, it is this issue, which is a key problem of economic policy, that is in the center of the present sharp class struggles.

The crisis has hit the working people also through the sharp increase in unemployment. In the U.S., the unemployment rate rose from 4.8 per cent in December to 5.2 in January, and bourgeois economists are predicting a 6-7 per cent rate for the rest of the year (*Economist*, Feb. 9-15, 1974, p. 83). Official America no longer speaks

of a 4 per cent unemployment rate, which has always been held up as little short of 'full employment.' For the EEC, with its millions of unemployed, the official forecast is for at least 700,000 more jobless before the end of the year.

For the first time in many years, the United States reported a lower per capita food consumption in 1973. We know of course what social sections are affected. And we know also that the present appeals to 'moderate appetites,' 'restrain consumption' and 'tighten belts,' all allegedly to save the national economy, are no more than propaganda conditioning for a new – in fact already begun – onslaught on the living standards of the laboring masses.

All this reduces to nought state monopoly capitalism's strategic plans to achieve social and political stability, instil the illusion of class peace, and sidetrack the masses from the anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle. *Time* magazine (Dec. 31, 1973, p. 12) wrote: 'Hard times will almost certainly sharpen social and class conflicts. A recession could produce political upheavals . . .' That opinion comes not from Marxists, from revolutionaries, but from confirmed bourgeois economists and men of big business, the bankers and industrialists who foregathered last December in Brussels to discuss the problems of the near future.

The only solution that state monopoly capitalism can offer are detrimental to the interests of the working people. In contrast, increasing numbers of the working class, and working people generally, are being won over to understand that their task is to struggle for far-reaching social and political changes which alone can provide a solution for their problems. The correctness of this position is especially emphasized today by the stable and impressive economic, social, and political advances of the Soviet Union and the other members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance amid all the economic and social difficulties in the capitalist world. Another system – other results, other prospects. The present crisis of the capitalist system makes it easier to assimilate this lesson.

Conflict of two systems

The stupendous confrontation between the two antagonistic social systems is the decisive feature of the present situation that ensures the deepening of this crisis. There is not a sphere of economic or political activity in which imperialism is not subject to the pressures of world socialism, the international working class, and all revolutionary forces that today determine the direction of human advance.

In January 1974 the Brussels Conference of Communist Parties in Western Europe elaborated its general strategy against monopoly capital, for united action in defense of all working people, and to stress more than ever that only socialism can provide a basic solution for the masses.

At the first meeting of the National Executive of the British Communist Party on March 9-10, after the general election, John Gollan, General Secretary, outlined the next stage of the mass struggle in Britain, within this context. Gollan emphasized that 'the mass move-

ment is now, more than ever, the decisive arena of struggle, and it must act fast."[11] The central issue is to win the overwhelming majority of the working class in Britain for a radical and Left anti-monopoly program. At the same time, it is essential to strengthen still further the growing Communist influence within the mass movement in Britain, to build a stronger Communist Party and YCL, and to stimulate on a wider scale progressive and socialist concepts throughout the organized Labor movement.

As was correctly emphasized at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties: 'In the course of anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist united action, favorable conditions are created for uniting all democratic trends into a political alliance capable of putting an end to the power of big capital, and bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism.'[12]

1. *Sunday Times*, which usually supports the Tories, declared on February 17: '. . . the decision to fight the miners was a fundamental error of judgement.'

2. *The Guardian*, February 2, 1974.

3. *The Economist*, November 24-30, 1973, p. 11. The substantial decline of industrial production naturally led to decline in the rate of general economic growth. In the United States, for example, the accretion of the gross national product – which had been 5.5 per cent in the first six months of the year – dropped to 3.6 per cent in the third quarter of the year, and to 2 per cent in the fourth.

4. The steep price increases in the United States in January prompted the *International Herald Tribune* (25.2.74) to say that it 'sharpens fears that the United States is about to join Japan and most of West Europe in the danger zone of "double digit" inflation.'

5. 'Price rises last year,' *The Economist* said in its March 9-15, 1974, issue, 'were stoked by exceptionally rapid growth throughout the industrialized world.'

6. Typical moves are the 'phased' economic policies pursued by the United States and Britain in recent years.

7. See G. Heber in *WMR*, No. 1, 1974, for a more detailed examination.

8. *The Economist*, February 16-22, 1974.

9. *Comment*, March 9, 1974, p. 72.

10. The situation in fact is so scandalous that it is causing embarrassment even to the monopoly press. The *Financial Times* remarks, for instance, that 'official monetary policy led to a semi-automatic increase in bank profits, which is out of tune with measures taken to control inflation' (February 20, 1974).

11. *Morning Star*, March 11, 1974.

12. International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 27.

Class battles in the capitalist world

Facts and figures

Prepared by the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Developments have shown that the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties was right in pointing to the growing instability of the capitalist system. The working class and general democratic move-

ment in the past five years has been marked by increasing militancy, a stronger anti-imperialist trend and strikes – one of the most powerful forms of class struggle – on an unprecedented scale. In developed capitalist countries, strikes in 1969-1972 involved 225 million workers, many more than the total of the previous 164 million in the preceding five years.

Number of strikers

	Capitalist world as a whole (millions)	Developed capitalist countries (millions)
1965	35	20
1966	44	27
1967	46	30
1968	57	43
1969	60	44
1970	64	45
1971	70	48
1972	60	43
1973	60	45

*Estimates based on official statistics, data released by trade unions and press reports.

In recent years, the greatest strikes, both in numbers and intensity, took place in the major capitalist countries – the United States, Italy, France, Britain, West Germany and Japan, which accounted for up to 70 per cent of the strikers in developed capitalist countries.

Strike movement in leading capitalist countries

	Number of strikes		Number of strikers (thousands)		Man-hours (thousands)	
	1966-1969	1970-1973	1966-1969	1970-1973	1966-1969	1970-1973
USA	19,625	21,300	9,990	10,400	158,287	158,100
Britain	9,547	11,564,	5,173	6,216	16,721	55,880
FRG	—	—	371	967	690	5,327
France	6,958	12,684	17.505*	9,077	169,260*	13,443
Italy	12,211	14,944	16,500	29,281	70,106	74,643
Japan	5,795	11,432	4,440	7,497	11,047	19,805

*In comparing these data, it should be borne in mind that the 1966-1969 figures include the general strike in May and June 1968, which involved 10 million people and lost 150 million man-hours.

Estimate based on official statistics of the countries concerned.

Strikes in any given capitalist country are determined by prevailing social, economic and political conditions and have national characteristics. On the other hand, they increasingly show common trends.

Foremost among these are the growing scale of strikes and proportion of general and nationwide strikes, the ever wider use of 'days of struggle,' 'protest days' or 'national action days,' all of which are organized at the level of enterprise or industry or on a national scale and combine strikes with demonstrations, public meetings, protest marches and other political actions.

Secondly, the social basis of the strike movement has expanded considerably due to the social polarization and proletarianization of the economically active population. Non-proletarian strata and groups join in strikes to an ever greater extent and workers' strikes intertwine more and more with struggles of the peasants, white-collar workers, students, intellectuals and the middle strata. As a result, there is growing unity and solidarity among the working people and this provides the prerequisites of a united class front.

Thirdly, the working class and its organizations have become more skillful in using forms and methods of struggle prompted by, and particularly effective in, the given economic, social and political situation. During booms they, for example, resort to brief stoppages consecutively involving different production sectors. These stoppages do not seriously injure the strikers' material interests but they cause considerable damage to the employers, which makes them more responsive to union demands.

In periods of recession or stagnation, stoppages involve key sectors of enterprises. It is an effective method whereby the interests of all workers are upheld by a relatively small group engaged in one of the main production sectors. By upsetting the technological process, a strike of this nature paralyzes the whole enterprise and enables the unions to concentrate their material resources on a comparatively narrow strike front and hold out for a long time.

In addition to the 'traditional' strike (complete stoppage of work), the present stage of the strike movement is characterized, among others, by recourse to slowdowns and 'work to rule.' Such methods are particularly effective for workers in industries where strikes are forbidden by law, leaving the authorities without a pretext to take repressive measures.

Higher pay and better working conditions are still the main objectives of strike action. However, a new feature, standing out more and more is that the fight for immediate interests and rights links up with the struggle for the solution of problems of national significance.

The demand for democratic control and working class participation in decision-making on the production process itself (speed of the assembly line, work rhythm, safety and so on) is becoming more emphatic. Many strikes are for freedom of trade union activity in the enterprises, a say in setting wage rates and an end to the management's arbitrary methods in deciding on pay increases.

Strikes today are characterized by continuity and unrelenting intensity. In the past, periods of recession were generally accompanied by a more or less noticeable drop in the number of strikes. The situation has changed appreciably of late, for the working people and their unions resist more and more effectively the shackling impact of a deteriorating labor market. In 1973 there were three million more unemployed in developed capitalist countries than in 1970 and yet the number of strikers did not decline.

Recent class battles added many a vivid chapter to the history of the international labor movement.

There was a sustained strike movement in *Britain*. The biggest and most important actions were those against the anti-labor Industrial Relations Act. In the first quarter of 1971 there were five 'days of struggle' involving three million people. In July 1971, shipyard workers of the Upper Clyde fought and won an unprecedented battle. In 1972 the miners called their biggest strike since 1926 – it involved 280,000 miners – and there were also strikes by railwaymen and dockers. In March 1973 the number of strikers stood at 750,000, including 300,000 civil servants who struck for the first time in British history. A new social explosion occurred early in 1974 when miners and other workers launched a campaign for higher wages and better working conditions. The successful strike of 270,000 miners in 1974 was unquestionably an outstanding action of the British working class.

The militancy of the working people of *Italy* remains high. They closely linked their struggle for higher pay, better working conditions and new collective agreements with demands for social and economic reforms. In 1971 almost two million agricultural workers took part in these struggles alongside the industrial proletariat. In January 1972 a nationwide strike demanding a housing and urban development reform was held by 600,000 construction workers, 300,000 woodworkers and 118,000 workers engaged in the building materials industry. In April 1972, 12 million workers, according to trade union data, called a general strike and held mass demonstrations in support of social and economic reforms.

Even bigger working class actions took place in 1973. There were two general strikes involving 20 million and 14 million people, or virtually the *entire working population*. On February 7 last, 1.5 million metalworkers and employees of two major automobile companies, Fiat and Alfa Romeo, and workers in the chemical, textile and food industries called a general strike which paralyzed Milan, Italy's biggest industrial center. On February 27, 18 million workers took part in a four-hour general strike.

The strike movement in *France* has been devolping under the direct impact of the 'Red May Day' of 1968, the day of one of the French working people's major class battles. The reaction of the working class to big capital's intention to offset its 'May Day concessions' was organization, unity and the resolve to fight for social improvements. In 1970, millions joined in two nationwide 'action weeks.' The general strike in June 1972 involved four million people. During the 1973 general election the common government program of the Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals won about 11 million votes. In December of that year, millions of working people responded to an appeal of the unions and Left-wing parties by joining in the general strike and in demonstrations to stop inflation and call a halt to the government's anti-social policies.

In 1974 public attention was drawn to the struggle of the employees of the Rateau electrical-engineering plant. Early in February the employees of the plant followed the example of Lip company workers in Besancon by occupying the factory in response to the firm's plan

to dismantle it as 'unprofitable' and lay off the workers. On March 1, the workers were joined by the factory's engineers and technicians. The strikers took a stand against the threat of massive dismissals and for the preservation of an enterprise important to the nation's economy.

In the *USA* during this period there were strikes by West Coast longshoremen and warehousemen, federal postal employees, Mississippi woodcutters, General Motors auto workers, teachers in several major cities, farm workers and the predominantly female labor force of the Farah textile manufacturing company.

Early in 1971 a major strike took place in New York. The strike, dubbed the 'municipal nightmare' by the bourgeois press, involved garbage collectors, firemen and the police. In July a six-day strike by 500,000 Bell Telephone Company employees won them a substantial pay increase. A difficult struggle was carried on by 500,000 railwaymen. The government banned their strikes four times under the Taft-Hartley Act. In November 1971, 100,000 miners struck for six months. In 1971-1972 there were over 250 strikes by American white-collar workers. The strike movement in 1973 involved construction workers in New York. Eastern Airlines personnel, bus drivers and electricians of 42 towns in Connecticut, Philadelphia teachers, and the employees of oil refineries and petrochemical plants.

Most strikes in *Japan* take place in two periods set by the trade unions: March-May for the 'spring offensive' and October-November for the 'autumn offensive.' In 1971 a series of brief stoppages within the framework of these campaigns were held by 450,000 railwaymen, 150,000 seamen, 60,000 miners, 500,000 electricians and about two million civil servants and municipal employees. Similar action was launched in the subsequent two years. The biggest general strike in the history of spring campaigns took place on April 27, 1973. It was joined by 3,600,000 people.

In February 1974 the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) held its special 47th Congress, which approved the program of the coming 19th 'spring offensive.' Already in March four million working people joined the 'offensive.'

The struggle of the working class of the *FRG* in the past five years for its vital interests and against monopoly domination was marked by high militancy. In autumn 1969 a wave of so-called spontaneous strikes involving over 150,000 people swept the republic. In 1970 brief stoppages brought into action over 700,000 people. In the autumn of 1971 as many as 500,000 metalworkers fought a protracted battle in the trying conditions of a lockout. In 1972 the working class was one of the main motive forces of the campaign for the ratification of Federal Germany's treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland. In autumn 1973 strikes surged high at Ruhr plants.

The beginning of 1974 was marked by a tense social situation.

In mid-February strike action encompassed 250,000 wage and salary earners. It was one of the biggest strikes in West German history and the biggest action of non-proletarian working people.

'Social peace' cases are disappearing from the political map of the

capitalist world. The example of *Denmark* is revealing. In 1973 a strike movement unprecedented in the past 13 years engulfed the country. In March 260,000 working people struck in view of the marked deterioration of the country's economic situation, a fact linked by many to membership of the Common Market. Nor did strikes stop later on. The Danish press pointed out that never since 1936 had class struggles in the country been so violent or so vast.

Social conflicts in *Belgium* are gaining in scope. This is seen in major strikes of recent date, such as those of Limburg miners, the dockers of Ghent and Antwerp, the metalworkers of Liège and Charleroi, bank employees and teachers. At the Cockerill iron and steel plant, 25,000 workers were on strike for over seven weeks, and the employers, despite government backing, had to make concessions.

Early 1974 was marked by bitter class battles in *Spain*. In January, workers at the Madrid plant of the American Standard Electric went on strike, demanding a wage rise. The management called in the police, closed down the plant and sacked 28 workers. This arbitrary move prompted 11,000 working people to strike in solidarity and demand the reinstatement of their fellow workers.

The past two years' biggest strike took place in *Iceland*, where 35,000 people struck last February, demanding higher pay, lower taxes and better housing. In *Australia*, 400,000 metalworkers last March held a 24-hour strike, starting a new round of struggles for higher wages. In *West Berlin* 40,000 public service workers were on strike in February. Recently 100,000 industrial workers in *Israel* called a four-hour strike in protest against higher prices. A general strike broke out in *Lebanon* for the same reason in February. The first general strike in the country's history occurred in *Ethiopia*.

The strike movement shows qualitatively new aspects. To begin with, the movement as a whole is assuming an ever more anti-capitalist character. The working people are coming to realize the necessity for both economic and political struggle against monopoly. More and more of the demands and slogans put forward by the masses imply the need for far-reaching social changes. And no matter how hard big capital, as in Britain, Italy and some other countries tries to ignore demands of this nature, it is compelled to reckon with the likelihood of serious political crises. It is in this that the injection of politics into industrial action, which is developing into struggle against the very foundations of state monopoly rule, manifests itself.

Another new development is the stronger trend toward unity in the trade union movement, one indication of which was the recent Geneva meeting of leaders of trade union centers. There are new vast prospects for achieving working class unity of action – a highly important objective of working class struggle against international capital.

Communist parties are in the thick of the class struggle. More actively than anyone else, they uphold the interests of the working class and organize movements of solidarity with strikers. This is why the reactionaries in a number of countries carry out red-baiting

campaigns in the trade unions, as they did in Britain not long ago over the miners' strike. The workers, on the other hand, give credit to the Communists by electing more and more of them to union posts.

The current stage of mass action in capitalist countries is incontrovertible proof that the working class remains – contrary to the allegations of opponents of Marxism-Leninism – the main force of social development capable of scoring decisive gains in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

Change in world relations and the national liberation movement

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The longing for peace, for centuries considered unattainable, acquired new strength with the rise of the workers' movement and the emergence of the first proletarian vanguards. Marxism was the first to link the prospect of peace with the enmancipation of labor, thereby indicating the path to genuine brotherhood. The Communist Manifesto declared: 'To the extent to which exploitation of one individual by another will be abolished, there will be abolished also exploitation of one nation by another. An end to class antagonisms within the nation will put an end also to hostility among nations.'

The first state to make the fight for peace the very foundation of its foreign policy was socialist Soviet Russia. For the working people the world over it became the most consistent fighter against imperialist aggression, against everything that breeds war. The peace policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community has now won universal recognition. And it is thanks to the socialist world that peace has ceased to be a dream and is now an attainable aim.

Leading the movement for peace is a social system that has once and for all done away with exploitation and private property, a system based on socialization of the means of production and genuine social equality, a system standing opposed to all the designs and intrigues of imperialism and reaction. Socialism is giving the world

a new type of relations permeated with the spirit of brotherhood, progress and common interests. And these relations are gaining in strength with every passing year, as more and more countries accept them. The Leninist, socialist principles of conducting international affairs are winning growing recognition.

That applies also to the advanced contingents of the national-liberation movement. It shares with the international workers' movement a common struggle against imperialism, a profound interest in peace and the prevention of world war. For there is the proof of history that war is inevitably attended by super-exploitation of the working people in capitalist countries and intensified plunder of countries dependent on imperialism. Should war break out, the imperialists will use every available means to subjugate nations, destroy the progressive and national-patriotic forces. Even so-called 'limited' wars in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have shown to what ruthless and barbarous methods world reaction can resort.

Détente is the concern of all humanity, not only of countries with a high military potential, and not the business solely of foreign ministries.

The world's peace forces are gravely concerned over the continuing stockpiling of ever more destructive weapons, and they become more destructive with every war. Of course, revolutionaries have never considered arms the decisive factor of history. But that should not be taken to mean that we can afford a light-hearted attitude toward war. A world thermo-nuclear conflict would mean immense losses in human life and material values, would devastate vast areas. This can be prevented by sustained struggle to make détente irreversible. Cooperation between world socialism and the national-liberation movement can play a very important part in achieving that aim, and the peace effort will bring these two currents of the world revolutionary process still closer together.

Close alliance of world socialism and the national-liberation movement has always been a tenet of Communist policy. Lenin wrote in 1920 '. . . one cannot at present confine oneself to a bare recognition or proclamation of the need for closer union between the working people of various nations; a policy must be pursued that will achieve the closest alliance with Soviet Russia of all the national and colonial liberation movements. The forms of this alliance should be determined by the degree of development of the Communist movement in the proletariat of each country, or of the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement of the workers and peasants in backward countries or among backward nationalities' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 146).

Developments over the past years have demonstrated the tremendous importance of such an alliance. It is especially needed now, with the liberation process in developing countries increasingly directed – as Lenin foresaw – against feudal and capitalist exploitation.

Lenin's prevision is fully borne out by the universal desire of the peoples involved in the national-liberation struggle to advance to

socialism and their resolve to bypass the capitalist stage. The national-liberation movement now has to solve three main, closely interrelated problems: abolish all forms and aftermaths of direct colonial oppression; prevent the penetration of neo-colonialism in whatever form, and abolish it where it exists, and launch out on non-capitalist development as the prelude to the advance of socialism.

Solution of these problems is conceivable only in a favorable international situation, with the world balance of forces changed to the advantage of socialism. This would rule out imperialist war and intervention, which have always been used to hold back social progress.

While upholding the cause of peace and international security, the revolutionary forces do not renounce just wars, including wars for national liberation. Lenin wrote: 'Every war is the continuation of politics by other means. The continuation of national liberation politics in the colonies will *inevitably* take the form of national wars *against* imperialism' (Vol. 22, p. 310).

During World War I, an imperialist war, Lenin stressed that it was the duty of revolutionaries to work for the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie of their country. This was expressive of the profound class approach to the problem of war by the leader of the world proletariat. And Lenin consistently applied that approach to national-liberation wars, considering it the duty of revolutionaries of the oppressor country to support the independence struggle of the oppressed peoples.

'Socialists cannot achieve their great aim,' he wrote, 'without fighting against all oppression of nations. They must, therefore, unequivocally demand that the Social-Democratic parties of the *oppressor* countries (espcially of the so-called "Great" Powers) should recognize and champion the *oppressed* nation's right to self-determination, in the specifically political sense of the term, i.e., the right to political secession' (Vol. 21, p. 316). Experience has shown that this right can be won only in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. And it was Lenin's great achievement that, with imperialism holding undivided sway in a world in which no nation had managed to gain independence without immediately coming under imperialist tutelage, he did not hesitate to proclaim the inevitability of such a struggle, which would necessarily be waged in *diverse*, including military forms.

The international workers' movement has remained true to Lenin's anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist policy. 'Completely rid our planet of the curse of colonialism, destroy its last centers and prevent its revival in new, disguised forms – such is the demand of our epoch,' the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties declared. And in the front ranks of the fighters to accomplish this sacred mission are the countries of the socialist community which are using their enhanced economic, political and military potential to help embattled peoples.

The Middle East peoples have had many proofs of the effectiveness of this support. Now, after the October war, when, thanks to the

military successes of the Arab armies, fraternal assistance from the socialist community, notably the USSR, and effective use of the oil weapon, peace – a just peace – is becoming a feasible reality, for now liberation of the Arab territories occupied by Israel and restoration of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, are practical possibilities.

Worldwide solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples is stronger than ever. The workers' movement in capitalist countries is evidence that this solidarity has acquired a new quality. The 1969 Interational meeting cleared the fog of Zionist propaganda, helped to bring the world the Arab point of view and profoundly analyzed the problem of solidarity with the Arab peoples. The turn in world public opinion in favor of the Arabs' just struggle was largely responsible for preventing Israel from drawing any political advantages from its territorial conquests.

Most important for our peoples is the support of the socialist states, which stood by the Arabs in the last war. But there have been attempts in some quarters to belittle the role of the socialist community in rendering fraternal assistance to the Arab countries. Bourgeois propagandists and Leftists of every hue and stripe want to drive a wedge between the socialist world and the Arab liberation movement. They allege, for instance, that on the Middle East issue the Soviet Union is motivated entirely by its "super-power' interests, that it is prepared to sacrifice Arab national interests for the sake of détente – in short, that it is prepared to pay any price for peace. The USSR is also accused of harboring hegemonstic plans, being in collusion with U.S. imperialism to divide up spheres of influence and having even signed a pact with the U.S. government detrimental to the world revolutionary movement.

The purpose of all such propaganda is to harm the Soviet Union and the socialist community, and, still more, the national-liberation movement, undermine its unity, prevent its closer alliance with world socialism. This hostile prapaganda is disorienting some elements in the Arab countries whose influence and actions could be useful in the anti-imperialist struggle. In the developed capitalist countries this slander is exploited to dull the feeling of solidarity, so important for the Arab liberation movement.

The authors of the slander, both from Right and 'Left,' try to obscure the class substance of international processes, absolutize national features, give patriotism a chauvinistic coloring and prevent it from developing as internationalist anti-imperialism. But those who succumb to this hostile propaganda find themselves at odds with reality. That is evidenced by the Middle East events.

For the facts are these: the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community stand for a durable and just peace, which is possible only if Israeli occupation of Arab territories is ended and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs restored. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the Arabs' just cause and has consistently worked for a peaceful settlement in the interests of all

the Middle East peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine.

There is no overestimating the importance of this support. The October war showed that the USSR, the main source of assistance to the embattled Arab states, gave them an adequate supply of everything they needed, including powerful weapons. The Soviet Union employed the most effective diplomatic methods to foil the Zionist counter-offensive in the closing days of October 1973. It thus prevented an escalation of the war, which might have extended the Middle East conflict. Besides supporting Egypt and Syria, the USSR has done everything to strengthen relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only legitimate spokesman of the Palestinian Arabs.

Imperialist attempts to undermine the alliance of Arab and socialist countries are doomed to failure, for this alliance rules out the possibility of one partner imposing its views on another. The alliance rests on the noble principles of support of the anti-imperialist struggle – a permanent factor of socialist foreign policy, on categorical rejection of annexations – an immutable policy that dates back to the October Revolution, on consistent adherence to the right of nations to self-determination, in particular recognition of the inalienable and inviolable national rights of the Palestinian people. All this was reaffirmed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the World Congress of Peace Forces. He said 'Guided by the general principles of socialist foreign policy and by the fact that this region is in close proximity to our frontiers, we are interested in a really durable and just peace in the Middle East, in assuring the security of all the countries and peoples of the region, and their right to build their new life unhampered, as they see fit. That is why the Soviet Union has all along insisted on the return of the Arab states of Israeli-occupied territory, so that justice in relation to the Palestinian people can triumph. The Soviet Union has pursued that policy and will continue to do so.'

The Arab peoples' alliance with the socialist countries is of a class nature. Its results – so far only initial results – go far beyond purely military considerations.

First, it has contributed to the development of the Arab's patriotic struggle against imperialist influence, and of united national fronts that have already scored visible success both in terms of home and foreign policy. Representatives of the Iraqi and Syrian Communist Parties are now in the government. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is socialist-oriented. Nor are these achievements the result of foreign interference, as hostile propaganda so often maintains (just as the political fluctuations in Egypt cannot be attributed to foreign interference). They are due to emergence, in the wholesome conditions of anti-imperialist struggle, of revolutionary-democratic trends.

Second, the alliance facilitated united action of the Arab countries in the fight against the Zionist-imperialist coalition. It has also made for complete equality of all the participants in this struggle, including

the Palestine resistance movement. United action is of paramount importance, for it helps to forge the progressive anti-imperialist unity of the Arab nation.

Third, the alliance with the socialist countries enabled the Arabs to launch an offensive to liberate their oil wealth from foreign monopoly control. Without this alliance, imperialism would have taken retaliatory measures, and on a much bigger scale than the imperialist-Zionist aggression of 1956 in retaliation to nationalization of the Suez Canal. Besides, new contradictions are growing between the imperialist powers themselves.

By their policy, the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community demonstrated their unswerving fidelity to Lenin's behest: 'Socialists must not only demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation – and this demand in its political expression signifies nothing else than the recognition of the right to self-determination; they must also render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist their uprising – or revolutionary war, in the event of one – *against* the imperialist powers that oppress them' (Vol. 22, pp. 151-52).

The Great October Revolution put an end to imperialism's undivided domination. Since then it has sought, in vain, to halt the development of revolutionary liberation processes in every part of the world. But it has had to moderate its appetite, curb its arrogance.

The liberation struggle in what was once the colonial periphery has been beset by many difficulties – weakness of the working class, absence in many cases of genuinely revolutionary traditions, archaic social structures. But the anti-imperialist movement in Asia and Africa has demolished the abhorrent colonial system. The new states are quickly learning to defend their freedom, and under mass pressure, are introducing more radical anti-imperialist policies. There is steady and deepening erosion of the economic, political, military and cultural remnants of colonialism. The détente imposed on imperialism by the socialist countries is reducing the possibility of fresh imperialist aggression against the national-liberation movement. At the same time, however, new contradictions are emerging between imperialist and the young states, and they can be resolved only by further strengthening their independence and forming closer links with world socialism.

Imperialism's retreat and the collapse of its geo-politics are part of its general crisis and its mounting internal contradictions. In an attempt to re-establish its positions, imperialism resorts to the most heinous methods of oppressing the masses. With such rationalizations of its aggressive actions as the 'flexible response' doctrine, imperialism unleashes 'limited' or 'local' wars against socialist countries and national liberation movements – the war in Vietnam, the 1967 Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, Portugal's war in Africa.

Imperialism played no small part also in the counter-revolution in Chile.

But neither this policy, nor all the wealth accumulated by the plunder of other nations, can prevent the upheavals that are shaking the capitalist world. It is going through a monetary crisis and recurrent social crises, and there is the continuous decline of the bourgeois state and its political institutions. Imperialism has entered a period of insurmountable difficulties. Its aggressive designs and sallies are but defensive measures, attempts to hold back the march of history, which it can no longer direct.

The historical initiative is now securely held by world socialism, and the socialist countries can look back on tremendous achievements in many different fields.

The international workers' movement has now entered a stage when it can effectively obstruct the imperialist policy of wars against the peoples. That was achieved by dint of persistent struggle against the treachery of Right-wing Social-Democrat, chauvinist and opportunist leaders – who are still at work – against 'Leftism' stagnated on the positions of primitive revolutionism and playing on ignorance and lack of experience.

We will not allow ourselves to be drawn into adventures; we shall firmly and tirelessly follow the correct and tested path leading to a world situation which would inhibit the possibility of imperialist counter-offensives and exploitation while enhancing the potential of the liberation movement, the progressive forces and the prospect of complete economic liberation.

That is becoming a tangible reality, and though the main credit must go to the socialist countries, it has to be emphasized that our gains, the gains of the national-liberation movement, are the common asset for all the revolutionary forces, even those who sometimes deny this. Today it is important to avail ourselves of every opportunity offered by détente to multiply our achievements. We set ourselves concrete aims which were unachievable in the atmosphere of international tension.

Politically, it is becoming possible to force the capitalist powers to respect our countries' independence and cut short any interference in our internal affairs. A government can be truly sovereign only if it rejects such interference and relies on the viable forces of the nation, to which it guarantees political rights. Only genuinely democratic institutions can give a regime strength and firmness, create the conditions needed to cope with the difficult problems of building up the country, assuring the working people representation commensurate with their contribution to national development. The working people must have the legal means to combat exploitation and participate in the fight against foreign capital.

Economically, détente will help the countries of the national-liberation zone, providing they rely on the socialist states, to end imperialist price fixing on the world market, foreign monopoly control and blackmail. Détente will facilitate more effective use of

our industry, its modernization, the development of agriculture. Lastly, détente will help find a solution for international monetary problems that will put an end to the dependent position of developing countries. Their social and economic development would be furthered also by the realization of the proposal USSR Foreign Minister Gromyko submitted to the UN General Assembly last September, namely, a 10 per cent cut in military spending by the permanent Security Council members, the money to be used to help developing countries. The proposal was supported by the Assembly majority.

In sum, détente does not imply peace at the cost of perpetuating exploitation. On the contrary, it will unfetter the social structure of developing countries and open to peoples fighting for national liberation new opportunities in the anti-imperialist struggle and in building up their countries and advancing to social progress and lasting peace.

Fighting continents

Facts and figures

In the past five years the national liberation movement has gained increasing prominence in the world revolutionary process, scoring many successes on the international scene and in various countries.

