WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

Dec. 1974, Vol. 17, No. 12 50¢

Changes in Greece /95

Crisis of capitalism /79

European peace and security /3

Dead ends of neo-colonialism /111

Victims of genocide /108

Fascist defeats /26

Workers of all countries, unite!

WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

December 1974, Vol. 17, No. 12

Communists and European security

4 Fraternal Party leaders speak

12 Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe to hold conference

14 Broader front of the peace struggle
G. Hahn

19 The détente and the confrontation of ideas
B. Suika

26 Fascist defeats and the extreme right menace
A. Galkin

36 Responsibility for the future of Europe
Shytikov, A., Gensous P., Kubka, J. Salati, R., Oppenheimer, M.

48 For European peace and security
E. Dort

The Party

52 The search for new ways. Fidelity to principle
I. Nørlund

60 The Bulgarian Communist Party's experience in building up the armed forces of the revolution
T. Dragoicheva

Theory

69 The science of revolution and building the new society
T. Görög

79 The crisis of capitalism: some of the problems
J. Purton

Political panorama

88 Portuguese reaction played for high stakes and lost
A.D. Lourenco

95 The changes in Greece
V. Venetsanopoulos

(Continued next page)

(Cont'd)

99 **Regime without a future**
C. Cuadra

107 **Last resort of the dictatorship**
L. Zapirain

108 **Victims of genocide**
T. Mbokaya

111 **Dead ends of neo-colonialism**
J. Suret-Canal

Books, the press

121 **Book reviews**

135 **Contents for 1974**

Second class mail registration number 2352. Printed in Canada.

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

Microfilm edition available through University Microfilms Library Service.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $5.00 a year, $9.00 for two years. Single copies 50 cents. Overseas: $8.50 a year.

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

Subscriptions to these may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto.
M5V 1T4

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

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
M5V 1T4

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

Mass action against imperialism is a condition for implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence . . . Alongside its universal tasks, the struggle for peace has very important tasks of a more specific or more regional nature whose aims are to assure security in some continents or geographic zones. The attainment of these objectives which are interlinked corresponds to the interests and aspirations of all Communists, all anti-imperialist forces, all the peoples of the world. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 1969.*

Europe;

– birthplace of the industrial revolution;
– cradle of Marxism-Leninism, the doctrine transforming the world;
– continent of great revolutions and birthplace of socialism;
– center of culture and progressive thought;
– region swept by devastating wars, including two world wars;
– birthplace of the popular movement of peace supporters;
– arena of fierce class battles;
– continent where the two social systems border on each other;
– sphere of activity of 25 million Communists.

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE, SECURITY, COOPERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN EUROPE is the theme of the Conference of Communist and Workers' parties to be held before the middle of 1975.

This issue of *WMR* tells about the Communists' contribution to international cooperation and security; the use of international détente in the fight agianst imperialism; the historical doom of fascism; weakening positions of the advocates of "psychological war;" the role of progressive opinion in promoting peace in Europe.

Leaders of 28 Communist and Workers' parties of Europe evaluate developments on the continent and in the world.

Fraternal Party leaders speak

LEONID BREZHNEV
General Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The socialist countries have put a lot of effort into the struggle for the convocation and success of the all-European Conference. We had no illusions that holding the first such meeting in history would be easy. And, as it turned out, there have been, and still are, difficulties at the Conference. Some of them stem from the natural dissimilarity of views on particular issues, and others from the desire of some of the participants to obtain unilateral advantages. Yet it is already clear that the interests of European peace impose the imperative of concluding the all-European Conference at the earliest possible time. The Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist states are doing their utmost for the Conference to culminate in success, which will help lay enduring foundations for security and peaceful cooperation in Europe.

We believe that the decisions of the Conference will facilitate fruitful bilateral and multilateral cooperation among states of the European continent in the political, economic, scientific, cultural and other fields. It is our common task to work for the gradual evolution of a new era on the ancient continent of Europe – an era of sensible relationships and mutual confidence.

The jointly elaborated policy of the countries of our community shows clearly that the socialist states are prepared to work actively for this aim. They profer a hand of peace and friendship to the other countries of the continent, and hope for constructive cooperation.

EDWARD GIEREK
First Secretary, Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

By following the policy of the socialist community, People's Poland has contributed to the fact that guns have been silent in Europe for nearly 30 years. And we want this to be the case in future as well; we want a peace so dependable and lasting that no generation of our people should ever experience the horrors and sufferings of war.

GUSTAV HUSAK
General Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Lasting peace in Europe requires that the Conference for security and Cooperation should end successfully in the nearest possible future with the adoption of guarantees contributing effectively to the consolidation of security on the European continent.

TODOR ZHIVKOV
First Secretary, Central Committee,
Bulgarian Communist Party

The internationalist class policy of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries has culminated in the universal recognition of the inviolability of frontiers and of the political-territorial arrangement in present-day Europe, and in the renunciation of the use of force in settling disputes.

JANOS KADAR
First Secretary, Central Committee,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

The socialist countries, and the Communist and Workers' parties of the world, inscribed the inseparable concepts of socialism and peace on their banners. That is the requirement of the times. These two aims are at the source of the growing influence and historic mission of our world movement, the greatest hope for the future of mankind.

JOSIP BROZ TITO
Chairman, League of Communists of Yugoslavia

Guided by the Marxist teaching that the laws governing relations between people should also prevail in relations between countries and peoples, the socialist countries must work for conclusive solutions of international disputes and assure the most effective advance to their common socialist aims. . . .

European security must be integral and must encompass all countries and regions, including the Mediterranean. Only such a Europe can contribute to peace and security, and to the development of other regions of the world.

ERICH HONECKER
First Secretary, Central Committee,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Along with our allies, we are working for the European Security and Cooperation Conference to end constructively in the interest of all participating states without delays and at the highest level. Our Republic actively supports positive steps toward disarmament.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
General Secretary, Rumanian Communist Party

Continued and more vigorous progress to détente in world politics require more intensive struggle by the world's progressive forces. A substantive role is played in this process by the socialist countries. And especially great importance in present-day international affairs belongs to the Soviet Union, which is working actively in support of détente, peace and international cooperation. The socialist countries will doubtless make an ever more weighty contribution to the struggle against the old imperialist policy of domination and diktat, and for the consolidation in the modern world of a new policy – a policy of respect for the independence and sovereignty of each nation and the right of each nation to develop freely in accordance with its will and aspirations. The peoples of all continents, the broad popular masses of the world, must raise their voices and by their will assure the steady progress of the détente policy and dependable consolidation in international affairs of the new democratic principles of interstate relations.

ENRICO BERLINGUER
General Secretary, Italian Communist Party

Thirty years ago the Communists proved that they can be the main force in the universal struggle against fascism. Now there are conditions for the Communists to become a decisive factor of initiative and struggle for building a future of peace and progress along with other working-class and democratic forces, for building a new Europe, a Europe of working people who want to advance to socialism.

I. BILEN
General Secretary, Communist Party of Turkey

The cold war atmosphere sustained by aggressive imperialist circles has already visibly relaxed. A new process of détente has begun in the

world. This change in the international climate was initiated by the dynamic and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, and by the struggle of all progressive forces working for peace, for cooperation among peoples and states.

LOUIS VAN GEYT
Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium

There was widespread response in Belgium, as in other capitalist countries of Europe, to the advances of détente, which were due both to a weakening of the positions of U.S. imperialism and to joint action by the socialist countries and other peace forces to end the cold war. . . .

This, Belgian Communists point out, has created new opportunities for setting up a broad front of working-class and democratic forces extending from the government majority to the opposition and committed to changing the country's foreign and military policy.

JEAN VINCENT
Chairman, Swiss Party of Labor

The conditions have become more favorable, and the socialist world has become stronger. Great progress has been made. And all of us want the so-called Western Europe to embark on social and human progress, peaceful cooperation, security, and socialism. We want to fight for this together with all the foces of progress, democracy, and peace.

ERMENEGILDO GASPERONI
Chairman, San Marino Communist Party

The consistent peaceful coexistence policy of the Soviet Union is an essential factor of the present situation. The general consolidation of the socialist community, the intensification of the peoples' struggle against imperialism – to which our Party has made its modest contribution – and, last but not least, the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism – all this has cumulatively led to a process of détente, opening a new era in European history, a period of the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

JOHN GOLLAN
General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain

The myth of Soviet aggression is surely by now pretty threadbare.

Indeed, the relaxation of tension in Europe, the recognition of the GDR the Berlin agreement, the treaties between the USSR and the FRG and between Poland and the FRG, and the convening of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, are all a tribute to the persistent efforts for peace of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, which have found increasing support among peace-loving people everywhere. . . .

The Communist Party is for Britain's withdrawal from NATO, so that Britain can act independently and use her influence and prestige to establish a firm system of security for the whole of Europe, including the mutual dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

GERHARD DANELIUS
Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

The imperialist policy of cold war has foundered. Today favorable conditions have shaped first of all in Europe for the ever fuller exercise of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and for the initiation of a system of security and cooperation on our continent. Historical successes have been achieved in the struggle for peace and against the spread of nuclear weapons.

KNUD JESPERSEN
Chairman, Communist Party of Denamark

What is is important to stress in the activity of the Communist Party is that it offers an alternative to the policy of the monopolies, the EEC, and to NATO, which are of a distinctly aggressive character.

This alternative has become possible in the wake of the positive changes in Europe, making the détente process irreversible and leading to a system of cooperation based on the equality and sovereignty of states.

These problems, as we know, are being examined by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and certain progress has already been achieved.

The main task of the Danish Communists is to make the problems of European security and cooperation – apart from their discussion at diplomatic level – the cause of broad sections of the public and all the peace forces of our country.

DOLORES IBARRURI
Chairman, Communist Party of Spain

. . . The struggle against the dictatorship in Spain is mounting steadily despite brutal repressions. . . .

. . . The intensified repressions may be regarded as proof of the weakness of the rigime, encountering increasingly united and powerful opposition inside the country. The deepening crisis of Francoism is given added momentum by international developments in Europe – first and foremost the downfall of dictatorial regimes in Portugal and Greece. . . .

The Spanish Communists appreciate the international solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish people for democracy and social progress, the broad campaign for the immediate release of all political prisoners. And we call on the world communist and working-class movement to raise still higher the banner of solidarity in order to hasten the victory of the Spanish people and eliminate the last of the fascist regimes on the European continent.

ALVARO CUNHAL
General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party

The Portuguese Communist Party owes its striking successes to its consistent internationalist policy. Defending the interest of the people, our Party has never budged from its internationalist positions. We have always maintained close ties with the international working-class movement, and have always worked for its unity. . . .

I wish to stress what the solidarity of the world communist and working-class movement, all working people, especially those of the socialist countries, has meant for us. The success of the Portuguese CP in winning the masses for our ideas may be traced, among other things, to the victories and achievements of the socialist countries.

REIDAR LARSEN
Chairman, Communist Party of Norway

It is vitally necessary for our country to break out of the NATO system. The most important task of the Communist Party and the country's other progressive forces is to get the majority of the nation behind this aim. This will add to the nation's ability of charting its development independently.

GEORGES MARCHAIS
General Secretary, French Communist Party

As a party of the working class, we Communists have wrested the banner of the nation from the failing hands of the bourgeoisie. Now, we want to wrest from it the banner of Europe, which it is dragging through the mud of big capitalist swindles and the cold war.... We Communists approach Europe's problems from a class standpoint, the standpoint of the interests and aims of the working class, the working people of town and village.

HERBERT MIES
Chairman, German Communist Party

The German Communist Party is fighting for the FRG to play a positive role in international affairs, for it to carry its share of responsibility for the further relaxation of tension on our continent....

FRANZ MUHRI
Chairman, Communist Party of Austria

Naturally, the developments on the European continent hold special significance for world peace and thereby for the peaceful future of our own country. The phase of détente ushered in by the Soviet, Polish, Czechoslovak and GDR treaties with the FRG, and particularly the recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law, should be furthered and made irreversible by an early positive conclusion of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, that is, by the establishment of a dependable system of European security and cooperation. Only in such a Europe will the people of Austria, too, live without fear of new international conflicts.

MICHAEL O'RIORDAN
General Secretary, Communist Party of Ireland

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, create new problems and opportunities for the various sections of the international communist movement, and the need for cohesion of that movement.

EZEKIAS PAPAIOANNOU
General Secretary, Progressive Party of the
Working People of Cyprus

The solution of the Cyprus question is closely related to the Middle East problem, and also to the continuing process of international détente and the improvement of relations between states with different social systems on the basis of peaceful coexistence. . . .

The Mediterranean can and should be made a peace zone, and Cyprus a bridge of peace, friendship, mutual understanding and cooperation among the peoples of the Mediterranean and the three continents. This lofty aim will be attained as a result of the determined struggle of the Cypriot people, all the other peoples of the rigion, and with the firm support of the mighty Soviet Union, of all the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

AARNE SAARINEN
Chairman, Communist Party of Finland

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the world communist movement, have played a determining and inestimable part in the struggle to weaken imperialist positions, ward off the war danger, and assure international secutiy and a general improvement of the international situation. Take the problem of European security. Many years had passed before the United States and the capitalist countries of Western Europe began heeding the insistent calls of the socialist countries to negotiate the security of the continent. . . . Now, as we know, a decisive turn has taken place.

DOMINIQUE URBANY
Chairman, Communist Party of Luxembourg

Precisely at this time when the general crisis of imperialism is becoming increasingly acute, when economic and social instability, unemployment and uncertainty are growing, the superiority of existing socialism as a crisis-free, historically-necessary social system is becoming more apparent. . . .

Acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence despite the resistance of reaction is creating new, incomparably more favorable conditions for the struggle of the working class and other democratic forces in the capitalist countries against exploitation and for radical social change, for socialism.

HARILAOS FLORAKIS
First Secretary, Central Committee,
Communist Party of Greece

The interests of Greece and peace demand ending U.S. domination, freeing the country from NATO trammels, and getting rid of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and U.S.-NATO bases. The people want détente and peace. The CPG is doing its utmost to turn the Balkans and the Mediterranean into a peace zone.

Achievement of these aims will be Greece's contribution to European security.

KARL-HENRICK HERMANSSON
Chairman, Left Party – Communists of Sweden

The policy of the imperialist countries is motivated by capitalist exploitation and its preservation by all possible means, including war. This is the immediate consequence of their economic system. The socialist countries, on the other hand, have no such aim. Their economic system does not require it.

Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe to hold conference

A consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe was held in Warsaw on the initiative of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Italian Communist Party on October 16-18, 1974. It was attended by delegations of the following parties: Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Belgium, Bulgarian Communist Party, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communist Party of Denmark, Communist Party of Finland, French Communist Party, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Great Britain, Communist Party of Greece, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Ireland, Italian Communist Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Communist Party of Norway, Polish United Workers' Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist

Party, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Communist Party of Spain, Left Party – Communists of Sweden, Swiss Party of Labor, Communist Party of Turkey, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The broad fraternal exchange of opinions, in which all attending parties took part, yielded agreement on the necessity and usefulness of preparing and convening a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe.

It was considered desirable to convene the conference not later than the middle of 1975.

It was agreed that the conference should discuss the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe.

A proposal to hold the conference in the German Democratic Republic was welcomed by the representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The participants expressed their satisfaction over the atmosphere of democratism and fraternal cooperation in which the meeting worked with a view to achieving common standpoints on the basis of equality and respect for the opinions of all parties. They declared their determination of prepare and conduct the conference in the same spirit.

A preparatory meeting of fraternal parties will be held in December 1974-January 1975.

The consultative meeting worked in a spirit of mutual understanding and proletarian solidarity, in full conformance with the norms of relations established between fraternal parties.

FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY WITH FIGHTERS AGAINST FASCISM AND FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The participants in the Warsaw Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe reaffirmed the European Communists' unwavering support for all fighters against imperialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and aggression. They reasserted the fraternal solidarity of their parties with the peoples of Indochina, the Middle East, Central and South Africa, the people of Cyprus fighting for its independence and territorial integrity and against all foreign interference, the people of Northern Ireland fighting for democratic and national rights, and all peoples fighting for independence and the right freely to decide their own future and to dispose of their national wealth.

The participants in the consultative meeting express warm fraternal

solidarity with all fighters against the junta which usurped power in Chile, and demand freedom for Comrade Luis Corvalan and all persecuted patriots and democrats. They firmly demand the release of Comrade Rodney Arismendi and all fighters for freedom and democracy in Uruguay.

The parties participating in the Warsaw meeting declare their warmest fraternal solidarity with the Communist Party, working class, and entire people of Spain fighting for liberation from fascist tyranny, and demand the release of Comrades Romero Marin, Sanchez Montero, Fernandez Inguanzo, Lucio Lobato, leaders of workers' commissions Marcelino Camacho and his comrades, and all those languishing in Franco prisons.

The participants in the consultative meeting hail the peoples of Portugal and Greece who overthrew fascist regimes and are fighting to consolidate their democratic gains.

Broader front of the peace struggle

Prof. Gerhard Hahn
Director of Institute of
International Relations, Academy
of Constitutional Law (GDR)

The recent changes in international relations speak of the growing influence of the forces of peace and socialism. A conspicuous result of the détente policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is that the cold war started by the imperialist powers to aggravate the confrontation between states with different social systems is steadily receding into the past. The principles of peaceful coexistence have become a fact of international life. Cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries is growing in different fields.

But the most outstanding outcome of the constructive peace policy is that for nearly 30 years peace has prevailed and the search for political solutions prevented regional conflicts from growing into world conflagrations.

To be sure, the détente was received with bad grace in certain Western capitalist quarters. Unlike the more realistic elements who took account of the relation of world strength, the foes of détente are

straining to reverse the course of events that began in the 70s, boosting the arms race, trying to subvert treaties formalizing the principles of peaceful coexistence, obstructing agreement on arms restriction, and resisting equal discrimination-free international economic cooperation. They seize on every sign of instability in the capitalist world to substantiate their anti-détente policy – economic difficulties, inflation, shortages of raw materials and energy, the growing political uncertainty in some capitalist countries, and the like.

But an analysis will show that despite their resistance, the battle against the war danger is entering a new phase, opening up good prospects of lasting world peace.

The socialist world – a bastion of peace

In view of the changes on the international scene, we cannot avoid the difficult question of the relation between the struggle for peace and that against imperialism. It is doubly topical on the practical and theoretical planes, because we have now set out to make détente irreversible.

Maintenance of peace, the Communist Parties hold, is the central issue of our time. And it has never been more obvious that the struggle for peace is dialectically connected with the interests and perspectives of social progress. War, which stands for destruction of human life and the productive forces, is an exteme act of imperialist policy. Marxism-Leninism has proved that in the final analysis its causes are rooted in the existence and domination of capital as a social relationship of exploitation and oppression. This is why frustrating aggressive military designs is a blow at imperialism.

On the other hand, the social reconstruction that will in the Communist view provide the necessary conditions for the emancipation of the personality, its creativity, and all society, includes the aim of sparing humanity from the horrors of war. This is an axiom of revolutionary Marxism, which has declared its opposition to 'a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure.' What we are working for is a foreign policy aimed at eliminating war. The movement for this policy 'forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes' (Marx, 'Inaugural Address of the W.I.A.').

It is thanks to Marxism-Leninism, the scientific world outlook of the working class, that man's dream of lasting peace has ceased to be fantasy, a cherished but unattainable ideal. It is a priceless historical achievement of the working class, an expression of its creative potential, that guided by its revolutionary theory it has pinpointed the objective premises for peace and torn down the veil of 'secrecy'

covering the origins, conditions and causes of war. Acting on this knowledge, socialism has turned man's aspirations to peace into a social reality anchored in the revolutionary process creating a new, socialist society – as society whose 'international rule,' as Marx said prophetically, 'will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same – *Labor*!' ('First Address of the IWA General Council on the France-Prussian War').

The active and consistent peace policy of the socialist countries in this era of worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism pursues no selfish or particular interests. It is expressive of the most profound and vital aspirations of humanity. 'By advocating the principles of peaceful coexistence,' Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said at the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, 'we are fighting for what is most precious to billions of people on earth: the right to life, deliverance from the danger of destruction in the flames of war. Also, we are thereby fighting for favorable international conditions to advance social progress in all countries and of all peoples.' The peace policy of the Soviet Union, of the socialist community, conforms therefore with the vital interests of all sectors of the revolutionary movement of our time and, what is more, the vital interests of all nations. The growing might of the socialist world, its ever more solid international positions, make possible the solution of problems crucial for the survival of human society. The future of mankind is closely dependent on the future of socialism.

Among the anti-imperialist forces united in the fight for peace, outstanding prominence belongs to the working class exercising state power, the socialist world represented by the community of socialist countries. Their influence makes the principles of peaceful coexistence a permanent factor in relations between capitalist and socialist states. And this is reflected by the deep changes in the system of international relations.

At the same time, the policy of peaceful coexistence is an expression of the objectively existing class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world arena. And the countries of the socialist community attach strategic importance for this policy to prevail in relations between states with different social systems. 'The purpose of this policy,' Erich Honecker said, 'is to carry on the inevitable contest between an outgoing social system and a social system to which the future belongs, doing this without recourse to war and with respect for the sovereignty of each state and the inviolability of frontiers.' Peaceful coexistence offers the basis and framework, and provides the fullest scope, for the historic competition of the two social systems. Peaceful coexistence is also important because it provides the most favorable international conditions for the revolutionary struggle. It is in an atmosphere of peace that socialism can

fully unfold its advantages and that, on the other hand, the instability and historical doom of imperialism become evident to millions of people.

The results achieved in the climate of détente show that the foreign policy of the socialist community infuses the operation of the laws of social progress with new strength and extends the scale of the anti-imperialist movement. The policy of peaceful coexistence, which regulates relations between countries with different social systems, is no obstacle to the fight for national independence, democracy and social progress, and actually promotes it. Those who imagine that peaceful coexistence safeguards capitalism against internal social upheavals are wrong. The revolutionary process is bound to develop because it grows from the social and economic soil of imperialism itself. L.I. Brezhnev called attention to this at the World Congress of Peace Forces. 'Let us recall,' he said, 'that Lenin, one of the greatest revolutionaries, said that revolutions are not made to order or by agreement. We may add that neither can revolution, class struggle nor liberation movements be called off at will or by agreement. No force on earth can turn back the inexorable process of renovation of social life. Where there is colonialism the people will fight for national liberation. Where there is exploitation the people will fight for the emancipation of labor. Where there is aggression the people will resist it.'