U.S. imperialism's defeat in Indochina is of historic significance. Once again it has shown the world that there is a marked difference between imperialism's aggressive plans and its ability to carry them out. Provided they have international support, peoples defending their freedom and independence are now able to repulse imperialist aggression. After several years of negotiation, agreements were concluded terminating the war and restoring peace in Vietnam (January 1973) and Laos (February 1973). Furthermore, the United States was compelled to end the bombing of Cambodia (August 1973).

The Arab liberation movement has struck new blows at imperialism. The justice of its demands is broadly recognized throughout the world. The 10th OAU summit (Addis Ababa, May 1973), denounced the Israeli aggression and called for a settlement based on the UN Security Council resolutions. The conference of non-aligned states in Algiers (September 1973) unanimously demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories and restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as its lawful representative. The military operations by Egypt and Syria in October 1973 were the culmination point of the Middle East conflict. The countries of the socialist community, most of the non-aligned states and the major international organizations firmly supported the just Arab war of liberation.

Before and during the October war, 25 African countries broke off diplomatic relations with Israel (September-October 1973). The other Arab countries gave Egypt and Syria generous material and financial support. Units of a number of Arab armies fought on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. The Arab states resorted to oil as a weapon, chiefly against countries supporting Israel, but also against the colonialist and racist regimes of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. The October war and the ensuing events brought about a new sharpening of contradictions in the imperialist camp.

Good progress has been registered in the armed and political struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Their liberation movements are supported by progressives all over the world. The Eighth OAU Assembly denounced the idea of a 'dialogue' with South Africa (June 1971). The Ninth Assembly (Rabat, June 1972) raised the question of recognizing the national liberation organizations in the Portuguese colonies as the lawful representatives of their countries and peoples. More than 70 governments have recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. A summit conference of 15 countries of East and Central Africa resolved to allow the armed forces of the liberation organizations to cross the territory of their countries (September 1972). And the 10th OAU Assembly unanimously condemned NATO aid to colonial and racist regimes.

The liberated countries have taken steps to end external and internal conflicts that impede development and strain the international situation. The important milestones: the end of hostilities in Nigeria (January 1970) and Iraq (March 1970), the India-Pakistan armed conflict (December 1971, and border clashes between the Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (October 1972).

Collective forms of repulsing imperialism and neo-colonialism have become more effective. The non-alignment movement is growing. There were 54 delegations at the Third Non-Aligned Conference in Lusaka (1970), and as many as 76, not counting 16 representatives of national liberation movements, at the Fourth Conference in Algiers (1973).

Following the Portuguese aggression against Guinea (November 1970) and the threat of a Rhodesian invasion of Zambia, the OAU resolved that an attack on any African country would be regarded as an attack on all the states of the continent. The 20th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers demanded independence for the Seychelles, Djibouti and Spanish Sahara (February 1973).

The number of national states has grown in the past five years. The independence was proclaimed of Tonga (June 1970), Fiji (October 1970), Bangladesh (March 1971), Bahrein (August 1971), Qatar (September 1971), the United Arab Emirates (December 1971), and the Island of Grenada (February 1974), and the sovereign Republic of Guinea-Bissau was founded in September 1973.

An increasing number of Latin American countries are taking joint action in defense of their national interests and sovereignty, and

against absolute U.S. domination over the system of inter-American relations. The policy of the United States toward countries of the region has been censured at annual OAS sessions, and by other international bodies.

A turning point in inter-American relations was reached in 1971. The progressive foreign policy of Chile's popular government won a considerable following. The Lima agreement went into force in October 1971, repulsing imperialist designs against countries with an independent home and foreign policy. It raised the issue of the right for countries of the continent to decide their development for themselves.

The breach in Cuba's blockade is growing wider. Following Peru's example (July 1972), relations with Cuba were established by Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados (December 1972) and Argentina (May 1973).

U.S. imperialism was denounced by the UN Security Council session held in Panama (March 1973) to discuss revision of the 1903 Panama Canal Treaty and reaffirm the right of the countries of the region to control their natural wealth.

In the beginning of 1974 the president of Argentina and head of government of Panama demanded once more that the inter-American system should be reorganized. A foreign ministers' conference turned down a United States proposal for a commonwealth in the Western Hemisphere, and urged lifting the Cuban blockade.

Far-reaching changes have occurred on the domestic scene in Asian, African and Latin American countries. Regimes changed in some, with the most reactionary and pro-imperialist elements removed from power. The Revolutionary Command Council took over in Libya (September 1969), there was a revolution in Somalia (October 1969), the change of cabinets in Ceylon (May 1970) and Pakistan (December 1971), and the coups in Ghana (January 1972), Ecuador (February 1972), and the Malagasy Republic (May 1972). The dictatorship in Argentina was compelled to relinquish power (May 1973), and the monarchy was overthrown in Afghanistan (July 1973).

In some sectors, however, imperialism succeeded in striking at the liberation forces. The patriotic military government in Bolivia and the popular government in Chile were overthrown (August 1971 and September 1973). Reaction has become more active in several other Latin American countries. Yet the general upward trend of the anti-imperialist struggle is continuously more distinct.

Nationalization of the property of foreign monopolies, especially oil monopolies, has rolled across the three continents. Following its clash with the International Petroleum Company, the revolutionary government of Peru began nationalizing foreign-owned agrarian-industrial complexes, banking and the financial system (June-July 1969). The Algerian government has taken over controlling shares in the French oil companies, and nationalized all oil and gas pipelines (February 1971). It has also withdrawn foreign oil prospecting and extraction concessions (April 1971). Venezuela has passed a law nationalizing all U.S.-owned enterprises developing local natural gas

deposits (August 1971). The governments of Iraq and Syria have nationalized Iraq Petroleum Co. property in their countries (June 1972). Following the nationalization of its natural wealth (January 1971) and withdrawal of 12 foreign oil concessions (April 1971), the Libyan government nationalized 51 per cent of the assets of all foreign oil monopolies. Iraq has nationalized the American and Dutch shares in the Basra Petroleum Co. (October 1973).

A decree in Ecuador limits land-ownership by foreign oil companies (January 1973).

In Peru, the government nationalized Cerro de Pasco, a U.S.-owned mining and metallurgical corporation, at the end of 1973. And in the beginning of 1974, two large oilfields worked by the U.S.-owned Creole Petroleum Corporation for 30 years, were placed under state control in Venezuela, and foreign monopolies have been banned from 50 oilwells in the Lake Maracaibo area.

India has nationalized Exxon and Burma Shell property, with the result that the state now controls 90 per cent of the country's petrochemical industry (March 1973).

The Asian, African and Latin American countries want to use their natural wealth in the national interest. Members of the Andes Pact formed in 1969 (Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador and Venezuela) took steps to limit and control foreign capital.

The Eighth OAU Assembly passed a resolution, 'On the Permanent Sovereignty of African Countries Over Their Natural Resources' (June 1971). And the Ninth Assembly raised the question of Africa's rights to reparations from all countries whose development is partially based on wasteful exploitation of Africa's natural resources (June 1972).

Most Asian and African countries have established a state monopoly on foreign trade, especially on exports of valuable minerals and agricultural raw materials.

Democratic agrarian reforms have been launched in Peru (June 1969), Iraq (May 1970), Burma (May 1970), and Algeria (November 1971). Steps have been taken to modernize agrarian relations in some of the Indian states, Bangladesh, Morocco, Pakistan and the Philippines. A form of socialized farming *ujamaa* or 'socialist' village, is being introduced in Tanzania.

The Communist and Workers' Parties stand in the vanguard of the fight to consolidate independence and state sovereignty, overcome economic and cultural backwardness, and raise the living standard of the laboring masses. Their political role is growing. They are becoming an influential force in a growing number of developing countries.

Latin America's Communists hold joint forums at regular intervals. Questions of strategy and tactics and the organizational consolidation of the Communist movement were discussed at the 14th Congress of the CP of Chile (November 1969), Fourth Congress of the Guatemalan Party of Labor (December 1969), 16th Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana (September 1970), 20th Congress of the CP of Uruguay (December 1970), Fourth Congress

of the CP of Venezuela (January 1971), Third Congress of Paraguayan Communist Party (April 1971), 11th Congress of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica (May 1971), Third Congress of the CP of Bolivia (June 1971), 11th Congress of the CP of Colombia (December 1971), Second Congress of the CP of Honduras (May 1972), 17th Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana (September 1972), Fifth Congress of the Guadeloupe CP (November 1972), 14th Congress of the CP of Argentina (its first legal congress in the past 27 years, August 1973), 10th Congress of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (October 1973), 16th Congress of the Mexican CP, Sixth Congress of the Peruvian CP and Ninth Congress of the CP of Ecuador (November 1973).

The Second Congress of the Iraqi Communist Party adopted a new program (September 1970); the Ninth Congress of the CP of India (October 1971), Third Congress of the Lebanon Communist Party (the first held legally in 47 years, January 1972), 17th Congress of the CP of Israel (June 1972), and Eighth Congress of the CP of Sri Lanka (August 1972), were mainly devoted to firming up their ranks politically, ideologically and organizationally. The Fifth Congress of the CP of the Philippines adopted a new program and Constitution (February 1973), and a new program was adopted by the Second Congress of the CP of Bangladesh (December 1973).

Cooperation between Latin American Communists was greatly facilitated by bilateral and multilateral meetings: the Eighth and Ninth Conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Central America, Panama and Mexico (1971 and 1974), and the conferences of seven parties of South America (1971) and five parties of South America (1973). The Latin American Communists expressed their solidarity with the peoples fighting for liberation and denounced reactionary designs on the continent.

In November 1973 a conference of the Communist Parties of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan gathered in Beirut to discuss the Mid-East situation and outline objectives for the immediate future and the struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

More and more, the Communist parties are able to act in alliance with other progressive and patriotic forces.

Having won the 1970 elections, a bloc of Left forces led by working-class parties – the Popular Unity –was in power in Chile for three years.

A United Front government headed by Achyutha Menon, a member of the National Council of the CP of India, has been in power in the Indian state of Kerala since November 1969. The CP of India won new seats in the legislative bodies of various states in 1972. The ruling Indian National Congress and the Communist Party formed united elections fronts in a number of states in 1974.

In November 1970 Communists entered the government of Syria. A National Progressive Front was formed in that country in March 1972. It includes the Arab Socialist Baath Party, the Syrian Communist Party, the Arab Socialist League, and other parties.

In May 1972, the Iraqi Communist Party joined the government

which includes, in addition to the ruling Baath party, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. In July 1973, the Baath Party and Communist Party formed the Progressive National-Patriotic Front:

Broad anti-imperialist popular coalitions are shaping in Latin America. The biggest forum of Latin American peace forces of the past decade – the First Congress of Central American countries and Mexico – was held in Panama in June 1973. And at the end of 1973 the first session of the Congress against dependence and for liberation gathered in Argentina.

The revolutionary-democratic parties in many Asian and African countries have grown stronger. The Congolese Party of Labor was founded in the People's Republic of Congo in December 1969: for the first time in Africa, a ruling party declared in its program that it would shape its activity in line with Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Second Congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party (October 1973) adopted a 20-year economic development plan for 1974-1994, and approved the draft of a new constitution, according to which Burma will now be known as the Burma Union Socialist Republic.

The working class is beginning to play a prominent role in the developing countries. It is more active politically, and its ranks are more close-knit. Latin America is becoming the scene of acute class battles between labor and capital.

For the first time in India's history, the country's mass trade-union centers of different political complexions held a joint conference in Delhi (May 1971). And in April 1972 a seminar of Asian trade unions in Delhi adopted a resolution demanding nationalization of monopoly property.

Important trade-union conferences took place in various Latin American countries. A World Anti-Imperialist Trade Union Assembly was held in Santiago in April 1973, which discussed struggle against international monopolies.

In April 1973 the constituent congress of a new all-African trade union organization, the Organization of African Trade-Union Unity, took place in Addis Ababa. Its constitution was signed by 27 national trade union centers, the All-African Federation of Trade Unions, and the African Trade Union Confederation.

The successes of the national liberation movement may be traced to the growing cooperation between the young national states and the socialist community.

By 1972 the European member-countries of CMEA were rendering financial and technical aid to 60 Asian, African and Latin American countries in some 2,500 economic, social and cultural projects.

The International Investment Bank, whose membership consists of socialist countries, has decided to institute a special fund of 1,000 million transfer rubles for credits and assistance to the developing countries (1973).

Most of the African, Asian and Latin American delegations to the United Nations supported the Soviet proposals of reducing the military budgets of the permanent Security Council members by 10

per cent, and using part of these sums for the economic and social development of liberated countries (1973).

The dynamics of change in Asia, Africa and Latin America is clear evidence of the constructive and irreversible nature of the revolutionary process in the zone of national liberation.

Inspiring changes

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary,
CP Ireland

Everything that has happened since the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties confirms the conclusion in its Main Document: 'Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.'

In the many changes that have taken place since 1969 – changes to which the work and materials of the Conference made their contribution – there have been three specific relevant developments in Ireland.

1) As compared with the time of the Conference when our Irish Communist movement was represented by two parties – the Irish Workers' Party of the Republic of Ireland, and the Communist Party of Northern Ireland – there has since been the reconstitution into one, united party which covers both states in our country, the *Communist Party of Ireland*. It can be said that the process of our Party's unification was, in part, stimulated by the great unifying and internationalist character of the 1969 Conference.

2) The second feature of change has negative elements but positive possibilities. This arose because of our economic and political dependence on Britain; we were compelled to follow that country's entry into the Common Market.

The immediate effect of entry was a huge increase in food prices and general living costs in Ireland, as well as increased redundancies, and general uncertainty about economic progress. This is in vivid contrast with the processes in the socialist world. At the beginning of this year official figures published in Moscow showed that the index of retail prices in 1973 was 0.3 per cent down on 1970, and with such facts that transport fares have not changed since 1935, rent has been the same for the last 47 years, and the rates for gas, electricity and central heating are the same now as they were, when fixed, 25 years ago.

What are the positive possibilities that I have referred to in this

respect? First that the facts quoted underline the differences between capitalist and socialist societies, which makes for greater recognition of the superiority of socialism. As a consequence, people tend to heed those who, like our Party, advocate taking Ireland out of the Common Market. Among the points in our alternative policy, is the important one of diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries, which brings us to the third feature of change since 1969.

3) That is the success of the struggle to impose peaceful co-existence on the capitalist world, and the progress of détente which created, this year and for the first time after a half-century, the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations between Ireland and the first of the socialist countries – the USSR.

The conditions of détente made possible the mighty hosting of the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow in October 1973. Again this Congress had its effect on our country when delegates of 20 different organizations representing a broad spectrum of Irish political life, came together for the first time ever.

These are but few of the changes on a national level that reflect the great changes in the international arena. It would be impossible to catalogue them all – this in itself would need another International Conference. Time has well proved the validity of the conclusions of the 1969 Conference, and the contribution it made to change. The greatly changed conditions in the world struggle against imperialism; the growing social and economic problems of monopoly capitalism; the increasing tendency to impose further restrictions on trade union and civil rights, and the growing resistance to such impositions – in short the aggravated convulsions of the crisis of capitalism, creates new problems and opportunities for the various sections of the international Communist movement, and the need for cohesion of that movement.

Détente and the working class

'Today lasting peace is no longer a utopia, it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international cooperation.'

Events have fully borne out this communist conclusion. No one can deny the achievements of the forces of peace or detract from their significance for the future of our planet.

However, the threat of military conflicts remains and the arms race goes on, for imperialism continues to encroach on the independence and freedom of peoples, on their sovereign right to be masters of their own destinies.

Dedicated to the Leninist ideals of peace and friendship among nations, Communists call upon all peace-loving, progressive forces to rally together and step up their actions against militarism, aggression and war.

A dialogue between **William Kashtan,** General Secretary of the CP of Canada and **Hermann Gautier,** Deputy Chairman of the German CP.

William Kashtan: The advance of the world toward an easing of international tension, which is becoming irreversible, is one of the most remarkable features of the 1970s. It is progressive because it accords with the vital interests of working people in all countries. Through its parties and unions, its deputies in parliaments, and through its press, the working class in capitalist countries has declared its approval of détente. It regards détente as a vital concern requiring its continuous support and attention. That is yet another sign of proletarian internationalism and class solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries whose foreign policy was decisive in stimulating the move from cold war to fruitful cooperation among countries with different social systems. Working people are beginning to understand that political détente should be accompanied by military détente. But, the enemies of peace employ demagogy to plant mistrust to détente. It is therefore important to expose their intrigues.

Hermann Gautier: Yes, that is important. The thaw in international

relations is relatively recent. But the ferocious counter-attacks of the reactionaries are a clue to the progressive nature of the détente policy and its unquestionable initial successes. I agree that military détente would give considerable impulse to political détente. This is why it is so important for the Vienna talks on mutual troop and arms reductions in Central Europe to be successful. The peoples of the whole world would also welcome progress in the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva on a further limitation of strategic armaments, for that would be a most important advance towards military détente. Curbing and ultimately ending the race of conventional arms, whipped up by the imperialist powers, would also be immensely significant.

Kashtan: We have come to one of the basic issues, raised once again – and this in a big way – by the détente itself: What sources does imperialist reaction depend upon in seeking to reverse the progressive process and to impose a regressive tendency on international relations? As I see it, it regards militarism as the main source.

Gautier: Quite true. It is with militarism that imperialist reaction links its far-reaching plans concerning the world's political climate. And we would not be realists if we did not see that militarism has succeeded in sinking deep roots in capitalist society. It will not be easy and will take a long time to eliminate them. But the democratic forces are sure that they can cope with the job.

Militarism arises out of capitalism

Kashtan: The classics of Marxism-Leninism have taught us to combat militarism, which Lenin described as a manifestation of capitalism. He exposed it as military force employed by capitalist states in external collisions, and as a means used by the dominant classes to suppress the proletarian movement.

Gautier: Scientific analysis of militarism is an effective weapon in our struggle. We find many valuable pointers in the works of Karl Liebknecht, the finest chapters of which are devoted to combating militarism. Small wonder that young people in West Germany are so interested in Liebknecht's works. He wrote that militarism is a system enmeshing bourgeois society in a net of militarist and semi-militarist institutions. Society needed it to protect the prevailing order, to support capitalism and all reaction against the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Kashtan: It is important for Communists to see that general laws of militarism arising on the social foundation of the exploiting society, as well as the distinctive features of the military machines in the individual bourgeois states. In Portugal, Spain and Greece, for example, there is militarism of a fascist type. It wears a different garb in bourgeois countries that profess to be 'democratic.' But militarists of different kinds have no trouble in finding a common language.

Gautier: This is also facilitated by the vigorous activity of international war monopolies controlled by FRG, U.S., British, French, and Belgian capital, and that of other NATO countries. Take the

Messerschmidt-Belkow-Blohm concern. It is run by Bavarian arms manufacturers, notably Strauss, the former West-German Defense Minister, but with the conspicuous participation of French, U.S., British and Spanish firms. As Lenin stressed, 'interlinked on a world-wide scale, capital is thriving on armaments and war' (Vol. 21, p. 227).

Kashtan: The multinational corporations in general and the war-industrial ones in particular, are the Achilles heel of Canadian independence. Among these giants are Honeywell (rockets and electronics), Dow Chemicals (napalm, explosives), and others. The NATO establishment has nearly 140 agencies and offices designing and manufacturing various types of arms. A conference of national arms directors operates in close contact with the NATO Council. Canada and the United States have a joint arms production program under a 1959 bilateral agreement. Manufacturing arms in Canadian factories is cheaper for the Pentagon, and through 1959-1971 the U.S. accumulated a $550 million deficit in 'military trade' with its northern neighbor. That is also a way of subordinating Canada to U.S. imperialism's strategic aims.

Gautier: The remnants, or, more precisely, the survivals of old militarist traditions, and the military-industrial complex launched soon after the defeat of the Hitler Reich, are the main source of militarism in the FRG. Huge profits have been flowing into the safes of the West German arms concerns. Before the end of 1971 they won military orders from the Bonn Defense Ministry to the tune of over DM 86,000 million. Government allocations for military research and designing alone add up to nearly DM 1,500 million yearly, enabling the arms manufacturers of West Germany to seize sector after sector of the international arms market. Rocket manufacturer Ludwig Belkow is known to have bragged that arms made by the MBB concern are better than those made in the USA.

Kashtan: Having developed in different conditions, militarism has not been able to win the same positions in Canada as in West Germany. But it would be folly to ignore its negative effects on our society. We have taken the position that Canada should have enough troops to defend its borders, but no troops to be sent for wars of aggression against other peoples.

The influence of the military-industrial complex in Canada is less than in the United States, but its impact on the country's political affairs is growing. The Federal Government has undertaken to increase arms spending by an annual $150 million over five years, to the level of $3,100 million in 1978. The militarist excuse is that Canada must 'keep up its commitment to NATO and NORAD' and obtain more sophisticated types of conventional weapons.

Gautier: A familiar argument. The West German militarists are dreaming of a new generation of weapons systems in order, as they say, to keep up with the times. In 1972, government military expenditure was approximately DM 25,000 million. By 1981 it will probably be DM 44,000 million. The NATO Eurogroup* increased its military spending in 1973 by $2,900 million instead of the planned $1,500

*The West European NATO countries, excluding France, Iceland and Portugal – *Ed.*

million. This year it is planned to increase expenditure by another $2,000 million. And there is no reason to think that the NATO strategists will not pressure their governments to 'overfulfil' this target.*

Kashtan: Pentagon generals and admirals predominate among these strategists. Directly, and also through NATO, the U.S. militarists are trying to exert pressure on the governments of capitalist countries, urging them to increase allocations. On the whole, however, it is the military-industrial complexes of the various capitalist countries, the multinational arms monopolies, NATO and the Pentagon, which constitute the motive force behind modern militarism.

Gautier: It goes without saying that the main victims of the arms race spurred by the militarists are at the other pole of capitalist society. It does untold damage to the interests of the working class. It is the laboring masses who bear the brunt of the burden. Bourgeois propagandists go out of their way to prove the need for the arms buildup: they say that inflation raises the cost of all goods, including the military; that new types of weapons cost more than the obsolete; that servicemen demand a higher wage. These and similar 'arguments' are advanced as 'objective reasons.'

Kashtan: We reject these 'arguments' firmly. The picture is entirely different: it is the rising direct and indirect military spending that is behind the inflation, the high cost of living, and the warped nature of the economy. We also reject the argument that greater defense spending is necessary to assure more jobs. We say: spending more money on armaments does not mean ending unemployment. The military budgets are growing fatter, but unemployment in Canada and the United States continues to climb. Almost seven per cent of the able-bodied Canadians could not find work at the beginning of the year.

Gautier: Though the scale of the West-German military-industrial complex is now bigger than before, we, too, have a greater number of unemployed. There were unmistakable signs of a recession even before the so-called oil crisis. The growth rate of the gross national product began declining in July 1973. Business quarters in the FRG regard the 1973 increase of 11.3 per cent in wholesale prices as a highly dangerous signal. The facts show that employment stability is not assured by the manufacture of vast quantities of arms. Further growth of civilian production is the best guarantee of employment.

Kashtan: Apart from the economic damage that militarism inflicts on the working class and all society, it tries to strip the people of their hard-won political rights. And on the international scene militarism continues to try planting seeds of mistrust among nations, and first of all among the organized detachments of the working class in the capitalist and socialist countries. The political line of the more warlike section of state-monopoly capital is to impede any easing of international tension.

*At the beginning of the year the U.S. administration lost no time in asking Congress for a more than $6,000 million increase in military allocations. – *Ed.*

Political realism makes headway

Gautier: Military quarters in the capitalist countries have not entirely given up attempts to negotiate with the socialist countries from the nortorious 'positions of strength.' They assume that by filling their powder kegs to overflowing they will succeed in wresting concessions from the other side. It is precisely from the militarists – as evidenced, for example, by the utterances of the West German Defense Minister – that we still hear demagogic references to the 'Soviet threat.' Their purpose is to make definite sections of the population suspicious of the Socialist community.

Kashtan: The prejudices that took root during the cold war would have been less virulent if, in fact, they had not been stoked up by the foes of détente. They interfere with the psychological adjustment of certain strata and substrata of capitalist society, which might have joined the working class in laying the foundation of an enduring international peace.

Gautier: Certainly, all decent people are revolted by the unrestrained raving of the militarists. Doubts arise about the first positive changes in international relations even among people sincerely interested in peace and friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries. Why is this? By and large, the doubts stem from the inflated military spending and the unbridled raving of the militarists. But we Communists emphasize that these negative facts should not obscure the far-reaching changes on the international scene.

It is precisely these changes, for example, that prompt Chancellor Brandt's government to follow a policy of détente. True, this policy is an object of ferocious attacks, intrigues and provocations by extreme Rightist elements, revenge-seekers, and also the Maoists. The upper echelon of NATO is trying to saddle the member countries with a standard approach to international problems based on the needs of the professional militarists, but certainly worlds removed from the national interests of the various capitalist states. Some ideologists maintain that détente is 'half-baked,' 'unreliable,' and 'fragile.' They even go to the length of recommending 'a sensible dosage' of détente, to be measured out by the policy-making agency of each capitalist state.

Kashtan: In Canada the foes of détente are opposed not only by consistent advocates of peaceful coexistence, but also by groups that think it may serve the capitalist system. There is a clash of different interests. The present government, headed by Pierre Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party, favors the prospect of détente in principle and thinks that it will help to extend the old markets and open up new ones in different parts of the world, to increase trade with the socialist countries on a more permanent basis. The working class and the masses are exerting pressure on the government for such a policy. However, the government is under pressure from different political forces. As a result, it often takes a compromise line in politico-military matters.

Gautier: The consolidation of the détente policy and the sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions are accentuating the crisis of the

policy based on aggressive blocks. But this does not diminish the urgency of the struggle against NATO.

Anti-imperialist forces advance

Kashtan: The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties said that the dissolution of NATO would be a decisive step toward the termination of all blocs and all foreign military bases, and toward a dependable collective security system. The Communists call on all democratic forces, on all the peoples, to step up the struggle against militarism of all forms, and especially against the military-industrial complex of the USA and other imperialist countries. Now we are witness to the fact that this appeal and the Meeting's concrete plans of action have stimulated an unprecedented upswing of the anti-war movement. In many NATO countries the anti-militarist forces are visibly stronger. In Canada, for example, the trade unions have now joined in the peace fight. One third of the Canadian delegates to the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow were trade unionists elected from the Toronto, Vancouver, Hamilton and Montreal labor councils.

Gautier: In the FRG, too, the big union leaders and leaders of the *lander* trade union organizations are coming out for a consistent peaceful coexistence policy. They are trying to make the treaties concluded by the FRG government with the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and other socialist countries more effective. Our Party and the FRG working class have done their utmost for Europe to enter the stage of political détente. At our Congress in November 1973 we said that détente must be made irreversible. The Congress stressed specially that the laboring masses of our country must enjoy the fruits of détente.

Kashtan: The Communist Party of Canada calls on the country to withdraw from NATO and NORAD, and to reduce military spending immediately by 50 per cent. This money should be used for socially useful purposes – housing, health, education, nurseries for children, and assistance to the young generation. This campaign initiated by Communists has received strong support from the trade union movement, the young people, and the farmers' organizations. The New Democratic Party* also supports this point of view. So far, of course, this is not a coalition, but the parallel action of parties, organizations and democratic movements is certainly something to take notice of. The movement against extraditing the young Americans who left the United States rather than be drafted for U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam, is another sign of the sharp anti-militarist mood in Canada. It is, to all intents and purposes, a Canadian resistance movement against U.S. imperialism. The youth takes an active part in it.

Anti-militarist actions are part of the anti-imperialist struggle. But they have specific features. Dissimilar or only remotely similar forces participate in them for different reasons. When some capitalists, even very rich ones, advocate 'commercial pacifism,' they are moved

*The Social-Democratic party in Canada. – *Ed.*

by thoughts of competition against the arms concerns, but also by the thought that the ruling classes should develop their foreign-policy conceptions with a greater measure of realism and sobriety.

Lenin taught the Communists to take into account differences between the more warlike and the more pacifist groups of capitalists. Now, too, we have hawks and doves within the ruling classes in the imperialist countries. The democratic forces may have a stake in supporting the doves against the hawks on some points. But we must remember that the doves of today may be the hawks of tomorrow.

Gautier: The winds of anti-militarist sentiment reach even Bavaria, the citadel of the West German military-industrial complex. When the Munich authorities wanted to raise public transport fares, complaining that they didn't cover the costs, the unions said 'No,' and at the many meetings and conferences people said: take the money for public transport out of the military budget. The Communists play a special part in the anti-militarist movement. The German Communist Party is the only party in the country that works consistently for arms reduction, for precise fulfilment of the treaties with the socialist states, and for loosening FRG ties with NATO. Our Party, the Young Socialist Workers organization and other democratic youth bodies are initiators of protest action against NATO military bases within FRG frontiers. Mass demonstrations are held outside the bases, and fairly large units of West German police are required to disperse them. The encounters with the police develop into fierce clashes.

The GCP is calling for an annual 15 per cent reduction of military spending, with the ultimate aim of halving the Bundeswehr budget. The same annual 15 per cent reduction demand is also contained in the program of the German Trade Union League. Many members of the Social-Democratic Party, a large number of youth and student bodies, and the pacifist societies go along with this demand.

Anti-militarism is also penetrating army ranks. A movement of young Bundeswehr servicemen against the militarist spirit inculcated by the officers and against the attempt to drill recruits for an eventual war against the Soviet Union has spread across the country under the motto, 'Soldier-70.' We give the movement its due, though we are not inclined to exaggerate its significance. The main danger emanates from quarters that want to turn the Bundeswehr into an obedient tool of extreme reaction and revanchism. These quarters, as one SDP Bundestag deputy put it, view the putsch in Chile as a 'suitable model.'

Kashtan: The events in Chile also have this other aspect: they showed militarism in its most naked, beastly form. And even some bourgeois politicians far removed from the socialist ideas advocated by Allende and the Popular Unity Forces he led, could not help seeing that they, too, might suffer a situation when planes will drop bombs on the presidential palace. The big question is, however, whether or not they draw the right conclusions.

Gautier: If they don't draw the right conclusions, the popular

forces will sooner or later make them face up to the militarist peril. Struggle to strengthen the foundation of détente will certainly play a big part here. The enemies of peace and social progress dread it.

Kashtan: It is our big job to show the people that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, weapons of the cold war policy, are now used to undermine détente; and that fighting for Canada's interests means fighting against NATO, against the cold-warriors who want to turn back the clock of history.

Gautier: Fighting imperialism's ideological subversion and anti-communist propaganda, we in the FRG try to show the laboring masses in simple terms the organic link between peace and socialism, on the one hand, and the harm inflicted on our people by our NATO involvement, on the other.