Due to the policy of peaceful coexistence, conditions in capitalist countries are becoming more favorable to the struggle of the working class and other working people for a better life and broader democratic rights, to the success of movements for national liberation and social progress. This is shown by numerous facts, in particular by the events in Portugal and Greece. It is anything but accidental that there is the prospect of fully eliminating the scourge of fascism in Europe thanks precisely to the relaxation of international tension. Colonial oppression in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola is being removed. The basis for the fight against colonialism, racism and apartheid is widening. There are new opportunities today to speed the democratization of international relations, a fact put on record by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly.

Important lines of the peace struggle

A distinguishing feature of the present situation is that it requires new steps to stop various acts of aggression and, moreover, calls for initiatives to strengthen the very foundation and structures of world peace. Communists consider that the peace front should extend as détente goes deeper. There are now several important lines of struggle on this front.

One of them has to do with seats of regional conflict provoked by

imperialists. It is necessary to prevent the rest of the world from being dragged into these conflicts, and to find political solutions meeting the people's legitimate interests where armed clashes erupt. This applies, first of all, to the Middle East and Cyprus.

Conditions today are ripe for political détente to be supplemented with military détente. The need for resolute steps to this end is particularly evident when account is taken of the effect of scientific and technological progress on the means of warfare. The continuing arms race diverts and ties up tremendous material and spiritual resources that could be used for solving problems of vital importance to mankind. One of the key tasks in the struggle for peace is to halt this reckless waste of enormous values. This is why great importance attaches to the Soviet-American dialogue aimed at limiting strategic nuclear arms. In Vienna, where talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in Central Europe are going on, the socialist countries are likewise striving to ensure that political détente in Europe is supplemented with corresponding measures in the military field. What is needed first and foremost is, evidently, to rule out the use of scientific and technological achievements for the manufacture of more deadly weapons and put an end to the growth of their destructiveness. It is high time to ban manipulation of the environment or climate for military purposes, as the Soviet Union has proposed to the United Nations.

International economic, scientific and technological cooperation may be regarded as the material basis for political détente. However, possibilities in this sphere are only just being tapped. Besides, discrimination remains in trade with socialist countries. More extensive economic relations will make for a more durable world peace.

It is hardly necessary to demonstrate the fundamental significance of Soviet-American relations to the international situation. On their state depend in vast measure all the objectives recounted above – lessening the danger of war, carrying forward the process of détente, stopping the arms race, ending regional conflicts and fostering international cooperation.

Carrying forward international détente on the lines specified here would meet the interests of all anti-imperialist forces.

The fight for peace and the fight against imperialism are inseparable. This connection expresses itself in the strategy and tactics of Communist and Workers' Parties and in the activity of other contingents of anti-imperialist movements. The gains scored in the struggle for peace show that today world war can really be averted even though its social causes have not yet been removed. A highly important prerequisite of this is unity of action of the international working class and other anti-imperialist forces and their cohesion around the

Soviet Union and the socialist community, the main stronghold of world peace.

The détente and the confrontation of ideas

Bogumil Suika
Deputy Head, Foreign Department,
CC PUWP

The past few years have seen an appreciable lessening of the war danger in Europe and normalization of international relations based on the understanding that Europe's political and territorial realities are irreversible. A climate of mutual respect is being built up. Slowly but surely the European Conference on Security and Cooperation is moving ahead, we hope, to a summit meeting that will represent a landmark in the history of our continent.

The second round of SALT talks coincides with talks on reduction of arms and armed forces in Europe. Every passing year sees more economic exchanges between states with differing social systems as trade barriers are removed. Headway is also being made in scientific, technical and cultural cooperation and exchanges of people and information. But it has to be said that precisely in this field we have to contend with more contradictions and with infringements of the elementary norms of détente. And it is in this field that we have the most obvious danger to the new political atmosphere in Europe.

The ideological aspect, the 'superstructure' of international relations, which encompasses cultural exchange, exchanges of information, the press, TV programs, films, etc., is very complicated. The difficulties are both objective and subjective. First, there are fewer universal and agreed principles than in other fields of international relations. Second, there is the cold war infrastructure of the capitalist West with its host of military and political intelligence and propaganda experts specializing in misinformation and stirring up trouble in other countries. These men cannot and will not abandon their views. They are set against détente, which might make them redundant and deprive them of their jobs.

What the bourgeois West euphemistically calls information – imperialist propaganda against the socialist countries would be a more

proper name – continues to follow the cold war pattern. Whatever changes there have been are purely cosmetic – some of the invective has been dropped, also appeals to 'put and end to socialism.' But policy and method are the same as five, 10 and 15 years ago.

All this applies especially to the U.S.-owned Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the 'big guns' in the psychological war against Eastern Europe and the USSR. That both are inveterate foes of European peace and cooperation is well known. Even in the cold war years there were public protests against their subversive propaganda. In the détente years they are entirely out of place. That, by the way, is understood in the United States itself. As the *International Herald Tribune* commented (Aug. 8, 1974) the two American radio stations 'constantly wonder if they will survive the next summit.'

And they have good reason to wonder. Theirs is a long record of provocation, subversion and sabotage. But political détente and ideological subversion are incompatible. They are part of the cold war times and have no future in a Europe of peace and cooperation.

Let it be said that we have touched on the question of these two radio stations not because they are a danger to socialism in Europe. But analysis of these two imperialist propaganda agencies exploiting the words 'freedom' and 'liberty' offers an insight into some of the general questions of the ideological struggle. They must be resolved if détente is to be consolidated and a return to the cold war ruled out.

Of course, the principles of peaceful coexistence do not apply to ideology. That has been the Communist position all along. Now it is accepted by many, who realize that it reflects the objective conditions of our time. As long as there are states with mutually opposed social systems, there is bound to be ideological struggle. It cannot be banished 'by agreement,' taken out of international relations, any more than the class struggle can be 'abolished' between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

That being the case, are these American radio stations in Europe, broadcasting from foreign territory, engaged in 'normal' ideological struggle on the international scene? Are they perhaps part of an objective feature of our time? The answer is an emphatic *no*. For while the ideological struggle is, in principle, an objective phenomenon, the choice of methods, techniques and aims is subjective, the result of deliberate decisions by governments, ruling classes and political parties. And they bear responsibility for their choice to the people, to mankind.

The principles of peaceful coexistence, now accepted by dozens of governments, mean replacing military confrontation of states with differing social systems (which is fraught with the danger of nuclear catastrophe) by peaceful competition, by the confrontation of ideas.

But from this follows that not every form of ideological struggle, and not every kind of activity that influences people's thinking, is compatible with the principles of peaceful coexistence. More concretely, the following are definitely contrary to the spirit of coexistence and competition: calumny, incitement of citizens of another country against their people's government; spread of malicious rumors, setting one group of the population against another, distorted reporting of life in the socialist countries, attempts to sow discord between them (and the U.S. radio stations in Europe are doing just that). That kind of propaganda is outright psychological warfare, subversion, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and is therefore incompatible with peaceful coexistence and hostile to détente.

Some prominent figures in the capitalist world refuse to abandon the claim that they may interfere in the affairs of states whose policy does not suit the monopolies. The present head of the CIA, William Colby, recently cause a stir and indignation even in the U.S. Congress by admitting that the USA had spent 8 million dollars on efforts to 'destabilize' (in other words, prepare the overthrow) the Allende government in Chile. Much of the 'destabilization' was centered on supporting opposition mass media and inciting certain sections of the population against the government.

This idea of 'destabilizing' undesirable governments is basic to imperialist propaganda, including broadcasting. Its proponents reason thus:

The present alignment of forces rules out destroying the socialist system by armed force or with the help of economic methods. Hence, the only way is to change or 'soften up' the socialist countries from within by 'conditioning' their populations so that they learn not from their representatives in the government, but from outside sources, what they have and what they lack, what they want or should want, whom to respect and whom to hate. To believe the psychological warriors, the people of the socialist countries are cut off from 'truthful' information that would enable them to form judgments on all these matters, nor do they have information about life in other countries. They must therefore be given 'indpendent' and 'truthful' reports.

Our opponents believe that in working toward that end no opportunity should be missed and no method shunned – all methods are good if they help 'destabilization.'

That, roughly, is what U.S. Undersecretary of State Martin Hillenbrand told the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee in May 1971. 'I am convinced,' he said, 'as are many of my colleagues, that the input of information by the radios into the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe strengthens the ability of these peoples to promote their own general

welfare. If these peoples do improve their own welfare, it will be possible for us to reorder our own priorities to the benefit of the American public.' The reader should have no difficulty in seeing the direction the 'reordering' would take if the peoples of the socialist countries heeded the advice of their trans-Atlantic 'friends' operating under the 'Free Europe' signboard.

The methods employed by imperialist foreign propaganda are therefore in flagrant violation of the principle of state sovereignty. The Choice of the content and volume of information and the means of transmission is closely linked with the political and social system, the type of national mass media. Its decisions also depend on the philosophy accepted by its citizens and on a number of other historical, economic, social and cultural factors.

The extensive and dynamic development of the mass media, the variety and contradictory nature of facts and developments of present-day life, do not mean that society has a stake in indiscriminate dissemination of any and all information and propaganda, regardless of the aims they may serve. There must be a selection of information geared to the political and ideological priorities, and the technical capabilities of the national mass media.

The need for this is recognized and duly exercised by the very people demanding unrestricted 'freedom of information.' Take the motto of the *New York Times*: 'All the news *fit* to print.' What is fit or not is decided by editors in keeping with the owners' guidelines or their own political and ideological views, which are not necessarily those of the readers. The paper 'works over' its readers in a spirit its publishers, representatives of big business, consider desirable. Which is just why it would be more correct in this context to speak of propaganda instead of information, even though U.S. editors shy from the word. The U.S. researcher who wrote, 'All the news presented by mass media is of a propaganda nature since it is harmonized with one direction,' is entirely right.[1]

But if the right to give information 'one direction' is conceded to individual editors or publishers usually speaking for group, narrow, and often antisocial, interests, denial of the same to a socialist popular state acting on the mandate of all society is incongruous.

Totally wrong and contrary to the facts are notions in the capitalist world that the peoples of the socialist countries are denied broad access to information of interest to them. Quite the reverse. All impartial Western observers admit that people in socialist societies are well-informed of things in their own country and the rest of the world. The news they get is extensive, accurate and diverse, and devoid of insalubrious sensationalism. Television and radio are extremely widespread, the circulation of newspapers, magazines and

books is far in excess of that in the developed capitalist countries. The genuinely massive circulation of printed matter, its low cost and the size of the reading public achieved as a consequence of the total elimination of illiteracy, is yet another irrefutable proof of the superiority of the socialist information system.

We may also note in this context that there is a marked difference between the extent of knowledge about life in socialist countries among people in capitalist states and vice versa. Here are some figures.

Between 1945 and 1971 Polish theatres staged 407 plays by U.S. authors against only four Polish plays in the United States. We have printed 828 U.S. works of fiction, as against 90 of our authors in the U.S. People in Poland saw 354 French films, but in France only 54 Polish films were shown; we printed 1,249 books by French authors, France published only 119 Polish; our theatres staged 1,073 plays of French authors, in France only 13 Polish plays were staged. And the proportion is about the same in comparing Poland with Great Britain, Italy and other capitalist countries.[2]

These figures refute claims that people in socialist countries are 'isolated from culture' and denied information about the life and problems of people in capitalist countries. Contrary to stereotyped notions, we have no cause to fear what Western politicians call the free exchange of people, ideas, culture and information. We are confident that it will operate in our favor and speak in favor of our achievements.

The socialist countries pose a different question: in conditions of peaceful coexistence and political détente ideological struggle must cease to be a variety of 'psychological warfare' or subversive activity against the socialist world and assume forms that do not violate the basic principles of international relations, namely, respect of sovereignty and non-interference in the affairs of peoples.

It is our view that, as other spheres of international relations, this field too should be subject to certain international regulation in the interests of friendship and cooperation. There is a need for the formulation of certain principles and rules arising from the conditions of détente and capable of removing methods of ideological subversion from the sphere of ideological struggle.

Notably, it is quite untenable to claim that a country from whose territory, or through whose citizens, psychological warfare is conducted bears no international responsibility if such subersive action against other countries is conducted by private persons. This contradicts not only the interpretation of international law accepted in socialist countries but views widespread in Western literature concerning the responsibility of states for the actions of their citizens.

Thus, for example, Professor W.R. O'Brien, director of Georgetown University's Institute of World Politics, writes: 'It is clear that all states have an obligation to prevent the commission of acts within their jurisdictions which endanger the territorial integrity and political independence of sovereign states with which they are at peace ... given the well-known importance of propaganda in modern international relations, it is as illegal for a state to condone or encourage warmongering, subversive, and, in some cases, defamatory propaganda.'[3]

The Harvard principles of 'International Law of the Future' formulated at the end of World War II, also state quite definitely: 'If states are to live together as good neighbors in the community of states, it is not enough that they be obliged to refrain from official intervention in the internal affairs' of any other state, which should be 'assured of its internal security, free from subversive influence due to non-official activities in other states.' And: 'Every state has a legal duty to prevent the organization within its territory of activities calculated to foment civil strife in the territory of any other state.'[4]

Internal legislation in some, mainly socialist, countries bans propaganda of war and attacks on other countries that could jeopardize peaceful relations between them.[5]

The socialist states maintain that social progress and revolutionary change in any country is first and foremost the product of its internal conditions, the objective result of the social-economic relation of class forces and such subjective factors as the political consciousness and organization of the masses. The influence of external factors can only ease or impede the historical mission of the working class and masses. This is wrapped up in the formula: revolution is not exportable.

Certainly, it does not imply freezing the status quo or negating the right of the masses to force social changes. Every nation has the inalienable right to form and choose its type of government independently. Being a specific form of class struggle in the international context, peaceful coexistence allows every people and state to freely popularize its ideals and its material and cultural achievements, setting them off against those of peoples living under a different social system. However, while not a renunciation of irreconcilable ideological struggle, peaceful coexistence does imply observance of certain rules of international behavior and respect for the will, interests, rights and customs of other nations.

And, certainly, if 'revolution is not exportable,' export of counter-revolution is doubly intolerable, as are attempts to hold up the social progress of other peoples or to reimpose on them outdated and rejected forms of government or society. That is the unshakeable

standpoint of the socialist countries. And it has extensive public backing in the rest of the world, because experience has shown that the gravest danger to peace and détente comes precisely from counter-revolutionary forces.

It is gratifying to note that realistically thinging Western politicians are increasingly beginning to ponder these problems.

Discussions on this subject are taking place, for example, in U.S. Congress committees. When events forced the administration openly to assume financial, and hence political, responsibility for the operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, formerly subsidized from secret CIA funds, there appeared a basis for publicly comparing the views of the supporters and opponents of the continued existence of those centers of provocation and subversion. Their supporters, still in the majority, remain smugly convinced that the United States has a divine right to violate the sovereignty of other peoples and teach them what to do. But the opponents of financial support of these cold war attributes maintain with mounting insistence that their elimination would be significant proof of the sincerity of Washington's proclaimed intention of pursuing a policy of cooperation, peace and détente.

The principle of non-interference in the affairs of others is increasingly brought up not only in international declarations undersigned by representatives of states with different systems, but also in the pronouncements of bourgeois politicians. For example, speaking before cadets of the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Undersecretary of State Kenneth Rush said that the United States had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of East European countries, with which it wished not only to coexist but also to cooperate for the benefit of peace. In contrast to certain other of his utterances, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made a sober statement in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in September, saying that it was a requirement of our time to reconcile the realities of rivalry with the necessity of coexistence.

The resolute stand of the peoples aspiring to live in peace and the stand taken by the public forces that link their hopes for social progress with peaceful coexistence has decisive influence on the shift toward international détente and the formation and spread of an atmosphere of cooperation.

The Polish United Workers' Party and the Polish Government have made repeated concrete contributions toward the formulation of a new type of international relations in keeping with the requirements of the working masses and the peoples of the entire world.

One of the latest examples of this was the speech of Edward Gierek, First Secretary, CC PUWP, at the United Nations during his recent visit to the United States. Setting forth the point of view of the

PUWP, Comrade Gierek said that 'adherence to the principle of non-interference in internal affairs ... must remain an inalienable component of any joint program of a European future.' It is the obligation and duty of our generation, he went on, to 'overcome predudice, distrust, intolerance, chauvinism and racism and imbue the rising generations with respect for other peoples, conviction of the right for all to live in conditions of freedom, equality and peace.'

These objectives are wholly in keeping with the interests of détente in Europe and friendship and cooperation among the peoples inhabiting it.

1. R.C. O'Hara. *Media for the Millions*. New York, 1963, p. 238.

2. A similar policy of 'cultural blockade' against Soviet literature and art is in force in the United States. According to the Communist *Daily World* (11 July, 1974), the Soviet Union has translated and published 6,305 books by U.S. authors since 1917, whereas the United States published no more than 500 books by pre-revolutionary and Soviet authors during the same period. In the 1972-73 theatre season 40 plays by American authors were shown in the Soviet Union; in the U.S. there were productions of four plays by pre-revolutionary Russian authors and not one by a Soviet author. In the last two years American film distributors failed to show a single Soviet film, even though Columbia Pictures had bought the Soviet film series 'Liberation.' U.S. television and radio almost never show Soviet documentaries or broadcast features about the Soviet Union. – *Ed.*

3. W.R. O'Brien. *International Propaganda and Minimum World Public Order. International Control of Propaganda,* New York, 1967, p. 155.

4. *The American Journal of International Law,* 1944, Vol. 38, supplement, p. 78.

5. In their book *Propaganda. Toward Disarmament in the War of Words,* (New York, 1964, p. 155) U.S. authors J.B. Whitton and A. Larson write that even the United States government, although it denies the existence of such an obligation in international law, has repeatedly expressed regret at statements made by persons under U.S. jurisdiction and regarded as offensive by other states.

Fascist defeats and the extreme right menace

Alexander Galkin
D.Sc. (History), (USSR)

The alignment of political forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries of Europe is currently shaping up under the strong influence of two diametrically opposed trends.

On the one hand, there is a clear general shift to the left, as exemplified by the growing influence of the left, declining percentages

of extreme right and conservative political parties in national election returns, erosion of the center electorate, strengthening of left-wing factions in centrist and right-wing reformist political organizations, and a certain (though frequently only rhetorical) 'leftward' reorientation of publicity-conscious bourgeois politicians, as well as some of the mass media.

The major events, with worldwide repercussions, in line with this trend were the fall of Europe's oldest fascist regime in Portugal, followed by the collapse of the Black Colonels' dictatorship in Greece. As L.I. Brezhnev noted in his speech in Berlin at the 25th anniversary celebrations of the German Democratic Republic, 'For the first time in many decades there is a real prospect of completely ridding Europe of fascist regimes.'

At the same time, the mid-70s have seen a noticeable upsurge of right-wing radicalism, including undisguised meo-fascism. The 'epicenter' of the ultra-right revival is traceable to a number of capitalist countries where economic, social and political problems have become especially acute, with the situation as a whole aggravated by unequal development of different regions.

A typical example is Italy. Although the labor movement and its vanguard have scored considerable successes over the last few decades, the extreme right continues to wield appreciable influence over some elements of the political system and the electorate. In fact, it makes no secret of its intentions to try to use its positions to capture the levers of power and change the bourgeois parliamentary regime along fascist lines. This is the purpose of attempts by the Italian Social Movement, the legal neo-fascist party, to expand its contacts with the right-wing factions of parliamentary bourgeois parties; this, too, is the purpose of the so-called 'strategy of tensions' designed to create an atmosphere of uncertainty, instability and fear, coupled with clandestine activity in the armed forces.

A similar trend, though less clearly defined, is apparent in Northern Ireland, where the acute class, socio-economic and political character of the conflict is clouded by the superficial appearance of a confrontation between two denominational groups, Catholics and Protestants. The mounting mass movement for equal democratic rights and an end to discrimination against the Catholic minority has encountered the stubborn resistance of reactionary Protestant circles virtually encouraged by the British authorities. The reactionary Protestant front that has emerged in Northern Ireland is evolving increasingly toward neo-fascism, with its mounting reliance on terror and armed violence, on chauvinism and religious fanaticism to prevent democratic change.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, for all the positive shifts in public opinion over the last few years, the right continues to hold

fairly firm positions. The disarray following the series of stunning defeats suffered by the extreme right in past Federal and Landtag elections has now been succeeded by feverish activity aimed at establishing new right extremist organizations. Appreciably more active are diverse revanchist groups and so-called 'resettlers' fraternities,' mainstay and backbone of extreme right forces throughout the post-war period. Simultaneously, a consolidation of the right is taking place; typical of this is the merger of openly neo-fascist forces with the most reactionary sections of the 'moderate right' mass bourgeois parties, especially the Christian Social Union headed by Franz Josef Strauss, notorious for his extremist and revanchist positions.

In Spain, the last European country with a fascist regime, internal disintegration, drawn out as it has been over so many decades, has produced an extremely complex and contradictory situation. The mounting anti-fascist struggle against the moribund Franco regime is accompanied by feverish attempts of the ruling clique to keep in power by resorting to extreme forms of violence and submerging the country in one wave of terror after another.

To round out the picture, it should be noted that in countries where ultra-right, fascist or military terrorist regimes were recently overthrown, the forces of right-wing reaction have not given up their attempts to change the course of events and win back at least some of their lost positions. In this they rely on the support of influential monopoly circles that had flourished under the fascist, military-terrorist dictatorship and which, in the new conditions, fear for their influence and wealth. They also rely on the sympathy of the upper echelons of the state apparatus formed in the fascist-inspired atmosphere of lawlessness, lack of controls and corruption, and which are now fearful of being brought to justice for their past actions. The forces of right-wing reaction exploit the disarray among some sections of the population still befuddled by many years of fascist brainwashing.

In assessing the influence and possibilities of the ultra-right, the neo-fascists, it is important to remember that the regimes and movements in different countries keep closely in touch through both legal and illegal channels. Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal are known to have had special centers for coordinating and guiding neo-fascist activity in other countries. Such centers sprang up in Greece when the colonels came to power. Time and again conspiratorial activities of the extreme right with leads to those centers have surfaced. Investigations of Portuguese secret police activity have revealed the scale of operations of subversive neo-fascist centers to have been much greater than assumed from the fragmentary information formerly available. To be sure, the two such centers in Portugal and in Greece have

been de-activated, thereby restricting neo-fascist opportunities for coordination on a government basis, but in Spain they still continue to exist.

In assessing the two tendencies mentioned before – the shift to the left in the overall political climate and the revitalization of the most extremist forces of the ruling class and its political organizations – it is essential to determine how they balance, both at present and in the longer-term perspective. It has been repeatedly shown that under-estimation of the neo-fascist, extreme right threat demobilizes the revolutionary forces and prevents them from standing up to attacks from that quarter on time and fully armed. On the other hand, making too much of it prevents a clear realization of the main line of development, the true alignment of forces and the possibilities deriving therefrom.

It is therefore only natural for collective Marxist thought to concentrate on the problem and investigate the relative balance of the two trends depending on changing conditions.

An analysis of recent events indicates that both the defeats and sporadic upsurges of ultra-right activity reflect similar in-depth processes within capitalist society. Extreme right-wing, reactionary, terrorist regimes, including fascist ones, are a type of political superstructure of capitalist relations of production especially suitable from the point of view of the ruling bourgeoisie, at times of acute crises that jeopardize the very existence of the socio-economic system based on private ownership of the means of production. On the other hand, it is not much use in periods of relatively calm social and political development. But whatever the case may be, ultra-right (especially fascist) regimes are the ruling class's political alternative to the bourgeois-democratic form of power.

However, the forms of power depend not only on the respective positions of the factions of the ruling class that mould and reflect its will. The imperialist bourgeoisie's inclination toward extreme reaction bred by the laws of development of state-monopoly capitalism are opposed by the mass desire for democracy and mounting readiness, and ability, to repulse the attacks of right-wing forces. Favorable external conditions for this are created by the positive impact of existing socialism on the world situation, especially in an atmosphere of détente and stable peaceful coexistence.

The current upsurge of extreme right-wing, including avowedly neo-fascist, activity in a number of areas of capitalist Europe is directly traceable to the deep, mutually interacting crisis developments in the economic, social and political spheres. Attempts to find a way out by placing the bulk of the crisis burden on the masses are strongly resisted by the working class, whose degree of organization,

class consciousness and militancy is higher than at any previous time.

Since the old methods of 'cushioning' class confrontations by reference to 'external threats' have largely lost their effectiveness in the climate of détente, resistance to monopoly governments' attacks on the people's living standards has acquired some extremely acute forms. No longer merely a holding action, it increasingly involves the whole system of societal relations.

The bourgeois-parliamentary system of government prevalent in most capitalist countries since the war has been unable to meet the demands imposed by the ruling elite in the new conditions. Mounting dissatisfaction with the policies of bourgeois parties trying to shift the burden of anti-crisis measures on the shoulders of the people has accelerated the erosion of the center-right electoral base. The expansion of parliamentary representation of organizations speaking, to one degree or another, for the interests and aspirations of the broad masses of the working people, the working class in the first place, has in a number of cases made it harder to use parliamentary institutions as a means of pressuring the masses. And the executive power, with its bureaucratic rot, has proved incapable of implementing even palliative measures designed to cope with the situation.

It is in these circumstances that sections of the ruling classes of capitalist countries, especially in areas where they feel that the situation is getting out of hand, are increasingly inclined to resort to methods of direct terror as a form of government tested in the past. Their idea is to exploit apparently favorable conditions.

The economic and social development of the last few decades has deprived many categories of rural and, increasingly, urban smallholders of their former means of existence, way of life and status. On the other hand, deepening crises have nurtured their latent hostility toward the existing state-monopoly system. The political stance of these social groups tends to converge with that of the organized working class, thus providing the objective basis for an anti-monopoly front. Initially, however, this stance contains, along with elements of rejection of state-monopoly capitalism, elements of the traditional, bourgeois-patriarchal, conservative mentality. Which is just why the exponents of openly terroristic forms of bourgeois rule count on winning over considerable sections of those social groups by brainwashing and clever rhetoric in formulating their social program.

The idea is also to exploit the mounting disillusionment with parliamentary democracy bred by the ineffectiveness of government in many capitalist countries: instability of successive governments, their inability to act in the face of internal bickering, circumvention of the law, corruption and nepotism. The organized working-class movement sees the spread of such moods as added confirmation of

the need for the evolution of bourgeois parliamentarianism into a system of genuine, ultimately socialist, democracy. However, among the traditionally conservative sections of the population usually following the bandwagon of centrist and right-wing parties such disillusionment often breeds a desire for 'strong government' allegedly capable of setting the economy right and maintaining 'law and order' by means of 'simple solutions' and 'tough action.' And they see the solution in either a prestigious, 'charismatic' personality, a 'temporary' military dictatorship, or an extreme right-wing neo-fascist party capable of combining ruthless terror against dissident thought with a sufficiently flexible demagogic social program.

The growing bureaucratization of the machinery of government caused by the development of state-monopoly capitalism has led to the wide spread of elitist and technocratic notions denying the social necessity of democratic control from below and reducing all problems of government to the 'professional standards' of leadership and the organization of a streamlined system for handing down orders and directives. As crisis phenomena become more acute and traditional bourgeois-parliamentarian administration less effective, the extreme forms of such views tend to converge, or in some cases directly merge, with ultra-right, neo-fascist ideology.

It should also be borne in mind that, for the professional groups that have evolved in the higher and middle echelons of the administrative apparatus, dictatorial methods of power mean bolstering personal as well as group positions, opening up new career opportunities, etc. Such tendencies often thrive in the coercive apparatus, especially the upper echelons of the army and the police, and it is no accident that they have played a leading role in practically all ultra-right conspiracies, whether successful or not; at the same time democratic views are spreading at the lower level and among young officers.

The thing is, however, that, given the new correlation of forces both at home and abroad, the factors on which the ultra-right exponents of 'strong government' and their behind-the-scenes patrons count so much are not determinant. They are opposed by much more important factors.

First among these is the international climate, with its turn from cold war to peaceful coexistence. When the opposing socio-economic systems stood in head-on military and political confrontation, the most reactionary sections of the ruling bourgeoisie, with the most weight in defining national policies, fostered a 'besieged fortress' mentality. It enabled them, on the one hand, to muzzle those within the ruling class favoring realism in domestic and foreign policies and, on the other, to take the heat out of social pressure from below by misleading and dividing the masses. Today it is increasingly more

difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the 'besieged fortress' atmosphere. The social and political forces that stood at the sources of the cold war and are now doing their worst to block détente are those that had advocated 'strong government.' Old foreign-policy notions are the target of sharp criticism and are being revised, their supporters and active promoters are gradually being pushed into the wings. With the dissipation of the 'besieged fortress' mentality the forces speaking for the moods and aspirations of the broad masses of the people are coming to the fore. Accordingly, pressure on ruling circles is mounting to seek a more sober social and political strategy.

The diplomatic scene is less and less favorable for ultra-rightist conspirators and their regimes. In the cold war climate, imperialist powers camouflaged their financial, political and military support for extreme reactionary and patently neo-fascist regimes with talk of 'security.' With détente that smoke screen no longer works.

Of course, the ultra-right continue to enjoy outside support, but now it has to be more covert, it is harder to finance, while direct interference in favor of the ultras is fraught with serious internal and external consequences.

A prime factor making the direct violence preached by the most reactionary sections of the ruling bourgeoisie more difficult is the higher level of political consciousness, organization and vigilance of the working class. This has a decisive impact not only on economic struggles but in the political sphere as well. Fascist regimes can stay in power only when (barring direct military aggression) opposed by a politically and organizationally divided working class with only embryonic allied relations with other social groups actively or potentially hostile to reactionary, terrorist forms of government. Fascist attacks and demagogy (designed to expand the social base of fascism among the poorer sections, including the workers) are of no use when the working class and its organized detachments are quickly able to rally effective united action and establish contacts with other anti-fascist social and political forces.

With objective conditions so much less conducive to the realization of ultra-rightist plans, resistance to their efforts is of prime importance.

One of the obstacles to the extensive use of totalitarian, dictatorial, neo-fascist forms of government is the extensive information available about the consequences of such rule in countries where it was tested in practice. The downfall of the 'classical' fascist regimes in Germany and Italy as a result of military defeat revealed for all to see the depth

of public decay and moral degradation to which more or less long fascist rule leads.*

The social contradictions driven below the surface by vicious terror continued to build up, creating the objective conditions for subsequent upheavals. It is not accidental that the collapse of the fascist regimes of the period was universally accompanied by the strengthening and growth of influence of left-wing, democratic, revolutionary forces, the Communist parties in the first place.

The postwar fascist and military-dictatorial regimes have fully confirmed that European fascism up to 1945 reflected the general features of the terrorist-dictatorship form of bourgeois rule.

The democratic forces' struggle in the ideological domain is also of tremendous importance. The hodge-podge designed to cater to base instincts and prejudices – national arrogance, ignorant intolerance, group egoism, elitist smugness – is opposed by the totality of ideas representative of all that is best in man's cultural heritage: equality, social justice, harmonious organization of human society, progress, universal peace, internationalism.

In the fight against the right-wing menace the proletariat's revolutionary vanguard upholds the interests of the working class and at the same time facilitates the full realization of its world-historic mission as the class speaking for, and upholding, the most general interests of the progressive development of human society.

The consequences of fascist administration are clearly traceable in the experience of the two countries that cast off military-terrorist oppression in 1974. For Portugal the long reign of fascism resulted, among other things, in an economic lag without parallel in Europe, making it the most underdeveloped area of the continent. Simultaneously, the internal decay of the regime had gone so far that at the

*The savagery of adventurers suddenly catapulted to power, lawlessness, fierce terror against dissident thought, merciless suppression of all forms of public activity, liquidation of all economic, social and political gains of the working masses, the working class in the first place, all-out jingoism, aggressive foreign policy inevitably leading to armed conflicts: these were the most characteristic features revealed by fascism in the years it was in power in two major industrially developed capitalist countries of Europe.

At the same time the myth of the fascists' ability to resolve the acute economic and social problems that had racked preceding bourgeois-parliamentary regimes was dispelled. On closer inspection the notion of the fascists' clever economic policies proved a legend fostered by subtle propaganda. Even in Germany, where initially the fascist elite included such prominent economists as Hjalmar Schacht, and given the proverbial German obedience and efficiency, the economic system frequently misfired. It was sustained only by repeated emergency measures and ate into the last reserves.

time of collapse there was hardly a social force that cared to come actively to its aid. In Greece, the much shorter rule of the Black Colonels was accompanied by economic upheavals, pillage of the state treasury, and disintegration of the mechanisms of power, which relied solely on terror. As in Portugal, the superficially impressive edifice with its much-vaunted stability collapsed like a house of cards. The lie was given to the 'successes' in the fight against the Left boastfully claimed by the regimes in an effort to remain in the good graces of the ruling elite. Despite bans, fierce terror, malicious slander and social demagogy aimed at misleading the masses of the people, the revolutionary forces in both countries not only held, but in many respects also consolidated, their positions.

In the final analysis, not one fascist or military-terror regime was able to carry out the strategic tasks set out by the monopoly bourgeoisie: to ensure its continued, guaranteed, unruffled, from its point of view normal, economic, social and political development, its continued domination in conditions of 'social peace' in which the owners of the means of production would have to deal with a peaceable, obedient and cheap workforce. By temporarily achieving these goals the regimes actually contributed to the undermining of the very system they were called in to preserve. Obviously, this is something the powers that be in capitalist countries will have to take into account in selecting the methods of government.

However, whenever monopoly power is really in danger rational reasoning gives way to impulsive, convulsive action aimed at salvaging influence and wealth at whatever cost. And then, like a drowning man clutching at a straw, the bourgeoisie embraces any force promising an 'acceptable' way out, especially if it seems sufficiently 'tough' and 'resolute.' At once there appears on the surface a flotsam of retired or active ambitious military men who had been long awaiting for their time to come, ultra-right fanatics who had long been sharpening their knives against Communists and all leftists, unprincipled demagogues ready to exploit mass prejudices to achieve the summits of power, intellectual (as well as non-intellectual) tumbleweeds accustomed to take more from society than they are prepared to give, and all the dregs of society constituting the reservoir from which fascist and military-fascist regimes draw their cadres.*

*Another type of ultra-right regime is exported fascism, found mainly outside Europe, on the periphery of the capitalist world. These are military-terror regimes imposed from outside by governments retaining at home more or less of the attributes of bourgeois democracy. The main supplier and supporter of these regimes is international capital, as personified first and foremost by U.S. imperialism. For more on this see the *WMR* account of an international Marxist discussion on the reality of the fascist menace held in Essen, West Germany (April, May, 1973) – *Ed.*

All of which explains why, despite the failures of fascist forces in Europe, especially apparent over the last year or so, and despite the fact that the world situation does not favor their activity, the revolutionary working-class movement must keep constantly aware of the need to fight extreme rightist trends. The Moscow 1969 international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties warned of the danger implicit in imperialism's inherent tendency to throw democratic freedoms overboard and encourage fascist ways in public and political life. This year's Brussels conference of West European Communist parties spoke of the need to combat neo-fascist activity. The problem has been taken up in documents of many Communist parties, especially in countries where this is one of the prime issues.

The experience of the political forces currently engaging the extreme right and military-fascist movements rearing their heads or already in the saddle convincingly reaffirms that, as in the past, the earnest of success is broad unity of the working class and all its potential allies. Insofar as, in their efforts to expand their social base, fascist organizations appeal to the middle sections of the population most affected by the breakup of traditional structures and economic upheavals, the working-class vanguard must direct its own efforts at evolving and implementing social programs in keeping with the interests of the intermediate sections and strengthening their allied relations with the working class.

On the order of the day is the creation of political alliances of parties and organizations representing not only the working class but the broad masses of the working people. At a time of widening contradictions within the ruling class such political alliances may well be, and in some cases already have been, joined by representatives of those bourgeois circles that favor the preservation of parliamentary methods of government. The programs of far-reaching change affecting the very foundations of the state monopoly system not only provide for comprehensive democratization of society, but also outline measures to forestall any possibility of the reactionary elite using military-police violence against the democratic institutions and rights of the people.

Responsibility for the future of Europe

Answers to questions of *WMR*

Alexei SHYTIKOV,
Chairman, Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation

Q. How does the Soviet public contribute to the consolidation of the favorable changes in Europe? Why are Soviet people so interested in European problems?

A. The interest which the Soviet public, the CPSU, the government and our people as a whole take in European problems is anything but casual. I needn't remind you that Europe was devastated in two world wars and lost millions of lives. Soviet people know well what war is like. That is why they want peace, achieved at so high a cost, to be maintained by promoting security and cooperation.

Time and developments have compelled numerous statesmen and other public figures to revise their views and reappraise European realities. More and more often, political necessity and the interests of this or that country or the continent prompt capitalist leaders to make a realistic assessment of the beneficial changes coming about in the world and take into account the peoples' explicit desire to perpetuate the climate of confidence and good-neighbor relations. The European Conference on Security and Cooperation deliberating in Geneva could play a significant part in speeding this process.

'. . . It is clear now,' said L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the Berlin meeting on the 25th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, 'that the interests of durable peace in Europe imperatively demand the early conclusion of the European Conference. The Soviet Union, GDR and other socialist countries are doing all in their power for the conference to be crowned with success, which would help to lay a solid groundwork for security and peaceful cooperation in Europe.'

Soviet public opinion shows a deep interest in the Conference. We have never deluded ourselves into thinking that a European conference, the first meeting of this kind in history, would be easy to hold. We are willing to work hard and determined to do all we can to help the Conference overcome difficulties.

We know full well that security in Europe is both a political and a social problem of crucial significance. We do not minimize the importance of international treaties, but it is a fact that they become more dependable if backed by a large body of public opinion. The Soviet public contributes in various ways to the consolidation of beneficial changes in Europe. Internationally, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation concentrates on carrying out the decisions and recommendations of the Brussels Public Assembly (June 1972). Active in the Belgian capital is the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation, which has close links with all public movements for continental security. Its recent meeting was concerned above all with the progress and completion of the second stage of the European Conference in Geneva.

There is a feeling among the Soviet public that the Geneva Conference is not marking time, that it is not bogged down in debate nor entangled in formulations even though almost every word gives rise to controversy. What had seemed vague yesterday is now crystallizing. We believe European public opinion is entitled to some of the credit for the tangible results that diplomats have achieved on a number of major issues.

The Soviet Committee has repeatedly declared for more rapid progress at the Conference. Its spokesmen met twice in Geneva with the leader of the Soviet delegation. They told him about the Soviet people's interest in the success of the Conference and were supplied with information on the progress being made.

In June 1974 the Committee appealed to the national committees supporting the European Public movement to act with greater energy so as to improve the atmosphere at Geneva. The Committee is resolved to use its influence, multilateral and bilateral meetings, exchanges of delegations and the mass media to contribute to the success of the Conference.

Another important concern of the Soviet Committee is to inform our people of the activities, objectives and prospects of the movement for security and cooperation in Europe. The Soviet press carries articles by spokesmen of West European committees, and they also speak on Soviet radio and television.

We certainly cannot disregard the falsehoods spread by the opponents of détente and we refute them. After all, the headway toward European détente which we all owe to much effort and goodwill is too important to be an object of political gambling and speculation.

Q. The advocates of cold war in Europe have lost the backing they had in the 50s and 60s. Nevertheless, they are busy raising hurdles to the early and effective conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation. In what way can the public of European countries eliminate the influence of the opponents of détente?

A. There are certainly more ways of curbing the enemies of détente and overcoming their influence than 15 or 20 years ago. The changes that have taken place in the thinking of society are too great and the overall alignment of forces has changed too much for the advocates of cold war to come out openly against the current trend of history. But it would be wrong to imagine that these people have resigned themselves to the new realities. Certain influential quarters in the West still consider that détente is a forced concession to the times and that unilateral advantages should be sought in talks with socialist countries. The opponents of détente are more prudent now and use subtler methods. They have replaced crude lies with ambiguous half-truths. In these circumstances, our duty is to counter them by publicizing our effort to further peace in Europe.

The Geneva Conference has to wrestle with difficulties. One reason for them is that some participants try to use the Conference as a means of interfering in the socialist countries' domestic affairs. They would like by invoking the formula of 'exchanging people and ideas' to impose uncontrolled export of ideas foreign to us. It is in the struggle against survivals of the cold war and the influence of the opponents of détente that public opinion has immense scope for action. I think what we need is new, more specific and sound methods of publicizing the idea of European security and new channels to reach large audiences. Most people in capitalist countries realize that the policy of cold war is indefensible, but not everyone sees the actual benefits Europe and Europeans can derive from détente, security and cooperation.

We draw inspiration from L.I. Brezhnev's statement about the growing role of public opinion. 'We are certain,' he said in his address to the Polish Sejm on July 21, 'that every effort must be made to ensure the complete success of the European Conference. Much can be done to this end by the general public as well, including the existing movement for European security and cooperation, which is very active. We hold that it is the duty of all peace supporters in Europe to act energetically so as to carry forward the changes setting in on the continent and make them irreversible.'

Q. What do you think would be the effect of greater détente in Europe from the point of view of more widespread effort to maintain and strengthen peace and assert the principles of peaceful coexistence all over the world?

A. We are well aware that the European Conference is not an end in itself but merely the beginning of a protracted and strenuous effort to build a new Europe. We expect Conference decisions to help launch fruitful international cooperation in Europe in the political, economic, scientific, cultural and other fields. But this also applies to the rest of

the world and explains why the public in many countries recently marked the anniversary of the World Congress of Peace Forces, a milestone in the struggle to preserve and consolidate peace on earth. The Congress documents constitute a fundamental action program for the peace forces because in the question of peace the basic interests of all nations coincide.

Europe is an inspiring example in this respect for other continents, in particular for Asia. The movement for European security is in a position now to work out a long-term program for implementing the recommendations of the European Conference. Generally speaking, it would be impossible to carry out any of the Conference decisions without help from public opinion even after the summit, likely to take place soon. This is why we share the view that the important task of helping to carry out Conference decisions should be the subject of a second public assembly for security and cooperation in Europe.

That, of course, would not be the limit of what can be done for a lasting peace. Life raises new problems calling for new initiatives. I may cite as an example the Vienna conference on new initiatives in East-West cooperation. A few years ago, such international forums bringing together politicians, economists and businessmen would have been almost unthinkable. But now they are a reality. The serious exchange of views on the outlook for cooperation in various fields between countries with different social and political systems revealed the vast potentialities of these forums.

Pierre GENSOUS,
Secretary General,
World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)

Q. What can the trade unions do, in your opinion, to back up the détente and European cooperation?

A. The World Federation of Trade Unions and its affiliated organizations, for which the peace struggle is a fundamental aim inscribed in their constitutions, and also unions belonging to other centers, have played a most important part in actions for détente. Implementing the objective set by the Eighth World Trade Union Congress, the WFTU is working to 'consolidate the détente and, in particular, contribute to the success of the European Security Conference in order to construct an enduring security system based on freely accepted commitments .... This system should create opportunities for broad economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation among all countries and lead to the establishment of a permanent organ.'

This standpoint is part of a broader program for peaceful coexistence, dissolution of military blocs, disarmament, elimination of seats

of war still existing in Vietnam, the Middle East and Cyprus.

We are convinced that united action by the European trade-union movement can be of decisive significance for reinforcing and developing the détente process in Europe.

The working people of all the European countries, irrespective of their political system, have an equal stake in détente and a system of collective security. First, because that is the most effective way of eliminating the war danger on the continent, and thereby preventing a new world conflict. Besides, the people of Europe, both East and West, have a stake in strenghening peaceful coexistence for very concrete reasons related to their conditions of life and work. In the case of the socialist countries this implies a guarantee that they can continue their splendid work as builders of a new society – that of developed socialism – in a peaceful setting. And in the case of capitalist countries, détente offers better conditions for the class struggle in each country, for enlarging joint action to improve their situation and work for a democratic alternative to monopoly power.

Q. Is there any new development in the battle for unity and greater contacts within the European trade-union movement?

A. A unitarian movement has been building up in Europe in the past several years to assure joint trade-union action on problems of common interest.

There is a distinct rapprochement between trade unions of capitalist and socialist countries in the conditions of détente and peaceful coexistence. Exchanges of delegations, investigative missions, and bilateral and multilateral meetings have quite obviously contributed to a climate of mutual understanding and amity, which is bound to favorably influence the détente.

This year the rapprochement of different unions took on a new dimension with the Geneva meeting of all European trade-union leaders last January. Another meeting of the same kind will gather in February 1975 to discuss a specific topic – humanization of the work environment.

European unions in the capitalist countries and the unions of the socialist states are expanding cooperation in the International Labor Organization and other world bodies, and are working together in different fields.

This is helping to eliminate the remnants of the cold war that had a for a long time blocked trade-union relations. And, quite evidently, the international political climate has gained therefrom.

Q. What socio-political problems in addition to the peace struggle are occupying people today? What are the unions doing to protect the interests of working people in face of the growing economic difficulties in the capitalist world?

A. The most urgent problems throughout the capitalist world concern the continuous deterioration of the conditions of life and labor.

The economic crisis grows every day. The unprecedented inflation rate has become permanent and universal, causing a steady decline in the value of money. Prices rise continuously as the most painful facet of inflation. And the policy of big capital, the multinational companies, and capitalist integration of production, are only adding to the crisis.