We owe much of our success in the fight against militarism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism to the fact that we have a clear action program drawn up by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. One cannot help taking pride in the impressive achievements of the international communist and working-class movement and the peace forces of the world in the past five years.

No return to power politics

RESPECT NEUTRALITY

Friedl Fuernberg
Member, PB
CC CP of Austria

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties recognized that it was essential to struggle for full respect for the principle of inviolability of neutral states. This is a specific and very important task within the framework of the policy of détente and ensuring security.

Bearing in mind the specific nature of Austria's position in Europe, our Party has carried on a struggle for its neutrality for many years. This was so even before it was announced officially in 1956 and has continued to this day. In our factory and trade union activities we show the vital importance for our country of an effective policy of consistent neutrality and expose the attempts of international monopolies to take advantage of Austria's neutrality in their own interests.

The successes achieved in this struggle during recent years are of a twofold character: firstly, there is the reality of the government's policy to make neutrality really effective, secondly, the majority of the Austrian people support the policy of neutrality even more strongly than hitherto.

Austria's neutrality has been strengthened as a result of the changed political situation in Europe stemming from the fact that powerful capitalist countries have now recognized the frontiers iaid down after the Second World War. The threat to Austrian neutrality has lessened, although to a certain extent it still emanates from imperialist circles in the FRG. Wide sections of the Austrian people clearly recognize that the reason for Austria's stronger position in the world is due to the success of the peace policy consistently conducted by the Soviet Union; our Party's firm rebuttal of anti-Sovietism is another significant factor.

This has all helped to broaden the front of sincere and active supporters of neutrality. They are to be found in the Socialist Party as well as in the country's main bourgeois party, the Austrian People's Party. Of course, it should not be forgotten that there is also the Austrian Freedom Party, which had voted in Parliament against the neutrality law. In the ranks of the Socialist Party and People's Party there are also many who are still openly hostile to neutrality. However, they have noticeably quietened down and do not dare to admit their attitude openly.

Now when the Austrian economy, too, is threatened by crisis and the fear of its consequences grows, the people increasingly recognize how fruitful for our country is the policy of genuine neutrality for which Austrian Communists have fought all along.

We can justifiably say there have been definite achievements in this specific sphere of the general anti-imperialist struggle and that it is precisely here that we can see the outlines shaping of a so far silent but growing united front of supporters of Austria's neutrality. This requires constant exploration by Communists of the new possibilities opening out before them.

NO NATO FOR NORWAY

Martin Gunnar Knutsen
Deputy Chairman
CP of Norway

One of the main tasks of the Communist Party of Norway is to get the country out of NATO. Our Party consistently and steadfastly fights to bring Norway out of this imperialist military bloc into which it was dragged in 1949. The decision of the Storting to enter NATO not only did not reflect the wishes of the Norwegian people but directly contradicted them. There were protest demonstrations, collections of signatures, and actions against attempts to use May 8th, National Liberation Day, to build up publicity for this aggressive military alliance reflected their attitude to NATO. When Franz Josef Strauss paid an official visit to Norway, his car was stopped in Oslo by a big demonstration.

The 'No NATO for Norway' organization was doing good work until the Maoists took over. This led to a split in the organization and to the weakening of the anti-NATO movement.

The fight against participation in NATO is widely based. In March-April 1973 the Socialist Electoral Alliance was formed which included

the Communist, the Socialist People's parties, the Democratic Socialists and trade union leaders known as 'Independent Socialists.' The Alliance declared that it would fight for détente and disarmament and support efforts toward ensuring a stable peace in Europe.

With a quarter of a million supporters and 16 seats in the Storting, with a single platform, the SEA represents a significant political force. The declaration of its leadership and parliamentary group states: 'Having become a member of NATO, Norway plays the role of a satellite of imperialism and, unfortunately, holds an incorrect position in the conflict between the imperialist powers and the exploited peoples. Consequently, Norway's foreign policy since 1949 makes us collectively responsible for the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the world. A vivid example of the disgraceful infringement by imperialism of the rights of the people is Chile, where mass arrests and repression are taking place, which we condemn with all our might. We cannot ignore, either, the colonial wars being conducted by Portugal, the war crimes in Indochina or the blockade of Cuba. As a member of NATO, Norway's government bears the responsibility for the sufferings of thousands of trade union and public figures in Turkey and Greece.'

The activities of the Norwegian Communist Party and the Electoral Alliance for a system of collective security and cooperation in Europe is meeting with wide response and support of the Norwegian people, many political parties and democratic organizations.

ADVANCES TOWARD PEACE

Zahi Karkabi
Secretary, CC
CP Israel

'At present there are real possibilities for resolving key problems of our time in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism, to deal imperialism new blows,' says the document of the 1969 Meeting of Communists and Workers' Parties. The course of events in the Middle East and the world as a whole, fully confirm this optimistic conclusion. The world balance of forces has drastically changed in favor of peace and socialism, the policy of peaceful coexistence has achieved marked success. During the past five years there have been big advances in the international field: a process of normalization has started in Europe, U.S. aggression in Vietnam has suffered defeat. The countries of the socialist community pushed forward in their economies, against recessions and economic, monetary and energy crises in the countries of the capitalist world.

But this by no means implies that we are unaware of the setbacks sustained by the anti-imperialist movement in certain countries. We are also fully aware of the readiness of imperialism to use force and promote local wars when this meets its purpose; as ever, its policy can lead to armed conflict. However, its attempts to turn back the wheel of history are doomed to failure, and Middle East events confirm this. Neither imperialist policy in this area nor the Israeli

occupation of Arab territories was able to check the advance of the national-liberation movement, which achieved big successes such as the independence of South Yemen. The changes in the world situation undoubtedly influenced to a great degree the progress of the movement in favor of peace and socialism.

After the October 1973 war, it could be said that there were real possibilities for creating a just and durable peace in the area, for liquidating the Israeli occupation of Arab territory and guaranteeing the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people. This is not the result of a change in the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism and the Zionist ruling circles in Israel, but is due to the change in the balance of forces in the area benefitting the Arab countries, and of the strong support rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, so that the solidarity of the Arabs in their struggle against imperialist aggression has grown.

There have been big advances in the situation of the Party, too, during the past few years. At the end of the 60s the Zionist parties were able to exert the maximum pressure to isolate our Party, and the threat of illegality hung over our heads. Despite this we were able to strengthen our links with the masses, and at the beginning of this new decade we are able not only to emerge from this isolation, but to achieve a definite unity with certain groups and leaders supporting a just peace without annexations of Arab territory.

Our Party organized a series of political struggles against the restrictions on the movement of Arab Party members. These included demonstrations, petitions, public meetings, and an appeal to world progressive public opinion, which are beginning to bear fruit.

The December (1973) Parliamentary elections reflect the successes achieved by the Party. Our vote increased by 37.4 per cent, and we now have four members of Parliament instead of three.

A different tendency has prevailed during the past few years in the ruling camp. In 1970 we saw the breakdown and dissolution of the 'National Unity Government,' in which, since the 1967 war, the extreme Right-wing group 'GAHAL' participated. At the beginning of the year some circles would have liked to form a cabinet of 'National Unity' composed of MPs from all the Zionist parties. However, nothing came of it. And GAHAL's opposition to the disengagement on the Canal front, its slogan 'not to retreat from any Arab land' will lead to its losing support among the people, who want a peaceful settlement and an end to wars.

Many Israelis have lost faith in the government and its policy, which after the October war has suffered complete bankruptcy. Many recognize the necessity for a great change in official policy. Many others will reach the same conclusion under the impact of the hard lessons of the last war, the very heavy burden of higher prices and heavier taxation.

Our Party will help the people, through its struggle and propaganda, to find the real path to peace. And so, although the situation is still difficult and complicated (it should be noted that since the recent war the class struggle has considerably abated) we have the

right to look to the future with optimism. The political and economic struggle of the working people now living under exceedingly difficult conditions, will inevitably and quite soon increase in scope. Our optimism is strengthened by the solidarity of the fraternal Communist parties, especially of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

South Asia: peace and cooperation

Narayana K. Krishnan,
Member, Central Executive,
Secretary, National Council,
CP India;
Don Wimalasiri Subasinghe,
Member, PB,
CP Sri Lanka;
Khoka Roy, Secretary,
CC, CP Bangladesh.

Benefits of détente

N. K. Krishnan: Détente was largely instrumental in ending the war in Vietnam and Laos, initiating the first steps towards an accommodation in the Middle East, and important advances towards peace and stability on the South-Asian subcontinent.

The friendship between India and Bangladesh, organically connected with friendship with the Soviet Union, is becoming closer. A normalization of relations has begun between India and Pakistan, highlighted by the Simla and Delhi agreements.* India's Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, has declared India's readiness to open a new round of negotiations with Pakistan on the resumption of diplomatic and other relations. Pakistan's official recognition of Bangladesh is another triumph for the champions of peace and cooperation on the subcontinent. Our peoples hope that the normalization of relations between the countries of the region will continue.**

Khoka Roy: The people of Bangladesh share these hopes. The détente is a clear sign that the war danger has receded. The easing of tensions between Pakistan and Bangladesh has helped this process greatly. Under the Delhi agreement, Bengalis are being repatriated from Pakistan, Pakistanis from Bangladesh, and Pakistani POWs from India. Now that Pakistan and Bangladesh have officially recog-

*Negotiations between India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the President of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Simla in July 1972 culminated in an agreement, which, among other things, renounces the use or threat of force by the two countries. In August 1973, another agreement was concluded in Delhi on a three-way repatriation of civilians and servicemen from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. – *Ed.*

**Tripartite negotiations between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, to take place in Delhi, were announced in March 1974. – *Ed.*

nized each other, we can hope for a further improvement of the political climate in our region.

D. W. Subasinghe: Good-neighbor relations between ex-colonial countries help to achieve anti-imperialist aims. This is confirmed by our relationship with India. Sri Lanka has long-standing cultural, ethnic and other ties with India. India's national liberation movement and her outstanding leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, exercised a profound influence on our struggle against colonialists and imperialists. Great, too, is the impact of the peaceful anti-imperialist policy of the Indian government on Sri Lanka today. It also affects the policy of the ruling party.

It is important for Sri Lanka and India to continue to act together. Unfortunately, certain influential quarters in Sri Lanka are inclined to stand aloof from the struggle for peace and Asian security due to greater imperialist pressure on the government in the present difficult economic situation. The imperialists want to compel our government to give up the principles of peaceful coexistence and the ruling party's traditional non-alignment policy. We trust, however, that the people of our country will not allow this to happen. During Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's latest visit to India (January 1974) the coexistence principles were reaffirmed in a joint statement.

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka holds that détente is creating a favorable atmosphere on the subcontinent and in other regions for the growth of revolutionary forces and for the struggle for economic independence and social progress. This struggle will certainly succeed if there is a close alliance with the socialist community, and principally the USSR.

Economic ties between the developing countries should play a conspicuous role in promoting real national independence. And peace is a crucial condition for their harmonious growth. The good response on our continent to the idea of collective security, opening new horizons for the Asian peoples, is therefore natural.

An inspiring prospect

N. K. Krishnan: An Asian collective security system will go a long way in fortifying the economic and political independence of the countries of our continent, will give new impulse to the struggle against imperialism and for social progress, and will raise the national liberation movement to a higher level. Collective security will formalize as essential standards of international relations the principles of non-interference, renunciation of force, settlement for disputes by negotiation, respect for sovereignty and inviolability of frontiers, and mutually beneficial cooperation in different fields.

However, there are quarters that balk at the idea of Asian security. The Rightists in India portray it as a restricted anti-Chinese bloc to assure 'Soviet domination' of the continent. They seem to forget the repeatedly made explanations of Soviet leaders that all Asian states, including the People's Republic of China, could and should be members of the collective security system. Shortly before the visit to India of CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, the reactionaries

started a malicious anti-Soviet campaign, maintaining that the Soviet guest would try to impose the idea of collective security on our government. Cmorade Brezhnev's visit put an end to these speculations. Once more, India and the Soviet Union reaffirmed their common approach to many important problems. The Joint Indian-Soviet Declaration sets forth the principles of peace and stability in Asia. Comrade Brezhnev's speeches have helped the Indian public, the ruling quarters in many Asian states, to see the advantages of a collective security system.

In South Asia it would pave the way to broader political and cultural ties between India and Pakistan, would help them resolve their urgent economic problems, and would set the stage for better relations between Bangladesh and Pakistan. The friendship between India and Bangladesh would become still closer. Furthermore, the collective security system would provide a dependable mechanism for solving problems of concern to our countries.

K. Roy: Following the Conference on Peace and Cooperation in Asia (Dacca, May 1973), and especially after Comrade Brezhnev's visit to India, the idea of collective security has become highly popular in Bangladesh.

Some people, however, are obviously opposed to it. The 'Left' extremists are its most vociferous critics. And they attack it from the same angle as the rightists in India. Meanwhile, quarters opposing the Mujibur Rahman government are drumming up anti-Indian sentiment by, among other things, exaggerating the problem of the Ganges water. 'India wants to dry the river and deny us water,' they howl. This demogogy also suits some of the people in the ruling camp, who distort the meaning of collective security and portray it as a military alliance.

But the extremists will not succeed in disparaging the idea of Asian security. Nor will they succeed in provoking a quarrel between Bangladesh and India. Prime Minister Rahman continuously stresses the importance of cooperation between our two peoples. And as concerns the waters of the Ganges, he thinks the problem can be solved, and is supported in this by the country's patriotic elements. The friendship and good-neighbor relations between our countries are sure to clear the way to a solution.

D. W. Subasinghe: The significance of Asian security is not yet sufficiently understood in Sri Lanka. This also goes for the government. And the Communists are determined to clarify the matter. Collective security is consonant with the interests of the masses and with the principles of non-alignment and peace followed by the Bandaranaike government. The government has no valid reason to refuse to enter an Asian security system directed against imperialist designs.

In Sri Lanka's case, the fight for a collective security system in Asia presupposes expanded ties with India. But we should bear in mind that economic policy in our two countries is shaped by the bourgeoisie. It is important to consider all this in keeping with the changing nature of the economic ties between Sri Lanka and India.

Formerly our economic ties were mainly confined to commerce, in which we had an unfavorable balance. Now. with heavy industry expanding, Indian bourgeoisie is interested in selling industrial goods. And many people in our country are wondering what type of economic relations would be best suited for equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in these circumstances.

N. K. Krishnan: We encountered the same problem the moment independent Bangladesh came into being. The powerful private monopolies in India, which have begun exporting capital to some developing countries, hope to boost their profits by trading with Bangladesh. The Communists are aware of this danger, and are demanding that economic relations with the new republic be on a government basis. The government of India, incidentally, is alarmed by the monopolists' plans, for it wants to keep economic relations with Bangladesh on a state level.

Speaking of India's relations with Sri Lanka, we must not overlook the Tamili problem. The Tamils came to that country from Southern India.

Special concern is aroused by the activity of the reactionary DMK Party.* It is inciting the Tamili community in Sri Lanka against the Bandaranaike government and the indigenous Singhalese population. It wants to channel the Tamil's discontent with their underprivileged situation into communal strife. While the Communist Party is working to eliminate the reasons for the discontent, the Tamili reactionaries are trying to perpetuate the split between the two communities.

D. W. Subasinghe: The Tamils are mainly tea-plantation workers brought to Sri Lanka by the English colonialists. As a rule, they do not have Sri Lanka citizenship and are regarded as Indian nationals. An agreement was concluded between Sri Lanka and India in 1964 on the repatriation of more than half the Tamil population over a period of 15 years. But the status of the Tamils who wished to remain is still unclear.

The Communists are working for the fulfilment of this agreement. We oppose delay, but neither do we want the local bourgeoisie to ship off the more enlightened and progressive workers on the pretext of repatriation. Our principle is: those who want to go can go, and those who want to stay must get their due rights. The present state relations between India and Sri Lanka is obviously favorable for solving the Tamil problem.

N. K. Krishnan: The Sri Lanka Prime Minister's recent visit to India revealed signs of a tendency toward closer cooperation between our two countries.** Similar processes are under way in the relations between other developing countries. Bilateral and multilateral links and contacts bring closer the inspiring prospect of an Asian security system on a collective basis. It will be the outcome of a joint effort by the Asia peoples. But before it becomes a reality it is essential to secure a number of preconditions.

*Dravida Munetra Kazhagam – ruling party in the Indian state of Tamilnadu. Represents the interests of propertied Tamils. – *Ed.*

**During this visit (January 1974) a new agreement concerning the 150,000 Tamils still resident in Sri Lanka without citizenship was reached. – *Ed.*

First, there must be a dependable settlement of the conflict in Western Asia. The legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, must be guaranteed. A just peace must be established in the Middle East.

Second, the normalization on the South Asian subcontinent must be speeded up, so that a higher level of cooperation could be achieved in due course between the countries of that region.

Third, there must be closer economic cooperation between the South Asian countries and the Arab states, particularly in the matter of oil, for this would be a fresh blow against imperialism in the setting of the energy crisis.

Fourth, the Indian Ocean must become a peace zone.

To succed in creating these preconditions – and it is important to do so in the shortest possible time – there must be tireless struggle against the alliance of home reaction, imperialists and Maoists – the main opponents of détente and peace.

Who welcomes tension

N. K. Krishnan: Imperialist policy, everybody knows is expansionist policy. The United States wants to expand its naval base on Diego Garcia island in the Indian Ocean. It is arming Iran and the Persian Gulf states, and rearming Pakistan. The U.S. nuclear fleet has become more active.

But Peking could not care less about the imperialists' aggressive designs. It has called openly for the rearming of the above-mentioned countries, and has hailed aggressive blocs. It is trying to torpedo the normalization process on the South Asian subcontinent. Maoist activity blends with the policy of the Indian rightists, notably the Hindu chauvinist and anti-Moslem, anti-Pakistan Jana Sangh party. Communalist* reactionaries are attacking détente as a 'complot' of the two 'superpowers' – USSR and USA – against all other countries, especially the developing states. Like the Maoists, they have made the Soviet Union the main target of their criticism.

D. W. Subasinghe: Imperialism needs our country as a strategic staging area close to independent India. This is why it is trying to draw Sri Lanka into aggressive blocs, undermine our traditional friendship with the people of India, and bring us together with the pro-Western regimes in the Philippines and Malaysia.

Peking, too, has its eyes on Sri Lanka. And its aims are the same as those of the Americans. The key aim is to provoke a quarrel between our country and India, to isolate one from the other, and ultimately gain control over a land occupying a strategically important place in relation to its Indian neighbor. This how the Maoists want to boost their influence in Asia. They are aware that Sri Lanka is a small country bedevilled by economic difficulties. In view of this, the Maoists think, there is nothing to stop them from exerting pressure, and blending it with all kinds of handouts and propaganda gestures.

*Communalism – in the South Asian subcontinent, a policy of inciting hostility between religious communities, mainly Hindus and Moslems. – *Ed.*

Though in substance all attempts to divert Sri Lanka from her traditional non-alignment policy have failed, our false friends have had some success; for example, they managed to prevail on the government to refrain from supporting the liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

At one time, Peking laid its stakes on certain elements of our working class. But failing to gain their support, the Maoists put their best foot forward with the ruling bourgeois party, and managed to form a pro-Peking lobby.

The new element in Maoist tactics is the orientation on, and contacts with, local Trotskyite groups. For Peking their blatant anti-Sovietism is a source of joy. While criticizing the Soviet Union and its peace policy, these groups extol China.

K. Roy: In Bangladesh we constantly have to contend with the subversive activity of Maoists and imperialists, who are conducting an extensive anti-Indian and anti-Soviet campaign calculated to undermine the patriotic regime. More, the Maoists would like nothing better than to dissolve our young republic in their projected artificial states, which would also dissect India. It has been discovered that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have sent the local Maoist groups a document, urging them to fight for a new 'state' comprising Bangladesh, the Indian states of West Bengal and Assam, and certain other territory.

Playing on the religious feelings of the population, the Maoists encourage communalist propaganda, inciting Moslems against Hindus, and provoking a quarrel between the peoples of India and Bangladesh. And regrettably, the seeds of strife sometimes yield fruit due to our economic difficulties.

Maoist policy is also a serious impediment to bettering our relations with Pakistan. Only recently, Peking tried to block Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh. Tension betwee the states of our subcontinent is more to its liking. This is why the Maoists in Bangladesh are so irritated by the policy of détente and peaceful coexistence. The ultra-Left press portrays it as 'surrender' to U.S. imperialism and 'betrayal' of the world revolution, and maligns our loyal friend, the Soviet Union.

D. W. Subasinghe: The Maoists go out of their way to attack the Soviet Union. Peking has even tried to provide 'theoretical' grounds for the policy of isolating the developing countries from the Soviet Union and the socialist community. This is the purpose, among others, of the theory of 'self-reliance' in its present form. Our countries are offered a surrogate of economic development based on their own backward economic and technical resources. The concept is really a reactionary fantasy in this age of scientific and technical revolution. Besides, though Peking propagates the idea, it is now known to be expanding economic relations with the capitalist world. Our peoples are not simply recommended to adopt autarchy, but, first and foremost, to renounce all economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries.

It is therefore important for the progressive aid patriotic forces, and first of all the Communists, to counter this propaganda, to expose the enemies of détente and international friendship, and to contribute positively to peace, security, and international cooperation.

In the vanguard of the struggle for a just and lasting peace

K. Roy: The Communist Party of Bangladesh explains to the people the significance of the détente policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Fighting for Asian security, the Communists expose the anti-Soviet and anti-Indian propaganda of the Left and Right extremists.

Our friendship with India is a crucial factor of peace on the subcontinent. We oppose international ties detrimental to this friendship. There is a daner of such ties. Even within the ruling element there are those who want a greater accent on cooperation with Southeast Asian countries associated with the imperialist powers, on the grounds that, like Bangladesh, some of them practise Islam.

Pursuing their aims and repulsing imperialist and Maoist intrigues, the Communist parties of the subcontinent intend to work hand in hand. The foundations for their cooperation have already been laid. The relations between the Communist Parties of India and Bangladesh are genuinely internationalist and fraternal. Our Central Committee and the Party cadres have deep respect for the Indian Communists. We shall continue to strengthen our ties with the CPI, and shall also work for closer contacts with the Communist parties of Sri Lanka and Nepal. A regional conference of all our parties would go a long way in invigorating our unity of action. The time is ripe for it.

D. W. Subasinghe: The CP of Sri Lanka has always welcomed this idea. A regional conference would enable us to compare experience, including that of our Party, in fighting for peace and security in Asia.

Throughout the recent years, the Sri Lanka Communists have been propagating the ideas of détente and collective security, exposing the intrigues of 'Left' and Right. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka has always sided with the forces of national liberation. The Communists were the first in our country to support Bangladesh independence. Our Party sponsored numerous actions of solidarity with the East Bengal patriots and demonstrations of protest against the atrocities of the reactionary Pakistan dictatorship.

In the fight for independence and against imperialism, reaction and leftist extremism at home, the Communists of Sri Lanka are ranged alongside the Communists and progressives of India and Bangladesh. And we shall continue to strengthen this cooperation.

N. K. Krishnan: We may note with satisfaction that the Communist parties of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and India are unanimous in recognizing the need for a regional conference.* The tense situation on the subcontinent had prevented its convocation in the past. Now, thanks

*An appropriate decision was adopted by the Ninth Congress of the CPI.

to the normalization process, which continues despite considerable difficulties, the question of a regional conference can be put on the agenda. All our three parties are agreed on this point. Preparations for the conference will begin soon. It will help us to knit the Left and democratic forces of the subcontinent still more closely together for the struggle against home reaction, imperialism and Maoist designs, for the happy future of our peoples, and for peace and socialism.

The aims of the Communists of our countries are in complete accord with the line of the world Communist movement, defined by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, which set as cardinally important the task of cementing anti-imperialist unity in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and peaceful coexistence. Speaking at that world communist forum, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, referred very persuasively to collective security systems in regions of tension, including the Asian continent. By now the idea of assuring peace and cooperation in Asia on a collective basis has won the support of various countries on our continent, and is hailed by the progressive regimes.

It is safe to say that in the past five years the Communists have succeeded in changing the relation of world forces to the advantage of socialism, peace and progress, and have won new victories over the forces of war and reaction. The time is coming to sum up the results achieved in these years, to analyze the important changes in the international situation, and to determine our movement's strategy and tactics for the period to come.

The Communists of South Asia are doing their best to contribute to this.

The ideological confrontation today

Alexander Lilov
Secretary of the CC,
Bulgarian CP

'Mankind entered the last third of this century in a situation marked by a sharpening of the historic struggle between the forces of progress and reaction, between socialism and imperialism. This clash is worldwide and embraces all the basic spheres of social life: economy, politics, ideology and culture.'

The struggle has expanded in the last few years, with the working class and other revolutionary, democratic forces getting closer together to present a united front against the main enemy of mankind.

The forces of peace and socialism are on the offensive. Due to the consistent peace policy and coordinated action of the socialist community and the sustained efforts of Communist parties and other progressive forces, a radical change is taking place in international relations. The credit for this goes to the Soviet Union and CPSU, which are carrying out the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Party Congress.

The political changes in the world affect not only today's generations, but also greatly influence future history. The struggle is for the essential condition of human progress and civilization: the life and security of peoples. The groundwork is being laid for lasting peaceful international relations. This goal is made possible by the existence and achievements of socialism.

The foreign policy of the socialist community is a program for ensuring a really durable peace, carrying forward every aspect of détente and fostering active and fruitful economic and cultural cooperation between countries for the good of their peoples. It is the practical application of the principles of peaceful coexistence to today's conditions.

The future will fully reveal the significance of the changes now taking place in the international climate. But already it is safe to say that the forces of peace and socialism have achieved a major victory and won stronger and more promising positions.

While setting great store by the changes brought about in the international situation and looking ahead with optimism, Communists remain political realists. They do not for one moment forget that the advances made to date on the long and arduous road to the goal of a universal, lasting, just and democratic peace, while important, are only a beginning. The formal renunciation of cold war policies by most bourgeois governments does not at all imply that imperialist reaction has revised its strategic designs. The failure of cold war policies does not automatically lead to the disappearance of their advocates, their consequences or the international problems created by them over the years. It will take much more to preserve and extend what has been achieved, and still more to eliminate the causes of international tension for all time.

The Crimea meeting of party leaders and statesmen of socialist countries last summer reaffirmed the brother parties' resolve to promote unity in implementing the ppolicy collectively evolved by them and so make the favorable changes on ihe international scene irreversible. The participants in the meeting were unanimous in their conviction that the fight for a radical improvement of the international climate must continue. The meeting stressed that socialism must couple its peace offensive with an ideological offensive. This fundamental long-range task set by the brother parties is in keeping with both the ultimate goal of the revolutionary movement and present-day requirements.

New conditions

As countries move from cold war to peaceful coexistence the role of the ideological (theoretical) form of socialism's class struggle in the world is logically and understandably growing.

Changes in the international situation, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed in his report to the Central Committee last July, have led to a change of battlefields in the contention between socialism and capitalism. The economic, political, ideological and diplomatic battlefields are coming to the fore. The policy of peaceful coexistence implies neither class peace nor class cooperation. The question 'who will win?' remains the key issue. The end of cold war does not mean the end of class struggle, revolution or – judging by the tragic events in Chile – counter-revolution. Revolutionary changes are objective, however, in the long term nothing can stop them. Worldwide social progress moves abreast of the expanding revolutionary process, in which the contest between the ideas of the new and old society, between the ideologies of the working class and the bourgeoisie, remains in the forefront.

Peaceful coexistence alters neither the social character nor the ideological foundations of socialism or capitalism. Its purpose is to carry on the contest between the two opposed social systems on the basis of peaceful relations, to spare mankind a military confrontation and provide opportunities for mutually beneficial economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation. This is the only realistic fundamental approach to the issue of peaceful coexistence.

It follows that there can be no peaceful coexistence in ideology, where a bitter and unrelenting struggle has been going on between Communist and bourgeois ideas ever since the *Communist Manifesto*, and will go on until communism prevails. This is an objective law beyond the control of anyone's subjective will. Changes in international relations have changed the conditions of this struggle, but the class nature and class objectives are as unchanged and irreconcilable as ever.

The power and superiority of our ideas is enormous. Interest in them is mounting. Détente affords greater opportunities for bringing millions more people Communist ideas and ideals, for spreading the truth about the achievements of socialism and demonstrating the advantages of the socialist way of life. The importance for Communists always to retain the initiative in the ideological struggle against imperialism and improve their ideological work is obvious. To deal with new problems of world development thoroughly and in time, reveal and expose the reactionary nature of bourgeois ideology and the speculations of our class opponents, and bring home the truth about the policies and real gains of socialist countries is to meet the demands of the time and press forward the ideological offensive of socialism.

Progress in the peace offensive of socialism will largely depend on the scale of the ideological offensive, in particular, on how competently and promptly we explain the meaning of peaceful coexistence and its importance to the fortunes of peoples, how widely world opinion supports the socialist community's initiatives and how effectively the opponents of détente, the aggressive quarters of imperialist reaction, are unmasked. We must demolish the bourgeois propaganda myth about the 'aggressive' nature of communism and drive home the truth that socialism and peace are inseparable, that peace is inherent in socialism. Our ideological front must clear the road for progress of détente, it must use every factor capable of making it final and irreversible. We see our task in both moulding the social awareness of progresive forces – classes, parties, movements and peoples – with regard to problems of peaceful coexistence and transforming that awareness into a tangible force for peace.

We must emphasize the growing significance of the ideological field of battle between the two systems, for never before has the struggle for peoples' hearts and minds been so intense or its scale so vast. The failure of the 'positions of strength' policy has in no way dampened the bourgeoisie's desire to attain its class aims, except that now it tries to achieve them by methods more in keeping with the real alignment of world forces. It is not accidental that our ideological opponents call so persistently for the 'free flow and movement of ideas and people.' What they are really after is unhampered export of the output of ideological concerns, methodical indoctrination of people, especially in socialist countries. They want to impose bourgeois views, morals and habits, the bourgeois way of life.

Gunboat diplomacy, wrote H. Schiller, the American analyst, not

so long ago, is now past history, but mass media diplomacy is a thriving business. This is the opinion of a scholar. As for the official opinion, a government commission appointed by President Nixon to prepare a report on the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in new conditions proposed that the two stations should continue their broadcasts until the governments of socialist countries accepted the 'free flow of information and ideas' both in their countries and between them and the capitalist world. The commission's lengthy report was approved by President Nixon in July 1973, and the U.S. Congress allocated an additional 50,000 dollars for the two stations for 1974.

The allegation that socialist countries are against wider contacts, exchanges of ideas and cooperation between people and nations is an ill-intentioned speculation of reactionary propaganda. Socialism has provided real material guarantees of human rights and freedoms, and this is its indisputable achievement. It is socialism that has brought about complete employment, enabled the working people to participate in the management of society and in government, guaranteed free education and health care, given everyone access to cultural values created at home and abroad, ended national and racial discrimination.