The number of unemployed is growing. Under the pretext of the energy crisis touched off by the big oil monopolies, capitalist governments impose all kinds of restrictions which worsen the situation of working people. And this is accompanied by impingements on trade-union rights and freedoms.

The consequences weigh heavily on the working people. The purchasing capacity of wages is dropping continuously. The economic recession is breeding job insecurity.

In reply to this, the working people and their unions are stepping up action for their demands. Their struggle is more radical and political, because it questions the economic and anti-social policies of capitalist governments and such economic integration instruments as the Common Market and the international monopolies.

The trade unions are not content to demand higher wages at factory level. Conscious of their responsibility, they are also fighting for action to contain the inflation and rising prices, and attack the economic policy of governments and monopolies, while urging democratic changes.

At its General Council meeting in Havana, October 15-17, the WFTU came out for joint international action to assure practical measures against inflation. It urged democratic control with trade-union participation over the movement of capital and the profit margins of multinational companies, and other restrictive measures to curb monopoly practices. It also envisaged action for new and broader trade-union rights in enterprises of multinational companies.

Jiri KUBKA
Secretary General,
International Organization of Journalists (IOJ)

Q. What is the IOJ's contribution to the all-European movement for peace and security?

A. Journalists have their finger on the pulse of public opinion. And we know from our national unions, groups and individual members that there are positive changes in the thinking of people throughout Europe. The ideas of collective security and responsibility for the

future of the continent are gaining ever greater influence. The masses are waking up to the necessity of all-European cooperation. And with all due modesty we can say that the honest journalists have done their bit for this.

There are obstacles to this new development. Good seeds are polluted by the adversaries of progress. Democratic journalists are aware that they must help people to distinguish the grain from the chaff, and detect selfish falsehoods beneath attractive wrappings.

The IOJ welcomes many of the important principles agreed at the European Security and Cooperation Conference. These lay the foundation of a stable peace. But we denounce the juggling of certain Western diplomats, who are trying to lead the Conference into a cul-de-sac. This also concerns the mass media. Some of our Western colleagues have unfortunately fallen for the long since invalidated conception of absolute 'freedom of the press.' There is little point in repeating all the arguments advanced on this score by the IOJ. I want to stress, however, that our international body has always backed measures improving exchange of information in the interest of the peoples. But in doing so, we respect sovereignty, law and the constitution, morality and ethics. Often the same people who call for 'absolute freedom' refuse to tolerate the idea that individuals and nations should have the right to reject certain views.

Q. Various political, public and professional organizations are looking for ways to develop cooperation in the European framework. Could you tell us what the journalists are doing in this context?

A. There is a visible tendency among journalists toward friendly relations and cooperation in matters of mutual social and professional interest. The international meetings in Lignano and Capri, held under the auspices of the Italian Journalists' Federation, have been highly successful. After a long period of refusing to deal with us, the Brussels Association of Journalists, representing many West European countries, has recently established contacts, and we have had joint sessions in Zurich and Karlovy Vary. We expect to hold an all-European conference of journalists' unions. In anticipation of such a conference, the IOJ has suggested that basic principles of mutual understanding and cooperation among European journalists should be worked out, and has submitted recommendations on this score. To begin with, journalists should promote good-neighbor relations and mutual understanding among the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world, and work to eliminate the vestiges of chauvinism, fascism, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The IOJ is always prepared to discuss concrete proposals made by any other journalists' union. Adoption of mutually acceptable principles, we hold, will contribute to the progress of European journalism.

Remo SALATI,
Secretary of Italian Peace Committee and member of
Italian Committee for a Just Middle East Solution

Q. What are the specific features of the peace movement in Italy at the present stage? What are the country's peace forces doing to promote security and cooperation in Europe?

A. The public is aware that the peace struggle is closely related to Italy's internal problems. The country is in a serious economic and political crisis, with painful consequences for the masses. This is accompanied by imperialism's usual covert or overt interference in the affairs of other states, as reflected in the maneuvers hindering progress at the European Security and Cooperation Conference and attempts to block the resumption of the Geneva Middle East Peace Conference.

That the masses are aware of this aspect of the crisis is borne out by the proliferating peace and cooperation initiatives. The many national committees, associations and steering groups working for peace and international cooperation encompass the country's main social and political currents.

In Italy, the movement for lasting peace and détente has never faltered. That is an important point. And though these days most of the initiative comes from newly-formed bodies rather than the Peace Committee, as was the case in the past, this does not go to say that our peace movement has lost vigor. The broad range of the public's concerns is reflected in the names of the existing peace bodies – the Italy-Vietnam Committee, Italy-Chile Association, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau Committee, Committee for a Just Middle East Solution, Forum for European Security, and the Peace and Cooperation Initiatives Commission formed following the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

The Moscow Congress roused a lively response. It may be recalled that the Italian delegation encompassed diverse public movements and democratic groups. A broad dialogue had preceded the Congress, culminating in a unitarian delegation of Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats, Demochristians, Republicans and Liberals.

The year since the Moscow Congress has seen an uplift in our peace activity. The Italian social-political forces now attach the top priority to the swiftest successful conclusion of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. A Mediterranean and at once European power, Italy should contribute to its success. We want the Mediterranean to be a zone of peace. A settlement of the Middle East conflict could give the start to this process. The prospect of the final disappearance of fascist regimes in our region, where those of Por-

tugal and Greece have already been ousted, is also highly important.

Events have shown plainly that U.S. bases and the U.S. navy are the main obstacles to a Mediterranean accommodation and conversion of the region into a zone of peace and cooperation. It is therefore incumbent on us to work against the Mediterranean military presence of NATO forces and the U.S. navy.

The international conference for a just Middle East solution, to be held under the auspices of the Italian Committee for a Just Middle East Solution, the Italian Forum for European Security, and the Peace and Cooperation Initiatives Commission, will no doubt play an important part in the tasks facing the Italian peace movement. Its initiators have contacted other international political bodies, seeking attendance by representative delegations from all European countries. The conference will doubtless contribute to the consolidation of European peace and security.

Max OPPENHEIMER
Presidium member of the Association of Persons Persecuted by the Nazi Regime – Union of Anti-Fascists (FRG), and Bureau member of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters

Q. The peoples hope that the European Security and Cooperation Conference will facilitate a general improvement of the political situation on the continent. In every country the public has a stake in the positive outcome of the Conference, because that would also facilitate the solution of many specific problems relating to the present and future. Could you tell us what the members of your organization expect from the Conference?

A. The hopes we pin on the Conference will be clearer if I tell you briefly about our association. Most of its members suffered years of incarceration in Nazi prisons and concentration camps for advocating democracy and peace. The organization also includes members of the international brigades in Spain and of the Resistance in Europe. But we also have many young people, joining the anti-fascist struggle. Despite their different outlooks and religion, our members have one aim – to destroy all forms of fascism in the FRG, and to work for a democratic anti-fascist system guaranteeing peaceful relations with all nations. They want to shape conditions in which the monopolies, which are responsible for the fascist dictatorship and the war, would be stripped of their power and influence.

Thus, our wish to protect peace follows directly from the purpose of our organization. We welcome the principles elaborated in the first stage of the Conference in Helsinki. They should become standard in international relations.

A fundamentally new and favorable situation is shaping in Europe. The events in Portugal and Greece are highly indicative. They show the close link between the struggle for peace and the yearning for progress. But it would be a fatal mistake to underestimate the hostile forces, which, as before, are trying to keep the peoples of Western Europe in bondage to a handful of large multinational concerns. The peoples must persevere in the struggle for the principles adopted by the all-European Conference. In many ways, its outcome depends on the strength of public resistance to the designs of warmongers and revenge-seekers.

Among the varied activities of our association for peace and progress, we attach tremendous significance to our campaign for the Peace Protection Law advanced by us on September 1, 1974, the 35th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War.

Q. Could you tell us at greater length about the purpose and principles of the Peace Protection Law, and how it was received by the public in your country?

A. One of the articles of the 1949 FRG Constitution says that all actions 'liable to impede or intended to impede the peaceful cohabitation of the peoples, and especially actions aimed at preparing an aggressive war, are unconstitutional and punishable.' It says further that 'particulars are to be regulated by Federal law.' In 1963, Bundestag deputy Gustav Heinemann, of the SDP, asked Chancellor Ludwig Erhard's government when it would adopt the peace law implied in the Constitution. Neither the government nor the Bundestag reacted to his question. The envisaged law just does not exist. So, our Association initiated the move in order, among other things, to give force to the above-mentioned article of the Constitution, which has so far been an empty promise.

In our draft sent to the Bundestag, we demand that acts by any organ of the state are to be ruled unconstitutional if at variance with standards of international law providing for a peaceful approach to problems.

Among punishable actions hostile to peace we have listed slander or persecution of individuals, organizations and institutions working for the maintenance and protection of peace; propaganda of territorial demands to neighboring countries; extolling wars of conquest or war crimes by spoken or written word or in graphic form; humiliation or discrimination of other peoples and races, and a number of other aggressive and militaristic acts.

Our draft reflects historical experience. Naturally, we anti-fascists cannot forget what the European peoples had experienced during the war. We remember the sinister part of militarism, revenge-seeking ideas and persecution of peoples in the establishment of the dictatorship and in the war preparations of the 20s and early 30s.

But our draft also encompasses factors related to the present situation. The howl raised by reactionaries, first of all leading CDU/CSU politicians, against the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, the hatred spread by many FRG mass media against the GDR, and the attempts of leading militarists to gain access to atomic weapons – we regard all this as dangerous.

To popularize our project, we have put out 280,000 copies of a leaflet, distributed by our local branches, youth organizations, and individuals. There is space in the leaflets for their receivers to express their support of our proposal in writing. More than a thousand letters approving the bill came back in less than a fortnight from prominent personalities, scientists, trade-union functionaries, members of production councils, and several deputies. What pleased us most was the support of many young people.

We are inspired by the present climate, highlighted by the peoples' desire to prevent world wars and settle disputes by negotiation.

Max HABICHT,
Presidium member, Swiss Peace Council

Q. Please tell us about the peace movement in Switzerland. How does Swiss neutrality affect your work?

A. There exist in Switzerland a dozen different organizations working for peace. Their programs and work differ from each other but all of them aim at banishing war from the life of society. Since 1947, the majority of these organizations have been federated in what is known as the Swiss Peace Council.

Participants in our movement come from various milieus; it represents more or less all classes, it has members in all parts of the country. We have representatives of the working man, we have intellectuals, some churches; we have as active participants lawyers' circles, international lawyers. So there you have a real section of Swiss public opinion.

In speaking of the philosophy of Swiss peace workers, it should be recalled that our country has not been at war for a century and a half. The Swiss citizen thinks that war is a cruel and unacceptable method of settling conflicts between nations. In the nuclear age war cannot be a means of resolving conflicts between nations, and those who think that lasting peace can be obtained by shooting are making a mistake. Lasting just peace can only be obtained by negotiations, or settlement by pacific procedures. Many Swiss peace workers believe that a parallel can be drawn between achieving peace among nations and the procedures that provide peace within federal Switzerland: internally the use of violence is a crime and has been replaced successfully by

procedures of pacific settlement of conflicts. When disputants cannot negotiate a settlement they have at their disposal a policeman, a judge, a governor or a parliament, which impose the decisions of a third party. It seems to us that for a successful system of peace to function anywhere you must have recourse to the help of a third party which can impose its decision upon the disputants if the two sides cannot come to a solution by negotiation.

We believe in Swiss neutrality, we attach great importance to the activities of the International Red Cross and other such organizations, we host many representative international organizations, conferences and consultative meetings working in the interests of the peoples. I personally, and probably most of my colleagues in the peace movement, believe that Switzerland is a part of the world. If the world goes to pieces we will also suffer. Therefore, international cooperation for peace in Europe, in all the world, for survival, is important to us.

It is with this understanding of Switzerland's best interests that we take part in the world peace movement. A Swiss delegation participated in the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow.

Q. What is the stand of Swiss peace workers toward the European Security and Cooperation Conference?

A. Swiss peace workers welcome détente, they are for replacement of the cold war by dialogue. Swiss peace organizations hope that out of the European conference will follow not only the recognition of existing borders, better commercial relations, greater exchange of goods and persons, but also a new system of procedures for the pacific settlement of conflicts.

I share the optimism which was expressed, for example, by the Finnish President Urho Kekkonen, who hopes that the conference can finish in the near future on the highest level. In my opinion the last phase of the conference will take place some time next year.

I am asked whether the idea of peaceful coexistence is understandable in Switzerland. Yes. There might be certain small sections which do not feel that, but I would say the overwhelming majority of the Swiss people believe in the peaceful coexistence of different social systems and the possibility of working together in the interests of all the peoples.

For European peace and security

A REVIEW OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PRESS

The gathering momentum of détente opens up new, hitherto unknown vistas for strengthening peace in Europe, 'the geographic, economic, military, social and ideological meeting point of imperialism and socialism.'[1] As FCP General Secretary Georges Marchais noted in *L'Humanité* (Sept. 14, 1973), 'the prospect of establishing a new collective security system and a firm peace based on disarmament and cooperation is now entirely feasible.' 'Naturally, peace cannot be said to have been won once and for all,' Marchais writes in another issue (March 22, 1974). 'There are still many hotbeds of tension. Besides, the arms race, which is fundamentally at odds with the requirements of security, continues. That is why the new international situation places the fight for peace on the agenda. For this there are vast and unprecedented opportunities.'

The French communist press analyzes the recent developments in world relations. *Cahiers du communisme*, theoretical organ of the FCP, writes (March 1974, p. 65): 'The development of the socialist states, upsurge of the national-liberation movement, strengthening of working-class positions in capitalist countries, and the deepening crisis of monopoly capitalism have changed the balance of forces and compelled imperialism to adopt a new strategy based on the concept of peaceful coexistence and the practice of cooperation of states with different social systems.'

Cahiers du communisme notes that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, whose peace policy is long-term in character, have a special part to play in the establishment of new relations in Europe and throughout the world. 'The moves toward peaceful coexistence,' it writes, 'are largely the result of Soviet action' (December 1973, p. 48).

Among the achievements facilitating European peacebuilding efforts the French Communist press lists the series of treaties and agreements concluded by the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia with the Federal Republic of Germany (ibid., p. 60). The French Communist press also sees the European Security and Cooperation Conference in Helsinki and Geneva and the Vienna talks

on mutual reductions of armed forces and arms in Central Europe[2] as important moves toward European détente. And it attaches special importance to the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The FCP weekly *France nouvelle*, for example, notes that the dynamism of Soviet-American relations 'not only benefits those two countries but promotes the general security of all peoples' (June 18-24, 1974, p. 18). It is emphasized in this connection that the USSR-USA agreements are in the best interests of all peoples because they open up prospects of lasting peace, disarmament and broader international cooperation.[3] It is such cooperation, including closer commercial, economic, scientific, cultural and political links between the peoples of Europe and the world, that the French Communist press actively advocates. Within the framework of the common program of Left forces, writes the monthly *Economie et politique*, the FCP sets the task of fighting 'for a new type of international relations' (Jan. 1974, p. 42) which would provide for *broad* cooperation on a worldwide level.[4]

The French Communist press draws special attention to the need to develop all-round links with the socialist countries.[5] In this connection it devotes much space to analyses of relations between France and the Soviet Union and their meaning for peace in Europe and throughout the world. Articles and commentaries emphasize that their improvement stems from 'the historic necessity of Franco-Soviet friendship; more, it is an equilibrium factor in world politics.'[6] 'The development of Franco-Soviet relations,' writes *France nouvelle* (July 30-August 5, 1974, p. 15), 'is in the best interests of our country.' Calling for the use of every opportunity to promote cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the French Communist press stresses the need for a more active French peace policy. 'France can play an important part in this,' writes Jean Kanapa in *L'Humanité Dimanche* (March 13-19, 1974, p. 20). '. . . It *must* boldly contribute to the process of détente, international cooperation, disarmament and the independence of peoples.' France, *L'Humanité* stresses (Sept. 14, 1974), 'should throw the full weight of its prestige for peace and peaceful coexistence.'

At the same time, it is noted, there still are forces in France and other European countries that seek to halt the process of détente and undermine the shaping European security system. There are plans of a 'European political alliance' which some circles would like to use for setting up a new military bloc as a West-European subsidiary of NATO. Such plans are in crying contradiction with present-day realities and Europe's present and future interests. That is why the French Communist press opposes the idea of a European political

alliance 'nursed by trusts and international reaction.'[7]

The French reactionary press claims that national security depends mainly on the strengthening of NATO and continuing the arms race. Refuting such claims, the Communist press offers its readers convincing proof that disarmament and détente are in the best interests of genuine French security and independence. 'It is quite obvious,' writes *Cahiers du communisme* (March 1974, p. 72), 'that the only solution of the problem of security for France and Europe lies in simultaneous balanced arms reductions in Central Europe and a system of collective security and all-European cooperation.' In this connection the French Communist press criticizes attempts to tie France closer to NATO as detrimental to national independence and sovereignty. 'The drama of Cyprus,' writes *L'Humanité* (Aug. 15, 1974), 'has revealed the Atlantic alliance for what it really is . . . a tool of tensions and war at the service of imperialism.' 'The new factors in the international situation and its evolution toward détente and peace,' *L'Humanité* stresses (March 22, 1974), 'should induce France to dissociate itself from the Atlantic pact which appeared . . . at the height of the cold war and has obviously outlived itself.'

It is, incidentally, worth noting that the Chinese leaders turned out to be in one crowd with the 'Atlantic ultras.'[8] The Chinese leaders, notes *L'Humanité-Dimanche* (Oct. 2-8, 1974, p. 18), 'have come out firmly in favor of U.S. troops in Europe and the strengthening of NATO.' The Peking leaders are trying to poison the international atmosphere, interfere in the affairs of sovereign states and marshal a bloc of opponents to the peaceful policies of the socialist countries and the European working-class movement. The French Communist press resolutely rejects Peking's great-power chauvinistic objectives and methods. 'Our Party,' writes *Cahiers du communisme* (Nov. 1973, p. 60), '. . . denounces the premises of the present leadership of the Communist Party of China, which are contrary to proletarian internationalism.'

The French Communist press draws special attention to the need to step up action aimed at supplementing political détente in Europe with military détente. Denouncing the exponents and advocates of a continued arms race, it stresses that the high concentration of troops and armaments in Europe is certainly not conducive to a stable balance of forces. On the contrary, it prevents détente and encourages the arms race. Hence, writes Jacques Denis, member of the FCP Central Committee, in *France nouvelle* (March 26, 1974, p. 21), 'the issue is the replacement of the "balance of terror" system with a system of European collective security' 'A peaceful, democratic and independent Europe – that is the prime objective of our Party's international activity.'[9]

French Communists are engaged in an active struggle for a peaceful Europe. Communist papers and magazines report the Party's concrete work to that end. French Communists have organized numerous worker meetings and demonstrations, they have sponsored a number of moves in Parliament, and they take an active part in the peace movement.

At the same time, the French Communist press notes that the fight for European security must be linked with the mass struggle against the domination of multinational monopolies,[10] for democracy and social progress in European countries. It rejects claims that peaceful coexistence runs contrary to class and revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, détente is conducive to democratization of the social system in the countries of Western Europe and to the downfall of dictatorial regimes, as happened in Portugal and Greece. As *France nouvelle* writes (Sept. 24-30, 1974, p. 21), 'far from hampering our struggle, peaceful coexistence creates more favorable ... conditions for the forces of socialism.' The French Communist Party counters the ruling classes' motto of a 'Europe of monopolies' with its motto of a 'Europe of working people.'[11]

Today the peace-loving forces of Europe are faced with the important task of fighting to consolidate détente and 'make it irreversible.'[12] This, in turn, will ensure the advance of West European capitalist countries along the road of democracy and socialism.

Eric Dort

1. *Economie et politique*, October 1973, No. 231, p. 109.
2. *France nouvelle*, March 26-April 1, 1974, p. 21; *Cahiers du communisme*, April 1974, p. 96.
3. See *France nouvelle*, July 9-15, 1974, p. 18.
4. See *Economie et politique*, April 1974, pp. 27-32.
5. See *Cahiers du communisme*, May 1974, p. 33.
6. *France nouvelle*, March 5-11, 1974, p. 17.
7. *L'Humanité*, Aug. 29, 1974.
8. *Cahiers du communisme*, Jan. 1974, p. 74.
9. *Cahiers du communisme*, Jan. 1974, p. 81.
10 See *Cahiers du communisme*, Oct. 1974, pp. 52-65.
11. *La Nouvelle Critique*, March 1974, pp. 34-36.
12. *Cahiers du communisme*, Sept. 1974, p. 111.

The search for new ways and fidelity to principle

Ib Nørlund
Member, CC Executive
and Secretariat,
Communist Party of Denmark

THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF OUR TIME

The events of recent years in Denmark have captured world attention. The upswing of strikes, the mass movement against entering the EEC, the unexpected substantial change in the alignment of election forces, and the visible advance of the Communist Party have even startled some people, for the facts are at variance with the advertised picture of a 'model capitalist state,' a country of 'social peace' and political stability, claiming that all is well in the Danish kingdom. That has been the capitalist and Social-Democratic propaganda, designed to prove that class struggle can be unnecessary under capitalism. Yet developments speak of the reverse.

Naturally, the reasons are objective. But they also show that the Communist Party, the most advanced section of the working class and people, is capable of inspiring and directing the struggle against monopoly and for democracy. There are many examples, showing how important it is for a Marxist-Leninist party to react with political precision to new social problems and find answers to questions of the times, and yet follow its fundamental programmatic line.

Capitalism's increasing general cirisis is the essential premise of the anti-monopoly struggle. It has unhinged Denmark's state-monopoly economic control machinery, despite rosy predictions that the temporary production boom of the early 60s had ended crises forever. Of late, the cyclical crisis in most of the other capitalist countries has created special problems for Denmark, their weaker 'partner.' And the fact that illusions of stability had been widespread adds to its paralyzing impact. As a result, the country is in an almost permanent political crisis as well. We can expect new elections and a change of

Continuing the international discussion of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Our Time. For earlier contributions see *WMR* Feb., Apr., June, July and Oct. 1974.

government at any minute, for the policy of those in power is vague and uncertain.

There has been an unprecedented growth of the balance of payments deficit, which should be some seven or eight billion crowns in 1974, and runaway inflation, with prices rising an average 15 per cent. Land and real estate prices have been going up accordingly – by approximately 10 billion crowns monthly. Mortgage rates have risen to 17-18 per cent. Taxes have become an insupportable burden, swallowing almost half the average income. In addition, there is the 15 per cent value-added tax, which is likely to rise still higher soon. House rents are going up and consume more than a third of a worker's wages in the case of new dwellings. The recession and the closure of enterprises are evidence of crisis and have visibly increased unemployment – with more than 100,000 jobless now, it is expected to be 10 per cent in winter. Even by minimized official evidence, real wages will drop substantially.

Further growth of these processes could be prevented by drastic action against big capital but the government is pursuing an entirely different policy. It guards and subsidizes capitalist interest, while reducing public expenditure, especially for welfare, education and house-building. It discourages workers from seeking wages pegged to rising prices and urges them to accept an 'incomes policy,' whose impact on many working-class families is disastrous.

It was the big capitalists who involved the country in the EEC, hoping that this would buttress and stabilize state-monopoly rule. But their policy yielded none of the expected results. The crisis has become more acute since Denmark's entry into the Common Market (January 1, 1973). The supra-national EEC bodies blocked measures that could have cushioned the impact of crisis developments abroad. And with the economic convulsions within the community proliferating, additional difficulties have fallen to Denmark as well.

The campaign over the EEC issue was a turning point in the battle against the policy of big capital. The referendum (required by the Constitution in matters affecting sovereignty) aroused broad sections of the population, who realized that the 'power of money' opposed the 'power of the people' in Danish society. To gain entry into the EEC, the 'power of money' had to exercise pressure on society in a cruder, less disguised form than before. Though the majority voted for entry, this had the effect of revealing the futility of the hopes pinned on the Common Market. The specious nature of the expensive campaign in favor of the EEC became all too apparent.

The move affected the economy and cast added doubt on Denmark's political and military independence. The result was a further sharpening of the credibility crisis and led to a growing move-

ment for withdrawal from the EEC. It is ever more apparent that broad sections of the people are looking for new ways of progress. Some do it with an individualist lack of organization, others put up increasingly firm resistance to big capital.

The changed mood of the people affected the mid-term parliamentary elections in December 1973. The parties of the old Folketing lost an appreciable number of seats. New parties had sprung up and scored some gains due primarily to their criticism of the existing state of affairs, though at times they exploited elements of backwardness and reaction in the public consciousness. The Communist Party polled three times as many votes as in the previous election, winning six seats and crossing the barrier of the undemocratic election law that had for years blocked our access to parliament.

Among the parties defeated in the election were two reformist parties connected with the labor movement – the Social-Democratic Party and Socialist People's Party – which had previously held a Folketing majority.

The Communists polled 110,000, or 3.6 per cent, of the votes. On the face of it, such a result is not sensational. And bourgeois politicians seek solace in this fact. But very soon they will have to admit that they were wrong. For it stands as a Communist victory over the undemocratic election law that had invariably blocked election of deputies from smaller parties and as a new Communist breakthrough on the Danish political scene. Communist influence has grown substantially since the election. This was demonstrated by the March 1974 local elections, notably in Copenhagen, where the Communists finished second. Opinion polls and other signs indicate a further growth after the municipal elections.

Our success should be weighed against the background of earlier events. In 1958 revisionists split the Party (which thereby lost representation in parliament) and formed the Socialist People's Party. In the first half of the 1960s, during the consolidation of state-monopoly capitalism, neo-reformist currents had favorable conditions for growth. There were predicitons that the Communists would soon lose influence and depart from the political arena. Such propaganda was effective among people who had only a faint idea of revisionism. The Party had to make a crucial choice: either to give in and put up with the new reformist trends, winning short-term advantages, or to stand firm on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. At that time, this amounted to a choice between proletarian internationalism and the anti-Sovietism of the revisionists, who tried to conceal their departure from Marxism-Leninism with talk of 'independence.' In substance, it was a question of the Party's life or death, its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, a choice between the Leninist principles of Party building

and diffusion of revolutionary forces in amorphous political organizations with vague principles, opening up the working-class movement to bourgeois ideology.

The Danish Communists opted firmly for Marxism-Leninism and the Leninist principles of Party life. They did so, though they knew that there would at once be difficult problems. But they also knew that their decision would soon impart strength and consistency to Party activity and the struggle of the working class, of all democratic forces. No other course could guarantee this. And the developments proved beyond question that this standpoint and option had been correct.

Firm defense of principles was not sectarianism, as some had maintained. On the contrary, firmness of Party principles was needed and could be decisive in strengthening the unity of the working class and all democratic forces. First and foremost, the Party set out to win the working class. It was determined to augment the workers' strength in the daily struggle against capital and state-monopoly capitalism. Through action in enterprises and in the trade union movement we gained new dependable positions at a time when the Party was still unable to make any mark in political elections.

When the campaign against Denmark's EEC involvement headed the list of priorities, the Communist Party was one of the initiators of a broad democratic front encompassing nearly all parties. Significantly, the Communists were the most active and militant section of the working class in the front. The Party's knowledge of the essence and basis of united action benefited the movement, with Communists often acting as the cementing force. Communist policy won respect and helped eliminate the prejudices that had prevailed for so long. This was achieved because the Party entered the broad democratic movement as an independent organized force standing firm on its principles and on a policy inseparable from the world communist movement.

As the impact of the struggle of the working class and people increased, opportunist trends in the labor and left movement displayed their bankruptcy. The reformist policy of the Social-Democrats took them to a dead end. The 'left' sectarian trends, which surfaced as an initial reaction to this, also showed their impotence. Meanwhile, the power of attraction of the Communist Party grew. The masses saw more clearly that its policy was distinguished by revolutionary consistency and a profound knowledge of political events. They saw that it intervened in the events with a knowledge of the attained level of struggle. And that was a policy desired by those, especially the younger generation, who were looking for the way to progress.

This is why the 24th Congress of the CP of Denmark (January 1973)

was so successful. One of its most important targets was to work out an anti-monopoly policy showing the way forward to considerable sections of the working class, the people, and the youth. This target was reached, because the Party strengthened its Marxist-Leninist foundation politically and ideologically, and because its organizational structure followed the principles of democratic centralism.

The gains in the December 1973 elections were the first major practical proof that the Party's policy was correct.

Following the elections and exceedingly difficult negotiations and backstage maneuvers, the Liberal Party, having netted 12 per cent of the votes, formed a minority government. The Communists urged the Social-Democrats, who, despite their setback, were still the biggest party, to form a government and launch a new policy. But the Social-Democrats refused.

The Liberal government lost no time in launching a policy favoring the class interests of big capital. Its first steps were designed to strip the workers of their right to wage increases according to rising prices, and also granted tax rebates to big landowners. But as a minority government, the Liberals are compelled to maneuver to win the support of other parties. The government went out of its way to reach 'agreement' with the Social-Democrats, which, it hoped, would help dampen the resistance of the working class.

The Social-Democratic leaders failed to learn the lesson of their devastating election setback (25 per cent of the ballot as compared with 39 per cent in the previous elections) and extended the government a helping hand. They supported a number of economic measures favoring business at the expense of the working people.

The Communists called upon the working class to step up the struggle against this policy. Success, they pointed out, could be achieved only by concerted action against the rightist government. They put forward concrete proposals which are now being debated both in parliament and among the people, at the factories, in working-class and youth organizations. The Party shows the people how best to voice their mounting concern and discontent. One result has been the growing number of workers' delegations lobbying parliamentary parties. Formerly such delegations could do no more than present their demands, which remained unanswered. With Communists in parliament, the representatives of other parties are compelled to see the delegations and discuss their demands.

Aware of the rising tide of popular action, the Social-Democratic leadership first resorted to their time-worn device of 'declaring war on the Communists' to disrupt the process of unification. But they miscalculated. The workers, dissatisfied with government policies, refused to be divided. The local elections mentioned before, at which

the Social-Democrats again suffered considerable losses, showed the party leadership that the old methods were useless.

The government's measures, supported by its acquiescent partners, could not stop the crisis. The attempt to secure aid from the EEC, itself in the throes of an acute internal crisis, proved equally futile. Government proposals for 'restricting comsumption' and paring allocations, especially for social security and education, were strongly resisted by the working class and the youth. A wave of strikes and protest demonstrations swept the country in May 1974. In the circumstances, the Social-Democratic leadership did not venture to continue its policy of compromise, but neither did it respond to the call to join the mass protest movement. The Right-wing Social-Democrats in the trade union leadership also found themselves in a difficult situation vis-a-vis the rank and file.

The government made a bid to salvage its anti-labor policy with help from the most reactionary political groups, but the 'black agreements,' as they have been called, started a new wave of mass protest. A group of trade union leaders of different political views took the initiative of calling for protest demonstrations. The workers walked out, and for a week several demonstrations of unprecedented scale were held in front of Parliament and throughout the country, demanding the government's resignation and a new policy. The May events showed the power of joint working-class action.

The mounting class struggle has aggravated contradictions in both social-democratic parties, and some people in them are beginning to realize the need for a new policy, feeling that the Communists' call for unity can no longer be rejected. The leaders, however, refuse to commit themselves. The Social-Democrats have struck a new deal with the government on housing and this has aggravated differences in the party. The bourgeois parties constantly bring pressure to bear on the Social-Democrats to make compromises that are in crying contradiction with their political pronouncements. The leadership of the Socialist People's Party dishes up contrived neo-reformist 'programs' and, on the other hand, seeks an accommodation with 'left' sectarians on an anti-Communist basis. Both parties claim that the problems created by capitalism can be solved by a system of so-called 'economic democracy.' The idea is that capital will be accumulated through taxation of all wage and salary earners and controlled by centralized bodies, but the real effect will be to strengthen state-monopoly capitalism.

Communist Policy is aimed at encouraging working-class action in the anti-monopoly struggle and seeking new ways of achieving success, which is just what the workers want. The political guidelines for this policy are laid down in the manifesto 'For Working-Class Unity in

the Struggle Against Big Business' adopted by the Party's national conference in June 1974.

The prime task is unity in the struggle for the interests of the working people. The Communists have proposed a number of measures to ease the burdens of the crisis for the working people and guarantee their rights in the struggle for power. They have put forward for public debate a concrete action program against big business. The democratic process of formulating working-class demands and a real alternative to the government's policies is the medium for the growth of the struggle.

The conference and its decisions aroused unprecedented public interest, especially in the working-class movement. There were some who sought to vilify our action program, calling it 'economically untenable showmanship.' But as the class struggle inevitably grows more acute, broader and broader sections of the population will realize that only the working people's resolute struggle for their basic demands can ensure a genuinely democratic turn in national politics.

The conference also stressed the need to strengthen Party ranks, without which it is impossible to accomplish the difficult taks of consolidating national unity in the struggle against big capital. And contrary to our enemies' hopes that the influx of new, especially young, members would cause disarray and vacillation, the conference was a demonstration of Party unity.

Now that new achievements have been registered and society is in flux, we are faced with new problems. One of them is to increase ideological cohesion. It has been amply shown that the Party can respond correctly and actively to the burning issues of the times only if it masters Marxism-Leninism, firmly adheres to its principles and opposes opportunist trends of every kind. That is why the conference decided to organize extensive Marxist-Leninist studies for Party members.

This, naturally, calls for stronger and better Party organization, which was also discussed at the conference. In this year's series of events, the Communist Party, with its viable, independent organization as against the lack of organization in other parties and groups and the empty rhetoric of sectarians, played a decisive part in assuring the fulfilment of the immediate tasks of the common struggle and the mass movement. Experience has reaffirmed that Party organization must rest on the principles of democratic centralism.

The conference gave special attention to defining the ways and means of building the present struggle into struggle for socialism and its place in the international class struggle and the world communist movement. Communists see their difficult daily efforts as a contribution to their long-term objectives, and this inspires strength and

energy to carry out their complex program. Realization of this is especially important for the young people attracted to the ideas of socialism and communism.

The revolutionary movement has rich traditions in many countries. It is with due regard to their experience and specific conditions that the Communist parties determine the way of advancing the struggle of the working class and the people as a whole. This struggle can and does take different forms, depending on conditions. But there is also such experience that is fundamental and significant enough to warrant study in other countries, confirming the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of struggle, and helping modify the conditions in which it is carried on. Danish Communists hold that their practice has produced elements of precisely this kind of experience.

There was a time when our Party's existence was called into question but it held its ground, firmly convinced that only a Marxist-Leninist party can be a party of the working class. Whatever our opponents may say, only such a party can pave the way to future victories and accomplishments, not only for Communists, but for the whole working people.

We could have succumbed to the temptation of foregoing Marxist-Leninist principles, of turning the Party into an amorphous organization, of dissolving it in noncommittal general movements to win positions for ourselves in conditions of bourgeois democracy. We chose not to, and avoided the sorry plight of those who did otherwise. In building up the ideological unity and fighting potential of its ranks, our Party mustered forces capable of making the best use of new opportunities.

This stand did not contradict our desire to strengthen working-class unity. On the contrary, it was a prerequisite of success in achieving genuinely militant unity. It should not be confused with dogmatic isolation. Political experience and unrelenting organized struggle for communist ideals help in building up a viable party.

Experience tells us that this is possible only when a constant struggle is waged for fidelity to ideological principles and for the consolidation of the Party's organizational structure. This cannot be achieved by ambiguous statements, nebulous ideas or uncertain action.

Today the role of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class in the international class struggle is greater than ever before. This gives strength to Demark's Communists, inspires them with optimism and adds to their militancy, helping them carry out their tasks.

The Bulgarian Communist Party's experience in building up the armed forces of the revolution

Tsola Dragoicheva,
PB Member, CC BCP.

PAGES FROM HISTORY

Mastering all forms of revolutionary struggle, changing tactics to meet changing political situations, work in the army to prevent its use by reactionary forces and to win it over to the popular-democratic movement and the revolution – these problems have always claimed the attention of Communist parties. The experience of the Bulgarian Communist Party, both in victory and defeat, in its positive and negative aspects, points up the vital importance of work in the army as an element of revolutionary strategy.

Before the Great October Revolution, the policy of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Tesnyak Socialists), its views on war and the army, were based on the belief that socialist revolution was not an immediate or even near aim for Bulgaria, an economically backward country in which the proletariat was in the minority. True, the Party explained the unjust, imperialist character of the First World War and worked in the army, but it was unable properly, in a Bolshevik way, to assess the situation, and did not aim at winning power. On the other hand, the Party leadership did not support Party activists campaigning against the nationalistic and militarist policies of Bulgaria's bourgeois governments. It neither organized resistance within the army to Bulgaria's involvement in the Balkan wars (1912-13) and the First World War, nor gave leadership to mutinies in the army. The anti-war movement in the army was largely confined to propaganda.

The mutinies became more frequent after the February Revolution in Russia, and especially after the Great October Socialist Revolution. In some cases they were led by Tesnyak Socialists, reserve officers, who were not few. Soldiers' committees were set up at all levels, from company to regiment, as a result of the Party's organizing effort and the influence of the Soldiers' Committees in Russia. But there was no central leadership. The September 1918 mutiny was the first at-

tempt (after Russia) to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. The Tesnyak Socialists were largely responsible for inspiring the mutiny but did not provide military or political leadership and did not link it with the mass movement. This was one of the main reasons for its failure.

The Party's 1919 Congress, which became the first congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, regarded proletarian revolution in Bulgaria as an immediate aim. The Congress Policy Declaration urged the Party to use every available means of revolutionary struggle, 'from mass demonstrations and political strikes to armed risings.' While making maximum use of all forms of legal work, the Party began building an illegal military organization and intensified its revolutionary work in the army.

The Central Committee appointed the Supreme Military-Revolutionary Collegium to supervise the formation of illegal military organizations throughout the country, arm the masses, gather intelligence in the enemy camp, and conduct work in the army and among reservists. The Collegium set up a commission in charge of organization and mobilization and commissions on armaments, intelligence and work in the army. All these activities were supervised by the Party Central Committee, and Collegium decisions were subject to its approval. Three-man military commissions accountable to the appropriate Party committees were appointed in the larger towns and district centers to direct local work.

The basic military unit was the illegal combat group made up of carefully selected members of local (legal) Party branches. There was thus formed a flexible and relatively invulnerable system operating illegally. The combat groups were usually organized in residential areas so that they could be quickly mustered and formed into squads, platoons and companies of the revolutionary army before and during the popular rising. Party members were trained in the use of the weapons at their disposal and in urban warfare; there were training alerts and test mobilizations. In short, everything was done to keep our forces prepared for action in the coming popular rising.

The military organization built up stocks of arms carefully stored away in caches. The weapons were obtained in raids on government arsenals and by secret imports from other countries. An important source were shipments from the Soviet Union by motorboats. At the same time, the Party posted a watch on government arms depots with a view to capturing them and arming the revolutionary masses once the rising started.

The Party was working on the premise that for the struggle against the class enemy to be successful, the proletariat must have a thorough knowledge of all the strong and weak points of its adversary, his

armaments, tactics, and, what was particularly important, the state of the army and the police. To obtain this information, the military organization started an intelligence network which kept tabs on government departments and fascist organizations, and was always a step ahead of the enemy.

Guided by Lenin's proposition that 'not a single great revolution has ever taken place, or ever can take place, without the "disorganization" of the army' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 284), the Party devoted much attention to revolutionary work among the rank-and-file and part of the officers' corps. Illegal Communist cells began to appear, composed of soldiers, non-coms and officers. Their job was to explain Party policy, win supporters, supply inside information and help the Party procure arms. But the main aim was to prepare the ground for army units joining the rising or, if this proved impossible, preventing their use against the rising.

Marxist-Leninist propaganda in the legal and illegal press played a big part, too, in showing the significance of the armed class struggle and elucidating Party policy. The legally published *People's Army* newspaper enjoyed wide popularity. Even in the most difficult days the Party published and circulated leaflets and pamphlets which helped both the Party and its youth organization to prepare for action.

The military organization did much to bring about the disintegration of the Wrangel troops which had escaped to Bulgaria after their defeat in the Crimea, helped the movement for the return to the Soviet Union, exposed and frustrated a number of fascist plots. It was also responsible for the security of the People's House, where the Central Committee and the Party paper *Rabotnicheski Vestnik* were located, Party clubs, bookshops, demonstrations, meetings and leading functionaries.

These multiform activities showed that the Party had mastered different forms and methods of illegal struggle.

Regrettably, when the big bourgeoisie, helped by the army, carried out a military fascist coup on June 9, 1923, and overthrew the democratic government of the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union which had been in power since 1920, the military organization built up by the Party and the revolutionary energy of the Communists remained idle. This was due to an erroneous assessment of the situation and of the coup: the Party leadership instructed our forces to remain neutral, and those groups which had joined members of the Agrarian Union, in actions against the new fascist regime, were told to suspend operations.

With the help of the Comintern, the sound revolutionary forces in the Party quickly rectified this error. At its historic meeting of August 5-7, 1923, the Central Committee decided on an armed rising. An

operational plan was worked out and on the eve of the rising the Central Committee formed a Chief Military Revolutionary Committee, with similar committees set up throughout the country. The existing military organization quickly mobilized its forces, forming them into detachments, in some places even into regiments. Again, they were based mainly on residential areas, though in some places combat units were formed in factories and mines.

The Party also intensified work among the troops. But subsequent developments proved this to have been woefully inadequate.

When the armed rising began on September 23, 1923, the insurgent detachments, organized and directed by the Bulgarian Communist Party and led by courageous commanders, were able to establish worker-peasant government in 10 towns and in more than 440 villages, and this despite the fact that they were poorly armed. In battle with the fascist forces there were formed and tested the main principles and characteristics of the revolutionary insurgent army: the leading role of the Communist Party, high level of political consciousness, loyalty to the interests of the working class and all working people, self-sacrifice, hatred of the enemy. The insurgent forces drew on the experience of the Red Army in organization and tactics.

The rising was brutally suppressed. The Party drew the necessary lessons. It made a searching analysis of the shortcomings of its military work – inadequate effort to win over the army; too much reliance on the army joining the rising by virtue of its kinship with the people; the main blow was not always aimed at capturing army barracks, etc. Our experience proved that if the army is to be wrested from the enemy, there has to be sustained and active revolutionary work among the soldiers and a measure of support among progressive-minded officers. Otherwise, though most of the soldiers are workers and peasants, they can be used to suppress the revolutionary movement. That is exactly what happened in the September rising: the army proved to be a tool of the fascist government.

There was also this negative factor: some detachments confined themselves to the defense, and defense, as Lenin taught us, dooms the uprising to failure. There was insufficient coordination and interaction by adjacent areas; there was no partisan movement to disorganize the enemy's rear; the rising was not synchronized throughout the country, so that the fascists were able to defeat the insurgent units piecemeal.

Having analyzed the post-September situation and the alignment of forces, the Party conference held at Vitosha in May 1924 concluded that the revolutionary upsurge had not subsided, and decided on preparations for a fresh armed rising. Much was done to build up military and technical facilities. The military organization was re-

established, and in the new conditions of fascist terror it had to grapple with much bigger and more important tasks. Briefly, these were: re-estublishment, expansion and organizational consolidation of the military and technical apparatus; training of combat groups; activation of insurgent units; supply of weapons; more effective military and political intelligence operations; communication service.

The Party CC appointed the Central Military Commission to direct the work of the military organization. The Commission had departments on organization, arms supplies, work among the troops, intelligence and commmunications. The country was divided into five military areas.

Learning from the September rising, the Party intensified its work among the troops, passing from propaganda to the formation of a soldiers' revolutionary organization as part of its stepped-up effort to wrest the army from the bourgeoisie. The Central Military Commission appointed a special group to direct this work and sent delegates to the provinces to supervise local activities. Anti-militarist groups were started in army units and soldiers' committees in garrison towns Of course, everything had to be done in strict secrecy, so that the groups consisted of from three to five members and the Party secretary. In towns with several army units, garrison soldier committees were formed to direct and coordinate the work of the groups.

Relations between the military organization and the Party followed the pattern agreed upon before the September rising, i.e., all of the military organization's decisions and orders were subject to CC approval, with the same procedure followed at lower levels.

Every aspect of Party activity in this field had to be shrouded in secrecy. Members of the vaious groups were carefully selected, the criterion being loyalty to communist ideals and physical fitness. The groups included some left-wing members of the Agrarian Union and also anti-fascists of no party affiliation. As a rule, leading cadres were chosen from among ex-servicemen, reserve officers and, in some cases, regular army officers.

Early in 1925, with the partial stabilization of capitalism and the ebb of the revolutionary movement, the Central Committee Bureau Abroad suspended preparations for the armed uprising and called for a mass movement against the fascist regime and in defense of the people's interests. Unfortunately, the Party leadership in Bulgaria and the leaders of the military organization misread the situation and failed therefore to take up the strategy which alone could assure an organized retreat, so that the revolutionary forces would not be exposed to enemy attack and could be regrouped for mass work. Though there was no revolutionary situation, the military organization continued the preparations for an armed uprising. In reply to the

savage repressions of a fascist regime, it carried out a number of terrorist acts which only brought more repression.