As for international cultural cooperation, contacts and exchanges of information, their purpose in the new situation is, as we see it, to promote peace, contribute to the spiritual advancement of peoples. This is an important aspect of our foreign policy stemming from the very nature of socialism. At the first stage of the European Conference (Helsinki 1973), Bulgaria and Poland submitted proposals for extensive cultural cooperation, contacts and exchanges of information. However, we are emphatically against attempts to slander the socialist system, disseminate the anti-human ideas of militarism, violence, national enmity or racial hatred, or cultivate immorality and spiritual degradation under the guise of the 'free flow of ideas.' We shall continue firmly to prevent all propaganda of this nature on our soil and, moreover, campaign with still greater energy for its prohibition all over the world.

We must not underrate the strength or influence of the ultra-reactionary and military extremist quarters of imperialism nor the anti-socialist purport of its economic and political activity. Still, it is likely that in fighting against socialism in the new situation, the bourgeoisie will devote much of its effort to the ideological sphere. In the conditions of détente, it will *continue and, indeed, step up* its ideological pressure.

The ruling bourgeois elite has lately made a serious reappraisal of the place and significance of ideology in imperialism's overall strategy of struggle against socialism. It is no accident that the propaganda machine of imperialist countries, especially as oriented abroad, has expanded so fast and to such a degree. Without overrating its capabilities, there is, nevertheless, no escaping the fact that the ideological pressure exerted on us by the class enemy is planned on a long-range basis and carefully organized. The enormous

amount of investment in propaganda is indicative of the vast importance which the bourgeoisie attaches to its ideological duel with socialism. The number of people engaged in producing and distributing information, of institutions specializing in this field, of radio and television centers, programs, books, periodicals and newspapers, is growing on a scale unprecedented in capitalist history.

The strategic significance of the ideological struggle is greater than ever before and every aspect of international relations is bing put, directly or indirectly, on an ideological basis. The possibilities of ideological influence are growing substantially. As far as relations between socialism and capitalism are concerned, there are no ideologically neutral forms or fields of activity.

Bourgeois strategy

The current ideological strategy of imperialism was devised essentially as a *counter-strategy* to the historic offensive of the theory and practice of socialism. Its aim is to 'refute' Marxism-Leninism, discredit socialism as a social system and erode the world socialist system and international Communist movement. Imperialism tries to accomplish this task in the new conditions as well.

The ideological strategy of imperialism today follows three main lines. The first may be described as *destructively anti-Communist,* the second as an *apologia for the present capitalist reality* and the third is an attempt at a *constructive elaboration of the outlook for bourgeois society.*

The destructively anti-Communist line carries the struggle against our ideology into the 'territory' of socialism and the Communist movement. It uses whatever may help to attain the objective, from crude falsification to refined distortion and manipulation of realities; from attacks on proletarian internationalism and the fomenting of nationalism and anti-Sovietism to direct support of revisionism.

The apologia for capitalism is contained, first of all, in the theories of 'people's capitalism,' 'social partnership,' 'one industrial society' and 'open society.' These theories try to demonstrate the 'superiority' of contemporary capitalism over socialism.

Worthy of special note is, in our view, the third line of imperialist ideological strategy, which has been gaining in recent years. Its main purpose is theoretically to visualize and forecast the *historical perspective* of bourgeois society. We all know that bourgeois ideology dreads above all the objectively inevitable replacement of capitalism by socialism and communism scientifically predicted by Marxism-Leninism. Social progress inexorably puts this objective law into effect. This is precisely why, to quote L. I. Brezhnev, 'socialism is historically on the offensive and capitalism on the defensive in ideology as in other spheres of our relations with the capitalist world.'

Bourgeois ideologists and theorists are doing their utmost to find a theoretical alternative to this scientifically demonstrated objective law, regain thereby the strategic initiative in the ideological struggle and discover a historical future for bourgeois society by portraying

it, according to a phrase often used by bourgeois ideologists, as a 'system open to the future.' This is one of the reasons for the rapid development of bourgeois futurology in the recent period. And while capitalism today has neither the objective prerequisites nor the spiritual resources to evolve ideas likely to become ideals of social progress, it would be very wrong to minimize the real propaganda potential of this line.

Imperialism pins great hopes on bourgeois futurology, which it would like to turn into ideological long-range artillery. The strategic objective of the fashionable anti-Marxist theories of 'economic growth stages,' 'convergence of the two opposite systems,' 'post-industrial society,' 'technotronic society,' and so on, has many aspects.

First, these theories try to use the effects of the scientific and technological revolution as a refutation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of social development and the historic inevitability of socialism in all countries and for all peoples. They maintain that socialism and communism are merely a possible alternative for the future, and this mainly for economically underdeveloped countries. *Second*, they try to disguise the fundamental distinctions between socialist and bourgeois society and prove that socialism and capitalism are merely two variants of one type of industrial society of which socialism is the lower stage. *Third*, they represent the USA as a country which has entered the 'stage of high-standard mass consumption' and 'post-industrial society' and try to make the masses believe that it is not the socialist countries, not the Soviet Union, but developed capitalist countries, primarily the United States, that are a model of the future. *Fourth*, these theories contend that even when it has entered the stage of 'post-industrial society,' socialism will be unable to yield all the advantages of that society. They attribute this to the allegedly 'elitist,' 'bureaucratic' and 'undemocratic' political system of socialism. Hence socialism, they argue, cannot be the historical goal of all, least of all capitalist, countries.

It is only too evident that the more the principles of peaceful coexistence take root in international relations, the harder the ideological strategists of imperialism try to produce a historical alternative to socialism and communism. This makes it incumbent on brother parties to pool their theoretical forces and practical efforts in propaganda even more closely, to demonstrate the indefensibility of bourgeois futrological theories and, above all, the scientific elaboration of new problems.

The strategic principles of imperialist ideologists today also determine their *tactics*. *Crude* forms of anti-communism give way to subtler and more flexible methods of indoctrination. Propaganda methods and content are adjusted to specific audiences. Much attention is given to the psychological impact of propaganda action, which is alleged to be impartial. The bourgeoisie's ideological apparatus today makes a point of being ahead in information, that is, reporting and interpreting every event or phenomenon as early as possible and promptly influencing social consciousness in a pro-capitalist sense.

A more prominent place is assigned to so-called sociological propaganda. It does not advertise ideas directly, but presents the material results of these ideas in attractive wrapping concentrating on the export of 'life style' rather than thoughts. It deals with technical and cultural topics, commerce, fashions, leisure, tourism, and the like, and is mostly accepted by reader and listener in good faith. What it amounts to, in fact, is a carefully balanced picture creating the impression of prosperity and limitless opportunities in capitalist society. Special studies have been made in the West on how to conduct 'sociological propaganda,' showing mainly that facts are more convincing than doctrines and that induction has greater ideological impact that deduction.

Escalation of revisionism

Analyzing the ideological struggle in the new international situation, one must not overlook the mounting political-ideological activity of the 'Left' and Right brands of revisionism and opportunism. All kinds of false Marxist and revisionist conceptions, and attempts at theoretical symbiosis of Marxism and various bourgeois theories, get extensive backing and are assigned a conspicuous part in imperialism's ideological subversion against the socialist countries. The bid to erode the Communist movement, and the revolutionary movement in general, from within, and to corrupt the vanguard forces of the world revolutionary process, now holds priority in imperialism's class strategy.

As our Party sees it, struggle against Maoism is now of top importance. The PRC leadership is among the most virulent enemies of the socialist community's Leninist foreign policy. Struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is objective number one in its divisive and anti-Soviet line. The ideological and political assaults of the Peking leaders on the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries are escalating continuously.

In their slide to nationalism, great-power chauvinism and hegemonism, the Peking leaders have turned away from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is why, our Party holds, struggle against Maoism and deep analysis of its anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist essence is one of the most important objectives of our ideological activity. It goes without saying that all Communists, and doubly so the Communists of the socialist countries, would sincerely welcome normal relations between the socialist countries and the People's Republic of China.

Criticism of the ideological defection of the Peking leaders should not be qualified as interference in the internal affairs of the PRC or CPC. Marxism-Leninism is not the sovereign property of any party. It is a common asset, an international weapon of the world Communist movement as a whole. Precisely for this reason we Bulgarian Communists cannot stand aloof when Marxism-Leninism is being distorted or revised. We regard criticism of Maoism as the internationalist duty of our own Party and the entire Communist movement. Criticism of Maoism is struggle against 'Left' revisionist

perversions of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, a struggle which must be faithful to principles and in which there is no room for compromise.

Right opportunism, experience shows, becomes more active in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, seeking to substitute reformist ideology for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, repudiate the significance of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship, extol parliamentary methods to the exclusion of all others, and discredit the leading role of Communist parties.

Relations between Communists and Social-Democrats present a highly topical issue in present-day conditions. In 1973 the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian CP adopted a special decision on this score. Our Party steers clear of simplistic, sectarian and dogmatic attitudes toward the social-democratic movement. All constructive foreign policy steps of Social-Democratic parties and governments, our Party holds, merit the fullest support. We must seek contacts and open dialogue with Social-Democrats, and back everything that promotes working-class unity in the anti-imperialist struggle. But the BCP has no false illusions about the ideological positions and ultimate aims of the right-wing social-democratic leaders. They have been and remain deeply inimical to Marxism-Leninism. In the final analysis, the substance of social-reformist ideology and policy is to disarm the national detachments and the world proletariat ideology, divide the workers' ranks, and disrupt their internationalist unity in the class struggle against capitalism. The *re-ideologization** process now under way in Social-Democratic parties is principally directed against the communist ideology and the socialist countries. The campaign to substantiate 'democratic socialism,' to construct the model of which some social-democratic parties have even founded special institutes, is designed to uphold old social-reformist ideas in the new conditions, but also and mainly to produce an alternative to the existing socialism, by nature a genuinely democratic system. Anti-communism is still the most salient feature of the social-democratic ideological platform, especially in the case of its Right-wing groups and trends.

While working for a constructive dialogue and coordinated action with Social-Democrats on various important issues of our time, especially in foreign affairs, our Party will not sidestep scientific, well-grounded criticism of the opportunist essence of social-reformism or underrate its pernicious ideological influence in the setting of peaceful coexistence.

Socialism holds the initiative

Greater ideological pressure by the bourgeoisie and an escalation of revisionism are now doubtlessly a substantive feature of the class struggle. However, the changes impelled in the ideological sphere by the improving international situation provide substantially greater opportunities for a further buildup of socialism's ideological offensive.

*See M. Schaeffer, ' "Democratic Socialism" in SDP Theory and Policy,' *WMR*, Aug. 1973, for examination of the substance and causes of re-ideologization in social-democratic parties.

It would be dangerous to underrate the resources for ideological penetration and propaganda expansion at the bourgeoisie's disposal in the new conditions. But it would be a still greater mistake to underrate our own resources. The ideological potential of the socialist community and the world Communist movement is truly formidable. True, it is a difficult business to mobilize it for a powerful offensive all along the front of the present-day class struggle. But that is precisely the main objective on which the Communists are concentrating their efforts in order to hold the tactical, as well as strategic, initiative in the contemporary ideological struggle.

We have all the necessary premises for a global ideological offensive. The social and psychological basis for absorbing Marxist-Leninist ideas is expanding steadily in all countries. The easing of international tension offers new chances for acquainting the laboring masses in non-socialist states with the achievements and spiritual values of socialist society. The experience of our country, among others, bears this out.

In 1973, more than 80 delegations from West European Communist, workers' and socialist parties, various national liberation movements, and other progressive bodies, visited Bulgaria, testifying to the growing interest throughout the world in the achievements and experience of the socialist countries. Also indicative is the fact that the worldwide recognition of the dynamic activity of fraternal Party leaders in world affairs, principally that of L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, has stimulated interest in their theoretical works. Western progressives turn to them for answers to the urgent questions of our time. More books, articles and speeches of the leaders of the fraternal parties, including the BCP, are being published in capitalist countries. In recent years, for example, works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, have been published in Austria, Italy, Greece and Lebanon, and are currently scheduled for publication in other countries.

The February 1974 Plenary Meeting of the CC BCP produced an exhaustive analysis of the objectives and state of the ideological front and drew up a comprehensive program for raising the effectiveness of ideological work, bringing it into line with the needs of the present stage of our socialist development and the new processes in the present-day international situation.

Socialism's broad long-term ideological offensive is stimulating the tendency toward integration. The fraternal parties are striving to cement their unity and raise the degree of coordination in their ideological work on a bilateral basis and in the framework of the socialist community. Such cooperation, as we see it, could grow into joint elaboration and execution of comprehensive ideological programs.

Evidence of growing ideological cooperation was provided by the conference of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries held at the end of last year. In pursuance of the socialist states' fundamental foreign-policy line of consolidating world peace, the conference emphasized that all

ideological resources should be used to further the process of international détente and promote the principles of peaceful coexistence in world affairs.

The conference reaffirmed the fraternal parties' determination to extend bilateral and multilateral cooperation, assuring still closer unity of the socialist countries, strengthening the fraternal friendship of their peoples, and educating the masses in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism. The conference also discussed the most relevant objectives of the ideological struggle.

With contacts expanding between the two worlds, and with the two ideologies clashing head on, the significance of mass education, especially of the youth, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, has redoubled. It is therefore urgent to work out the problems of interaction and interpenetration of the national and international in the material and spiritual development of the socialist countries. The BCP holds that no patriot can be a real patriot unless he is a patriot of the entire socialist community, as well as of his own country, and unless he promotes its consolidation and growth by word and deed.

Persevering, uncompromising struggle against *anti-Sovietism* is decidedly a part of communist education. The BCP regards it as the crucial factor in strengthening the unity of the socialist community in the present conditions, as a national, as well as international, duty. Georgi Dimitrov's view that attitudes toward the Soviet Union and the CPSU is a measure of fidelity of every party to proletarian internationalism, a touchstone of the sincerity and honesty of every revolutionary, is known throughout the Communist movement. We hold that it is fully valid today. For the Bulgarian Communists, therefore, educating people in a spirit of sincere friendship and fraternity with the Soviet people, the USSR and CPSU, is the cornerstone of international education and one of the principal directions of the joint ideological activity of the fraternal parties.

Joint theoretical elaboration of the cardinal problems of the socialist countries' social and economic development, so closely linked with the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, is another crucial area of cooperation among the fraternal parties. It is extremely important, experience shows, to harmonize the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the principles of socialism, with truthful accounts of their embodiment in the achievements of the socialist countries. Better propaganda of the socialist way of life, of the real gains and advantages of socialism, offers vast opportunities for invigorating the ideological offensive – opportunities that, deplorably, have sometimes not been used to the full. In the present setting of the coexistence of the two social systems and contention between the two ideologies, it is the real processes, the leading trends and concrete results that exercise an irresistible appeal.

Organizing a broad ideological offensive ties in with the need for more effective ideological and propaganda activity, which must therefore be placed on a scientific foundation and, as we see it, naturally requires an appropriate mechanism of coordination and

joint research. Through cooperation it will doubtless be easier for the fraternal socialist countries to expand the material and technical facilities of the ideological front and deal with the matter on as big a scale, as they do with the matter of enhancing the economic might of the socialist camp.

It is safe to say that the program of socialism's ideological offensive, jointly framed by the fraternal parties, will pave the way for convincing new victories in the present battle of ideas, strengthening the anti-imperialist struggle, and assuring further headway toward a lasting and just peace.

Unite efforts against racist ideology and practice

Henry Winston
National Chairman,
CP USA

The eradication of racism in the world is at the very top of humanity's agenda. It is an historical obligation tolerating no delay. Countless millions on all continents are arrayed against imperialism that has sustained substantial defeats which began with the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. But racism is still far from dead, and is maneuvering in all parts of the world to regain lost ground.

There were many racists in the world prior to the advent of capitalism. Racism, however, is an inherent part of capitalist society, developing integrally with capitalist exploitation, national oppression and imperialist war. Racism was essential to capitalism in maintaining its power in the period of its ascendancy, and now, in the period of its decline. Imperialism makes use of racism as a political instrument, backed by military and eoconomic means, to maintain classical colonialism and neo-colonialism as well.

The Marxist-Leninist parties, the most advanced sectors of humanity, are summoning the majority of the world's masses to finish off this most barbaric system of imperialist oppression that has left a trail of blood through history. The historic declaration by 75 Communist and Workers' Parties assembled in Moscow in 1969 said: 'We Communists again call on all honest men in the world to unite their efforts in the struggle against the man-hating ideology and practice of racism . . . Imperialism makes use of racism to divide the peoples and maintain its rule. Wide sections of the people reject racism and can be drawn into active struggle against it. In such action they will come to realize that the eradication of racism is closely connected

with the struggle against imperialism and its ideological foundations.'

This is an appeal to the proletarians and oppressed people of all countries to unite in active struggle to destroy racism. This is Marxism-Leninism.

It is significant that several years later the United Nations General Assembly designated the decade of 1974-1984 as a period to combat racism with maximum effectiveness. This decade of struggle began December 10, 1973, on the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The resolution is a body blow to imperialism, the soil of racism. The world's anti-imperialist and democratic forces won victories that will have historic impact throughout the continent of Africa and all areas of the world where men and women struggle for independence, freedom, material security, dignity, none of which can be achieved without bringing an end to racism, at the inner core of imperialism.

One factor runs through everything that imperialism uses – the tactic of deception raised to the nth degree in attempting to conceal the inherent capitalist effort to oppress nations and people to extract the maximum of profits. In this connection I wish to emphasize the concept in the UN Assembly resolution which calls on the world 'to identify' the policies of racism in order to speed the process of ending them. This is an important idea in this age of widespread propaganda by bourgeois mass media to obfuscate and confuse the peoples. The brigand wears different disguises at different places; where he is recognized in one, he dons another in order to carry on his traditional operation of mass robbery and bloody exploitation. It is necessary to 'identify' the thief, and it might be useful to consider the various guises the racism of imperialism uses in this period.

The imperialist apologists of this top dog of the imperialist world loudly proclaim the U.S.A. as the haven of the 'free world.' This propaganda is an attempt not only to conceal the vicious system of class exploitation, but also the existence of national and race oppression as well. Racism inside the United States is a weapon of the monopolists, both in ideology and practice, against 40 million of its citizens.

This triple form of oppression – class, national and race – is the daily lot of this one-fifth of the U.S. population which, according to corrected figures of U.S. census estimates by U.S. Marxist economists, comprise 25 million Black people, 10 million Chicanos, two million Puerto Ricans, nearly one million Indians and about two million Asian peoples. The Black population in the United States is not only the largest nationality facing the whiplash of racism inside the country, but with the exception of some 65 million people in Nigeria, is also the largest concentration of Black people in the world.

In North Carolina, a state with a self-created image of liberalism, racist practices exist that recall the worst conditions of chattel slavery. Black people form 22 per cent of the state's population, but 70 per cent of the prison population. Of the 44 people sentenced

to death in the United States and awaiting execution, 23 are in North Carolina. Of the 100 counties, 89 have branches of state prisons. Terrorist racist bands are allowed to operate against Black people without hindrance by the police. It is also worthy of note that North Carolina is the location of institutions developing drugs and other methods to control human behavior through experimentation on the poor and minorities. Moreover, this state is also the site of training schools for cadres of the armed forces and police of Latin American countries.

Another example of racism is the persecution of Indians who participated in the demonstrations at Wounded Knee (South Dakota) in 1973. Trials of the Indians involved at Wounded Knee are now under way. Many issues come to the fore in these trials – the United States government's policy of exterminating the Indian peoples, a clear case of genocide, which has been succeeded by a policy of forcible assimilation, the outright theft of the Indian peoples' land and the confiscation of their means of livelihood, the continued enforcement of racist laws and the continued operation of racist practices against the Indian peoples.

Black people, like the other nationalities in the United States, are important components of the whole working class. Monopoly's use of racism consciously designed to create division within the class, makes difficult class solidarity, and also strives to prevent an alliance of the working class with non-proletarian strata in common struggle against the present offensive of monopoly.

As the fuel crisis continues – manipulated by the biggest oil corporations in U.S. and Europe – jobs are being cut back in certain industries in the U.S. This is part of the general crisis afflicting imperialist countries, and a number of credible U.S. economists beileve the country will suffer a further economic decline in the near future. History has taught that the Black worker is the 'last to be hired, the first to be fired,' and unemployment is growing fast in the Black communities. Under the guise of the 'energy crisis' appropriations are being voided for money for gasoline to fuel buses Black children use to go to school. This is a criminality of the meanest and lowest sort, and has aroused the indignation of millions in the country.

The Nixon administration increasingly tries to put the clamp of neo-segregationist, neo-racist policies on the Black and other minority communities. A neo-tokenism is in process, where Black and other minority peoples are given posts in order to put a facade of democracy on the country. But the actuality is that hardwon gains are being whittled away by this administration.

But it is significant that a nationwide outcry against racism has arisen. There are encouraging signs, too, of the growing awareness that imperialism makes use of racism. This is seen in the increasing number of Black mayors and other officials, elected by masses of white as well as Black voters. Together with Black people, Puerto Rican, Indian, Chicano, Asian minorities, white masses are actively fighting racism in the U.S.

Increasing millions of white workers are entering the struggle against racism. These sentiments among democrats and anti-imperialists are present and growing among white masses in the trade unions, churches, fraternal and civic organizations, peace and civil rights movements. These developments are positive, and constitute a broad basis for helping to weld the unity of millions in the fight against racism, one of the main props of imperialism. Such involvement will, at the same time, help in raising the level of the struggle which will develop on the basis of a higher consciousness achieved from the struggle itself.

The fight against racism at home is indissolubly connected with the fight against the racist policies of U.S. imperialism on a world scale. In essence this was the direction taken by the National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation held in Chicago, October 19-21, 1973.

There is a need to develop a crusade against racism in general, and apartheid in particular, involving hundreds of millions of people in every continent and in every country. This movement, in addition, could include in its program such demands as the application of economic sanctions, a break of diplomatic relations with South Africa, etc. Such a movement can isolate the fascist regime in South Africa from the community of civilized nations. This kind of internationalism would be powerful support to the 16.3 million Black majority in South Africa and Southern Africa as well. This fight on the African Continent against racism can become, like the victory of the Vietnamese in Southeast Asia, another great blow against imperialism in general, and could further advance the cause of national freedom and peace in the world.

It is almost inconceivable to find that Maoism has entered into relations with those whom all decent humanity seeks to boycott for their fascist crimes – like the militarist fascist junta in Chile and the apartheid murderers in South Africa. In each case Maoism has gone counter to proletarian internationalism – that sacred tenet of Marxism-Leninism.

Now, when worldwide unity is so necessary to quarantine the Republic of South Africa, research indicates tthat trade relations are being conducted between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa. The following are the sordid facts. According to official press statistics of RSA and other sources, a rather active trade developed between the racist RSA and PRC. Since 1964 the RSA government ceased publishing data about trade with China; it also refuses to answer inquiries in Parliament on this question. This testifies to permanent trade relations between the two countries.* Trade with the Republic of South Africa is treachery to the cause of internationalism.

*On April 29, 1970, a Johannesburg newspaper, *The Star*, published information from its correspondent in Hong Kong. Having noted that the Chinese government had persistently denied the fact that there was any trade between the RSA and China, the correspondent indicated: 'The reason for this is absolutely clear. The countries mentioned above anathematized each other politically, and if it would be known that they kept trade relations it would put both governments in a difficult position.' Then the correspondent continued: 'It is obvious that China and the RSA constantly conduct some big financial deals. Still these deals are not talked about openly. On the contrary, they must be, if it is possible, kept secret.'

South Africa is the main base of operation for world imperialism on the continent of Africa. But apartheid bestiality is not limited to South Africa. It extends its tentacles to various parts of Africa. Its cooperation with the racist regime in Rhodesia is a case in point. Thus, for example, Prime Minister Ian Smith, in his New Year's address, in which he appealed to white immigrants to come to Rhodesia said that as compared with the Western World with its 'widespread unemployment, spiralling inflation, strikes, and a cold, wet winter,' Rhodesia presents an attractive picture for white immigrants. This appeal is an act of desperation against the Black majority in Rhodesia fighting to reclaim the land and its riches, that belong to them.

The Vorster regime also cooperates with the Portuguese colonialists in their continuing warfare against Angola, Mozambique and liberated Guinea-Bissau. But now that 41 countries in Africa have won political independence, imperialism is not able to keep the chains of slavery on the Black peoples who are zealously pursuing their national destinies. The Portuguese fascist regime was rebuffed when the 28th General Assembly, by a vote of 105 to eight with 16 abstentions, reaffirmed on December 12, 1973, that the national liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique 'are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those territories . . .' In effect this resolution forbids Portugal from speaking at the UN for Angola and Mozambique.

The gun still speaks its racist message in other parts of the world. In Brazil, tens of thousands of Amerindians are slaughtered in cold blood by military fascists, backed by U.S. businesses who move further into the Amazon for exploitation. What was done openly to the Indian peoples in the United States from the time of the landing of Christopher Columbus until 1890 (and still continues there under new, masqueraded forms) is going on today in Brazil, where big business is linked more and more with U.S. imperialism.

The efforts of U.S. imperialism to commit racist genocide in Indochina failed, and the U.S. was forced to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam. But policies with genocidal implications are carried out against Asia by U.S. imperialism. The Asian-against-Asian slogan, this quintessence of racist policy, is still in evidence. Were it not for his partners in Washington and Wall Street, Thieu would be unable to keep the 200,000 political prisoners in the tiger cages.

But different methods – the brushed, manicured and polished forms of penetration – are used in countries like Nigeria. Here the lords of finance capital come offering loans, investments, ostensibly as 'aid to a developing nation.' Today imperialism pursues its traditional racist policies by donning a cloak of benignity, of so-called generosity which tenders 'aid to developing nations.' It is no secret that once a country accepts this so-called aid, it finds itself roped to imperialist demands. No grant of aid is made without attaching the notorious strings with which the recipient country is pressed to adapt its domestic and foreign policies to the will of imperialism.

This is the basic reason why many monopoly circles in the U.S. are willing to come to some kind of terms in the Middle East with the oil-producing Arab nations. Here we have the admixture of classic methods with the new, a complex of racism, violence, diplomacy, and capital, in order to help U.S. big business particularly the oil monopolies to extend their bridgehead in this oil-rich region.

Another example of such an admixture can be seen in the Middle East. The Republic of South Africa fully cooperates with the Israeli aggressors against the Arab countries. In point of fact there exists a Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis with full cooperation on the political, economic and military level. Apartheid and Zionism are united. The reason for this is explained by Prime Minister Vorster who said in a speech in Keetmanshoop, Namibia, 'We are in solidarity with Israel in its war.' The South African newspaper *Die Burger* was even more precise. It said outright that from the point of view of South Africa, Israel was guarding the northern gates to Africa, while from the point of view of Israel, South Africa was guarding the continent's southern gates.

Racism was involved in the very texture of the policy of the ruling circles of Israel since its creation. The Palestinian Arabs lost their ancient homeland, over a million were robbed of their patrimony and obliged to go into exile. Those remaining live under a regime of national oppression and emergency military regulations, and are regarded as 'racial inferiors.' Those Jews who came to Israel from African lands and posses darker skins also suffer discrimination.

With racism, one finds anti-Sovietism – this is a political law of modern times. Israel, pawn of U.S. imperialism, racial practitioner in its dealings with the Arabs at home and abroad, is regarded by the world as one of the most anti-Soviet states, with its propaganda of 'anti-semitism' directed against the Soviet Union.

It is so wherever racism is in the saddle, for imperialism fears that the Leninist policy on the national question will capture the imagination of the millions of dispossessed throughout the world. They have good reason to fear, for increasingly and rapidly, peoples and nations who have suffered and are suffering the whiplash of imperialism are learning about the country where, for over half a century, 100 nationalities live together in peace and harmony, truly as brothers. This Leninist policy is being studied by Africans, Asians, Latin Americans who suffer under the jackboot of imperialism and who yearn for freedom. These peoples have learned, too, of the fraternal and unselfish aid given by the Soviet Union to devloping nations.

The socialist community, first of all the Soviet Union, plus the militant masses in the former colonies struggling to maintain and extend their new and hard-won independence, the world working-class, are increasingly working unitedly against the common enemy, and have won irreversible gains.

Imperialism has suffered no few defeats in the past several decades as the unity of the oppressed of the world grows. But imperialism dies hard; it fights for every inch of territory. Racism is part and

parcel of the drive to establish a safe rear for imperialism by crushing popular democracy and aggressively fighting policies which could lead to détente, peaceful coexistence, social progress in general. Further success in the fight for détente, political and economic independence, democracy and socialism requires all-out efforts to obliterate racism from the face of the globe.

We are confident that alerted, the masses of the world will 'identify' the enemy in every guise he puts on.

Component of unity

COMMUNISTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF ALL ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

Gastone Gensini
Vice-Chairman, Central Control Commission, Italian CP

The main problem facing our Party in the struggle for democratic unity is that of closer association, agreement and unity of the forces we consider important historical components of Italian society: the Communists, Socialists and Catholics. Naturally, we realize that the solution of this problem will require strenuous effort over a long time. However, it must and can be solved because the crisis our country is passing through has reached a high and dangerous degree of tension and also because there are obvious changes in people's actions and minds, indicating that the process of unification of the three political forces has reached a certain degree of maturity.

The crisis, which is economic, social and political, can be overcome only by reversing the country's course of development, through what we call 'democratic change,' and a government appropriate to this change. But this change cannot be brought about by any one force, however great it may be. It calls for the cooperation and agreement of the three forces I have mentioned. First of all, the country should be able to draw on the vast strength of the Communist Party in making its economic and political choice. Comrade Luigi Longo stressed this fundamental aspect of Italian politics at the 12th Party Congress, saying that 'Italy today cannot be governed without the Communists, let alone against them.' This reality has objectively been confirmed to such an extent as to be recognized by many, including large sections of the Catholic world.

The inclusion of the ICP in the sphere of government, which does not necessarily imply direct participation in the cabinet, is blocked mainly by the Christian Democratic Party, the principal political factor in the Catholic sector of Italian society. The orientation and political attitudes of the CDP leadership distort the democratic, popular and anti-fascist character of this party and, indeed, run counter to it.

This is undoubtedly the greatest difficulty today. It cannot be overcome unless far-reaching changes occur in the CDP and unless it rejects the policy and forces responsible for abandoning national unity governments in 1947, and for the country's present economic and political straits.

Our Party has always attached the greatest importance to working-class unity, which it considers essential to broad unity of the democratic forces. Our entire experience proves this. There is no doubt that had our Party failed to seek primarily working-class unity, it could not have brought about the broad democratic and anti-fascist unity which played a decisive role in defeating fascism and transforming Italy into a republic with an anti-fascist Constitution. Without working-class unity, no fundamental progress would have been made in rehabilitating the country after the fall of fascism. Later, when national unity was jettisoned by the Christian Democrats, it would have been impossible without working-class unity to hold out and keep democratic options open through the years of cold war and anti-democratic Centrist cabinets, any more than to foil the attacks of reaction and fascism and keep alive the open democratic and socialist alternative.