In 1925 the military organization suffered very heavy casualties. Party work became extremely difficult, but the terror could not break our will to fight through to victory. In the ensuing years the Party concentrated on extending its links with the masses, penetrating the trade unions, youth and cultural organizations, forming contacts with various non-fascist parties and organizations, including servicemen's organizations, as part of the struggle for the people's interests and democratic rights. This laid the groundwork for the alliance of all patriotic forces in the Fatherland Front, which played such an important part in the fight against fascism. The armed resistance of 1941-44 was part of this struggle, its culmination, the result of what the Communist Party had done to build up the armed forces of the revolution.

Unlike most European countries, Bulgaria was not under German occupation, though the Germans practically controlled the country. Its government machine had not been dimantled nor the army disbanded. The regime adroitly exploited national sentiments to implant the chauvinist illusion that Bulgaria was 'achieving its national ideals.' Led by Georgi Dimitrov, the Party remained true to its internationalist duty in those trying days. It mobilized its own members and those of the Young Workers' League and organized mass resistance to fascism. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, it called for armed struggle against the nazis and their Bulgarian servitors, and for preparations for an armed rising. On June 24, 1941, the Political Bureau drew up a plan for mass armed struggle: organization of partisan detachments, combat groups in urban and rural communities to carry out sabotage operations, illegal groups in the army for revolutionary work among the troops. The first guerrilla detachment was formed three days after the Political Bureau decision.

As the guerrilla movement spread and as more combat groups were formed, the Resistance forces were reorganized to form the People's Revolutionary Insurgent Army (PRIA). In the spring of 1943 the Central Committee divided the country into 12 operational zones, each with its staff, composed usually of commander, political commissar, their deputies and chief of staff; besides, there were CC representatives in most zones. Operational command was concentrated in the PRIA General Staff, which was under the Political Bureau.

A new stage was thus begun in the development of the revolutionary armed forces and the anti-fascist Resistance. All partisan detachments and combat groups and all revolutionary soldiers' organizations came under the PRIA General Staff. In August 1944 the PRIA

consisted of one partisan division, nine brigades, 37 units plus several independent detachments. They could lean on the active support of more than 200,000 people in all parts of the country. The Party was building the People's Revolutionary Insurgent Army as the armed force of the revolutionary movement, the striking force of the popular rising in the battle for political power.

Though inadequately armed, the partisan units successfully fought the fascist police, gendarmerie and troops, raided supply depots serving the German army, captured communities, destroyed lists of Bulgarians singled out for reprisal, organized political rallies and meted out punishment to the enemies of the people.

The PRIA was in every respect a people's army. Soldiers and commanders were of working-class, poor and middle peasant families, or intellectuals closely associated with the people. It was a class, revolutionary army, formed and led by the Communist Party. Its soldiers and commanders were being educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism, friendship with the Soviet Union and supreme loyalty to the proletarian revolution.

In 1941-44, throughout the armed struggle against fascism, the Party devoted special attention to work among the troops. It was following the policy mapped out by the Political Bureau at its meeting of June 24, 1941. While organizing more partisan units and combat groups, it worked extensively within the royal army. The aim was to disorganize it, prevent its being used against the anti-fascist Resistance, and gradually win it over to the side of the people. Learning from Lenin, our Party regarded the army not only as a tool of the bourgeois clique and the fascist monarchy, but also as part of the people, for it was composed of the sons of workers and peasants who could be brought into the fight against the enemy. That is why Georgi Dimitrov said that one of the main tasks of the Fatherland Front was to 'wrest the army from the fascist monarchy and take energetic measures to prevent its use against the people.' A year later Dimitrov wrote that Bulgaria would be saved 'if the people and the army join in a resolute battle against the Hitler agents in power, and in forming a genuine Bulgarian national government.'

The Party Central Committee instructed the partisans and combat groups to avoid clashes with the army and concentrate on fighting the police and gendarmerie and, of course, the Hitler troops in Bulgaria. Operations against the army were permissible only if it attacked first. The Party leadership and the PRIA Command did everything to explain to the soldiers that the partisans were not at war with the Bulgarian army; on the contrary, they wanted to join forces with it against the real enemies of our people, the Nazi aggressors and the fascist monarchy.

This policy vis-a-vis the army followed from our analysis and assessment of the situation, of the conditions in which the people were fighting the fascist monarchy.

Winning over the army was one of the main aims of the Fatherland Front founded by Goergi Dimitrov. It was being achieved through the network of Party and YWL organizations in the army.

When World War II broke out, the Party sought ways and means of contacting young men enlisted for service in the army. The job fell mainly to the YWL members. They visited the draftees at home, and met with soldiers in the barracks. Their message was one of neutrality, explaining that the war was between two imperialist groupings and that the Communists wanted peace in the Balkans and the world, but that was possible only if there were a friendship and mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union. Young anti-fascists were urged to use their stay in the army to become trained fighters for the people.

That line was, of course, changed after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union: neutrality was out of the question. YWL district and local committees kept in touch with members serving in the army. Anti-fascist groups were formed in the barracks. Their motto was: Everyone must consider himself a soldier of the Red Army; not a single Bulgarian soldier shall be sent to the Eastern front! And as the partisan struggle developed, the YWL helped soldiers join in it. In this way our youth organization played an important part in work among the troops.

Besides political education, Party and YWL members engaged in taking out arms and ammunition from barracks, helping soldiers threatened with arrest, disruption of army units, etc. Desertion from the army became more frequent, with more and more soldiers joining the PRIA. This was proof of Lenin's words that 'the units of the revolutionary army are springing out of the army itself' (Vol. 8, p. 562). In fact, seven partisan battalions and one brigade were formed of deserters from the Bulgarian Royal Army.

The fascist government was aware of all this. Notwithstanding pressure from Hitler, it did not venture to use the Bulgarian army against the Soviet Union. Bulgaria was the only European member of the Hitler bloc that did not send a single soldier to the Eastern front. This was a big success for our Communist Party.

Toward the end of August and early in September 1944, with the Soviet Army rapidly advancing toward our frontiers and with the liberation struggle spreading throughout the country, there developed a revolutionary situation. The partisans stepped up their activity, with whole areas under their factual control. The people, soldiers and patriotic-minded officers, joined in the struggle.

In the days preceding the September 9 rising, several units of the Sofia garrison placed themselves at the disposal of the PRIA General

Staff, declaring their readiness to help the partisans, the combat groups and the workers deliver the decisive blow to the fascist government. On the night of September 8, 1944 a tank regiment and several battalions and companies of the Sofia garrison took part with the partisans and combat groups in capturing the capital. The victorious advance of the Soviet Army and the energetic operation of the PRIA enabled the insurgent people, led by the Communist Party, to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and assume power.

News of the victory brought a large part of the army to the side of the Fatherland Front. Officers guilty of crimes against the people were quickly disarmed and arrested by the revolutionary troops. Together with the partisans and the workers, the army had an active share in establishing popular democratic rule throughout the country. Practically all army units reported to the PRIA, partisan detachments and Fatherland Front committees. The army was thus wrested from the fascist monarchy and placed at the service of the new, popular democratic government. Its participation in the enthusiastic welcome accorded the Soviet troops was vivid manifestation of the deep changes in the army and of its revolutionary spirit.

It should be emphasized that the foundation of all our successes is the experience accumulated in long years of struggle and victory, analyzed and properly assessed by the Party and applied in action.

In view of the domestic and international situation resulting from the victorious anti-fascist struggle, the Party did not dissolve the old army but reconstructed it along revolutionary lines. This helped to maintain unity of the democratic forces and successfully pursue the Patriotic War against Hitler Germany and create the conditions for the complete victory of the socialist revolution. In solving these problems and in building up the People's Army as the armed force of popular democratic government, our Party displayed great political wisdom and foresight and demonstrated its ability creatively to apply the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to concrete conditions.

DEAR FRIENDS:
The *WMR* EDITORIAL BOARD, EDITORIAL COUNCIL AND MULTINATIONAL STAFF SEND YOU THEIR BEST NEW YEAR'S WISHES.

theory

The science of revolution and building the new society

Tibor Görög
Cand. Ph. (Hungary)

The following article closes the series on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, its components and their role in the comtemporary battle of ideas.

See 'A Doctrine that Explains and Transforms the World,' 'Historical Materialism and the Battle of Ideas' and 'Political Economy and Social Progress' in February, April and June 1974 issues of *WMR*.

People tend to think about the future of the world, some painting it black and others bright. Some think humanity is a victim of preternatural forces, others long for a just and prosperous society shaped by the will of the people. We owe thanks to the Utopian Socialists for their inspired vision of the future as a conscious achievement of the ideals of social equality, free labor, harmony of interests, and universal happiness.

Those radiant ideals abounded in the high spirits and social optimism of the still progressive ascent of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, they contained an element of protest against the reality of capitalist society. The evolution of the utopian socialist concepts reflected the need for a theory leading to a social system different from capitalism and free from its evils.

Marxism produced just such a theory, which anticipated and directed social development, blended the ideal with inevitability, dreams with objective laws, the will of the makers of history with the dynamics of history. In other words, it was not until Marx and Engels made their great philosophical, economic and sociological discoveries that utopian notions of society and its transformation became a science – the theory of scientific socialism, later enriched by Lenin's genius, the revolutionary struggle of the working class, and socialist and communist construction.[1]

Broadly, scientific socialism is a component of Marxism-Leninism encompassing the doctrine of the class struggle for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, the laws of the socialist revolution, and those governing the building of classless society.

When the fundamental ideas of scientific socialism were first formulated more than a hundred years ago (and many times since), its opponents portrayed it as a 'Communist utopia.' But practice is the measure of reality, and has proved its scientific quality.

Is it not a fact that the Great October Socialist Revolution has converted socialism from a theoretical and political aim into a social and political reality?

Is it not a fact that now socialism is a system of states that has transcended national frameworks, a socialist community of nations embodying the fundamental principles and ideals of the theory of scientific socialism, a social reality in which the power of the working class allied with other working people has taken root and is yielding beneficial results?

And is it not a fact that the definition of the working class as the hegemon of the world's revolutionary reconstruction has been proved correct on a global scale?

When Marx and Engels published the *Communist Manifesto*, the working class comprised only nine million. At the turn of the century, it numbered 30 million in just those countries where the development of capitalism had given birth to a modern working class. And by now workers and socially related strata total some 600 million. The workers' professional and educational standards have risen immeasurably, ans so have their class awareness and political militancy. The vanguard of the international working class, the Communist movement, has grown into the most influential political force of the times.

The independent development of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has created favorable opportunities for world social progress and the national liberation revolution in the domain of social change. Lenin's view that the national liberation movement is the objective ally of the working class against imperialism and capitalism, a logical constituent of the world revolutionary process directed against every form of oppression and exploitation, for the new society, has proved correct.

Scientific socialism has revealed the substantive and law-governed manifestations of the real social processes with the utmost accuracy. More, it was the theory that expressed the true social interests of the workers, other working people, the exploited and oppressed masses. Their revolutionary practice gave scientific socialism the strength to transform the world.

Being what Engels called the 'theoretical expression of the proletarian movement,' scientific socialism is in continuous development, keeping pace with that movement, generalizing its experience and determining the changed conditions of the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism and communism in order to be able to

work out the right strategy and tactics at each new turn in history and provide scientific guidelines for further advance. Scientific socialism is invariably focussed on solving the newly-arising theoretical and practical problems of the contemporary world, split into two opposite systems and engulfed in the multiform process of the development of the communist system, in the deep crisis of capitalism, and the revolutionary action of the masses.

The fact that socialism has become a reality in a large part of the world exercises a determining influence on world events, the content of our epoch and the future of civilization. The peoples of socialist countries are in a way explorers of the future, blazing new trails for mankind, and deliberately reshaping the entire system of social relations in accordance with the principles of scientific socialism. The existing socialism is an embodiment of this theory, on the one hand, and a rich basis for its further development, on the other, because it continuously sets new tasks that stimulate creative thinking.

Looking back at the progress of the socialist countries, we can see that though society was remodelled in each of them in accordance with specific historical conditions, which left their mark on the forms of socialist being, all the socialist countries had the following points in common:

– socialization of the principal means of production, and consequent abolition of exploitation of man by man;

– establishment of socialist relations of production in all or in the decisive economic fields;

– assurance of the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party;

– establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and development of socialist democracy, which is based on the elimination of every form of social or political inequality, guaranteeing a steadily growing involvement of working people in the administration of society;

– elimination of the cultural monopoly of the former ruling classes and accomplishment of a socialist cultural revolution;

– introduction of the principles of socialist internationalism in inter-ethnic relations.

The building of socialism and communism goes through several stages with distinctive features, their own criteria of success, and their own problems, frequently difficult ones. Countries building socialism, e.g., Hungary, have accomplished tremendous changes by all standards of social progress. This applies to economic growth, the material and cultural levels, and the political, social and spiritual forms of national life. The Soviet Union, the world's first socialist

country, has achieved results of historic magnitude in building socialism and communism.

Taking pride in the gains of existing socialism and stressing their outstanding significance for mankind, Marxist-Leninists do not conceive history and the present-day practice of socialist countries as a consummated ideal, a complete harmony of the desired and the achieved.

The existing socialism is a mobile society. It does not stand still. There are contradictions in its being and consciousness, resolved in the clash between the progressive and the backward. Its advance may and does encounter difficulties. There may also be mistakes. Is this compatible with the theory of scientific socialism? Yes, certainly. Neither Marxism-Leninism as a whole, nor any of its components, are a set of abstract ideas; they are a generalization and reflection of the living reality.

Lenin denounced the typically bourgeois conception of socialism as 'something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472). Yet Marxist-Leninists still have to combat this misinterpretation of the theory and practice of socialism. And that is all the more important, because bourgeois and revisionsit ideologists accentuate the discrepancies between the social and political realities of socialism and, the artificial, abstract schemes of either their own making or depicted as the theoretical stereotype allegedly established by Marxism.[2]

Yet it was precisely the creative character of the theory of scientific socialism and communism, its renunciation in principle of any and all preformulated prescriptions, that made it a dependable guide for building the new society in the highly varied conditions of the different countries in which the socialist revoultion had triumphed. It facilitated effective building of socialism both where the deposed exploiting system had left a relatively advanced economy and culture, and also where economy and living required over-all and swift modernization. It was a sure guide in breaking the resistance of the exploiting classes and defeating their attempts to subvert the rising socialist movement from within and without (these include the counter-revolution and the 14-country intervention against the newly-founded Soviet Republic, Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union and the U.S. aggression in Vietnam: now, too, imperialist subversive activity against members of the socialist community continues). Last but not least, it was instrumental in overcoming mistakes of a subjectivist character and in eliminating their consequences.

Helped by this theory, the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist community are now building a solid scientific, technical and

industrial basis for developed socialism and communism to meet the steadily growing material and cultural requirements of the population. Impressive work is done to promote communist ethics in human relations and the new, socialist rules of behavior. Moral and material incentives are being improved to stimulate production and public activity, and the forms of popular participation in government and economic management are continuously augmented.

A special accent is laid on bringing the workers into the administration of society and the state at all levels. The March 1974 CC HSWP plenary meeting, for example, stressed the necessity for heightening the leading role of the working class. 'The Central Committee,' its resolution said, 'considers it necessary to increase the proportion of workers in the Party membership and bring more manual workers into the leadership at all levels in elections to Party organs. The Central Committee considers it necessary to extend the plan-regulated process whereby workers with experience in mass political work occupy leading positions in our society.' In so doing, the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist community count on the creative activity and initiative of the masses.

Generalization of the practice of building socialism is one of the main lines of creative Marxist-Leninist thought, of the theory of scientific socialism and communism. Our theory is enriched by the elaboration of a wide range of solutions and recommendations related to the government of socialist society. Fruitful work has been accomplished in ascertaining the nature, main characteristics, trends and effects of the contemporary scientific and technological revolution, in order to combine its achievements with the advantages of socialism. The fact that the Soviet Union has entered the stage of developed socialism and that a number of other countries are in the act of building developed socialism, requires a comprehensive analysis of the special features of this important stage of the communist formation. Another object of study are the specific ways and forms in which the dictatorship of the working class grows into a state of the whole people. The CPSU and Soviet scholars are working on the scientific and long-term aspects of the transition from socialism to communism, the emergence of the new, communist-type personality, and national relations.

Socialist and communist construction and its theoretical Marxist-Leninist assessment are a twofold process which improves the economic and political mechanism, eliminates the contradictions of socialist society, and eliminates faults, mistakes and survivals of the past. This is a difficult but vital process. And it is worlds removed from attempting to 'adjust' or 'improve' socialism in the spirit of arbitrarily construed 'new models'.[3] The opportunist and revisionist

concepts of socialism that have proliferated in recent decades are based on abstract dogmas, or at best on well-meaning illusions without regard for the intricacy and contradictions of the social and political situation of today's world. Whereas Marx and Engels transformed socialism from a utopia into a science, the present-day 'democratic,' 'humanist,' 'national' and other 'models' of socialism create the impression that their authors are straining to achieve the very reverse: to transform the theory of socialist society from a science into a utopia.

This is, in fact, the fundamental defect of these concepts in terms of scientific method. But they also have an ideological and political orientation, and express definite class interests. All their variety is pointedly directed against the existing socialism, the principal achievement of the revolutionary working class, the working people. 'Modelling' socialism by rejecting or revising the main principles of its Marxist-Leninist theory is therefore nothing but an ideological and propaganda weapon benefitting the bourgeoisie.

By carrying forward the theory of scientific socialism and combating pseudo-socialist doctrines, Marxist-Leninists also contribute to the actual construction of the new society, the strategy of the world Communist movement and the ideological offensive against capitalist power.

Is the replacement of the bourgeois system by the socialist unavoidable? Does the evolution of capitalist society breed contradictions which only the proletarian revolution can solve? Does capitalism lack the margin of stability that could deliver it from economic upheavals and political crises, which are hastening its end?

These are some of the fundamental questions behind the ideological battle that has raged ever since the rise of the theory of scientific socialism.

The theoretical and political schools of thought which had maintained at the turn of the century that capitalism was unshakable and would withstand every revolutionary onslaught, have been conclusively denied by history. The world as a whole, and capitalism in particular, have experienced many changes. While the more important of these show plainly that the transition from capitalism to socialism is the mainstream in the development of humankind, apologists of the capitalist system prefer to see only those that seem to argue in favor of the capitalist system's inexhaustible viability. Capitalism portrayed as a 'post-industrial society,' a special formation of the 'technotronic era' or, a system of 'welfare states,' is claimed to have guaranteed brilliant future. All these concepts contend that the scientific and technological revolution and state regulation of economic and also some of the social processes can dampen, even

eliminate, the sharpest contradictions of capitalism.

Characteristically, the better known of these concepts appeared in the 60s, when their authors, in particular John Kenneth Galbraith, Walt Rostow, Daniel Bell and Zbigniew Brzezinski, became the ideological authorities of the capitalist West. It was anything but a tranquil period in the social and political existence of developed capitalism.[4] Still, apologists of the bourgeois system found arguments in support of their optimism in the setting of relative economic stability.

How do the forecasts of capitalist welfare stand up to the present state of bourgeois society in North America, Western Europe and Japan? Economic recession, unprecedented inflation, monetary upheavals and oil shortages have denuded the inherent instability of the economic system of contemporary capitalism. The deteriorating economy has led to greater social tensions – mass protests against monopoly and government policy, strikes and peasants' demonstrations. Early this year the British miners' national strike, which toppled the Conservative government, showed that growing social conflicts culminate in serious political shake-ups. Shaky minority cabinets, growing opposition and increasing friction between executive and legislative authority are typical of the mid-70s, indicating that the bourgeois political machinery is in disarray. The downfall of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal and the collapse of the reactionary military junta in Greece, both of which had seemed to be solidly entrenched, confirm this crumbling of bourgeois political forms of rule.

The general picture is one of diseased economy, social relations and political structure. The general crisis of capitalism has clearly increased, confirming the Marxist-Leninist deduction that the capitalist contradictions grow sharply at the imperialist stage and that objective premises of social revolution have reached full maturity in bourgeois society.

This brings us to one of the most important problems studied in the theory of scientific socialism: the relation between the objective and subjective factors determining the success of socialist revolution. Its study and solution ranks among Lenin's greatest contributions to Marxist thought.

He showed that in estimating the maturity of objective conditions for revolution, we must bear in mind the development level of bourgeois society as a whole, of capitalism as a system. This helped greatly in preparing for the October Revolution, and its relevance for the present strategy of the world Communist movement is just as great. Certainly, it is important in the conditions of the ever more uneven economic and political development of countries and regions

in the capitalist world and of the growing abyss between industrial capitalist states and the developing countries.

But that is not all, for objective prerequisites of the revolution, while indispensable, are not enough for victory. In Lenin's theory, the socialist revolution as a reality expresses itself in vigorous political activity by the masses anchored in organized action by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Its attitude to the role of the subjective factor in revolution sets the theory of scientific socialism apart from the formulas of right and 'left' opportunists. The former current gravitates toward the idea of a more or less automatic transformation of capitalism, arguing that its very contradictions necessitate reforms, which add up to a process of a consistent 'improvement' of the bourgeois system and its growth in the long term into a socialist type of society. Accordingly, it dismisses the question of the revolutionary activity of the masses, classes and parties.[5] 'Leftist' doctrines, outwardly the antithesis of reformism, display a similar disregard for the problem of organized training and political education of the masses advancing to revolution. 'Left'-wing opportunists regard present-day bourgeois society as a colossus on clay feet that will collapse from the slightest but determined push. In their view a few acts of subversion and terror will start a chain reaction leading to the downfall of capitalism. As a result, 'left' opportunists virtually accept the idea of the right opportunists that capitalism will disappear automatically. They only add that it requires an initial push.

Having carefully studied the role of the subjective factor in the revolution, Lenin contributed to scientific socialism his theory of the revolutionary party as the organizing and leading vanguard of the working-class struggle for power and the socialist reorganization of society. He stressed, however, that 'victory cannot be won with a vanguard alone. To throw only the vanguard into the decisive battle, before the entire class, and the broad masses, have taken up a position either of direct support for the vanguard, or, at least of sympathetic neutrality toward it . . . would be not merely foolish but criminal. Propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for an entire class, the braod masses of the working people, those oppressed by capital, to take up such a stand. For that, the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions . . .' (Vol. 31, pp. 92-93). Marxist-Leninist parties go by this law in working for united action by all anti-imperialist forces and working out their revolutionary strategy of class and political alliances against monopoly rule and imperialism.