Today's experience, too, shows the decisive importance of working-class unity. Especially significant are the developments in the trade union movement. They have led to closer unity of action of the three major confederations representing different ideological and political views and to the promise of organizational unity. While respecting the autonomy of the parties and unions concerned, we Communists have been making the greatest contribution to this unification process, which provides a favorable climate and a sound basis for working-class and democratic unity in the political sphere. Trade Union and political unity has made considerable progress and continues to advance. It is now a major factor in organizing and furthering democracy in Italy. Expansion and consolidation of this unity is unequestionably the greatest safeguard against all reactionary and fascist attacks.

The Chilean experience shows, I believe, that fascist reaction gained the upper hand for three reasons: support from U.S. imperialism, the position of the Christian-Democratic leadership, and the rift between the working class and large segments of the middle strata and the petty and middle bourgeoisie. There is no doubt that, although the Chilean events took place in a situation vastly differing from that in our country, they are a very important lesson to us as well, a lesson which, in the final analysis, warns us of the need to follow our long-time policy more consistently, effectively and resolutely.

The whole of our recent experience suggests the need for a wide network of alliances to beat back and crush every maneuver of reaction, which even attempts coups (as it has done). This network is also needed, as every victorious revolutionary process shows, in the event of the enemy compelling us to adopt different forms of struggle than the present. I regard this as a lesson, or a law if you

will, valid for every movement aimed at changing the existing order. It is a thesis to whose elaboration Lenin made a specific and highly important contribution.

Thus our policy is to form a broad anti-monopoly alliance of all working people – workers, peasants, middle strata, students, intellectuals, petty and middle bourgeoisie in production and trade – to bring into being broad political alliances and associations based on Left unity, but going far beyond the framework of this unity and involving large Catholic sections of the population and the CDP itself. All this can prevent a vertical split of the country, which was the main cause of the Chilean tragedy.

However, precisely because the existence of every general law is determined by its operation in definite and real historical conditions – here, too, we learn from Lenin – the policy of alliances has its distinguishing features in every country where there is a working class and Communist movement. Those who do not see this give in to dogmatism and depart from Marxism.

Is there anything in our struggle for democratic unity that is of international significance? Certainly, as incidentally, in the experience of any other Communist party, whether big or small. I think that in our case it consists chiefly in the fact that the struggle for unity enabled us to contribute to the universal struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence and pave the way for a democratic and socialist offensive in a capitalist country of the West, where it has new distinctive features.

I don't think Communists must renounce their principles in the name of alliances. Indeed, the policy can succeed only if based on explicit positions and on respect for the ideological convictions of every force seeking closer links, unity and alliance with other forces.

The experience of our Party, for one, shows the real possibility of Marxists and religious forces taking definite joint actions and cooperating under a program for the renovation of Italian society. This was done in crucial periods of our national life and no party to the alliance, let alone the ICP, lost its ideological characteristics in the process. In fact, the features and attitudes of a party like ours become more marked as a result. Our Party's ability to win people for its policy and ideology grew as the experience gained by it through contact with other forces became a matter for comparison and a stimulus. Our political thought and our doctrine made considerable progress, with the Party constantly and critically analyzing the positions and concepts of others.

REALISTIC STRATEGY OF ALLIANCES

Jean Blum
Member of PB,
CC CP Belgium

For a long time – from 1885, when the Socialist Party was formed and until the Second World War – the organized working-class movement in Belgium was largely a socialist movement. The Belgian

Workers' Party with its workers' leagues, trade unions, benefit societies and cooperatives, was the leading force. As for worker Christians, their unions and other organizations, which are as old as the Socialist ones, were completely controlled by Catholic reaction. In fact, they were fenced off from the class struggle and tied hand and foot by the bourgeoisie.

Now, the situation is different. The organized workers' movement has grown. It encompasses the trade unions of the Belgian General Federation of Labor (which includes Socialists and Communists), the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Christian labor movement and various new related organizations. The forces objectively opposed to capitalism and capable of taking the socialist orientation, have grown considerably.

Also, the country's political geography has changed in the past 10 years.

Like those of other capitalist countries, the Belgian bourgeoisie is incapable of resolving the present crucial problems, and has alienated even those classes and social strata that had formerly submitted to its rule. More, it refuses to end the injustices toward the Flemish and Walloon communities and the population of Brussels.

As a result, new nationalist chauvinist political parties have appeared, which are socially heterogeneous. Their leaders are quite willing to serve reactionary aims. They recruit voters among all strata, including workers who follow the Socialist Party. The 'classical' bourgeois parties, such as the Social-Christion (formerly Liberal) are no longer as stable as they were, and no trace remains of their internal unity. Discontent with the present regime reigns everywhere, and assumes different forms.

What is the role of the Belgian Socialist Party (BSP) in this context? Though the BSP can no longer claim to personify the working-class movement (though, some of its leaders still cling to this claim), it is obvious that no decisive step toward anti-monopoly democracy and socialism can be made without it or, more precisely, without the working people under its influence.

In the past four years the Socialist Party made two diametrically opposite political moves.

On the one hand, it wholly supported the appeal of its former president, Léo Collard, to unite the progressive forces in order to frustrate the reactionary plan of a 'strong' regime and ultimately to form a government.

On the other, despite mass opposition in the party (about half the delegates to the national congress) it agreed to head the (now retired) three-party government, which also included the Social-Christians and Freedom and Progress Party, and followed the policy of 'austerity,' curtailment of democratic freedoms, establishment of a professional army, opposition to European security, and the like.

These are the strange and difficult conditions faced by the Socialist Party as it approaches its next congress, which is expected to adopt decisions on theoretical matters and whose significance is obvious.

The Communist Party's strategy of alliances, and the program which the Belgian Communists have proposed to the new popular majority, is naturally designed to help the Socialist Party cope with reformism, which is tying it ever more dangerously to ruling bourgeois quarters, and to help form a broad progressive front.

Mass resistance to monopoly is growing, resulting in temporary alliances. Hence the Communists are working for an opposition of a new type, which would unite trade union and political forces and oppose the existing power systematically on all issues, proving its ability to take over the government. Some of the political formations close to the Christian labor movement, such as the Political Group of Christian Workers, have already declared their consent to stable partial progressive alliances with the Communists with a potentiality for growth and expansion. Some positive experience of this kind is available, and the Communists hold that it should be developed and generalized, because such tactics can ultimately, the example of the Mons and Tournai districts show, lead to a dialogue with the worker Socialists.

The Communist Party builds its strategy of alliances to fit the actual state of affairs, and knows that it must act without delay.

A broad union of diverse progressive forces, based on equality, independence and respect for independence. cannot result from a dilatory policy or from mere negotiations between parties, organizations, formations and groups.

Such a union will arise in the thick of the political and social struggle against capitalist monopoly, against state structures that pursue monopoly interests, and against governments serving monopoly.

This could result in a popular majority capable of creating a government of progressive unity, which would restrict, and subsequently break, monopoly power and carry out deep-going democratic changes paving the way to socialism.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION

Karl Heinz Schroeder
Secretary of the Executive,
German CP

Our Party attaches great importance to the struggle of the working class and other working people against international concerns. At our Hamburg Congress (November 1973) we pointed out that the concentration and centralization of production and capital have sharply increased in recent years, on both the national and international level. A small group of big capitalists increasingly concentrates power in its hands. Thus, according to official data, in 1972 there were 269 mergers of banks and industrial enterprises, and another 159 were registered in the first six months of 1973. The mergers of major companies like Thyssen and Rheinstahl, Mannesmann and Demag are evidence of the considerable scale of this process. At the same time our economy is invaded more and more

by U.S. capital, international monopolies are gaining in influence and tend to merge with domestic companies.

Capitalist concentration has a strong impact on the condition of the working class and the whole society in the Federal Republic as well as other countries. Big capital is winning power, which poses a threat to all. Taking advantage of their monopoly position, international companies which are linked with domestic companies or have absorbed them increasingly control the economic life of our and other countries, threaten the economic and political sovereignty of states, back and encourage reactionary forces.

This is why the documents of our Party congresses state that, more than ever before, a prerequisite of effective struggle against multinational monopolies is active international solidarity and cooperation of the working class of capitalist countries, of its trade unions and Communist parties. The Brussels Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Capitalist Europe, like the conferences on particular problems held earlier in London and Rome, helped to evolve a common strategy against the multinationals, devise international forms of organizing class actions and marked the beginning of a new stage in cooperation of the brother parties.

We believe that solidarity action by workers holding different political views during strikes and other class actions against multinational companies in various countries, cooperation between the Communist organizations of factories of the same company, and exchanges of factory newspapers could prove of practical value. This conclusion is borne out, in particular, by the first joint steps of the GCP and other brother Parties to organize a common fight against the policy of factory closures and wage cuts pursued by the multinational Hoogoven concern, establishing cooperation between the GCP branch at Ford's and the Belgian comrades employed by the same company, and promoting cooperation between the GCP branch at the Halberger Huette works, owned by the St. Gobain-Pont-à-Mousson group, and the French CP branches at its subsidiaries in France.

We are confident that joint action by Communists and the working-class movement as a whole against the multinationals will make further progress. This is all the more important as it is a component in the common fight against contemporary imperialism.

FOR THE NEEDS OF THE WORKERS

George Edward Jackson
National Secretary,
New Zealand Socialist
Unity Party

The New Zealand Socialist Unity Party works to bring about an increasing level of class understanding among the working class in order that they can successfully carry out their historic role.

The first point of concentration is among the industrial working class to widen the unity of its members and organizations in the struggle against monopoly and in defense of living standards and

democratic rights. With the increasing concentration of capital among New Zealand and overseas-owned industry, there is a great need for the strengthening of the industrial movement.

The past system of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration brought about a fragmentation of trade unions until over 300 were in existence. Decisive sections of the trade unions have turned to direct bargaining with the employers and this is increasing the understanding of the need for stronger trade unions based on industry instead of craft. It is important that this work be pursued in order that the needs of the workers be met in their struggle to maintain living standards.

Mass organizations demand of the government that more effective action be taken to halt price rises. Inflation is a major problem as in all capitalist countries, but with the New Zealand economy being dependent on fairly heavy importing we have a built-in price increase in all raw materials and shipping charges.

No price and wages system has ever worked except to the workers' disadvantage, hence the importance of struggling to catch up in the wage packet by direct bargaining.

The number of women workers is increasing and this is bringing them a new consciousness. They campaign for equal pay and it is now the demand of the trade union movement.

Mass organizations concern themselves with prices and race relations and these are important in the struggle to develop a wider unity of the working class. Political issues have become the concern of trade unions out of their own experiences, which have shown the inadequacy of limiting demands to economic questions.

In general we can say that in New Zealand we are paying attention to everything connected with the struggle against monopoly, both national and international. It means strengthening the trade unions and lifting their goals to wider issues. It means linking the workers as producers and consumers to battle both for wage levels and for political control of price levels. It also means stepping up the activity to promote peaceful relations in the Pacific area in particular and removing the danger of war.

This has also led to the wide campaign in New Zealand to end nuclear testing of all kinds, particularly atmospheric testing.

All these issues bring about an increased awareness that the class relations of capitalism are the inherent cause of the problems, thus linking the struggle for defense of living standards and democratic rights with the struggle for socialism.

PROGRAM FOR JOINT ACTION

Ermenegildo Gasperoni
Chairman, San Marino CP

The international political situation since 1969 has been marked by a number of new developments. Speaking generally, favorable developments predominate even though peace, national independence and freedom are still in serious danger.

The policy of peaceful coexistence steadfastly pursued by the Soviet Union plays a prominent part in the present situation. The general strengthening of the socialist community, the intensification of the peoples' fight against imperialism – a fight to which our Party has made its modest contribution – and, lastly, the worsening of the general crisis of capitalism have led to a process of détente ushering in a new period of European history, a period of vindication of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

This is the overall background against which our small country is going through a severe structural crisis. It began in 1957, after a reactionary coup which disrupted the republic's democratic structures and paved the way for an authoritarian policy discriminating against some sections of the population while protecting others. The country found itself in a subordinate position and lost all economic independence. Hence all the crisis phenomena affecting Italy automatically reproduce themselves in San Marino. As a result, we are confronted with a crisis which can be only ended by thoroughly transforming the whole system of social production and revising the country's general policy.

Living standards, employment and working people's incomes, pose the most pressing problems, and there is also the problem of doing away with every form of speculation.

It is along these lines that the San Marino Communist Party has been carrying on its political activity. It is in the forefront of the struggle for structural reforms needed to overcome the deep crisis of agriculture, industry, the crafts and trade. Through this struggle, which involves all social and political problems of our society the Party was able to bring down the government alignment of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats put in power by the coup.

The present government comprises Christian Democrats and Socialists. Unfortunately, the Socialist Party, though a labor political organization, is characterized by anti-communism and prejudice, which make it very difficult for the Left to organize joint action. Yet without Left unity there can be no radical change of policy, nor a genuinely democratic turn decisive enough to embark the country on major political, social and economic reforms.

This change is made particularly difficult by the Socialist Party's opportunist and defeatist policy. Having broken with the Communists, the Socialists promote the interests of the Christian Democrats, who expect that the split they have caused among the Left will help them to overcome their internal crisis and continue their conservative policies.

In these circumstances our Party calls for a new type of opposition based on the re-established unity of the two working-class parties (Communist and Socialist. *Ed.*) on specific issues. Only a united opposition of this kind can make Christian Democratic and Social Democratic politicians foot the bill for the damage they have caused to San Marino's social and economic structures in 16 years of misgovernment.

The Communists maintain that the country's Left democratic

forces must unite on the basis of an explicit program which could comprise the following objectives:

1. A foreign policy of friendship with all peace and freedom-loving peoples. Adherence to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

2. A new treaty with Italy enabling our republic to exercise its powers as a state. This would secure the economic independence necessary for the progress of our society.

3. Democratic economic programming with the working people and members of other productive forces taking part in the drafting of economic plans and controlling their execution. Programming would help to end the current crisis and open the road to large-scale investments in production and to the setting up of a rational and balanced economy.

4. A reform of the Constitution, which the Communist Party has sought for years. The reform should establish the framework of a legal state, divide legislative and executive authority, introduce the practice of national referendums and organize society on democratic principles guaranteeing equal civil rights and freedoms, respect for human dignity, and the right to work and education for all.

These, then, are the main program demands on whose basis we campaign for democratic Left unity in our country. The Communist Party, in preparing for the general election due in September, is firmly convinced that the working people and members of other productive forces of our society will respond to our call for the country to take the road of far-reaching renovation of democratic institutions, the road of progress and gradual transition to socialism.

The oil weapon

Bagir Ibrahim
Member, PB, Iraqi CP

The upswing of the national liberation movement in our country is largely connected with the struggle to recover Iraq's principal natural wealth – oil. The imperialist monopolies that had formerly owned the oilfields were, as rightly pointed out by the patriotic parties, actually a state within a state. After the 1958 revolution steps were taken to reduce foreign prospecting, drilling and extraction, and in 1972-1973 the biggest of the oil companies, Iraq Petroleum Company, and also the property of American and Dutch oil monopolies and other concerns extracting oil in our country, was nationalized.

Preparations were made to work the oilfields of the Iraqi National Oil Company in North Rumailia, launched in 1972 with the help of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic. When Iraq

nationalized the Iraq Petroleum Company, countries of the socialist community helped us settle the sales problem. Our oil revenue has grown considerably in recent years, partly thanks to the export of the output of the state sector, which enabled us to tackle the five-year plan and other development projects.

Another gain in oil policy was the right combination of national interests, which required recovery of the oil wealth, with the aims of the struggle against the imperialist and Israeli aggressors. Here oil is a political weapon.

This approach does not suit Arab reaction. During the October war reactionaries tried to dampen the legitimate anger of the masses, who demanded use of oil as a weapon against the imperialist states. The oil monarchs of Arabia, it is true, agreed to reduce oil production to the limits fixed by the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries at its conference in Kuwait following the October events. The conference also decided to boycott countries helping Israel.* But more effective measures are needed.

These were suggested by Iraq. It demanded that instead of reducing oil production, oil producers should nationalize the property of oil monopolies supporting the Israeli aggression, primarily those of the United States. Our country suggested that the vast deposits of the Arab oil monarchs should be withdrawn from West European and U.S. banks. Our Party and the Progressive National-Patriotic Front share this view. And a similar standpoint was expressed by patriotic quarters during the 1972 international meeting in Bghdad, held under the auspices of the World Peace Council and the Iraqi Council of Peace and Afro-Asian Solidarity under the motto, 'Oil – a weapon in combating imperialism and Israeli aggression.'

The imperialists exploiting the Arab peoples are determined to pervert this motto and emasculate it of its anti-imperialist content. However, they will not stem the Arab people's onslaught. No doubt remains that it will put an end to imperialist monopoly domination on Arab soil.

*The boycott was applied to the United States and Holland, and later to Denmark. At the end of November 1973, the Arab summit conference in Algiers extended it to cover Portugal which is fighting a colonial war in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique; Rhodesia, where the racist white minority regime oppresses the indigenous population of the ancient African land of Zimbabwe; and the SAR, where the Vorster government has stripped Africans of all human rigths under its disgraceful apartheid policy.

In mid-March 1974, a conference of Arab oil ministers in Vienna lifted the oil embargo on the United States on the initiative of Saudi Arabia and Egypt (while the boycott of the other listed countries continued). Oil production was to be raised accordingly. Syria and Libya challenged the decision. Iraq did not take part in the conference. And Algeria said the lifting of the U.S. embargo should be seen as a temporary measure. – *Ed.*

Latin America: experience and lessons of revolutionary struggle

International seminar

Developments in Latin America indicate that imperialism is making a desperate effort to hold back the revolutionary change begun with the Cuban revolution. The situation demands of all revolutionaries vigilance and united action.

Some of the pressing problems of the Latin-American anti-imperialist struggle were discussed at a seminar organized by the *WMR* Commission on the Latin-American national liberation movement. The following took part: *Orestes Ghioldi,* Executive member and Secretary, CC CP Argentina; *Jaime Schmirgeld,* CC member, CP Argentina; *Sergio Pardo* and *Luis Padilla,* CC members, CP Bolivia; *Silvio Gomes* and *Luis Ribeiro,* CC members, Brazilian CP; *Volodia Teitelboim,* Political Commission member, CC CP Chile, and *Felipe Suarez,* CC member, CP Chile; *Manuel Cepeda,* Central Executive Committee member, CP Colombia, and *Teodosio Varela,* Alternate CEC member, CP Colombia; *Bernardo Zuniga,* CC member, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica; *Otto Sanchez,* member of Ideological Commission, CC Guatemalan Party of Labor; *Jacques Dorcilien,* CC member, United Party of Haitian Communists; *Marcos Leonel Posadas,* CC Executive member, Mexican CP; *Luis Sanchez,* First Secretary, CC Nicaraguan Socialist Party; *Baldomero Gonzalez,* Alternate CC member, People's Party of Panama; *Carlos Maciel* and *Pedro Vasquez,* Political Commission members, CC Paraguayan CP; *Alfredo Abarca* and *Pedro Mayta,* Political Commission members, CC Peruvian CP; *Franklin Irizarry,* Political Bureau member, Puerto Rican CP; *Enrique Rodriguez,* Executive Committee member and CC Secretary, CP Uruguay; *Pedro Ortega Diaz,* Political Bureau member, CC CP Venezuela.

In opening the discussion, *Teitelboim* said the map of Latin America presents a motley political picture. There is socialist Cuba and countries with military-patriotic and bourgeois-democratic governments, and countries ruled by reactionary dictatorships.

The bloody coup in Chile was one of the crucial developments of recent times. We have had occasion to discuss the reasons for the temporary defeat of the Popular Unity, stressing that examination of Chile's problems is not a monopoly of Chilean Communists – all fraternal Parties should share in this.

It is our revolutionary duty always to be where the action is and give leadership to the people. But that does not relieve us of the responsibility to conceptualize the revolutionary process. One should

always keep one's eyes open whether galloping on horseback or cautiously making one's way on foot. We Communists must have richer imagination, a more creative approach to events and bolder initiative than our enemy, who has research centers and computers to help work out his plans and prognostications. In mapping the strategy and tactics of revolution we must study the methods of counter-revolution.

It is most important also to study the accumulated experience of fraternal Parties, notably in uniting the popular forces. It is important to exchange notes, single out common and specific features and, on this basis, coordinate our actions against our common foe. We should therefore welcome the intiative of *World Marxist Review* in arranging this meeting.

Scope of the liberation struggle

With the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, several speakers noted, imperialism has gone over to the defensive. The socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, is growing steadily stronger. The balance of world forces has noticeably changed in favor of socialism, while imperialism's strategic positions have been weakened. The socialist countries' peace offensive is exerting a decisive influence on the international situation and making a tangible contribution to the relaxation of tension, to the struggle against those who would keep mankind in a state of cold war and 'balance of terror.'

The new international situation has its impact on Latin America. Socialist construction in Cuba, the deep-going changes in Peru, the Panamanian people's courageous struggle for their national demands, the partial defeat of the oligarchy and the Peronist advent to power in Argentina, the popular struggle in Uruguay and other countries – they all help to promote the anti-imperialist, democratic revolutionary struggle. The coming to power of the Popular Unity government in Chile, with its proclaimed aim of building socialism, was an event of transcendent international signficance.

These powerful factors have made for sharp qualitative changes in the Latin-American political climate. The blockade against Cuba is cracking. A sizable group of countries are committed to an anti-imperialist policy. More countries are openly coming out in defense of their sovereignty and national wealth, against North-American dictation and for broader contacts with all countries, regardless of their social systems.

The past five years have seen an irreversible trend toward development and expansion of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and its evolution into a struggle against capitalist oppression.

This should be seen against the background of the deepening structural crisis, *Vasquez* said, the result of capitalist development dependent on the imperialist monopolies, with the retention of pre-capitalist survivals and archaic forms of social production. A lopsided economic structure, a narrow home market resulting from widespread poverty, the domination of imperialism and its companion

piece, the local oligarchy, impede the development of productive forces and the rise of national living standards. Ruling-class attempts to accelerate capitalist development through half-way reforms, the enlistment of foreign capital and stepped-up exploitation, do not affect existing socio-economic structures. Our countries remain backward and dependent, accounting for a very low share of capitalist production. The lot of the people is steadily worsening. The skein of social contradictions is becoming more tangled.

The structural crisis can be seen in the sharpening of the class struggle both in town and country and in the radicalization of the middle strata. It merges with the national-liberation and general democratic movement to form a single current of anti-imperialist, democratic and anti-capitalist struggle.

One of its distinctive features, *Ghioldi* remarked, is extension of its social basis. In Argentina, now the scene of hard-fought class battles, the workers' movement is gaining in strength and scope and the peasantry, students and the broad masses are becoming more active. On an average, 10 million are involved in strikes every year. Mass actions in Cordoba, Rosario, Tucuman, Mendoza and other towns erupted into full-dress risings.

The Communist Parties have grown substantially in terms of membership and influence, *Rodriguez* said. Attempts to discount the half-million strong army of Latin-American Communists is absurd. The parties have become an important political force, the proletarian vanguard that is accelerating the revolutionary process.

We are not to be discouraged, let alone intimidated, by the lament of those demoralized by the terror in Chile and other countries. We have had our victories and setbacks – such is the dialectics of life. But the future belongs to us, though the path to it is neither short nor smooth. The objective prerequisites, the trend toward expansion of the liberation struggle, are there, and it is the prime duty of Communists to create the subjective conditions necessary to bring these prerequisites to reality.

The Communist Party of Argentina, *Ghioldi* sand, is growing: by the end of the year we want to raise its membership to 200,000 from the present 126,000. Last year 3,500 attended our study classes; the target for this year is 12,000, and we are determined to achieve it.

Speakers noted that the liberation struggle has clearly brought out the *trend toward unity of all the forces ranged against imperialism and the oligarchy*. This finds expression in various forms and at various levels, from mass demonstrations to the formation of broad political fronts. And we have accumulated much experience not only in the formation of such coalitions, but also of one of them actually in power.

In Chile, *Saurez* said, the Popular Unity bloc brought together Communists and Socialists, Radicals and Left Demochristians, Social Democrats and independent Left groups. They united on a program envisaging popular rule and dislodging the big capitalists from their economic and political positions; a people's state through the adoption of a new constitution and of a unicameral parliament; a new

economic system with three types of property (state, private and mixed); far-reaching agrarian reform, down to full abolition of the latifundia; economic development; higher living standards; a foreign policy based on respect of the sovereign rights of all peoples, cooperation with all countries regardless of their political system. The Popular Unity program indicated the path to national liberation and socialism via coordinated action of the Left parties and other progresive forces.

For the first time in its history, Chile had a government which really began to carry out its election program. The world revolutionary movement was enriched by this experience of part of the political power won in an election by a bloc of popular forces led by the workers' parties and inspired by Marxism-Leninism. The world had the experience of three years of relatively peaceful devlopment of the revolution.

The Broad Front in Uruguay, *Rodriguez* said, was formed in 1971 after years of Communist unity efforts. It was joined by the Communist and Christian Democrat parties, the Left Liberation Front, breakaway groups from the 'traditional' bourgeois parties, the Socialist Party, a number of Left groups, and many well-known independent personalities (including army officers). As stated in the Central Committee report to the 20th Party Congress, this was a 'historical step and the warm support we give the new front does not contradict our more radical program or the advance to our ultimate goal.'

Unity processes are developing in Argentina, too, *Ghioldi* said. The National Encounter of Argentinians, the Movement in Defense of National Wealth, the Argentine Movement for Latin American Anti-Militarist Solidarity, the four-party Popular Revolutionary Alliance and other mass organizations were formed when the country was still under a military dictatorship. They all subscribe to an anti-imperialist, democratic program and have been able to marshal considerable forces from diverse sections of society animated by one and the same aim of liberating Argentina from imperialist oppression, safeguarding her natural wealth and sovereignty and assuring her people democracy.

The National Anti-Imperialist Congress at the close of last year surpassed all our expectations. It was highly representative with delegates not only from political parties but also from government departments (up to ministerial level), parliament and local government bodies. There is an imperative need for a continental anti-imperialist congress to build up more solidarity with Cuba, Peru and Panama and with the people of Chile, Brazil and other countries.

Unity of the anti-imperialist forces in Venezuela was facilitated by the Popular Unity victory in the 1970 Chilean elections, *Diaz* said. In 1972 the unity effort culminated in the formation of the New Force popular front. Considering the disunity of progressive movements, this was a big step forward. Besides the Communists, the New Force includes the Popular Electoral Movement which had broken with the 'traditional' Democratic Action Party and joined the struggle for

national interests. Political groups and a number of independent political personalities representing diverse social strata are also affiliated. The New Force program sets out the main tasks in liberating the country and looks forward to its transition to socialism. It calls for nationalization of a number of industries, charts out the activities of a future Popular Democratic government, lists fundamental reforms and measures to improve the people's condition.

In 1972, Colombia's progressive forces founded the national Opposition Alliance as the forerunner of a broad united front, *Cepeda* said. It has been joined by a number of political parties and movements, and for the first time in many years we have real allies. In this year's election the NOA will present a comprehensive program of anti-imperialist, democratic demands. But it has to be said that the Chilean events have polarized the electorate, building up more support for oligarchy candidates. This is bound to affect the united front.

The trend toward unity of the anti-imperialist forces is hewing a way for itself also in countries ruled by dictatorships. In Paraguay, *Maciel* said, the 1973 election campaign provided numerous examples of united action against the dictatorship. The broad campaign of solidarity with Chile and the energetic protests against reactionary atrocities in that country and other parts of Latin America and the world are vivid manifestations of this unity trend.

Imperialist propaganda, *Cepeda* said, is at pains to convince us that 1973 was a turning point, a year which saw the demise of Allende and the triumph of Pinochet. But it also saw nationalization in Peru of the big imperialist monopoly, Cerro de Pasco, the victory of the Argentine people, the Security Council meeting in Panama, which brought to a new stage the popular movement for return of the Canal, the sharpening crisis of the Organization of American States, and the upsurge of the oil battle in Venezuela. In Colombia we were able to unite forces that make up the NOA and promote unity in the trade union and student movements. Our Party is strengthening its military appartus while continuing its activity on the parliamentary and mass-struggle fronts. And so, 1973 saw not only enemy attacks and our retreat on some sectors of the front, but also significant advances of the popular movement.[1]

Seminar participants emphasized that the *present stage of the Latin-American liberation struggle is characterized by two interconnected trends, viz., toward expansion of the revolutionary process, and united action of all its component parts. This is a political reality, the earnest that revolutionary change in Latin America is irresversible.*

Imperialist strategy and tactics

Imperialism's positions in Latin America have been seriously shaken by the advance of the liberation struggle over the past five years. But its domination has not been broken. It is doing everything it can to keep Latin American countries within its orbit, within the capitalist system.

The counter-revolutionary offensive we now witness, *Otto Sanchez* said, is but the implementation of basic monopoly strategy. And to work out its details, five years ago the Yankee monopolies sent their emissary, Nelson Rockefeller, on a tour of Latin America. He conceded the failure of the Alliance for Progress intiated by President Kennedy and formulated a new concept of Latin American 'development' through infusion of American investments, but with safeguards against 'nationalization, expropriation and revolution.' Rockefeller appealed (as many had before him) for an end to 'Marxism, Communism and subversion,' thus confirming that imperialism's chief strategic aims are retention of its economic, and consequently, political domination and impediment of revolutionary processes.

Seminar participants noted that economic penetration is *one of the basic means of achieving these aims*. Accordingly, there has been a certain change in the structure of foreign investments, with 'transfusions' from extracting to manufacturing and service industries and finance. This is necessitated by changes in the economic structure of Latin American countries and also by the fact that investments in these industries are considered safer. For the primary aim of nationalization is to wrest the country's natural resources from foreign monopoly control.

In countries where there is a visible tendency toward nationalization, especially where the process of building up the state-capitalist sector is fairly advanced, imperialism operates, as a rule, under 'national' signboards or through mixed companies. That has been the case in Mexico, *Posades* said: Mexicanization is very often but a cover for Yankee monopoly expansion and economic denationalization.

In Brazil, *Ribeiro* said, foreign capital has penetrated the key industries that make up the state-capitalist sector (metallurgy, oil, power, sea and rail transport, banking, etc.). Foreign monopolies fully control engineering, shipbuilding, automobiles, chemicals, petrochemicals, pharmaceutics and electronics. With their modern technology and control of the market, they are able, through diverse merger arrangements, to bring private and state enterprises under their sway.[2]

In the opinion of *Pardo*, the use of dependent countries that have achieved a definite level of development to exploit less developed countries is a new aspect of imperialist economic penetration. One example is Brazilian penetration into the Mutum region of Bolivia (mineral resources) and Itaipu (hydropower) in Paraguay.