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties noted that '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 decisevely limiting the role played by the monopolies in the economies of the countries concerned, of putting an end to the power of big capital and of bringing about such radical political and economic changes as would ensure the most favorable conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism'[6]

While in no way minimizing the difficulties of the transition from bourgeois to socialist society, scientific socialism equips the working class and all revolutionaries with a realistic and effective program of struggle for the new social and political system, for the ultimate realization of the communist ideals.

'Since the appearance of Marxism,' Lenin wrote in 1913, 'each of the three great periods of world history has brought Marxism new confirmation and new triumphs. But a still greater triumph awaits Marxism, as the doctine of the proletariat, in the coming period of history' (Vol. 18, p. 585). This prediction has come about.

The theory of scientific socialism and communism is developed and enriched as the world revolutionary process unfolds. As a result, its own role increases as a factor in organizing and ideologically directing the process. For instance, the changed alignment of world forces has enabled Marxist-Leninist thought to draw the conclusion that mankind can be saved from the disaster of war even though imperialism remains aggressive and expansionist. This conclusion played a tremendous part in forming the theoretical basis for active and vigorous struggle by the socialist community and the world Communist movement for peace and the principles of peaceful coexistence. Another example is the conclusion that the 'weak link' of the imperialist chain and the center of the world revolutionary process no longer coincide, for in our time the existing socialism is the center. This thesis plays a key role in the strategy of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle.

Having won the masses, the theory of scientific socialism is an immense material force comprising the economic, political and military power of the existing socialism, and the social and political potential of the international working class. It is a guide to action for all consistent participants in the progressive revolutionary liberation movements of our time. And it performs this function all the more fruitfully, because it promptly generalizes new phenomena and processes in the Marxist-Leninist creative spirit.

1. Utopianism (the opposite of science) still underlies all bourgeois concepts of the future evolution of society. In concentrated form it has culminated in the so-called anti-utopias created by the disenchanted bourgeois mind of the 20th century, producing an apocalyptic picture of the imminent decline of civilization, the degeneration and, indeed, destruction of mankind. In recent decades bourgeois ideologists have been at pains to give their views of the future a semblance of sceintific forecasting. As

a result, a school of thought has appeared, christened *futurology* by Ossip Flechtheim, the U.S. sociologist. But deliberately or instrinctively, the makers of futurological schemes became bogged down in unscientific, fantastic dogmas (e.g. the idea of man's inevitable subordination to technology, and the immortality of capitalism).

2. Take the arguments of Adam Ulam, reputed in American academic quarters to be an expert on Marxism. He claims that socialism has already departed from its theory, if only by failing to abolish the state as envisaged by Marx and Engels. This is either a display of ignorance, or an attempt to confuse his readers. He does not say that in *The Critique of the Gotha Program*, for instance, Marx stressed the necessity of proletarian dictatorship as the revolutionary political form of transforming capitalist into communist society. Would-be experts like Ulam apparently believe that such omissions buttress their claim that 'Marxism in power is the exact opposite of Marxism in revolution' (Adam Ulam, *The Unfinished Revolution*. An Essay on the Sources of Influence of Marxism and Communism. New York 1960, p. 195).

3. Various sciences are making good use of the term 'model' and of modelling to investigate and forecast both natural and social processes. But revisionist 'modelling' of socialism proceeds from a thoroughly unsicientific attitude by its metaphysical concentration on the particular to the detriment of the general, and on specific manifestations of law to the detriment of law. The formation and evolution of socialist society may assume different forms depending on the historical situation and national conditions. However, the nature and laws of socialism retain their universal character. Capitalism is likewise a universal social formation whose laws operate in the same way in, say, the United States, Italy and Denmark. This is so obvious that it would never occur to any serious analyst of capitalism to regard it as an assortment of 'models' – American, Italian, Danish, and so on.

4. A U.S. commentator summed up the case of the United States in the following terms: 'The bright promise that began the 60s turned to confusion and near despair as the decade ended . . . During the decade, more and more groups seemed to drop out of the national consensus, and a belligerent rhetoric of protest and revolution swept the country' (*Time*, Dec. 19, 1969).

5. Harold Wilson, the British Labor leader, a noted reformist and politician, sees the greatest virtue of 'British socialism' in its 'evolutionary' character, saying that 'throughout its history it has rejected the revolutionary use of armed force, or of industrial action for the attainment of political ends' (*The Relevance of British Socialism*. London, 1964, p. 2).

6. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, Moscow 1969, p. 27.

The crisis of capitalism: some of the problems

John Purton
British economist

We are approaching the last quarter of the 20th century against a background of confrontations between the two world systems – socialism and capitalism. The socialist system is dynamically expanding and is stable; the capitalist system is still expanding, from the standpoint of capital accumulation, but it is becoming increasingly unstable.

The competition between the two systems has recently been moving out of the situation of cold war into one of détente. In the new situation cooperation, not least economic cooperation, between socialist and capitalist countries has been growing. Its further development will depend, to no small extent, on the twists and turns of the world system of capitalism.

In order to chart a clear way forward through the contradictory and conflict-ridden paths of monopoly capitalism, the working-class, all progressive movements in the capitalist countries must analyze, from Marxist-Leninist positions, the lastest tendencies within monopoly capitalism, in its state of *cyclical* and deepening *general* crisis. This article examines the situation from the angle of operation of such economic laws of capitalism as the accumulation of capital and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall and the problem of realization of surplus value.

The period from the end of the second world war to the early 1960s was characterized by a relative equilibrium in the contradictory tendencies in monopoly capitalism (though, as is known, they were interrupted by economic crises of 1948-49, 1952-53 and 1957-58). This is especially true of the resurgent capitalist economies of Western Europe and Japan. In the case of the United States, only a relatively slow pace of capital accumulation proved possible. During the 1960s a relative equilibrium seemed to have set not only in Western Europe and Japan, but also in the United States, with a fast rate of capital accumulation and economic growth all round. Only the United Kingdom had a relatively slow rate of economic growth throughout.

To understand these processes correctly, one should remember

first of all that West European countries and Japan had suffered considerable capital destruction and lost millions of lives. Marx held that economic crises, spontaneously destroying part of the productive forces, make room for more efficient means of production and bring wages down, so that the rate of profit is raised again. Wartime destruction played precisely this role. Reconstruction in the capitalist countries took place under conditions of a plentiful supply of relatively cheap labor-power, resulting from the curtailment of the wartime economy, mass demobilization, recruitment from the agricultural sector, where farmers were ousted by mechanization, and from the small-scale industry under pressure by monopolies. In Western Europe the army of cheap labor-power was enlarged by an extensive influx of 'guest workers' from less developed countries.

Up-to-date technology was available, on the cheap, from the USA, which had borne all the costs of research and development. The scientific and technological revolution of these decades economized labor-power and rapidly raised productivity. The industrial expansion which resulted created a rapidly expanding demand for raw materials. Up to the end of the 1960s, this growing demand was not as yet accompanied by an inflationary rise in the prices of primary products that marked the first third of the 1970s.

Thus during the postwar reconstruction and its continuation up to the end of the 1960s full scope was given in the field of labor and technology to the tendencies working contrary to the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. Second, we should note in relation to the relatively fast economic growth of monopoly capitalism in this period, the hegemony of the USA, which provided capital, technology, supplies and markets, as well as direction and coordination of international monopoly cooperation. The U.S. domination was based upon an economy which produced almost one half of the industrial output of the entire capitalist world.

The consequent supremacy of the dollar, in abundant supply and universally acceptable as means of payment, provided a stable world currency system. The dominant position of the United States in capitalist production and finance made it a controlling center for the international flow of investment capital and short-term credit, an organizing center for world monopoly capitalism. The whole metabolism of capital accumulation was speeded up. Thus the powerful role ascribed by Marx to bank credit was performed on an international scale by the almighty dollar.

Third, we should note the further growth of the scope and power of the international monopolies and of international finance capital, foreseen by Lenin, operating in a period highly favorable to capital accumulation. This ensured a more expansionist role for monopoly

rather than a restrictionist one, as had been the case during the great depression of the 1930s.

In the fourth place, the much more powerful role of state monopoly capitalism, in economic intervention, during this period, was favorable to a fast pace of accumulation. Faced with the challenge of socialism, successes in the national liberation struggles and growing demands from the organized working class in the capitalist countries, big monopoly capital sought, by maintaining a relatively high level of demand, to secure a fast pace of economic growth and capital accumulation. This purpose was served by the entire strategy of investment in capitalist industry. More, the cold war and hot colonial wars, and aggressive policies generally, added enormously to the weight of state expenditure in the speeding up of monopoly accumulation.

The aim of state-monopoly intervention and of the war economies was to smooth out temporarily the cycle of capitalist production, flatten out the depressions and prolong the booms. As a result of the above factors in this period of state monopoly capitalism, the problem of realizing surplus value was temporarily diminished.

As noted above, the 1960s were marked by a high growth rate of the state-monopoly capitalist economy. It even seemed to some that the upward trend would continue endlessly. But toward the end of the 1960s there were signs that capitalist production and circulation began to move out of the state of temporary and relative equilibrium and that the contradictions of capitalism had sharpened all round, preparing a period of much more acute crisis for the whole of the world capitalist system, though developing with characteristic unevenness. There followed, at the start of the 1970s, a more protracted recession in the USA, combined with the collapse of the Bretton Woods international currency agreement, growing conflicts in trade, accelerating inflation and increasing instability in the international and national capital markets. This ended in a short sharp burst of accelerated production and accumulation, which has now in turn ended in a growing recession and inflation, in dangerously growing financial instability, *promising a protracted crisis of considerable dimensions*. The previous conjuncture of tendencies, favorable to economic growth and accumulation, was turning into its opposite.

First, we witnessed the passing of the U.S. hegemony. While remaining the most powerful country of monopoly capitalism, the U.S. has lost its unchallenged world capitalist supremacy in face of the rivalry of the increasingly powerful West European and Japanese monopoly groupings, as well as being undermined by the advance of socialism and the national liberation movement.

The dollar no longer provides a stable world monetary unit. The

currency and capital movements are no longer adequately controlled by international agreements between capitalist states, based upon the leading role of the U.S. dollar. The directing of postwar monopoly capitalism has collapsed.

Second, we should note the inflationary effects of the expansionist drive for accelerated accumulation of the multinational industrial and finance corporations. The search for ever mounting cash flows to finance investment outlays on the latest technology has caused monopolistic price raising, which in turn has been financed by an expansion in the credit provided at a rate far exceeding the growth in real output, especially in the Euro-currency and capital market, which is outside the control of national and so far also of international capitalist state and interestate organization respectively. This has unleashed an almost runaway pace of inflation. One of its most recent manifestations has been such an exorbitant demand for raw materials as to inflate their prices twice over in 1972 and 1973. This was followed by the dramatic rise in oil prices, caused by excessive demand, speculative price rises by monopolies and the organization of the oil producing countries to secure a fair price. The rise in raw material prices was heightened by speculation arising from lack of confidence in paper money, caused by the inflation.

In general, the speeding up of the scientific and technological revolution calls for such an increase in capital investment as to strengthen the tendency for finance capital to expand the whole credit structure in an inflationary way.

Third, we have to note that the policy of concentrating big investments of monopoly capital in the advanced capitalist countries, to the neglect of the less developed countries, is coming to an end. This policy, resulting from the collapse of direct imperialist control over the former colonial areas, must be coming up against the limitations of the zone of developed capitalism. Monopoly and finance capital is turning once again to the markets of the less developed countries in search of cheap labor-power and materials to boost it super-profits.

Fourth, there is the increasingly contradictory role of state monopoly measures in promoting business activity and seeking to prevent depressions by frequent and growing intervention to support demand and stimulate investment. This exaggerates booms in an inflationary way and removes the spontaneous capitalist corrective in the form of the slump, with falling wages and prices.

Fifth, there is the characteristic unevenness of capitalist development, stressed by Lenin for the epoch of monopoly capitalism, now taking on the form of the division of the non-socialist world into four categories, from the point of view of international balances of payments; the oil-producing countries with large surpluses; the stronger

countries of monopoly capitalism with surpluses; the monopoly captialist countries with deficits and the less developed oil-consuming countries with deficits. The collective deficit of the oil-consuming countries amounts this year to something between 50,000 and 100,000 million dollars. This unevenness in the payments situation, taken together with the growing inflation, places an enormous strain upon the whole mechanism of the world system of capitalist production and circulation.

Sixth, there are the growing struggles of the organized working class and popular masses in the capitalist countries, fighting against inflation and rising prices and for higher wages. This is used by the monopolies as an excuse for still higher prices.

Finally, we should note the increasing coordination of policies by liberated countries in oil marketing, with action in the field of other primary commodities yet to come.

All these features indicate a deep-going tendency to depression and, simultaneously, to a partial breakdown in the whole system of international capitalist monetary circulation, capital flows and trade.

Thus we have, on one side, a reappearance of all the features, in pronounced form, of the cyclical crisis of capitalist production. On the other side, there is an exacerbation of all contradictions of the imperialist system, those between the countries of monopoly capitalism, between them and the liberated countries, and social contradictions within the countries of monopoly capitalism.

We need to ask now: what is the significance of these tendencies for the whole situation of monopoly capitalism, for the liberated countries, for the future of cooperation between socialist and non-socialist countries, and for the competition between the two systems in a world moving to détente?

We have to ask whether the development of cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries will simply be based upon an extension of the existing trading and financial network and whether that network can be regarded as stable enough for steadily expanding cooperation.

The main conclusion from the preceding assessment is that the development of state-monopoly capitalism, marked by a stable and fast pace of capital accumulation for two decades, is now taking on the form of increasing instability, which tends to undermine the growth of trade and investment.

At present, the serious payments imbalances, on a global scale, are linked with increasing instability in the international currency and capital markets and in the whole banking structure. The recycling of the increased funds of the oil producers into the system of investment, production and trade of the capitalist world is mainly taking the form

of a buildup in short-term banking deposits and loans.* Some leading banks fear that the strain of such a large-scale credit operation may prove too great. It is not possible for the oil-producing countries to use up all these funds in buying the exports of the oil-consuming countries, in proportion to their oil debts. The oil-producing countries are moving with great caution into the field of long-term investment in the oil-consuming countries. Furthermore, as they are acquiring assets in key industrial and financial sectors of developed capitalist countries, this must accentuate the contradictions between the various groupings of monopoly capitalism, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, between them and the oil-producing countries; and again, between the richer oil-consuming and producing countries and the poorer oil-consuming countries.

A rational policy would be for the oil producers' surpluses to be made available on generous terms to the poorer countries to help their economic development. This would provide an increased market for the exports of the oil-consuming countries. But rationality is not of the essence of capitalism. International capitalist discussions are being held on the problem of recycling of the oil funds, but, so far, without any success. It is a case of 'sauve qui peut.'

The writing is on the wall for the policy of state-monopoly stimulation of the boom phase of the economic cycle, with the attempted elimination of the slump. Recessions are threatening to become deeper, at the same time as the excessive degree of state expenditure, combined with the other effects of the forced pace of capital accumulation, is causing the inflation to accelerate dangerously. Only a deep depression perhaps could halt the inflation. However, if the present scheme of things is allowed to continue, the depression would be followed by a recurrence of the existing inflationary diseases of finance capital on an enlarged scale. The monopolies and their state governments are divided between the policy of drastic deflation (in an attempt to cure the inflation at the expense of massive unemployment and falling real wages) and the policy of reflation to tide over the recession, at least at the price of an accelerated inflation. This contradiction is unsoluble within the present relations of monopoly capitalism.

In all this, the major contradictions of imperialism are bound to

*Besides providing loans, the richest oil-producing countries invest large sums in arms purchases, real estate and businesses in developed countries of the West. Thus, Iran has given Great Britain and France loans of $1,200m and $1,000m, respectively, and is now negotiating a $1,000m loan to Italy. In addition, Iran has placed arms orders abroad to the tune of $2,500m and acquired 25 per cent of the shares of the West German Krupp steel concern. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are engaging in similar transactions. – *Ed*.

grow sharper, which will make it more difficult to regain a stable basis for economic expansion. This will also intensify all the social conflicts of imperialism and provide opportunities for the working class and popular forces to move forward in their march to socialism by winning the battle for higher living standards and democracy.

The governments of developed capitalist countries display increasing interest in economic cooperation with the socialist world, hoping that this will help solve their problems of markets and supplies. They will tend to compete with each other for such cooperation. On the other hand, as the contradictions put the Common Market under increasing strain, organized cooperation between it and the socialist countries is likely to become more difficult. Indeed, the escalating inflation now, with a possible deep depression to follow, or a substantial 'slumpflation' or protracted 'stagflation,' will certainly place a strain on capitalist countries' trade relations with socialist countries.

As far as relations with the Third World are concerned, the crisis will undoubtedly lead the developed capitalist countries to look for new sources of raw materials and cheap labor-power and new spheres for the profitable investment of capital. Monopolies will rival each other in the struggle for bilateral agreements with the oil-producing countries, at the expense also of the poorer Third World countries. Their outlook will become more nationalistic in the drive for separate imperialist interests.

The task of the working class and its allies in such countries of state-monopoly capitalism as Great Britain is to fight for an alliance to struggle against monopoly interests and strive for progressive governments which will use their power to create an entirely new network of international economic relations. This can only be based upon mutual advantage and peaceful coexistence with socialist and newly-free countries, with other progressive governments, and, indeed, with all countries ready to enter into relations of mutual advantage and without economic or political strings.

Such a new network of international economic relations would come into being alongside the existing international capitalist network and, in laying a more stable foundation for cooperation than that provided by international finance capital, would in the long run replace it, depending on the success of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

There will undoubtedly be tendencies for monopoly capitalist states to break away from international capitalist ties in order to rescue their national economies from the crisis. To prevent the sway of extreme nationalism and economic separatism, it is necessary to fight precisely for the concept of a new network of international economic cooperation.

In the countries of monopoly capitalism the struggle for a progressive orientation of international economic policy must be made part and parcel of the struggle for internally progressive policies with the aim of securing the transfer of ownership and control of the means of production and exchange into the hands of the working class and popular masses.

The situation of the liberated and developing countries, too, grows more complex. With the mounting tide of capital accumulation in the monopoly capitalist sector of the world's economy and the consequent inflation, the terms of trade have temporarily become more favorable to the countries producing primary commodities, which is advantageous to their national incomes. However, a mojor slump could reverse this process. That would be particularly harmful for countries producing primary products with falling prices, having to pay prices for imports, say of oil or manufactured goods, that are still rising.

What is necessary in this situation is for the countries producing primary products to unite and demand not only fair prices, but also mutually favorable trading terms from the developed capitalist countries. There is also the need for greater solidarity between liberated oil-producing countries and liberated non-oil-producing countries in the fixing of prices, terms of trade and arrangements for credit and capital investment.

A further complicating factor will be the tendency for the interests of the ruling circles of some oil-producing countries to become tied up with the interests of international finance capital. We have noted above the growing tendency for the large oil funds to move into long-term investment in property and manufacturing in leading countries of monopoly capitalism. True, this process is not taking place fast enough to solve the balance of payments problems of the developed oil-consuming countries; at the same time it deprives the underdeveloped countries of funds, which they need for economic growth and with which they could buy the exports of other oil-consuming countries. This raises the question of the common interests of the popular masses in the developing countries and in the countries of monopoly capitalism in the struggle against international finance capital.

The growth of the influence of finance capital in the developing countries, arising out of the manipulation of the oil funds and other deals and the attempts of state-monopoly capitalism to solve its deep-going crisis at the expense of the working people, by the exploitation of new sources of cheap labor-power and raw materials, new markets and spheres of investment – all this urgently calls for a stronger unity of the working class and the popular anti-monopoly

movement, based upon the demand for satisfying legitimate national and popular needs and on the growing international solidarity and cooperation of all progressive forces.

Thus the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism is being waged amid the considerable sharpening of all the contradictions of monopoly capitalism and its deep-going crisis. This crisis, both cyclical and long-term, spells out greater dangers of adventurism, reaction and fascism, arising from the desperate attempts of finance capital to salvage its world positions. At the same time, the crisis opens up fresh opportunities for the working class and the popular movements.

In this situation, the essential thing is for the struggle for higher living standards and democracy, within the various countries of monopoly capitalism, and the various liberated and developing countries, to be waged in solidarity not only in upholding the legitimate national interests but also the interests of broader international cooperation, based upon détente and mutual advantage.

Out of the successes of the popular movement for peace, democracy and socialism must come, not only a strengthening of the socialist positions but also fresh breakthroughs, here and there, where monopoly capitalism is at its weakest, even within leading countries of monopoly capitalism, on the high road to socialism.

This turbulent new epoch of the general crisis of the world capitalist system can become an epoch of fresh successes for socialist revolution.

---

political panorama

Portuguese reaction played for high stakes and lost

Antonio Dias Lourenco
Editor-in-Chief of
the newspaper *Avante!*

For six months the Portuguese people have been living in freedom. It has been a time of historic change in the nation's life, doubly so in the light of the heritage left by fascism and the short time since its collapse. After half a century of degrading life under a decadent dictatorship the people have regained their dignity. Only yesterday denied even minimal civil rights and doomed to poverty, they are now taking an active part in political life. Democratic freedoms and institutions have been restored. The colonial war has been stopped and important steps have been taken toward decolonization. Diplomatic relations have been established with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The fascists kept the working people in a state of abject poverty. In the last few months their living conditions have improved markedly. They have won acceptance of a number of important demands: a minimum wage, collective bargaining, higher pay for government employees, and a variety of social benefits.

But the problems inherited from the old regime, which had been in a perpetual state of crisis concealed by fierce press censorship, are still numerous.

The economic situation is grave, with large trade and balance-of-payments deficits. The levers of economic management remain in the hands of monopoly groups that are anything but ardent supporters of the new regime. Production is declining in some sectors, sometimes intentionally.

It would be a grave mistake to belittle the difficulties of democratization or the dangers threatening the process. Freedoms have to be consolidated in an atmosphere of endless reactionary attempts to launch an offensive and challenge the new democratic situation. The

Antonio Dias Lourenco spent 17 years in fascist jails and was freed by the events of April 25, 1974. Last October he visited the *WMR* editorial offices, where he spoke with V. Golubkin about political developments in Portugal.

first such attempt was undertaken on June 10, when an anti-government demonstration was staged in Lisbon. Another unsuccessful 'constitutional coup' was attempted at the time of the government crisis that culminated in the resignation of Prime Minister Palma Carlos and other ministers. It was a clear indication of Right-wing intentions to set up a personal dictatorship contrary to the spirit and letter of the Armed Forces Movement's program supported by the working people and the nation as a whole.