However, for all its hegemonic propensities, the Brazilian oligarchy is but a tool of imperialist monopolies, *Ribeiro* emphasized. Like other countries that follow the capitalist path, Brazil has not come anywhere near economic independence. The Brazilian development model (encouragement of the private sector, open-door policy for foreign capital, unmitigated exploitation of the working people) is designed to keep the country under monopoly tutelage.[3] That is precisely why the model is so assiduously popularized and implanted wherever possible.

Along with economic expansion, U.S. imperialism continues to strengthen its system of strategic and military blocs. Direct and indirect intervention, sabotage and subversion are still part of its arsenal.

Puerto Rico, *Irizarry* said, is an imperialist bastion of aggression against the liberation movement in Latin America. The mercenaries who staged the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 were trained at U.S. bases in our country, and it was from these bases that the U.S. Navy carried out its aggression against the Dominican Republic in 1965. Large American Army, airforce and naval units are stationed in Puerto Rico.

The Panama Canal Zone, *Gonzalez* said, is a key link in imperialist strategy. U.S. bases are used for training personnel for anti-insurgency operations throughout the continent, and it is here that plans for suppressing the liberation movement are worked out. The Pentagon and the CIA, *Luis Sanchez* added, have practically undivided control of Central America. More U.S. bases have been started for subversion against socialist Cuba and the governments of Costa Rica and Panama. Plans are being drawn up for military and political integration of Central America. In all this there is heavy reliance on the reactionary regimes in Guatemala and Nicaragua, those imperialist mercenaries in Central America.[4]

As before, said *Zuniga,* the imperialists sow the seeds of national hostility, provoke armed conflicts (the war between Salvador and Honduras, the danger of a clash between Venezuela and Colombia) and form aggressive military blocs. For instance, the Guatemala-Nicaragua-Salvador axis is directed against Costa Rica.[5]

Counter-revolutionary coups, it was stated, *are employed whenever there is an upsurge in the liberation movement or, even more so, a government implementing an anti-imperialist policy comes to power. New is the increasingly obvious desire to place the burden of action on loyal satellites.* The Brazilian 'gorillas,' said *Ribeiro,* are celebrating the 10th anniversary of the dictatorship in an atmosphere of chauvinistic fervor. They can certainly count on the gratitude of Washington. The progressive Torres government in Bolivia was overthrown in 1971 with their direct connivance. They supported the intrigues of reaction in Uruguay and, finally, they gave considerable help to the coup in Chile.

A good deal of attention in the discussion was devoted to the methods employed in preparing counter-revolutionary coups. The Chilean coup, *Pardo* said, was a copy of the Bolivian events on a greater scale. Both coups, as he saw it, had the following similarities:

– participation of U.S. imperialism and its allies in preparing the coup and creating the necessary conditions for carrying it out;

– external and internal pressure, sabotage, subversion, fomenting of chaos in industry and trade;

– the treacherous part played by Right-wing bourgeois parties, encouragement of extremists and anti-communists of every ilk.

– provoking various sections of the population to take anti-government actions and put forward patently impossible demands;

– conducting a wide campaign of lies and slander against the government with the aid of the mass media, and spreading anti-communist rumors.[6]

All this created difficulties both for Torres and Allende, interfered with their work and created a climate of political instability. In Bolivia and Chile the plotters succeeded in splitting the progressive ranks, isolating the working class from its allies, drawing the middle strata to the side of reaction, and inciting the army to a counter-revolutionary coup.

The coup in Chile, it was noted, brought a noticeable revival of reaction and Right extremist elements. One of the signs, said *Diaz*, was the victory of the Right-wing candidate at the 1973 elections in Venezuela. In Uruguay, said *Rodriguez*, the government has banned the Communist Party and other progressive organizations, a clear indication of intentions to set up a dictatorship on the Brazilian model. In Colombia, *Cepeda* noted, there is an endless stream of North American, Brazilian and Chilean military emissaries with the object of coordinating activities to suppress popular movements. Punitive measures against the guerrilla movement were conmmenced almost simultaneously with the coup in Chile. (This movement has been in existence for some time, is developing and has a future.) Thirty thousand officers and men took part with technical and aerial support.

According to *Ghioldi*, since the coup in Chile the imperialist ring has tightened around Argentina. Reactionary military and civilian groupings are trying to turn last year's defeat into a victory and change the situation in imperialism's favor. They are plotting to hold back the democratic process in the country, and which is affecting the entire continent. The Peron government is subject to pressure both from the Right and from the working population, democratic and anti-imperialist forces. Consequently there are two likely perspectives. We must help build up mass pressure, set up a center uniting all anti-imperialist democratic forces, frustrate a coup and fight for people's power as an alternative to the power of the exploiters.

Peruvian counter-revolutionaries have also become far more active, said *Abarca*. They have apparently decided that their hour has struck. Through the press they tried to revive the old border dispute between Peru and Chile in the hope of intimidating the revolutionary government with the prospect of a conflict with the Chilean junta and so force it to retreat and, among other things, refrain from further nationalization. But they miscalculated. Instead, the government called on the people to be vigilant, to guard against the intrigues of the counter-revolutionaries, and not allow a repetition of fascist coups.

The counter-revolutionary forces – imperialism, the oligarchy, Right and 'Left' extremists – cleverly take advantage of difficulties of their own making to provoke anti-government strikes. The Communist Party and the General Confederation of Workers played a prominent part in resolving conflicts, and our relations with the government have improved.

In Panama, *Gonzalez* said, reaction has begun emulating the Chilean plotters. It resorts to economic sabotage and tries to disrupt consumer supplies in an attempt to win over the middle strata, provoke strikes like those which President Allende had called 'strikes of the bourgeoisie,' conduct frantic anti-communist propaganda in order to spread confusion among anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic fighters. Our progressive forces are on guard for reactionary intrigues, they strengthen their revolutionary vigilance and endeavor to establish the exact moment for decisive action to prevent a blow at the liberation movement.

The bourgeois press, remarked *M. Cepeda,* theorizing about the present terror in Chile, suggests that it was the Popular Unity that nurtured Pinochet, so if the people don't want fascism they shouldn't strive for popular unity. This sort of thinking must be exposed, particularly among the middle strata.

The participants in the seminar stressed that imperialist strategy has not changed, but its tactics are more diversified and it makes wider use of accomplices to promote its subversive objectives.

As a result of furious counter-attacks U.S. imperialism and local reaction have scored successes in some Latin American countries. The dramatic events of the recent period, particularly in Chile, have once again shown the whole world the savage face of imperialism and its accomplices. There is no crime which reaction will not stoop to when it is a question of the very existence of capitalism, of a given country opting out of the capitalist system. It will employ the most brutal force, trample on all the values of so-called bourgeois democracy, establish fascist-type dictatorships.

Social forces of the revolution

Basing themselves on the conclusions of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, the seminar emphasized: in order to put an end to the crimes of imperialism, the oligarchy and its henchmen, to paralyze their initiative and set about solving the cardinal tasks of the modern stage of the liberation movement in Latin America, it is essential to take advantage of the strong tendency of recent years toward cohesion of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces, unify them and act together. This is one of the most important objectives of Communist activities and it involves solution of cardinal problems. Some of them were mentioned at the seminar, such as the nature of the popular fronts being created, the role of the working class and peasantry, participation of the bourgeoisie, the relations of the democratic and socialist tasks, the broadening of the basis of the Fronts and their transformation into a social force of the revolutionary process.

The creation of the Fronts in different countries takes on different forms, depending on the actual situation and national characteristics. But everywhere the Fronts arise during the *mass struggle* for the fulfilment of the main demands of the nation, included in the *programs for progressive change.*

Our policy of alliances, said *Posadas,* is determined by the forms

in which the class struggle and mass movement develop. This does not imply that we refuse to have agreements with political parties. But our main emphasis is that unity is forged in the heat of the mass struggle. We are now busy summing up our experience to date so that the local organizations in the factories, educational establishments, and peasant communities may be strengthened and united around the program of demands and be brought together on a regional basis, thus bringing the idea of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces to fruition.

The nature of the Fronts, it was emphasized, is linked with the peculiarities of the present stage of the revolution in Latin American countries, the majority of which achieved independence early in the nineteenth century. They have passed a fairly long road of capitalist development where foreign capital and local, mainly that of the landed oligarchy, dominated. But the tasks of genuine national liberation and economic independence are not solved. The peoples of Latin America face the democratic stage of the revolution, which affects many political and class forces. *From this stems the anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and democratic nature of the Fronts.*

For this reason, said *Vasquez*, we work to create a coalition reflecting the class and political diversity of forces interested in the solution of the tasks arising in the democratic stage of the revolution. But it is the proletariat that is called upon to be the backbone of these associations. The experience of the world revolutionary movement teaches us that to unite the anti-imperialist, democratic forces in a stable coalition, ensure its revolutionary direction and clarity of aims, is only possible where there is a mature and united working class led by an experienced political vanguard and acting in unison with the peasantry. The Popular Unity bloc in Chile was based on the organized working class, which acquired an ally in the village laborers and became the nucleus for uniting the revolutionary forces.

Where the split and spontaneity of the working class movement has not been overcome and it has no reliable allies, any popular coalition it creates, will be superficial and condemned to trailing behind events. What is to be the starting point? Is it uniting the proletariat, creating or strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, or is it the formation of an anti-imperialist Front? But these are merely rhetorical questions, for all these elements are essential and have a close dialectical relationship.

Some bourgeois ideologists and also Trotskyite renegades deny the leading role of the proletariat, remarked *Diaz*. Some talk about its 'degeneration,' its 'loss' of revolutionary potential. These people, first of all, forget the high proportion of the working class in Latin American society.[7] Secondly, they forget the scale of the working class movement in our countries, and thirdly, the sharp rise in the political level of the Latin American proletariat and its leaning toward the ideas of scientific socialism. Suffice it to say that in the Communist Parties of Argentina, Uruguay and Chile workers comprise 60 per cent. As the most numerous, militant and organized class, headed by a mature vanguard, the proletariat *is already play-*

ing a decisive role in the socio-political struggle for the transformation of society.

In forming a popular front, emphasized *Vasquez*, the question quite legitimately arises, are we right to draw the bourgeoisie into it? Obviously the reply to this question cannot be a simple one. On the one hand, owing to the force of objective circumstances, a certain section of the bourgeoisie itself opposes imperialism and the oligarchy, forms political alliances, and draws up programs for national liberation. On the other hand, sections of the bourgeoisie in our countries collaborate openly or secretly with imperialism and the oligarchy. Finally, characteristic of the entire bourgeoisie are compromise, indecisiveness or extremism. Therefore, the question has to be posed concretely – with what section of the bourgeoisie, with which of its strata, groups and alliances can we act jointly to solve the tasks of the democratic stage?

Pedro Diaz gave an example of bourgeois inconsistency. Just when it appeared that the process of unifying the popular forces of Venezuela had reached its highest point, the leadership of the Republican-Democratic Alliance party withdrew from the New Force alliance. However, this only served to further strengthen the collaboration of forces expressing the true national interests. Later, at the height of the election campaign, the theory of the 'lesser evil' arose. Its supporters maintained that since the New Force candidate had very little chance of victory, the candidate of the Social-Christian Party should be supported. He would not, of course, bring about a revolution, but neither would he introduce repressive measures against the people. Actually, we were being asked to enter into a compromise with one of the two oligarchical parties. This would be liquidationism, suicidal for Communists, and we rejected this conception as Right opportunism.

There is another extreme. Some people who suffer from the itch of petty-bourgeois revolutionism see the Communist policy of broad alliances as almost a betrayal of the revolution. We are accused of fighting foreign monopolies without touching their ally, local capitalism. By-passing stages of revolutionary development, these 'critics' draw the conclusion that the revolution in Venezuela must be socialist from the very start. They fail to take into consideration the fact that in our country, as in others, there are hundreds of thousands of small and middle artisans and capitalists (particularly among the agrarian section). The democratic revolution is needed, not only by the proletariat, but by the petty and middle bourgeoisie as well, and many of their representatives will go a long way with us on the road where conditions for a transformation to socialism will arise.

In our age any genuine national revolution is bound to have an anti-capitalist content, but the concrete task of the revolution at the present stage (and I think this applies not only to Venezuela) is to overthrow the power of foreign monopoly and the local oligarchy. To put forward the slogan of the immediate building of socialism in our conditions means ignoring the balance of forces and not under-

standing what socialism implies. To oppose the policy of broad alliances means to forget Lenin's well-known comment on the mistaken idea 'that a revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 227).

Our ideological opponents affirm that our policy of alliances is motivated by narrow Party interests, said Pardo. Communists have never concealed their goal of destroying all forms of exploitation and working for the socialist transformation of society. But, as has already been said, it is necessary first to overthrow imperialism, the oligarchy and dictatorships and achieve genuine democracy. This is in the interests not only of the proletariat and its vanguard, but of the broad masses as well. The alliances proposed by the Communists are not loose, temporary electoral blocs, but long-term alliances for tackling the tasks of the liberation struggle during a more or less lengthy historical period.

Our premise is that genuine fighters against imperialism and the oligarchy will stay with us when we approach the socialist stage of the revolution and go over from revolutionary-democratic positions to Marxism-Leninism. The experience of the world revolutionary movement gives us many instructive examples on this score.

Socialism is the highest form of democracy, added *Luis Sanchez*. For this reason our struggle for democracy in present conditions is not a tactical aim, as may appear to some people, *but an integral part of the struggle for social emancipation of the working people, for socialism*. Such is the dialectic of the relationship between democratic and socialist tasks.

It was emphasized by all present that the political diversity of the democratic Fronts reflected the diverse ideological trends involved. The working class and its Party bear the primary responsibility of exposing all shades of anti-communism and anti-sovietism. This is the main prerequisite for the creation and strengthening of a united front. It is also essential to counter bourgeois reformism, Right and 'Left' opportunism and bring socialist consciousness into the mass movement, and oppose petty-bourgeois spontaneity which seriously undermines the cohesion of anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

Unity in deeds, not in words, is what we need, said *Teitelboim* – unity on the basis of agreed actions and deep responsibility of each and everyone. It is no secret that within the Popular Unity alliance and government there were two contradictory tendencies. There was no single and consistent strategy or tactics, no clear plan for complete winning of power. In the final analysis, the activities of the Popular Unity were paralyzed. The bloc lost the initiative in the struggle for the masses, and the enemy was able to launch a counter-offensive. Now the junta is trying to destroy the forces of Popular Unity by repression on a hitherto unprecedented scale. The process of building up our forces is taking place under new conditions; the struggle for creating a broad anti-fascist front is proceeding. Defeat, wrote Lenin, has 'taught the revolutionary parties and the revolutionary class a real and very useful lesson, a lesson in historical dialectics, a lesson in an understanding of political struggle, and in the

art and science of waging that struggle' (*Coll. Works.* Vol. 43, pp. 27-28).

As the participants of the seminar said, the most important conclusion to be drawn from the Chilean experience is the *absolute necessity for unity of the popular fronts based on clear tactics of alliances and persistent ideological work.*

The experience of Chile is a reminder of the importance of defending revolutionary gains, of the need for swift changes in the forms of struggle, the ability to counter reactionary pressure with revolutionary pressure. It also proves the vital necessity of elaborating a correct policy in all spheres. The method of trial and error, it was emphasized, was of no value. We need to study the experience of the world revolutionary movement, the experience of the CPSU and on this basis work out an all-embracing policy, which would enable us to win the masses.

The problems of broadening the social basis of popular unity, especially by winning the middle strata and sections of the armed forces to the side of the revolution, was mentioned in many of the contributions. This is a concrete question of practical politics, remarked Ghioldi. If we want the middle strata to support democracy, then we must uphold their demands, and it is the proletariat who must do this. There must be concrete activity among these people. They love democracy, but they kow-tow to 'law and order.' Reaction takes advantage of this duality in order to separate them from the democratic forces. This is not difficult in conditions now prevailing in Argentina, where the wave of terror unleashed by the CIA and its agents, creates an atmosphere of unease. Scared by the immediate difficulties and interruption of supplies, the petty-bourgeois begins to think: let who can take power, but this state of affairs has to end. There can be 24 hours of this sort of thinking and then, as in Chile, he sees the bestial face of the putschists and tries to back away. But in those 24 hours reaction was able to do its job. That is what happened in Argentina in 1966 when Ongania came to power. But afterwards, the middle strata too fought the dictatorship. Today, 80 per cent of the country's population, including the middle strata, want change. This is a mighty force, but the victory is not final, and reaction can force the middle sections to retreat. A political, ideological and psychological battle is taking place, and we must learn how to wage it.

Cause for considerable thought are the recently widespread references to the loyalty of the Chilean army to its professional duty, to the democratic institutions of the country, and its actual role in the recent bloody events. In Argentina, the army, permeated with a caste, reactionary spirit, is now inclining toward professionalism. This is a step forward. However, we must not deceive ourselves. In political language, professionalism is a synonym for neutrality. But no one remains neutral when the class struggle reaches white-heat. Therefore, we have to know what degree of professionalism is involved in order to develop the work of the Party so that a part of the armed forces may be won to the side of the people.

Imperialism relies on ideological differences between democrats in army greatcoats and the Communists. But both are concerned with national progress through profound changes in society. *Abarca*, in his contribution, spoke of the importance of cooperation of Communists with army progressives on the continent, notably the military-revolutionary government of Peru.

It was emphasized in the discussion that existing anti-imperialist fronts are but a first step toward creating a social force of the revolution. As *Pardo* said, this is the most important strategic goal of the Communists laid down in the documents of fraternal parties, appropriate to the qualitatively new stage of uniting the progressive forces. The working class and its Party has to play a decisive role at this stage, acting in a firm alliance with other forces. Not only can the minimum program (such as our broad front programs) be put forward but also the maximum program (proposed by the Communists) – the program of socialist transformation. To a considerable degree the aim of creating the social force of the revolution had been achieved in Chile after the Popular Unity government came to power. In any case the bloc began to put into effect revolutionary changes whose ultimate goal was the building of socialism. The revolution was interrupted by the putschists just when many economic difficulties had been overcome and tendencies to consolidating popular power were to be noted.

The participants in the seminar noted that *broad anti-imperialist, democratic fronts were a powerful weapon of the liberation struggle, a step on the road to creating social revolutionary forces in the countries of Latin America. The success and ability of such Fronts depends on the ability of those taking part to achieve genuine unity of action, broaden and strengthen their social base.*

They underlined the need to:

– actively support the struggle of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, for peace and détente, as one of the vital conditions in the development of the liberation struggle;

– expose the crimes of imperialism and the oligarchy and thus mobilize the broadest masses;

– raise the popular struggle to new heights, strengthen solidarity with Cuba and the peoples of the whole continent fighting imperialism and the oligarchy. Solidarity with the victims of the dictatorships, and bourgeois-landlord terror;

– strengthen the unity of all sections of the liberation struggle, remembering that the attacks of imperialism can be beaten back and the struggle developed only by confronting the united forces of reaction with the monolithic unity of the people;

– strengthen and develop the friendly ties between the fraternal parties, promote bilateral and multilateral meetings to exchange information and coordinate the struggle to liberate the continent.

1. At the close of January and early February, Bolivia became an arena of mass actions. More than 200 peasants were killed by government punitive expeditions in the Cochabamba Valley. But in spite of the wave of repression the people continue to fight the dictatorship, which is rapidly losing stability.

2. This refers primarily to U.S. capital, though West-German, Japanese and French capital are making deep inroads, too.

3. In the 10 years of the dictatorship's wage-freeze policy, purchasing power of the masses was cut by more than one-third, while monopoly dividends continued to grow. According to the *Opiniao* weekly, in 1961-70 the Americans took out $8.3 billion in profits, or three times more than they invested during the same period.

4. On March 3, 1974, an election farce was staged in Guatemala, the object being to establish a more centralized, authoritarian and repressive neo-fascist regime. General Eugenio Laugerud, placeman of the ruling bourgeois-landlord oligarchy and North American imperialism, undertook the job of 'pacifying' the country by assassinating opponents of the Osorio regime.

5. As Comrade Zuniga pointed out, the bourgeois-democratic government of Figuerez has attracted imperialist 'attention' for promoting a policy of developing friendly ties with all countries and not wishing to make Costa Rica a jumping-off ground for aggression against the Panamanian people. Figuerez also became persona non grata with the imperialists for obstructing the oil monopolies operating along the Pacific coast. The Costa Rican authorities thwarted several attempted government coups and assassination attacks on Figuerez (the Guatemalan 'White Hand' terrorist organization infiltrates agents posing as tourists). The imperialists have, at the same time set up a pro-American Independent National Party, which put forward a Presidential candidate in the 1974 elections. Millions of dollars were spent to ensure the victory of monopoly's protege but he suffered defeat.

6. As an illustration, *Pardo* referred to a short anti-communist film shown in Chile appealing to the middle sections of the population. The main idea of the film was: socialism is a general leveller. A man walks out of his flat and sees that the liftman, bus driver, colleagues at work and his chief all look alike. The authors of the film ask – do you want the government to follow you everywhere? This piece of lying propaganda was shown during the pre-election period in Venezuela in 1973. Prior to the coming of power of the Popular Unity government in Chile imperialist agents employed the following trick: a questionnaire was distributed to the inhabitants of Santiago in which they were asked whether they would be prepared to give up some living space so that homeless people could move in; were they prepared to let the government undertake the care of their children, and so on. All this was allegedly issued by Popular Unity.

7. Out of 80 million gainfully employed people, 50 million are wage workers, 15 million of whom are engaged in agriculture, 15 million in industry and 20 million in the service industries and trade.

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The hour of freedom will strike

'Fascism becomes more active as the crisis of imperialism sharpens, as reaction tries to brutally suppress the democratic and revolutionary forces.' This was stressed by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The tragedy of Chile and the reactionary coup in Uruguay have forcefully reminded the peoples of the fascist menace and have shown its real dimensions. Reaction and fascism are committing more heinous crimes. The neo-fascist forces have stepped up their activity in other countries, too. Tyrannical regimes are using unmitigated police terror in an attempt to bar the road to progress.

In the past five years the Communists have written new pages into the glorious annals of the struggle against fascism and reaction.

FIGHTING REPRESSION IS A BLOW AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

Santiago Alvarez
Member, EC CC,
Communist Party of Spain

The struggle against repression is an essential component of the Communist Party's and Spanish people's common struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Franco. This is quite understandable, for the dictatorship which has been responsible for bloody terror since the Civil War of 1936-1939, continues to use repression as its main political weapon.

The working class and popular democratic opposition movements could not have risen to their present heights, had they not conducted a struggle against terror and repression and succeeded in blunting this fascist weapon.

However, repression is now on the increase, witness the harsh sentences imposed recently on Marcelino Camacho, Father Garcia Salve and others accused of setting up the National Coordination Center of Workers' Commissions. Further proof can be seen in the prosecution's demand for a 17-year prison sentence for Rafael Pillado and other leaders of the general strike in El Ferrol in March 1972, or the recent imprisonment in Madrid of labor veteran Simon Sanchez Montero, and the execution of the young anti-fascist Salvador Puig accused of the murder of a policeman.

The struggle against repression takes many forms: strikes, collective protests and collection of signatures at factories and educational establishments, meetings at work, demonstrations to trade union head offices and to the civil and military authorities. Delegations of relatives or fellow-workers of prisoners also go to the authorities and the Church hierarchy. Thus, by decision of the National Coordinating Center of Workers' Commissions, last December 12 was marked as Struggle Day with strikes and protest meetings in which hundreds of thousands of workers took part in every corner of Spain.

The working class constantly fights against political and police repression and persecution by employers. Collective agreements usually include demands for the release of imprisoned workers, keeping jobs open for workers arrested for political reasons, and reinstatement of those returning from jail.

The struggle against repression has now reached such a scale that even the top Church hierarchy have publicly demanded an amnesty. There are regions (e.g., Catalonia) where bishops take part in committees against repression or in solidarity committees. Resolutions defending the victims of police persecution are passed by commissions of lawyers, doctors, architects, economists and other professionals.

And so, the contradiction between the Franco regime (after the assassination of Carrero Blanco the cabinet has been headed by a former police chief) and Spanish society as a whole, is becoming sharper. In our struggle with the fascist dictatorship we need international solidarity, and we are deeply grateful for any expression of solidarity and support.

EXPOSING OPPORTUNISM, WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR LINKS WITH THE MASSES

Joaquim Pires Jorge
Member, CC Portuguese CP

One of the cornerstones of Communist activity under fascist conditions, is legal and semi-legal work alongside underground struggle. The use of all – even the most insignificant – legal and semi-legal possibilities, helps establish contacts between the vanguard and the masses. This is how the masses are mobilized and acquire experience and tempering in the political struggle.

The Portuguese Communist Party has, in the course of many years of struggle accumulated a great deal of experience.

Working among the masses in order to mobilize and organize them for specific actions, the Portuguese Communists at the same time take careful account of the activities of the Right opportunists, who endeavor to hold back the mass movement. They are also on guard against adventurist maneuvers of the 'Left,' all intrigues against unity, the fomenting of anti-communist and anti-Soviet feelings, which frequently unite both brands of opportunism.

Both do great harm to the revolutionary process, fill many people

with feelings of hopelessness and despair as a consequence of which they often leave the movement and are lost to it, at any rate for a time.

The experience of many years has taught us that both Right and 'Left' opportunists surface during periods of revolutionary upsurge.

This was the case, for instance, when Salazar departed from the political scene and Marcelo Caetano came to power in 1968. This fact, plus deep discontent over the dizzy rise in the cost of living and the numerous burdens imposed on the people by the colonial wars, created a state of expectancy throughout the country. Taking advantage of this, the Caetano government executed a clever demagogic maneuver, promising a gradual liberalization of the regime.

It was precisely then that the Right and 'Left' opportunists intensified their activities. The former, having already flirted with those who had 'broken with the regime' (Caetano himself was considered to be one of them) took the promises of the fascist rulers seriously and offered to take part in talks on 'liberalization.' Advising the masses to remain calm, they asserted that the popular struggle would only frighten the government and harm the process of liberalization.

The others, that is, the 'Left' opportunists, either called for an immediate revolution, denying that there had been political changes opening up possibilities for legal activity, or proclaiming that fascism had ended. But in the main they engaged in squabbles, smears and splitting activities within the democratic movement. They intensified their anti-communist propaganda, attacking Communists and Left democrats.

The Portuguese Communist Party exposed the maneuver of the fascists, characterizing it as 'liberal demagogy.' It showed that, while making demagogic promises, the new government also tried, aided by savage repression, to obstruct the development of the popular struggle. The Communists insisted that the new situation had to be used boldly to stir the politically stagnant atmosphere, to demand that the government fulfil its pledges, and take a new political path. Once again proclaiming the aims of the national-democratic revolution, the Portuguese Communist Party warned against passivity, calling upon democrats and the masses to unite and intensify the struggle for legality and for democratic organizations, for unity and an end to colonial wars, and fulfilment of the vital political and economic demands of the Portuguese people. At the same time the Party developed intensive work to organize mass actions and the democratic movement.

To the great astonishment of the fascists and opportunists of all colors within a few months our Party's policy began to bear fruit. There had not been such a wave of actions and strikes since 1961-1962.

There were actions in support of economic demands throughout the whole country. In Lisbon, Margem-Sul-do-Tejo and Baix-Ribatejo they were on a larger scale. Over 70,000 workers took part in actions of various kinds, including strikes, which are forbidden by the fascist dictatorship. There were strikes in 24 enterprises, including the largest in the country.

During this period there was a noticeable increase in the activities of the students at the universities of Coimbra, Lisbon and Oporto. Through these mass actions, the students succeeded in winning extremely important gains, some political and others concerned with the students' associations. In the course of the strikes, broad meetings, and many other actions in higher educational establishments, the unity essential for further struggle was forged. That was the reply of the youth to the call for 'caution' and exhortations 'not to frighten' the fascists. That was the reply to the Right student groups which engaged in provocations against the Communist Party. That was the reply to the splitting activities of sectarians and phrasemongers. The strengthening of the struggle against the 'Left' and Right opportunism in the students' movement was to a considerable degree helped by the consistently militant actions of the Union of Communist Students. Portuguese Right opportunism has suffered a serious defeat, proof of which is the disappearance of many of its representatives from the political scene.

The democratic movement as a whole is developing more slowly. But the energetic struggle against the splitting activities of the opportunists combined with a steadfast carrying out of the Party line for work among the masses has given this movement a new direction. This was vividly shown at the Democratic Opposition Congress held in Aveiro and the 'election' campaign in October 1973, as a result of which the opposition was considerably strengthened. New forces flowed into the democratic movement. The participation of the working class, young people and women has led to its renewal. The political campaign of October 1973 demonstrated that wide masses of the people are now sympathetic to socialist and communist ideas, to internationalism. The large anti-imperialist demonstrations of solidarity by the Portuguese people with the people of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, and the people of Chile, are proof of this.

Work within the fascist trade unions, known as 'national unions,' is an important aspect of anti-fascist activity. This work not only mobilizes tens of thousands of workers, but despite the fascists, enables many sincere trade union workers who are prepared to defend their class to take up positions of leadership

The struggle now developing in the unions is extremely significant. The leadership of 42 national trade unions with a total membership of over 600,000 rejected the fascist decree which gave the government the power to interfere still further in their affairs. Numerous meetings are taking place throughout the country supporting this attitude and 38,000 signatures have been collected to a document which demands freedom for the trade unions and explains the stand of the leadership of the aforementioned 42 unions. For this purpose 400,000 leaflets were recently distributed.

Apart from the activities within the national unions, legal and illegal work is being carried out on other fronts – in commissions for unity at enterprises, in the youth movement, and in the course of the struggle against repression, etc. We shall, as before, take advan-

tage of campaigning opportunities during the 'election' farce, which is what we did in October last year.

It is necessary, however, to add the following: if the legal and illegal work is an integral part of revolutionary activity in conditions of fascism, then an essential ingredient for success is the existence of the Communist Party, with a strong underground organization from bottom to top, having its own cadres and press, and its own methods of illegal work. Without such conditions the revolutionary process cannot develop, and there is no possibility of leading the people to an uprising.

THE ONLY TRUE PATH TO DEMOCRACY

Kostas Loules
PB Member, CC CP of Greece

The Greek military junta is in a state of crisis. The fall of Papadopoulos was precipitated by the mounting popular resistance which drove practically all the political parties and organizations into opposition to the regime. Papadopoulos' fate was sealed after last November's demonstrations in Athens, Saloniki, Patras and other towns. Significantly, Papadopoulos was toppled by the same forces that had brought him to power, the foreign and 'home' monopolies, U.S. agents, his junta colleagues. Panicked by the November events they decided to make him the scapegoat and put another military clique in power.

This palace revolution was attended by more neo-fascist terror: more than 100 demonstrators were killed and several hundred wounded in Athens. Thousands were arrested, and the arrests continue to this day. Many of the arrested were tortured, some crippled for life. The Hitler-type concentration camps on the islands of Youra and Leros have been reopened. Political prisoners there are kept in the dark concrete bunkers used as munition dumps during the war.

For all that, however, the ouster of Papadopoulos signified the collapse of some of the plans of the junta and its American patrons, notably the early 'transfer of power to the politicians.' The flare-up of popular resentment undermined militarist power and aggravated the crisis of the junta. This naturally generated more contradictions within the regime.

The second military coup has not changed the nature of the regime. It is the same foul fascist dictatorship, with U.S. imperialism still lording it in our country. However, there are two distinct trends within the ruling camp. One is to maintain power by unmitigated terror, force the people into submission by stepping up terror and repression, arrests and assassination, imprisonment and exile on sentences passed by military tribunals under war-time laws.

Supporters of the other trend want terror, too, but terror plus deception. They have promised 'transfer of power to the politicians' as the 'lesser evil.' It should be observed that fictitious civilian rule is a standard procedure in a number of countries for camouflaging fascist regimes imposed by the reactionaries and U.S. imperialism.

The fact of the matter is that the November events alarmed the junta and its U.S. preceptors. The old, traditional bourgeois parties were alarmed too. They have taken a positive view of the constitutional changes introduced by the new military clique, viz., limitation of the President's powers and abolition of the constitutional court instituted by Papadopoulos.

In reality, however, there has been not a single step toward 'normalization.' The November events and the brutal terror unleashed by the junta have only increased the people's hatred and strengthened their resistance. The masses will fight for freedom with even greater energy. The Communist Party played a substantial part in the November battles, which were fought under the slogans: 'Bread!' 'Democracy!' 'Down with the Dictatorship!' 'Out with the U.S. Imperialists!'

The November events were of exceptional importance for the continued unfolding of the popular struggle. As I have already said, the overthrow of Papadopoulos was a staggering blow to the dictatorship. People are less afraid of it and more clearly realize that the only way to get rid of it and its U.S. masters is through open struggle. The November events gave the people a new faith, the confidence that the fascist regime can be overthrown, for all its American backing.

The Greek people know that they must themselves win liberation. But that does not mean that they are alone. They have the support of world democratic opinion, especially in the socialist countries, and above all in the Soviet Union. And this support is a source of inspiration, an encouragement to fight on to final victory.

There is also a clearer understanding of the need for unity. The broad cooperation achieved in the November battles has imparted a deeper feeling of unity. That is why we have been able to overcome most of the confusion and division which the reactionaries encouraged – not without success – ever since the civil war. Now the people present a united front. The November demonstrations were led by the students and workers' Committee of the United Democratic Front on which all political trends were represented.

Our Party is fully aware of the people's will for unity and of the fact that unity is an indispensible prerequisite of success. And we have consistently and tirelessly appealed to all parties and organizations, to all Greeks, for unity to achieve these minimum goals:

– overthrow of the dictatorship;

– free expression of the people's will.

The second goal is especially important. The people will fight and make sacrifices only if they feel sure that they will win freedom and establish a democratic government that will rid them of oppression by the monopolistic oligarchy and the domination of U.S. mperialism.

Grass-roots unity is the most effective. And we are urging the working class, the peasantry, the youth and the urban middle strata to set up committees of the unified anti-dictatorial front in the towns and villages, at factories and offices, everywhere, in short, where the people live and work.

Last but not least, seven years of junta policy have sharply aggravated Greece's economic difficulties. The cost of living practically doubled in 1973 alone. Things are made still worse by the monetary and energy crises that have swept the capitalist world. The material position of the working class, laboring peasants and urban middle strata has drastically deteriorated, and this is further deepening the crisis of the regime.

The fight to topple the junta and assure Greece democracy requires the existence of strong and active illegal Party organizations. But our Party is still experiencing grave organizational difficulties as a result of the decision (taken nearly 10 years ago) to disband all underground cells. Of course, we have done much since then to rebuild the Party's underground. Nevertheless, building up strong illegal organizations, primarily in industry is still our top priority. And this can be best accomplished by the Communists organizing the day-to-day struggle of the working class and of all the working people for their immediate economic, political and other demands.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize once more that Greece's problems can be solved only by overthrowing the dictatorship and establishing a new democracy that will pave the path to progress.

THE LESSONS OF CHILE

Fernando Nadra
Member, EC CP Argentina

The whole world knows of the tragedy of Chile and the savage genocide perpetrated by the military junta. For this reason I would like to confine myself only to the lessons to be learned from these events for our revolutionary struggle in Argentina.

The first lesson is that imperialist monopoly and big capitalists, landowners and their underlings, both military and civilian, are by no means in a coma. We have constantly exposed Yankee imperialism's agent, the CIA and their local accomplices, repeatedly warned of the likelihood of coups in Chile, Argentina and other Latin American countries. This is not an imaginary, but a real threat to all peoples and governments that have taken the path of national and social liberation and resist imperialist economic and political aggression. We have repeatedly drawn Argentinian public attention to the danger of a Right-wing plot and plans to achieve a coup similar to the Chilean. The recent events in Cordoba, where reaction, with CIA support, attempted to overthrow the local authorities, confirms the validity of our assessment.

The next lesson is that when the question of protecting their class interests arises the enemies of the people, opponents of its liberation behave like wild beasts and are capable of the most terrible crimes. The bloody orgy taking place in Chile can, indeed, be compared to the savagery of German fascism – a disgrace to mankind. This should be borne in mind when the representatives of monopoly and their supporters stoop to hypocritical talk about 'human dignity and rights,' attack the USSR and other socialist countries, and try to discredit

governments which have chosen the path of democracy and national liberation.

Finally, there is one more basic lesson to be learned. The patriotic and revolutionary changes which Chile, Argentina and other Latin American countries need can be achieved only if they have the support of the workers and peasants, of all the people. This possibility exists in our country. At the recent elections the overwhelming majority of Argentine citizens, representatives of various political trends opted for national and social liberation. The main task is to achieve an alliance, without any discrimination, of all patriots, fighting against the common enemy, both internal and external. A single political party or even an alliance of several fraternal political parties cannot solve the problems. It is essential to create a powerful anti-imperialist, patriotic front, without delay. National unity for which the Chilean Party fought steadfastly, but unsuccessfully, can become the decisive factor for repelling putschist plans.

The terrorist actions of the Right and ultra-Left elements prevented the extension of the Popular Unity Front in Chile. By their extreme infantilism the Leftists weakened the government, helped bring about (and this needs to be especially emphasized) the split within the popular forces, and alienated a considerable section of the middle strata – small traders and industrialists, technicians, students, representatives of the armed forces, etc., throwing them into the arms of the plotters.

For us it is crystal clear that in conditions of sabotage, putschist intrigues by reactionary forces and the suicidal extremism of the ultra-Lefts, our prime revolutionary duty is the creation of a powerful patriotic, democratic anti-imperialist front uniting all social elements and political trends that want to see democracy and national and social liberation. Only thus shall we be able to erect an insurmountable barrier against the internal and external foes and then destroy them. This is the immediate task suggested by the lesson of the tragic events in Chile.

Expressing their full, heartfelt solidarity with the struggling people of Chile, Argentinian Communists have spared and will spare no effort to aid its victory. Our people decisively condemn the actions of the military junta and Yankee imperialism. They demand an end to the terror, freedom for Luis Corvalan and other political prisoners. They have shown their solidarity with the Popular Unity Front and the Chilean people by mass actions up and down the country on a scale not witnessed since the struggle against fascism.

ISOLATE AND OVERTHROW THE TYRANNICAL REGIME

Silvio Gomes
CC Member, Brazilian CP

A fascist-type regime kept afloat by the armed forces and a rammified security network and using terror as the main method of government – that is how the Central Committee of our Party, at its plenary session last November, characterized the present government

of Brazil. Most of the trade unions are of the corporate type and tied to the government machine. All other worker organizations are suppressed or turned into tame welfare societies.

Behind the ceaseless deluge of official propaganda is an economic policy based on intensified exploitation of the workers, a policy that allows the monopolists and latifundists to rob the country. And behind the deluge of chauvinist propaganda is an expansionist policy tailored to suit the interests of North American imperialism. Brazil has become the bulwark of continental reaction, the center of an unholy anti-communist alliance of Latin America's fascist regimes.

The dictatorship is trying to create a semblance of 'representative democracy.' The gorillas who succeed one another in the presidency are part of that propaganda picture. The latest to be installed is General Ernesto Geisel, 'elected' in January by 503 representatives of the government party, each of whom was paid 10,000 cruseiros (about $1,500) for casting his vote.

The new president began by announcing that he would continue the policy of his predecessors. 'Security, so necessary for development, will be assured, if necessary with more severity than before.' And to leave no doubt of what was meant by 'more severity,' the new government has stepped up fascistization of every aspect of political and public life. The witch-hunt has been extended to cultural activities – even folk songs are now considered subversive.

The government has repressed and terrorized nearly all ultra-Left organizations out of existence and has made short shrift of their leaders. But it has not been able to destroy our Party. Today the Brazilian Communist Party is the only organized political force which, undaunted by terror and forced into clandestinity, continues to fight the regime. Even *Estada de Sao Paulo*, a paper that speaks for the monopoly bourgeoisie, is obliged to admit: 'Supporters of the Communist ideology are reorganizing their ranks. They are holding meetings throughout the country and are thus able to form new contacts and extend their sphere of influence.'

In the face of incredible difficulties we have been able to organize action against the dictatorship by workers of town and country. Opposition to the regime is becoming stronger, and it comes not only from the working people, but from many other sections of the population, even from the Catholic clergy and some representatives of the clerical hierarchy.

The task of the Communists is to consolidate the opposition, unite it in an anti-dictatorship front. That is the only way to isolate and overthrow the dictatorship and bring back democracy and freedom. International solidarity is of immense help in our struggle. One of its most vivid manifestations was the European Colloquium on Brazil arranged late last year by French Communists. It declared its support for the Brazilian people and exposed the crimes of the military-police camarilla which seized power. Solidarity with the Brazilian and other Latin-American peoples for freedom, coupled with condemnation of fascist terror, greatly stimulates unity of all the anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist democratic forces.

CAN DUVALIER BE DEFEATED?

Jacques Dorcilien
CC Member
United Party of Haitian Communists

We Haitian Communists are often asked: what chance is there of activizing the revolutionary movement under the relentless Duvalier dictatorship? Obviously, activizing implies organized struggle for political aims and a close link between the revolutionary party and the workers, peasants and other sectioons of the population.

We are starting more Party cells in industry and agriculture, disseminating revolutionary ideas, directing actions by the workers and expressions of popular discontent against the dictatorship, imperialism and reaction, for freedom, democracy and social progress.

We are working to unite all the anti-dictatorship forces. Some of the opposition elements in exile in the United States which in the past held pro-imperialist and anti-Communist views are now anxious to join the popular movement.

There are opportunities for work among servicemen, many of whom have been dismissed. Some have left the country, but most have become workers and are prepared to join the movement against imperialism and Duvalier. The continued penetration of the Haitian armed forces by Pentagon and CIA agents is bound to stimulate patriotic protest sentiments.

The Duvalier power structure is in a state of crisis, with constant in-fighting, plots and counterplots. This, too, is helping to activize the revolutionary movement.

Of course, considering conditions in Haiti, we can only speak so far of a gradual accumulation of forces to enable the revolutionary movement to stage a meaningful confrontation with the regime, the imperialist monopolies and the big landed interests. However, the level of mass consciousness and activity indicates that revolutionary ideas are falling on receptive soil.

In 1960-69, when our Party was the only opposition force working in the country, we contributed significantly to popular revolutionary action. Conditions today are more favorable and, drawing on our past experience in organizing and mobilizing the masses, and committed to a policy of alliances to re-establish democracy and freedom and overthrow the dictatorship, we are approaching a new period of active revolutionary movement. Not only can we fight Duvalier and his backers – we can defeat them in sustained struggle. The hour of freedom will strike.

PEASANTS AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

Mario Bruno
CC Member, Paraguayan CP

In its policy statements our Party emphasizes that irreconcilable social contradictions are increasing the isolation of the Stroessner regime. Paraguay is on the threshold of a sharp political crisis. In a desperate attempt to ward off its inevitable collapse, the dictatorship

is resorting to brutal repression. More than 70 workers and students were arrested and tortured earlier this year. But repression is having little or no effect – even the army, once the pillar of the regime, is wavering. For instance, 30 officers of the Cimefor Regiment were exiled to Chaco for an attempted anti-government mutiny.

The peasants are becoming more active, too, and they are joining forces with the farm laborers against the government's agrarian policy. There have been more cases of land seizure, and punitive expeditions have not always been able to cope with the situation. Peasants are being evicted from land they do not legally own but have tilled for many years. This, too, has produced flare-ups of public protest. Toward the end of last year, after several months of resistance to evictions in Aguaray Seco, San Diego and Yatebo, the peasants of Mbuyapey district (Misiones Province) took over a huge estate (12,000 hectares, 7,000 head of cattle), and their action met with support throughout the country.

Nor was that action accidental: three-fourths of the best land is in the hands of 1,500 latifundists, while 100,000 peasant families have no land at all, and 45 per cent of the rural population are squatters, with another 80,000 under constant threat of eviction for failure to pay taxes. Lastly, 130,000 peasants have to look for jobs in the towns. Average per capita income of the rural population is between $65 and $85. The basic diet is manioca, maize, beans and sugarcane. Milk, butter, eggs are inaccessible luxuries. The typical peasant home is an adobe hut with thatched roof and earthen floor. Thousands of peasant women are doomed to solitude because their menfolk have to leave the country in search of work or to escape persecution. Murder of peasants, imprisonment, burning of peasant homes have become common occurrances.

But the peasants are becoming more politically aware and we are witnessing the formation of one more militant and organized detachment against the dictatorship.

An indictment of imperialism

Facts and figures

THE CRIMES OF IMPERIALISM ARE GROWING AND SO IS THE BILL PRESENTED TO IT BY THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD*

In June 1969 "An Indictment of Imperialism" was drawn up at the request of the Convening Committee of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Imperialism has since committed new grave crimes against mankind. We now publish new facts and figures, exposing its crimes of the past five years, as suggested by the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties on **World Marxist Review.**

Though far from complete, they provide further confirmation of the conclusion drawn by the 1969 Meeting: **'The conscience and intellect of mankind cannot be reconciled to the crimes of imperialism.'**

Imperialism, its anti-humanism

Mankind's every new advance increasingly lays bare the crimes of the declining system and so re-emphasizes that imperialism is doomed by history itself and is bound to disappear. Not a trace of it must be left on our planet. Let only books and museums preserve for posterity the memory of what mankind had to go through.

On the eve of the last quarter of this century imperialism condemns people:

To unemployment – 100,000,000 people in the world have no work;

To illiteracy – 783,000,000 people can neither read nor write;

To hunger – 375,000,000 people live on the edge of starvation;

To death – no other system has been so brutal or perfidious, so deliberately cruel, in its treatment of those who urge mankind to win freedom from social and national oppression and who lead it to this goal. Imperialism shrinks from no crime.

Outstanding fighters for freedom, courageous Communists and democrats, have lost their lives in recent years at the hands or with the complicity of imperialists.

Mozambique. On February 3, 1969, *Eduardo Mondlane,* prominent leader of the African national liberation movement, Chairman of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front), was treacherously assassinated.

*Sources used: Official statistics of the UN and its specialized agencies; Documents and other records of Communist and Workers' parties; The findings of research institutes in Britain, France, the FRG, the GDR, Italy, Poland, the Soviet Union and United States; Reports published in the press of various countries.

Haiti In June 1969, *Gérald Brisson, Daniel Sansaricq, Gérard Wadestrandt, Jacques Jeannot* and other leaders of the United Party of Haitian Communists were killed.

USA. In August 1971, *George Jackson,* courageous fighter for the Black people's rights, was gunned down in San Quentin jail.

Uruguay. In April 1972, eight Communists – *Luis Mendiola, José Ramon Abreu, Raul Gancio, Elman Fernandez, Ricardo Walter Gonzalez José Washington Sena, Ruben Lopez* and *Héctor José Cervelli* – were murdered in Montevideo.

Guatemala. In December 1972, the world heard of the brutal murder of *Bernardo Alvarado Monzon,* General Secretary of the CC, Guatemalan Party of Labor, *Mario Silva Jonama. Carlos René Valle y Valle, Hugo Barrios Klee, Carlos Alvarado Jeres* and *Miguel Angel Hernandez,* members of the Central Committee, and *Fantina Rodriguez,* an active Party member.

Guinea-Bissau. On January 20, 1972, *Amilcar Cabral,* outstanding leader of the African national liberation movement, General Secretary of the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands), was assassinated.

Chile. On September 11, 1973, President *Salvador Allende* was killed. After overthrowing the lawful Popular Unity government, the fascist junta murdered over 30,000 persons.

The list is a long one. Some were young, others mature. Their love of life and people led them to hate imperialism. The death of every one of them is an indictment of imperialism.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF ROBBING THE WORKING PEOPLE

The past five years have shown the indefensibility of bourgeois theories claiming that the scientific and technological revolution brings new capitalist prosperity, that state monopoly regulation holds the promise of crisis-free development and that labor-capital 'partnership' and 'equality' alter the anti-popular nature of the exploiting system. The gulf between wealth and poverty in capitalist society is as wide as ever. Inflation, rising prices, chronic unemployment and coordinated monopoly attack on the working people's rights are part of everyday life in developed capitalist countries.

Extremes of wealth and poverty

Wealth. In the United States, 41 per cent of the national income is pocketed by five per cent of the population. The income of one of the 6,000 richest people in France is 2,000 to 4,000 times the earnings of a factory worker. F. Flick, the West German magnate, could alone buy the land of a city as big as Munich or pay a year's wages to all the workers of Frankfurt-am-Main.

Poverty. In the United States, 25.5 million people, 12.5 per cent of the population, subsist on relief. There are vast 'poverty areas' in the U.S., Britain, France, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries.

Unemployment

Officially registered unemployed in developed capitalist countries, 1969-1973 (thousands)

	All Countries	USA	Britain	FRG	France	Italy	Japan	Canada
1969	6.5	2,831	566	179	223	663	512	382
1970	7.9	4,088	602	149	262	616	491	495
1971	10.0	4,993	776	185	337	613	547	552
1972	10.5	4,140	855	247	380	701	584	562
1973*	11.0	4,435	720	408	423	318	543	561

*Highest monthly rate; tentative figures.

Growing crisis phenomena and recession toward the end of 1973 led to an even steeper rise in unemployment. By February there were about five million jobless in the United States and 4,000,000 in the nine Common Market countries.

Mounting exploitation

Imperialism uses increasingly brutal forms of exploitation and direct or indirect methods of cutting pay and lowering the working people's standard of life. From 1947 to 1972 labor productivity in the American manufacturing industry rose by 170 per cent and retail prices of its output by 87 per cent. Yet wages in the industry went up by only 47 per cent. On the basis of these data, Victor Perlo, the American economist, estimated that as against 1947 today a worker gets half as much for the same work, while his employer makes 84 per cent more profit.

The *working day* in most capitalist countries is longer than established by law or by collective agreements, e.g., four and three hours more per week, in France and West Germany respectively.

Taxes are becoming an ever heavier burden for the working people. In the United States, local taxes in 1972 grew by 12 per cent and federal taxes by 18 per cent, almost 70 per cent of the latter being paid by workers. The share of tax in the average American's pay is 30 per cent. In the FRG 80 per cent of tax revenues come from the workers.

Child labor is widely used in capitalist countries, where 43 million children are employed, according to the International Labor Organization in Geneva.

Women are paid substantially less than men for equal work: the difference is 41 per cent in Britain, 32 in Belgium, 25 in Italy, 23 in France, and 30 in the FRG.

Immigrant workers are most brutally exploited. There are about 10 million foreign workers in Western Europe. They live in shanties and bidonvilles. Veritable ghettos have sprung up in West German, French and Belgian cities. Foreign workers are the lowest paid. In France they earn considerably less than the minimum demanded by the General Confederation of Labor.

The traffic in migrant labor has become a highly profitable busi-

ness. In the FRG alone, it is carried on by some 2,500 businessmen, some of whom make profits of up to 50,000 marks per day.

Rising prices

The past five years have seen the cost of living in the United States rise by 26 per cent, with retail prices going up as much as in the previous 15 years. Inflation may be said to snatch more and more food from the table of millions of Americans. In the first half of 1973, meat prices rose by 41 per cent and per capita consumption dropped 12 per cent.

On coming to power four years ago, the Conservatives promised the British people a 'better future.' Under Tory rule prices increased as follows: Meat by 52 per cent, fish by 62 per cent, milk, cheese and fruit by 40 per cent.

The pace of inflation has quickened in the recent period. In 1973 prices grew up by an unprecedented margin: 30.6 per cent in Greece, 28.4 in Iceland, 20.1 in Portugal, 19.1 in Japan, 14.3 in Spain, 10.5 in Britain and nine per cent in the United States, France and West Germany.

Control measures adopted by capitalist governments prove useless. Price fluctuation and growth afford the monopolies ample opportunities for gain.

Search for homes

In spite of a fast growing building industry, large sections of the population of capitalist countries live in houses without proper amenities, and many people are homeless. The situation is aggravated by typically capitalist imbalances in housing distribution. According to the French National Institute of Statistical and Economic Research, most eight- to ten-room flats, and many of 16 or more rooms (12 per cent of the country's housing) are occupied by families of one to five. At the same time, over 300,000 one-room flats are occupied by families of four or five, 92,000 flats of the same size are occupied by six to ten people, 178,000 two-room flats give shelter to six or seven people each, and 57,000 flats of the same size are tenanted by eight to 16 people.

Rent in most capitalist countries ranges between 30 and 40 per cent of a worker's pay, and is increasing. The laws curbing rent increases during World War II and in the early postwar years have been repealed in most capitalist countries. In Western Europe rents have lately increased by 10 to 12 per cent.

Fewer and fewer people can afford decent housing, and many houses and flats remain empty. In Italy, for example, there are about 7,400,000 vacant rooms. In Rome alone over 80,000 newly built flats are untenanted.

Victims of the profit drive

Imperialism creates conditions detrimental to the working people's health and lives.

Due to the growing intensification of labor, the nervous and physical overstrain resulting from it, and the employers' neglect of industrial safety, every day in U.S. enterprises, for example, sees 55 people die and 8,500 suffer in accidents. In the FRG industrial accidents occur on average every 13 seconds; one worker becomes totally disabled every three minutes, and every two hours one is killed at work.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF ENDLESSLY REPRODUCING ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

In the capitalist world, what is of advantage to imperialists is to the disadvantage of the working people.

Towns and villages, roads and buildings require improvements, yet huge public funds are spent in the exploiters' interests.

Coffee and butter, fruit and vegetables are destroyed so that prices may be put up, yet millions of people do not have enough.

Some spend in one minute more than others can earn in all their lives. The dogs of the rich enjoy every luxury, yet countless people are doomed to poverty from the day they are born. Banks occupy palaces while schools occupy hovels.

Against the background of the continuing concentration and centralization of capital, international monopolies use their economic power more and more to influence government policies. The turnover of General Motors is greater than the GNP of Switzerland, that of Standard Oil greater than Denmark is, and Ford, than Norway is. The liquid assets of multinational companies stand at $268 billion, twice as much as the hard currency reserves of the central banks of all developed capitalist countries. 'These industrial giants,' the West German *Spiegel* notes: 'are engaged in production on every continent. They hire and fire hundreds of thousands of workers, strip governments of power and sow discord between nations.'

Like a malignant tumor, imperialism parasites on society and destroys it. The state defending monopoly interests cannot remedy the deepening general crisis of the system, the expansion and interlocking of crisis phenomena, which means hardship for the working people.

Monetary crisis

The present stage of the monetary crisis began with the rush on gold late in 1967 and early 1968 and the devaluation of the pound sterling and, in its wake. of the currencies of two dozen other capitalist countries. Two flare ups of the crisis – in 1971 and 1973 – ended in devaluations of the dollar.

In the 60s the official price of gold was $35 an ounce; in the first half of 1973 an ounce fetched $100 or more, and during speculation bouts the price soared as high as $175 and more.

The crisis destroyed the postwar monetary system of capitalism. The world policeman policy of U.S. imperialism and its huge spend-

ing – on aggressive military and political programs – was even more than even the wealthiest capitalist country could afford.

Many capitalist countries floated their currencies.

The monetary crisis is seen in the growing balance of payments deficit of developed capitalist countries. Economists estimate that in 1974 the deficit will amount to $6.5 billion in Japan, $5 billion in Britain, $3.5 billion each in France and Italy, and $2.5 billion in the FRG.

The devaluation of the dollar hits other capitalist countries hard: the first devaluation (which brought down the official rate by 8.57 per cent) cost them $2 billion in two months; the second (with the rate dropping by 10 per cent) cost still more. The West German Federal Bank announced that the devaluation of the dollar had cost the FRG over 7.2 billion marks.

The disarray in currency told heavily on the economy of developing countries. After the first devaluation of the dollar in December 1971, they lost $1.6 billion, according to UNCTAD.

Ecological crisis

The capitalist mode of production and the drive for maximum profit lead inevitably to destruction of the environment.

Water. According to UN data, up to 10 million tons of oil and 5,000 tons of mercury are dumped into the sea every year. The use of bad water in the capitalist world results in about half a billion people contracting dysentery, typhoid fever, cholera and other diseases every year.

Atmosphere. In Sweden, industry emits over 200,000 tons of dust and 400,000 tons of sulphur dioxide into the air every year.

Capitalist monopolies are the biggest polluters of the environment. General Motors, which accounts for 35 per cent of the air pollution in the U.S., spends a meagre 0.06 per cent of the value of its finished products on environmental protection.

Radiation is a great threat to human life. Radioactive wastes dumped into the Columbia River (USA) have raised the radioactivity of plankton to 2,000 times the permissible rate, and of fish 15,000 times.

Imperialism is responsible for the destruction of the national and planetary biospheres.

Energy crisis

The capitalist world's oil and gas industry is dominated by an international oil cartel of seven major monopolies accounting for 63 per cent of the oil and 80 per cent of the gas produced in capitalist and developing countries. In a bid for superprofits, the monopolies prefer to make money by paying low prices for imported oil rather than investing more in their own countries. From 1950 to 1972 U.S. oil monopolies headed by Exxon, one of the largest, increased oil output abroad from 100 million to 850 million tons and today they produce 60 per cent more away than at home. Oil monopolies do their utmost to raise the prices of oil products and from time to time intensify energy 'shortages' by artificial means. *L'Humanité*, the French Com-

munist daily, published a table showing the growth of earnings in the third quarter of 1973 compared with the same period of 1972 of the 'seven sisters,' whose profits had gone up as follows: Exxon by 80.9 per cent, Gulf 56 per cent, Standard Oil of California 50.6 per cent, Mobil Oil 58.5 per cent, Texaco 47.2 per cent; British Petroleum 285 per cent and Royal Dutch Shell 275 per cent.

The energy crisis aggravates social contradictions in imperialist countries and leads to the curtailment of production and massive dismissals. In the first two months of 1974, General Motors laid off 113,000 workers, one-fifth of its work force.

Symptoms of a sick society

Lawlessness is on the rise. In the FRG, crime has doubled in the last 10 years. Daily, 8,000 Americans enter prison gates for the first time, and as many as 1,500,000 are behind bars at one time. Four burglaries are committed every hour in Paris and its suburbs, and the daily count is about 100.

Juvenile delinquency is growing disastrously. More than half the crimes in London and suburbs, statistics show, are committed by juveniles.

Drugs are a calamity in the United States, where hard drug addicts number more than half a million. In 1973 there were 25,000 arrests for drug trafficking, but enough marijuana and hashish were imported to make five billion cigarettes. And in the FRG 30 to 40 per cent of the population from 15 to 25 has used one or another drug.

Violence is encouraged in books and from cinema and TV screens. More than 600 U.S. cinemas specialize in sadistic films. Monthly, 20 million copies of magazines and books devote themselves to detailed descriptions of violence and torture. U.S. television presents an average of eight scenes of violence every hour. A study of FRG TV programs revealed that every week the viewer is shown an average of 416 viiolent crimes – 103 murders, 52 fights, 27 shootings, 7 bank robberies, 8 cases of arson, 8 executions, 27 kidnappings, 27 muggings and 16 burglaries.

The credibility crisis

Another characteristic of the capitalist world is the growing mistrust of imperialist social and political institutions.

In France, 52 per cent of those polled on this score said the present government could not lead the country out of its financial and economic troubles.

The masses mistrust imperialist governments and government spokesmen. Seventy per cent of polled Americans declared that 'political corruption' has grown into a national calamity, while 61 per cent were alarmed by 'the administration's inability to cope with the nation's problems.' And Americans have every reason to be concerned, especially after Watergate. According to the U.S. Justice Department, in 1973 criminal convictions were passed on the U.S. Vice-President,

two members of the cabinet, three members of the House of Representatives, one Senator, one federal judge, and more than 50 high state officials.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In 1960, the UN General Assembly proclaimed, with 89 countries voting for and 9 abstaining, 'the need "forthwith and unconditionally to put an end to colonialism" in all its forms and manifestations.'

But the aftermaths of colonialism are still a burden on the peoples of the developing countries.

The imperialist states employ refined neo-colonialist methods to plunder the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Nearly 35 million still bear the colonial yoke.

Death and hunger

The mortality rate in some Asian and African countries is still as high as 100 per 1,000 population.

The average life span in Paraguay is just over 50 years, 45 in Bolivia, 40 in Brazil, and 32 in Haiti.

In the world some 80,000 die daily from malnutrition and starvation. In Africa, one in every three children dies before the age of five. In Brazil, 40 per cent of the children (80 million) suffer brain disorders caused by malnutrition. In Argentina, 30,000 children under six, and in Colombia 90,000, die annually from starvation.

Inherited illiteracy

The population of former colonies and dependent countries is 97 per cent illiterate: 756 million cannot read or write.

In some African countries only 2-5 per cent of the population is literate. In Saudi Arabia, nine out of 10 children have never gone to school, and in Iran five out of 10. Official OAS estimates show that due to a shortage of 300,000 classrooms, 15 million children in Latin America are denied even primary schooling. Ninety per cent of the population in Haiti are illiterate. Only 1,000 out of every 1,400 children join the first form in Brazil, 396 pass to the second, only 169 finish the fourth, 20 go through secondary school, and one finishes university. In Colombia only eight out of every 1,000 schoolchildren manage to finish school.

Perpetuated inequality

The people in the developing countries – over 72 per cent of the population of the non-socialist world – account for a mere 12 per cent of industrial output. The continuous plunder of those countries widens the gap between per capita incomes. In 1850 the annual per capita national income in Europe and the United States was $145 (in 1960 prices) and $80 in the rest of the world. In 1970, it was $2,970 in the developed capitalist countries and $225 in the developing.

U.S. experts Kahn and Wiener estimate that at the present rate Indonesia would need nearly 600 years, Colombia more than 350, and Nigeria more than 300 to reach the 1965 per capita income of, say, the United States.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF AN ARMS DRIVE THAT CONSUMES COLOSSAL HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES AND CREATES THE DANGER OF A WORLD THERMONUCLEAR WAR

Imperialism has spawned the military-industrial complex, the epitome of militarist designs, the profit drive of arms manufacturers and the plans of the aggressive elements in government quarters. Their ambitions spur a continuous build-up of the war machine.

Something like 50 million people, or more than the entire able-bodied population of Britain and the FRG, are directly or indirectly involved in military-purpose activities. At least every fourth scientist, researcher and engineer in the capitalist world is employed in miltary fields. Military research and development consume approximately $25 billion annually, while expenditure on medical research barely reaches $4 billion.

The more developed the military technology the higher is its cost. A submarine of second world war vintage cost $4.7 million, a 1968 submarine $200 million, and the latest U.S. Trident class submarine more than $1 billion. It woud take half of France's annual budget to build 25 submarines of this class.

The stockpile of means of destruction is so great that there are about 15-30 tons of explosive for every person in the world. In other words, for 1,000 of the population there is explosive power equivalent to the bomb dropped on Hiroshima, which killed or wounded more than 140,000 people.

The imperialist monopolies have the biggest stake in the arms race. They and they alone profit from this wasteful use of human and material resources.

The most militarized power

The United States spent $281.4 billion during the second world war, while its military spending in the past five years totalled nearly $400 billion.

In the 1974-1975 fiscal year the United States is planning to spend $87.7 billion for military purposes. This is the biggest military budget in its 198-year history. It will swallow up almost 30 cents out of every U.S. taxpayer's dollar.

The United States keeps one-quarter of its troops, 561,000 men and officers, abroad. In the 20s, U.S. soldiers were stationed in just three foreign lands, during the second world war in 39, and by the 70s in 64. The U.S. has more than 450 large military bases in foreign lands.

Alliance of militarists

The joint NATO armed forces consist of more than one million men. According to the London Institute of Strategic Studies, 26 NATO

divisions are deployed in northern and central Europe with 5,500 tanks and 2,166 planes, and 34 divisions in southern Europe with 2,100 tanks and 980 planes. They have 200 airfields, 6,300 miles of fuel pipelines, and 27,300 miles of ground communications. The U.S. command in Western Europe controls more than 7,200 nuclear warheads.

In the 25 years of NATO, its member-countries have spent $1,500 billion for military purposes. This money could have built almost two thousand giant power stations like the Aswan complex in Egypt, their total capacity more than trebling the present world power output.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF WARS AND HEINOUS CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLES ASPIRING TO FREEDOM

In this century imperialism has taken a heavier toll of life and material values than humanity paid in all the preceding centuries.

More than 60 million people were killed and 110 million wounded or crippled in the two world wars. Imperialism creates the danger of a third world war, and has saddled humanity with ruinous war preparations.

After the second world war, the imperialists started more than 30 wars and hundreds of armed actions, and continued armed operations in the past five years:

U.S. against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam – 1965 to 1973.
U.S. against the people of Laos – 1954 to 1973.
U.S. against the people of South Vietnam – 1960 to 1973.
U.S. against the people of Cambodia – 1970 to the present.
Israel against the Arab countries – 1956 to the present.
Portugal against Angola – 1961 to the present.
Portugal against Guinea-Bissau – 1962 to the present.
Portugal against Mozambique – 1964 to the present.

Imperialism provokes hostility between newly-independent countries, and incites territorial claims and tribal strife.

Atrocities of the Portuguese colonialists

In 1972, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution requiring Portugal to open negotiations with the national liberation movement of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. On December 16, 1972, Portuguese troops wiped out the more than 400 people living in the Mozambique village of Viriamu. Soldires disembowelled women and stuck heads of decapitated villagers on poles. Similar atrocities are known to have been committed in Angola and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

Portuguese troops have mounted something like 10,000 operations against guerrilla units of the Mozambique Liberation Front between 1971 and June 1973, and continue to launch punitive expeditions from the small corner of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau still under their control.

Handouts to tyrannical regimes

Imperialism supports reactionary regimes suppressing the peoples' struggle for national independence and social justice.

Annual U.S. military and economic 'aid' to *Paraguay* totals more than $12 million. For 20 years, an 'emergency situation' has existed in that country. One-third of *Haiti's* budget consists of the $11 million provided by the United States. Meanwhile, as before, prisons are filled to overflowing with victims of the dictatorial regime. Out of the $4 million in U.S. 'aid' received by *Guatemala* half is spent on maintaining a repressive apparatus. More than 2,000 fighters for democracy were killed there in the past two years. *Colombia* has been under martial law for all of 25 years, with but short intervals of normalcy. In 1970, the U.S. granted nearly $8 million to pay the cost of the Colombian police. The atrocities of Brazilian reaction have not deterred the United States from 'aiding' that country to the tune of some $80 million annually. An emergency situation was declared in *Bolivia* early in 1974, and citizens are arrested on the slightest suspicion. Annual U.S. aid to Bolivia amounts to $42.6 million. The *Philippines*, ruled for a quarter of century by presidents who were puppets of the USA and where the death penalty was reintroduced in 1972, receive more than $100 million in U.S. economic 'aid.' And *Indonesia*, where more than 50,000 political prisoners are detained in concentration camps, gets $250 million. There is a continuous flow of U.S. arms, food and money to the reactionary regimes in South Vietnam, where more than 200,000 patriots are imprisoned, and Cambodia, and to other tyrannical regimes.

The crisis in Northern Ireland

Terror and violence, bombings and street killings are commonplace in Northern Ireland, wher Ulster reactionaries and British soldiers are in control. Nearly 30,000 British troops are stationed there, and the number of killed since 1969 is approaching 1,000. Thousands have been wounded. Hundreds of people are imprisoned. In recent years, more than 60,000 have fled the Catholic districts of Belfast and Derry.

Tragedy in Chile

Imperialism helped overthrow Chile's lawful Popular Unity government. It was imperialism that paved the fascist junta's way to power. When the Popular Unity government took over, Chile became the object of an economic and financial blockade by the United States and West European powers. The country was denied loans which it had been receiving from imperialist international organizations until the Popular Unity government came to power. Private U.S. banks suspended short-term credits totalling $220 million. The embargo on Chilean copper greatly reduced the country's earnings. U.S. monopolies, such as ITT, participated in drawing up plans for overthrowing the Popular Unity government. When the putsch occurred on September 11, 1973, U.S. naval vessels were cruising near Chilean shores.

Now, defying world opinion, the imperialists have again come to the junta's aid: payment of most of the $760 million debt has been deferred, and a loan of $90 million has been promised the Chilean fascists through the International Monetary Fund.

Almost every family has suffered from the gorillas' reign of terror. The country has been turned into a vast concentration camp. Progressive parties. newspapers and organizations are banned. So are all elections: trade union, political, student, and others.

Congress has been dissolved for the first time in Chile's history. As many as 250,000 people have been dismissed from their jobs, and 25,000 students expelled from universities. The cost-of-living has beaten all records: the price of many necessities has risen 18-fold. In 1973 alone, the cost of living climbed 87.9 per cent.

With the help of foriegn imperialists and U.S. monopoly involvement, the International Commission investigating the junta's crimes in Chile pointed out, the putschists conspired against the nation and the lawful government, and captured power. The Commission called on the public, the governments and all international organizations to denounce the crimes against humanity committed by the junta, and to condemn imperialist interference in Chile's internal affairs.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF SUPPORTING FASCISM AND NAZISM

When the Second World War ended, the peoples were promised that nazism and fascism would be rooted out once and for all (Yalta Declaration and 1945 Potsdam Agreement). Yet the fascist regimes in Spain and Portugal were left intact. NATO has helped to set up a fascist regime in Greece. Imperialist-installed puppet regimes often acquire a fascist complexion – those in South Korea and South Vietnam, in Brazil, Chile and elsewhere in Latin America.

Fascist regimes lean for support on monopoly

Today, too, fascism displays its brutal and aggressive character. In Spain, trade unions are banned, save those controlled by the government. Ten prominent trade union leaders, including Marcellino Camacho, have been sentenced to a total of 162 years of imprisonment. In March 1972 the police opened fire on a demonstration of 3,000 workers in El Ferrol. One worker was shot to death. and several were wounded. This is not an exceptional case. Blood flows in many towns and villages. Recently, a young student, Salvador Puig Antich, was executed by garrotting, to which he was sentenced by a Barcelona tribunal.

Portugal has had a fascist dictatorship for 48 years. Hundreds of democrats and anti-fascists have been killed, thousands brutally tortured, nearly 70,000 are under arrest. Ruinous colonial wars costing 44 per cent of the budget, doom people to poverty. As many as 1,300,000 Portuguese had no choice but to emigrate.

The November 1973 coup in Greece only brought in more sadism –

mass arrests, and tortures reminiscent of Nazi times, are mounting in ferocity.

Fascist regimes stay on to power thanks to the 'colonization' of their economy by imperialist monopolies. In Spain, foreign capital controls 80 per cent of the chemical industry, 50 of the automobile industry, and 50 of the service and tourism.

Portugal, too, holds the door wide open for foreign investments. British companies own the tungsten mines, the first-class deposits of potash feldspar, Lisbon's public transport, important sectors of the chemical industry. the oil-transporting facilities, the textile, food, and paper industries, the insurance companies, banks, etc. In the past seven years foreign investments increased fourfold.

The danger of neo-fascism

Parties and groups of fascist complexion are active in 60 capitalist countries. They are forming international neo-fascist leagues.

In Italy, neo-fascists polled 2.9 million votes (8.7 per cent) in the May 1972 parliamentary election. They have 56 deputies and 26 senators in parliament. The neo-fascist party's election campaign was financed from monopoly sources to the tune of 5 billion liras.

The United States has more than 2,600 ultra-right organizations, and West Germany 113, notably the National Democratic Party.

From time to time, fascist elements also become active in other countries.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF RACISM

Following the Second World War all forms of racial discrimination and segregation were condemned in UN resolutions. But imperialism could not care less for international law. Discrimination continues. Millions of people are persecuted for race and color. Racial hatred is fanned. Racial crimes are countless.

The plight of national minorities in the U.S.

In the United States, Blacks are treated as second-class citizens. They comprise something like 12 per cent of the U.S. population, but 31 per cent of the poor and 36 per cent of the illiterate. Other national minorities, such as Mexicans. Puerto Ricans and Jews, also suffer discrimination. Out of the nearly 2,000,000 Puerto Ricans only about 2,000 families have a relatively high income, while the annual income of 23,000 families is far below the 'poverty line.'

Extermination of indigenous populations

Half the remaining Indians in the United States (792,730 according to the 1970 census) live on reservations, the least fertile and gloomiest parts of the continent. The Indians' life expectancy is 46 years – one third below the country's average, while child mortality is 50 per cent higher, TB incidence 8 times higher, and meningitis 20 times higher.

Conditions for the more than 30 million Indians in Latin America have changed little or not at all since Spanish and Portuguese rule. In Paraguay, whites hunt for Ache Indians as for wild animals: the adults are killed and children sold into slavery to planters. The Indian population is being mercilessly decimated in Brazil and Colombia.

Supporting apartheid

The 14 million Africans in the Republic of South Africa are denied all civic rights. The policy of apartheid has stripped the indigenous population of the rights and living conditions accorded to whites. The Africans, who constitute 70 per cent of the population, are treated as rightless 'alien elements' and 'immigrant workers.'

The United Nations and its various organizations have adopted 80 resolutions against racism in South Africa. However. U.S., British, FRG, French, Japanese and Swiss monopolies compete for a bigger share of the South African home market. There are 292 U.S. companies in the country (direct assets nearly $966 million) and more than 500 British companies, whose profits are 50 per cent higher than those of British monopolies in other countries.

WE ACCUSE IMPERIALISM OF SUBVERSION AGAINST THE SOCIALIST STATES

Since the birth of the world's first socialist state, imperialism has done its utmost to destroy the existing socialism. It mounted a 14-country intervention against the young Soviet Republic, and subversion against the present-day socialist states does not abate for a moment.

The war against socialism

After the Second World War imperialism committed acts of aggression against the socialist states. It has covered itself with shame in the costly war against socialist Vietnam.

In this disgraceful war the United States lost more than 56 thousand men, and 300,000 were wounded. The cost of the aggression in cash was $146 billion.

Supported by the socialist states and progressives all over the world, heroic Vietnam stands unconquered.

Now the reactionaries are trying to thwart the fulfilment of the Paris agreement and impede lasting peace. During the year since the signing of the agreement, the United States supplied South Vietnam with arms worth $284.7 million or 75 per cent more than in 1972.

Ideological subversion

Huge funds are allocated annually for ideological subversion against the socialist countries – $500 million by the United States, $150 million by the Federal Republic of Germany, and millions more by Britain,

France, Japan and other imperialist countries. In the past two decades the volume of subversive radio broadcasts beamed to the Soviet Union, for example, increased 1,500-fold.

Anti-communist agencies operate in 170 U.S. universities, colleges and specialized institutes. West Germany has more than 100 similar agencies.

Imperialism goes far beyond the kind of official propaganda conducted by the USIA (13,000 personnel, annual allocation $250 million). The more blatant and aggressive propaganda is conducted through intermediaries posing as organizations 'independent' of the adminstration.

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are two such organizations financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. Their headquarters are in the United States, but the functional services are in the immediate proximity of the socialist states. The public in Western Europe is protesting against these dangerous sources of international tension in their territory.

HISTORY HAS PASSED SENTENCE ON IMPERIALISM AND IT IS FOR THE PEOPLES TO CARRY IT OUT

Uruguay after the coup

Enrique Rodriguez
Member of Executive
Secretary of CC, CP Uruguay

The fascist coup in Chile and the atrocities of the generals led by Pinochet shocked world opinion. A tremendous wave of solidarity with the Chilean people swept the planet. All this overshadowed another important political development on the American continent, the military coup in Uruguay.[1]

The situation in Uruguay has its distinctive features and we consider it important to inform world opinjon about them through so important a journal, as **World Marxist Review.**

Antecedents

The establishment of a reactionary dictatorship in Uruguay cannot be said to have come as a bolt from the blue to us Communists. Ever since 1968, the trend of social and economic development had been towards a political volte-face and a major clash with the oligarchy. Foreseeing these events, our Party had prepared for them to the best of its ability.

The marked deterioration of the economic situation, the people's

growing poverty against the background of a deep-going and persistant structural crisis of society and the disastrous effects of subservience to Washington and the International Monetary Fund, were bound to give rise to sharp and protracted class conflicts. The scope and intensity of these conflicts were all the greater since our working-class and popular movement, which comprises industrial workers, students and members of the middle strata, is distinguished for high morale and sound organization. At crucial moments, as in 1968, 1970 and 1972, class battles assumed a particularly violent character, some culminating in street clashes despite the state of emergency, extraordinary 'security' measures and the like.

Our Party, backed by a vast mass struggle, strove to bring into being a Democratic National Liberation Front that would be the social force of the revolution. The proletariat formed a powerful united trade union center, the National Labor Convention, and a Broad Front[2] was established. Or course these achievements did not mean that a Liberation Front had been established (the strategic goal set in our program documents). Nevertheless, they were milestones in Uruguay's social, political and revolutionary development.

Thus the past five years have been a period in which Uruguayan society, shaken to its foundations, entered a period of difficult struggle highlighted by general strikes, the growing popularity of the Broad Front and closer links between social and political movements, the universities and the Church. Mention should be made of the Tupamaros, an extreme radical, albeit confused and convulsive, youth movement, both in its aspirations and activities, and a subject of much comment.[3] On the other hand, those five years were a period of political assassinations and repression, of a newspaper and university closures.

Uruguay entered the year 1973 in an atmosphere of growing internal antagonisms and polarization between oligarchic and popular forces, with a deepening gulf between a handful of bankers, latifundium holders and a broker bourgeoisie (called *La Rosca* in Uruguay) and an increasingly oppressed and destitute majority of the population, including the middle strata.

Just then the prices of our main export items, in particular meat, wool and hides, rose steeply in the world market. Never before had they been in such high demand. In these circumstances, hard currency receipts from exports became a shower of gold for the oligarchy. But this currency, which flowed in *by no means due to the efforts or acumen of the oligarchy,* was and still is, frittered away. It was not spent on promoting the economy, diversifying industry or modernizing agriculture.[4] The *La Rosca* did not use it for the good of the nation but in their own selfish anti-national and anti-patriotic class interests, for their own enrichment. Part of this money was pocketed by latifudium-holding livestock breeders (600 families owning three-fourths of the country's livestock population). Another part, a very substantial one, found itself in the hands of meat-packing plant owners and meat and wool exporters who were linked with major

companies and had discredited themselves by shady deals. As much as 85 per cent of the nation's export earnings went into the big foreign banks and the so-called national banks, which are actually dependent on international banks.[5]

These facts gave the lie to the oligarchy, which had been talking about 'development' plans, an economic 'upswing,' the 'common good,' the 'Brazilian miracle' and other propaganda drivel. The only thing the oligarchy talks about seriously – and that with the permission of its imperialist masters – is payment on the country's foreign debt plus interest. And the debt is close on $1,000m – in a country of less than three million. Yearly payments on the debt swallow almost half the currency receipts from exports.

All the so-called economic development plans are meant to enable international companies to infiltrate the country, particularly the state sector if, that is, they are interested in it. And in accordance with the 'Brazilian model,' they pay no taxes and are free to take out their money. 'Uruguay is a poor country,' the *La Rosca* assert, 'and the state cannot invest capital.' The country's problems can allegedly be solved only with the help of foreign capital and not through structural reforms such as are advocted by 'Marxist subversives.'

It is an open secret that such a policy makes the country still more dependent on monopoly and that this line of 'development' enables a handful of magnates to amass wealth while the masses starve and are oppressed economically, socially and culturally. This state of affairs is only possible under a despotic regime which bars the road of the people and nation to progress, criminally suppresses the working people's struggle for their demands and silences patriotic forces protesting against the loss of national sovereignty. It is happening in Brazil and Bordaberry and Pinochet want to it to happen in Uruguay and Chile.

From February to June

The political crisis which broke out in Uruguay in February 1973 brought out the rottenness of the present regime. Bordaberry demanded the resignation of the Defense Minister for allowing 'political debates' in the barracks. The President intended to replace him by an old reactionary general, who would be expected to 'restore order in the armed forces.' However, the high command declared that it would accept no new minister. In a televised retort, Bordaberry called on the army to 'disobey the rebellious command' and urged the people to 'defend the institutions' (that is, himself).

The armed forces obeyed their high command and the people ignored Bordaberry's appeal. The Broad Front held a mass meeting demanding the President's resignation because he was inciting unrest and civil war. For three days there was no government and the military command put forward a democratic, if rather confused, program of 19 points. Questions raised first by factory and office workers, teachcers, students and then by priests and nuns came to be discussed in the barracks as well.

The people refused to be mere onlookers and took action. They could not allow the conflict caused by the President, who wanted to stamp out progressive sentiment in the armed forces, to end in a palace revolution, a classical *pronunciamiento*. The people, who voiced their mood at mammoth rallies by demanding Bordaberry's resignation and implementation of the 19-point program, influenced developments to a tangible extent.

As expected, this snowballing movement came up against imperialist resistance. The CIA and the U.S. and Brazilian embassies did their utmost to check a trend which they saw as dangerous. They raised the bogey of a 'Communist threat' and 'Peruvianization.' Possibly fearing a swing to the left among the military, they set out to exploit the heterogeneity of the armed forces and encouraged fascist-minded groups. As for Bordaberry, the U.S. gorillas and their Brazilian underlings advised him to stay in office, pretend to accept the program of the military, and pledge support of the 19 points. Needless to say, he did not have to keep his word.

As the Broad Front and Communist Party have noted, it was after interference from without that reaction took the offensive under the direction of Rightist army leaders who had made a deal with Bordaberry. On June 27 they dissolved parliament and closed down democratic newspapers and radio stations, that is, carried out a coup.

The fascists vented their fury on the National Labor Convention by decreeing its dissolution. The dictator argued that the workers must be 'delivered' from the Marxist 'hierarchy.' Deliverance was to come through a 'secret ballot.' It was never held: the dictatorship got word that the workers were going to vote for outlawed union leaders. At the university, where an attempt was made to 'expel the Marxists,' over 80 per cent of the voters said *No* to the dictatorship.

The traditional Catholic festival of Corpus Christi was banned as an allegedly subversive action, which deeply angered the Catholic masses. The President is reported to have asked the Vatican in vain to replace the Bishop Coadjutor for refusing to submit to the dictatorship.

Many books, periodicals, newspapers, films, records and songs were banned. *El Popular*, the Communist daily, was suppressed ('forever'). There was no stopping the dictator. General Liber Seregni, Chairman of the Broad Front, was jailed. On December 1 the Communist and Socialist parties, the Federation of University Students and other Left-wing organizations were outlawed. Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CC CPU, described this government move as a further step toward closer links with the Brazilian gorillas.

To justify all this, Bordaberry and his crowd raised a hue and cry about the 'Marxist danger.' Popular unrest spread to all parts of the country, culminating in a powerful general strike. Reaction tried to scare the military by describing the strikers' demands as 'subversive,' though one of them was operation of the 19-point program.

The dictator was able to win over the reactionary generals and isolate the progressively inclined military. He hoped that the coup

would be followed by more peaceful times for him, but there was no peace, not for a single moment.

The powerful general strike begun only two hours after the coup, lasted for 15 days. The dictatorship has no support among the people. The heroism, unity, and class consciousness of the working people deserve the highest commendation. Tribute must be paid to those who fell during those days, the hundreds and thousands thrown into jail or dismissed from work. The spirit of the people could not be broken, nor did the struggle cease.

Did the whole of the Uruguayan army support the dictatorship? Perhaps not. But it is quite clear a caste spirit dominates the armed forces, and only very deep upheavals can change the situation we have witnessed in Uruguay. The democratically inclined military who participated in the February events were removed. And the Right elements in the army joined with those who in February had intended to 'decapitate' the Uruguayan military. Class fear is like the matchmaker who brings together even incompatible people. But can one confidently assert that such methods of solving differences will strengthen army unity? Might this not become the source of new friction? We do not discount the likelihood of explosions, whose sounds will include echoes of the February 19 clauses.

It should only be added that now, just as in February and during the 15-day general strike, the popular movement will not fall prey to infantile anti-militarism, but will act in the realization that the conflict is not between civilian and military but between the oligarchy and the people.

Some people, filled with despair at the sight of the army participating in events involving killings, arrests, torture, destruction of liberties, etc., cast doubt on our principled position concerning the part to be played in the liberation process by the man in the army greatcoat. They say that we were too naive in trusting the army. Those who say this do not clearly understand the Communist attitude. Party documents prove that Uruguayan Communists have never supported coups and have always been aginst 'military paternalism.' We rejected the 'paternalistic' coup of June 27. Everybody knows this. We said then and repeat now: We cannot refuse to involve the military in the liberation struggle, but this does not mean that we have to praise them, or to exalt their so-called neutrality and loyalty to their professional duty which, allegedly, precludes their participation in class battles.

To attract the military means to win people who carry arms to the side of the liberation struggle, and to achieve their organic merging with the ranks of the patriots fighting against imperialism. Our position with respect to the army is: not against the people, not without the people, but with the people. This may seem simple to some, but to achieve such a situation is no easy matter.

Faith in eventual victory

At the beginning of this article it was said that the Chilean events are the focus of attention. This is only natural. An important social

experiment stemming from the revolutionary process and embodied in the Popular Unity program was halted in Chile with unbelievable brutality. Much that is cruel is now taking place in Uruguay, but the losses suffered by our country lapped by the waters of the La Plata and the Atlantic, cannot be compared with the sacrifices endured on the other side of the Andes.

Viewed historically and politically, the Chilean events embody clearly defined specific features. It is here that imperialism 'settles accounts' for its many defeats. There are, in our opinion, two reasons for the brutality. Firstly, imperialism decided to teach Latin America a lesson similar to the Indonesia example, which it had been unable to do in 1961 in the Bay of Pigs. Secondly, imperialism clearly feels its weakness, and experiences uncertainty, for only a realization of historical doom can explain its brazen challenge to world public opinion. The CIA and the Nixon administration have achieved a big, albeit temporary, success in Chile. But our assessment is linked with the present international situation, and without any fatalism or panic.

The events in Uruguay were not like the 'explosive' ones in Chile. Nevertheless, they too constitute an important chapter in the history of the American continent, and there are some similarities to be observed. Since the beginning of the century both countries were regarded as 'oases of bourgeois democracy' (or quasi-democracies, to be more exact) in South America. Although the political peace was preiodically disturbed, the ruling classes governed and maintained the appearance of legality, enabling the masses to develop their political consciousness. But the democracy in our country should not be seen as a favor rendered by the ruling circles or as some exotic phenomena. It was the result of the high level of the class struggle, of many years' development of trends toward popular, trade union and political unity. It is bound up with profound democratic traditions, continued and championed by the working class movement and progressive alliances.

There is another common feature. As we see, the CIA and the U.S. and Brazilian embassies, took an active part in preparing and carrying out both thes coups. The well-known fact that several years ago Yankee imperialism worked out a long-term plan whose aim was to preserve its Latin American 'backyard,' is frequently forgotten. This 'backyard' is especially needed now when it is suffering defeat in other parts of the world. We must never forget the meticulous, patience and pertinacity with which the enemy acts. Our main task is to oppose the plans for imperialist domination of our continent by unity as strong as a clenched fist.

Even such terrible tragedies as Chile, Uruguay and others cannot halt the forward march of history. The socialist community is strengthening, the Soviet people are successfully building communist society. The prestige of Cuba, the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere, the profound social processes in Peru, the events in Panama and Argentina are all of enormous significance.

We are no happy go-lucky optimists and have never put forward

or supported the stupid thesis about imperialism being a 'paper tiger.' No, this is a predator, which though doomed to destruction, is yet capable of the greatest crimes. The intelligence agencies of imperialism are not broken toys kept in the attic. Of this we are in no doubt. But we lose no sleep when raving lunatics like Pinochet or Bordaberry proclaim: 'We shall put an end to Communism.' Communism, the great creation of the proletariat, will triumph in America and throughout the world. One can say that the working class is drawn to communism like a plant to the sun.

The Bordaberry dictatorship has not succeeded in destroying the trade union movement. It lives, works and is recovering from its many wounds. It is prepared to continue the struggle in new conditions. The 15-year alliance of the working class and its National Labor Convention with students and universities is becoming stronger. The prestige of General Liber Seregni is growing in the country, on the continent and throughout the world, and the campaign for his freedom is developing.[6] The Broad Front, in the difficult circumstances of a tyrannical regime, is strengthening its ties with forces outside its ranks, but which adopt anti-dictatorship positions, such as some opposition circles of the National Party.

As for us Communists, naturally, it was not easy for us to go over to conditions of deep illegality. But with justified pride we declare that CPU has withstood this severe trial, has preserved and strengthened its unflinching ideological unity without losing its tactical flexibility and links with the masses in new conditions very unlike those in which it has fought for many years. Nor has our fraternal alliance with the Socialist Party suffered. This is a guarantee of progress in Uruguay.

In February of this year the EC of the Communist Party of Uruguay distributed a Manifesto which states that the most important thing now is to raise the level of the force of the people's struggle; strengthen and extend the political unity of the opposition forces on all fronts of the struggle against reaction, and draw into it the patriotically inclined military who do not wish to serve the interests of the oligarchy. The Manifesto gives an assessment of the 53 years of Party struggle, emphasizes the role of the working class, the Broad Front and the Party itself in the successful fulfilment of the immediate political tasks and future developments. The CPU calls on the people to unite, to fight for changes, for a new political, patriotic, democratic and progressive reality.

The Communists will fulfil their pledge to the people – always to be in the forefront of the struggle, no matter where it is taking place, and to be a reliable base of the Broad Front.

On questions of the liberation struggle our Party has a clearly enunciated viewpoint. Experience will show whether the line we have worked out is correct. One of our Party documents of the last few months states: 'Our policy is not affected by changes in the position of the military. We rely on the working class and the people, on their trade union and political unity, on their activity, their mobilization, organization, on their decisive participation in events.'

We have striven and are striving to transform the Party into an influential political force able to take important decisions, react boldly and with flexibility to changing circumstances. We have tried to train ourselves accordingly, putting the Party and its ideology above all else, strengthening the principle of the Party spirit in all its many-sided activities.

We know and feel that all this will be to our advantage now. Party spirit is not synonymous with isolation, dogmatism or complacency. On the contrary, Party spirit is a condition for genuine leadership of the masses. It means living for the masses, sharing their misfortunes, communicating with them, learning from them and teaching them.

It is precisely now, when we are deprived of a legal voice that the Party pays particular attention to strengthening its ties with the masses and to forms of work which we did not employ formerly. We listen even more carefully now to the people's demands and, united with them as never before, we continue the struggle and are confident that victory will be ours.

1. On June 27, 1973, after almost 75 years of bourgeois democratic development, a coup was carried out in Uruguay to crush working-class and revolutionary democratic organizations and do away with the remnants of representative democracy. Parliament was dissolved and the Constitution and basic freedoms trampled underfoot. Power was seized by a reactionary government plainly imitating the Brazilian dictatorship.

2. The most powerful popular organization in Uruguayan history, led by General Liber Seregni and including prominent military and civilian leaders. The Front was supported by the Communist, Socialist and Christian Democratic parties, as well as by those who had broken with the traditional ruling parties (Colorado and National) and by other Left-wing forces.

3. For details about the Tupamaros and the revolutionary process in Uruguay, see Alberto Suarez, 'The Oligarchy or the People?' *WMR*, February 1973.

4. Nothing was done to combat speculation or effect an agrarian reform. This prevented greater activity on the home market, which is in a deplorable state, and the employment of hundreds of young people looking for jobs.

5. The international financial pirates entrenched on the Bahamas, in Switzerland, Boston and London 'remote-control' Uruguayan affairs. Their interests dovetail with those of bankers heading ministries (the regime had to jail some of them for monstrous abuses). This is what the *La Rosca* lording it over the country are like.

6. In breach of Article 168 of the Constitution, the authorities did not permit Seregni to go abroad. They kept him in prison for 7 months without an indictment. On February 15 a military tribunal commenced its investigations. The absurd accusation has been made that Liber Seregni attacked the Constitution, engaged in conspiratorial activities and fomented disorder. The lawlessness of Uruguayan reaction has aroused the indignation of world opinion. Many Latin American political parties have protested and demanded the immediate release of this outstanding Uruguayan statesman and public figure.

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