In September the reactionaries launched a frontal attack. And again they failed. The Communist Party described the crushing of the fascist 'silent majority' action as the greatest victory since April 25.

The reactionaries' plans became known on September 18 from documents taken from leaders of the Portuguese Nationalist Party, a pro-fascist organization that appealed to all reactionary groups to set up a united front.

The reactionaries were quick to take up some catchwords from the President's speech in which he called upon the 'silent majority' of the Portuguese people to 'awaken and defend themselves from extremist totalitarianism.' Some groups saw the speech as their long-awaited signal for action. On September 19 posters signed 'The Silent Majority' began to appear in Lisbon calling for a demonstration of 'respect for the President of the Republic' and a public declaration of 'resolve to work for the building of a democratic Portugal.'

However, these declarations of good intent fooled no one. The Central Commission of the Portuguese Democratic Movement issued an appeal stating, 'There are people out to deprive us of our freedom. Let no one be in doubt of this .... Reactionaries, former employees of PIDE, the political police, former "legionnaires," former members of the National Popular Action party, all fascists want to undermine the Armed Forces Movement, remove the democratic forces from power, restore fascism and resume the colonial war. They call themselves the silent majority, but what they want is to impose silence on the people.'

A dress rehearsal of sorts was held on September 26 when General Spinola was attending a bullfight the proceeds from which were supposed to go to the War Veterans League. The reactionaries looked forward to the occasion with great impatience. Fascists suddenly became ardent bullfight fans and bought up all the tickets well in advance. That the bullfight was intended as a political show became apparent at once when a mounted matador drove into the field with a placard proclaiming 'Long Live Spinola!' in one hand and, in the other, a red banner which he tossed under his horse's hoofs. 'Spinola the Saviour!' the crowd roared. 'Down with the Armed Forces Movement!' Prime Minister Goncalves was greeted with oaths and jeers.

The Communist Party mobilized the masses to repulse the fascists. Thousands surrounded the Praca de Touros where the bullfight was taking place. Hundreds of comrades headed for the Party headquarters a short distance away to defend it in case of an attack. As we had anticipated, the fascists, in helmets and waving rattles, surged out of the bullring and attacked the crowd. They soon were on the run, for the crowd retaliated.

On the following day anti-government leaflets and posters appeared in the city calling on people to take part in a demonstration to be held September 28 in front of the Presidential Palace in Empire Square. The fascists tried to commandeer buses, trucks and automobiles to bring thousands of people from the most backward areas of the country: mostly ignorant, benighted peasants misled by reactionary propaganda and the church. And arms were being assembled.

Some within the government favored banning the demonstration, but Spinola insisted that he should and would address the 'silent majority.' Subsequently, we found out that the so-called majority had planned to ask the President to 'save the country from communism,' a time-worn reactionary device .... He was to declare a state of siege, assume personal power, dissolve the government and outlaw the Communist Party. The fascists were busy preparing lists of Communists and democratic officers for elimination.

The Party had two options: either stage a counter-demonstration at the same time and place, and go for a head-on clash with the fascists, or prevent the 'march on Lisbon' and crush it in embryo. We chose the latter. Worker checkpoints were set up on all roads leading to the capital. They searched cars and took away weapons the fascists were trying to smuggle into the city. Effective controls were imposed by railway and automotive transport workers. The railwaymen's trade union decided to ignore all orders or requests for special trains. Some trade unions called 'general meetings' or held 'picnics' at road intersections. Barricades were put up. In those decisive hours the workers were joined by army units of the Continental Operations Command, fighting arm of the Armed Forces Movement.

Spinola assumed command over the Republican Guard and public order police. On the eve of the demonstration he order them to occupy all radio and television stations and prevent any newspapers from appearing. A wall of silence was being erected in the hope of guaranteeing the success of the planned coup.

The Armed Forces Movement countered with measures of its own. It assumed control over all arms of the service and banned the Nationalist Party. When it became known that Spinola had, in effect, arrested the Prime Minister, the commander of the Continental Operations Command, the Chief of the General Staff and the commander

of one of the armed services, the Armed Forces Movement counter-attacked. It demanded an immediate meeting of the Council of State in order to remove three reactionary generals (Neto, Marques and Melo) from the National Salvation Junta and replace them with officers appointed by the Armed Forces Movement. Spinola was forced to retreat. He issued a communique advising the 'silent majority' to call off its demonstration. Simultaneously, the government issued a decree banning it. The demonstration did not take place.

The armed forces carried out a number of operations to break up the counter-revolutionary underground organizations that had been preparing the coup. Some 200 fascists were arrested, among them former prominent politicians, bankers and industrialists, and the anti-popular Liberal and Progress parties were disbanded. A search of their headquarters revealed arms caches sufficient for several thousand people, including machine-guns, hand-grenades, mortars, Molotov cocktails and large quantities of ammunition. Also found were sophisticated communications equipment, printing presses and duplicating machines.

Documents found at the Progress Party's headquarters revealed its plans of action against 'communist-infested' news media. Contingency plans provided for some journalists to be killed and many others arrested on the day of the reactionary coup. The party had even selected the Campo Pequeno Stadium for a future concentration camp.

On September 30, some 200,000 people took part in a mass demonstration in Lisbon called by the Communist and Socialist parties, the Democratic Movement of Portugal, the Intersyndical Trade Union Federation, the Young Workers Movement, the Communist Students Union, and other progressive organizations. They carried slogans such as 'Vigilance of the People and the Armed Forces Movement,' 'Friend Soldier, the People are with You!,' 'Listen, Fascist, the People have Joined the Struggle!'

What conclusions can be drawn from the recent events? They have resulted in a new and brilliant victory of democracy over the minority yearning for the past, whom we call the 'April 24 mourners.' The popular forces and Armed Forces Movement have emerged from the test stronger than ever. Their alliance has gained in strength – a prerequisite of the ultimate triumph of democracy in our country.

The Armed Forces Movement has taken a clear-cut anti-fascist stand. Today the bulk of Portugal's armed forces are democratically, patriotically, revolutionarily orientated.

The events have demonstrated the power of the organized masses, their political consciousness and firmness. They have also shown the great role of our Party. The Communist Party has every reason to be

proud of its actions during the crisis. It issued advance warning of the preparations for a counter-revolutionary offensive. It showed that the demonstration was a ploy to conceal the real objective of changing the political situation. It initiated the measures taken to bar the 'march on Lisbon.' It exposed what so many had refused to believe: that the Liberal and Progress parties were false fronts for organizations of fascist conspirators. It was once again shown for all to see that the Portuguese Communist Party is the vanguard force in the popular struggle, that it is impossible to uphold freedoms or build democracy without active Communist participation.

The reactionaries played for high stakes, but they lost heavily. Their defeat means the loss of considerable material and financial reserves, liquidation of their three political parties, loss of activists and press organs, exposure of their subversive underground network. Finally, one of the consequences of the events has been the removal of three generals from the National Salvation Junta and the resignation of General Spinola from the presidency. His resignation is a logical consequence of the September political crisis. Spinola's continuation at the helm of the nation's destinies became impossible. The Communist Party saw his resignation as a positive factor that would improve the political climate and create conditions for continued democratization and decolonization. The Communists do not deny General Spinola's positive role during the dictatorship in the development of the Armed Forces Movement and in promoting broader realization that the colonial problem could be resolved only through a political settlement. But after April 25 he showed a constant desire to restrict the citizens' freedoms and rights, a tendency to concentrate power in his own hands, to delay or even reverse the process of democratization and decolonization, to establish a personal military dictatorship.

The victory is extremely important for success in the struggle against reaction that we will have to wage up to the time of the elections to the constituent assembly and establishment of a regime elected by the people. The elections will be held next March. The right to vote will be extended to more than 5.5 million persons, whereas in the last 'elections' held by the fascist regime in 1973 the electorate was no more than 1.8 million. A system of proportional representation will reflect all shades of public opinion and political trends.

The people's resolve to take the nation's destiny into their hands was exemplified by the National Labor Day held on Sunday, October 6. Thousands reported to work in what could be called a poll of worker hands and worker brains. It revealed the people's resolve to forge ahead, together with the armed forces, along the road of build-

ing a new life. It showed the forces capable of building a new Portugal.

Can we claim that building democracy in Portugal has become an irreversible process? Doubts, waverings, uncertainty about the final triumph of democracy in our country are harmful, but excessive self-confidence is equally harmful. Will we manage to consolidate our new freedoms and stabilize the democratic regime or will Portugal revert to reactionary dictatorship? This issue has not yet been finally resolved. It still has to be resolved.

The tremendous victory of the forces of democracy and social progress should in no way reduce our vigilance. Fascism and reaction have been dealt powerful blows, but they have not been vanquished for good. They still have forces of their own, they still have considerable resources and powerful supporters. They will resist in a thousand ways if we do nothing to prevent them from rising again. The forces of reaction will try to regroup, to find new forms of organization, to use any kind of camouflage, to exploit every economic, social or political difficulty to sow doubt and discontent.

We must remain vigilant. A more thorough purge of the state apparatus is needed, all fascist activity must be banned, underground counter-revolutionary organizations must be unmasked and rendered harmless and their leaders punished. Reactionary maneuvers, slanders and lies must be exposed and criminal acts forestalled, for it is always easier to prevent a disease than cure it.

Of extreme importance is the unity of all forces supporting the Provisional Government's program and opposing reaction and fascism. This unity will be necessary after the March elections too. As for the popular alliance with the Armed Forces Movement supported by the Communists since April 25, following the events of last September it has taken very specific forms. The Communists will do everything to strengthen that alliance as the decisive factor against reaction.

We have been accused of 'triumphalism,' of seeking victory at any cost, of a deliberate and ostentatious show of strength. To such critics Comrade Cunhal has replied: we suffer neither from an inferiority complex nor from a superiority complex. The Party does its duty. Its strength lies in objective reality. Its historic deserts have entitled it to be represented in government. Today the same as yesterday, today the same as tomorrow, the Communists of Portugal are most of all concerned with consolidating and expanding the process of democratization in all spheres.

On the eve of the Portuguese Communist Party's congress, the first legal congress in 47 years, it is gratifying to know that the Party's

strategy and tactics through all these years was correct.* The Portuguese people's achievements since April 25 are proof of the scientific nature of the principles and policies underlying the 1965 program. Now this program must be updated to respond to present-day realities. After all, the first of its eight listed tasks of the democratic and national revolution – destruction of the fascist state and establishment of a democratic regime – has been carried out.

The Party's strategic line remains in keeping with its program. It is a program of national-democratic revolution with a socialist perspective providing for anti-monopoly measures, agrarian reform, total dismantling of colonialism and democratization of culture and education. Party tactics, however, must be adapted to the new conditions and made more dynamic. The removal of the forces obstructing implementation of the Armed Forces Program has made faster advance possible. The prime need is for more resolute anti-monopoly measures. We have no intention of immediately expelling foreign capital from Portugal, but it should not be allowed to interfere in political life. Banks of issue have already been nationalized, and the question of other moves in this field may arise already in the transitional period. The Armed Forces Program suggests the possibility of an 'anti-monopoly strategy' being pursued in promoting a new economic policy designed to serve the interests of the Portuguese people. The present situation requires its urgent practical implementation.

*The PCP held its seventh, special, congress October 20, 1974. It drew up and approved the new Party program and amended the Party Constitution. It also adopted an 'extraordinary platform' of political and economic measures, included in the Party program as priority objectives. The platform provides for consolidation of the democratic state, defense of democratic freedoms, maintaining financial and economic stability to ensure economic development, and continuation of the decolonization process.

The changes in Greece

Vasilis Venetsanopoulos
CP of Greece
representative on *WMR*

There was jubilation when the Black Colonels' fascist regime went off the stage. The elation in the streets and squares of Athens, in all towns and villages in July 1974 was reminiscent of the time of the country's liberation from nazi occupation in October 1944.

The collapse of the dictatorship was preceded by a long political process. After seven years of military rule the situation in Greece had become disastrous. The junta had not won popular support, its demagogy about 'liberalization' and 'politicalization' had been exposed as rank deceit, the economic situation had become untenable, striking particularly at the working masses. Opposition to the regime did not subside. Actions against the dictatorship occurred even in the army. And in this confrontation, the people of Greece had the support and sympathy of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and progressives in all parts of the world.

Large-scale anti-government manifestations erupted in November 1973, spreading from Athens to the entire country. They were brutally suppressed. On junta orders tanks opened fire on demonstrations, killing hundreds of students and young workers. The toll in lives was particularly heavy near the capital's Polytechnical Institute.

The November events changed public thinking. Large sections woke up to the necessity of overthrowing the dictatorship. And they saw again that they could not rely on U.S. 'good intentions' or the widely advertised 'evolution' of the dictatorship into a democracy. Nothing but dedicated popular struggle, and, equally important, involvement of progressives in the armed forces, could topple the fascist regime. The political line of the Communist Party of Greece, which had opposed the regime from the outset and tirelessly urged and organized the unity of all democratic forces, was fully confirmed.

Acting on instructions and under guidance of the CIA, certain military elements removed Papadopoulos and Markezinis in the wake of the November events, replacing them with General Gizikis as President and lawyer Andrutsopoulos as Prime Minister. These new

men promised to lead the country back to normal political life but, as was only to be expected, nothing changed. Their appointment had been a mere reshuffle inside the junta, and did not alter the nature of the regime. Papadopoulos had been removed by the people who had earlier put him in power.

Yet the November events had strong repercussions. They revealed the people's opposition to the existing regime, their wish to get rid of it. The heroic action by workers, students and other groups tore down the veil of deceit that concealed the government's anti-popular aims. It emphasized the contradictions within the regime and brought it to the edge of the precipice, presaging imminent downfall. Though the dictatorship managed to survive, it was reeling under the onslaught. The November events also showed that the armed forces, the main pillar of the junta, were neither firm nor dependable. Though mechanized units had opened fire on demonstrators and students, most of the army had obviously no sympathy for the junta, and its command had split up into rival groups.

In the fateful November, the working class, led by the Communist Party, moved to the forefront of the anti-dictatorial struggle, helping the people to see from experience that it was possible to overthrow the neo-fascist regime provided available strength was used correctly.

Besides, the conditions for the battle against the fascist regime had been made more favorable by the gains of the détente and peaceful coexistence policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The crisis of the military-fascist dictatorship grew sharper. The nation's determination to drive out local and foreign despots became apparent. In brief, the collapse of the fascist junta in July 1974 was not unexpected, was no thunderbolt out of the blue. The anti-dictatorial struggle had been building up over a long period and had become especially sharp following the junta's betrayal of the national interests of the Cypriot and Greek peoples through its military putsch on Cyprus.

The junta's treacherous act against the Republic of Cyprus and the subsequent Turkish invasion were part of a U.S. plan to partition the island into a Greek and Turkish zone. It was designed to depose the Makarios government, liquidate the Republic of Cyprus, and turn the island into a Pentagon and NATO base in the Eastern Mediterranean. The whole thing was directed against the socialist countries, the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Arab peoples.

The nation came out in full strength against the junta and its ultimate criminal act. All political parties, from Communists to Conservatives, denounced the Cyprus putsch. The parties may each have had its own standpoint, but were all agreed that the dictatorship, should it survive, would bring about disaster. In those difficult days,

the Communist Party proposed joint action to all parties and organization opposing the dictatorship on the following platform:

– coordinated action to depose the junta and establish an anti-dictatorial government of national salvation;

– ending of all interference in Cyprus, defense of her independence and territorial integrity, lawful government and democratic institutions;

– measures to secure democratic freedom and expression for the Greek people, free activity for all parties and organizations, and an independent foreign policy.

The Communists called on the working class, peasants, youth, the people, and patriots in the armed forces to unite in defense of Cyprus, overthrow the junta, assure popular sovereignty, national independence and peace. The CP of Greece expressed gratitude to the Communist Party, government and people of the Soviet Union, who consistently defended the interests of the Cypriot people. It regards the Soviet statement on Cyprus as an important contribution to the freedom struggle of the Cypriot and Greek peoples.

The junta collapsed under the weight of its crimes and treachery, under the onslaught of the masses. The nation's persevering struggle against it was the main reason for the changes in the country's political life, as well as the opposition sentiment in the army, and the junta's isolation on the international scene. This aggravated the crisis of the tyrannical regime. The dictatorship and its U.S. and NATO protectors were in a dead end. Their policy had proved a total failure. The junta's continued stay in power now endangered those who had supported it. There was no choice for the regime but to step down and allow bourgeois politicians to take over. Among the motives was the wish to dampen the popular outrage and prevent radical democratic changes.

The fascist regime gave way to a government of conservative bourgeois politicians headed by Konstantinos Karamanlis, a former prime minister and leader of the rightist National Radical Union.

The nature of the changes and the relations between reaction and progress allow us to assess the policy of the Karamanlis government.

With the popular struggle on the rise, and in face of unanimous and firm demands by the working class, peasants and youth, the entire nation, the Karamanlis government decided to withdraw Greece from NATO's military organization, and approved the Soviet proposal of dealing with the Cyprus problem within the UN framework, not the framework of NATO. Now Greeks are urging a final break with NATO, closure of U.S. bases, an independent foreign policy, and full democratization.

The junta has been removed. But the army, police, military police,

and the state apparatus are shot through with fascist elements. Some of the anti-democratic laws are still in force. No resolute measures have been taken to punish the immediate culprits of fascist crimes. And this presents the peril of a recurrence of fascism. However, under popular pressure the Karamanlis government had no choice but to move toward democracy. All political prisoners have been released. The Youra island concentration camp has been close. Those who emigrated during the junta period have been allowed to return, and some who had been stripped of citizenship – not all by far, it is true – have been reinstated. The ban on the CPG and other organizations has been lifted. They are allowed to publish newspapers. The state of emergency has been terminated.

The government announced elections to parliament on November 17. Yet the necessary conditions for free expression did not exist, because some of the anti-democratic laws were still in force and the apparatus left behind by the military dictatorship was almost unaltered. All the same, the political parties, including the Communists, decided to participate in the elections. In an effort to unite the country's left and democratic forces for joint action, and to promote further democratization that would prevent possible new anti-popular action, the CP of Greece concluded an agreement with EDA.* The CPG and EDA are coordinating activity in a bid to win real democracy and come to grips with the reactionary forces in the elections. Their joint communique said: 'The main aim is to unite the efforts of all left forces and trends, of all progressives, working for a truly democratic system and cooperating in the interest of the struggle for national independence, the country's deliverance from monopoly and imperialist dependence.' At this writing, a political bloc known as the United Left has been formed, encompassing the Communist Party, the United Democratic Left Party and other democratic and left organizations and groups.

The United Left program advocates a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and Mediterranean, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for Cyprus, and removal of all foreign troops from the island.

The present situation is contradictory in many ways. The junta has been removed from immediate control. Yet the laws it issued to keep down the people are still in force. It has been condemned by the entire nation, all political parties, and the present government, but many of its chiefs, bullies of the Greek people and traitors to the Cypriot

*EDA, the United Democratic Left – a party active in the 50s and 60s. After the junta's downfall in July EDA reappeared on the political scene.

people, have not been tried and are even nursing plans of a new putsch. Greece withdrew from NATO's military organization, and declared its decision final and irreversible. But the chains of that alliance, the Greek-U.S. and NATO treaties, the complex of nuclear bases in our territory, have remained intact.

This reflects the acute clash of the two main tendencies – that to real democracy and national independence, and its rejection, a return to a 'democracy' serving the ruling class and world imperialism. The present government is at a crossroads. It has taken the first step, but is reluctant to get on with real democratization and assure national independence. Its main concern is to contain the natural course of events in line with the interests of the definite political forces behind the government rather than those of the people.

In its election statement, the Central Committee of the CP of Greece called on the membership to turn the campaign and the elections into a factor of democratic consolidation. The people are fully able, the Greek Communists stressed, to repulse reaction and fascism.

Regime without a future

Claudio Cuadra
Member, CC, CP of Chile

More than a year since the putsch, there is no doubt left in anyone's mind that the military junta in Chile is a *fascist-type dictatorship*. The tragic events in our country are ample evidence of that.

At first, many thought (and we even heeded their view) that it was 'merely' another military dictatorship, another old-style tyranny, another junta capturing power in a bloody coup d'état. Others saw the junta as a group of over-ambitious army officers thirsting for power and fame (certainly no rarity, especially in Latin America). But now the purport of the events is all too obvious. The junta's policy, both in content and method, is clear evidence that it was fathered by North American imperialism and the local oligarchy, which used their last trump to keep Chile in the capitalist orbit and restore the rule of the exploiter classes. That, in fact, is the essence of the fascist putsch of September 11, 1973.

Ever since its emergence, in the wake of World War I, as the political arm of the most reactionary and revenge-seeking monopoly

bourgeoisie in the European imperialist countries defeated in the war, fascism has always relied on violence. And under the goading of capitalism's more aggressive forces, haunted by crisis and faced by the inevitable prospect of a working-class revolution, this violence gained ever greater scale. Fascism is the last resort of the extreme chauvinist groups of the exploiting classes when they see that they can no longer neutralize and suppress the struggle of the masses, whose organization and class consciousness had grown in the environment of bourgeois-democratic freedoms. This essential feature of fascism is now fully evident in Chile.

The Chilean proletariat has an unblemished record of struggle for unity and the purity of class principles. It has a high degree of class consciousness and formed public and political organizations, notably the Socialist Workers' Party founded by Luis Emilio Recabarren in 1912, which was reorganized in 1922 as the Communist Party of Chile, with a strong proletarian core. Then, the Socialist Party was founded in 1933.

Surmounting differences and gaining experience, Socialists and Communists reached a mutual understanding in 1956, which later developed into political unity. This had a salutary effect on the working class, the people of Chile, who gradually forged a representative bloc of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces. In the 60s the left organizations became more active, acquiring knowledge and cultivating the political and ideological consciousness of the masses. Anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic actions by the people for a revolutionary transformation of society gained in scale, and the working class created a broad coalition of left forces, the Popular Unity.

September 4, 1970, will go down in history. Having repulsed reactionary maneuvers and exposed the petty-bourgeois ultra-left tactics of boycotting the elections – which only benefited the rightist candidate – the people elected Salvador Allende President of Chile.

The revolutionary achievements of the popular government in its three years are well known. But, considering the subject of this article, let us recall that despite mistakes and setbacks, the Popular Unity steadily enlarged its influence. This was borne out by the March 1973 parliamentary elections, in which its candidates polled 44 per cent of the votes. No other government in Chile's history could boast of such broad support.

The next presidential election was to have been held in 1976. Imperialism and the Right saw that the Popular Unity was growing stronger and the government was gaining in experience. The financial and technical aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had begun to yield fruit. Most capitalist countries were doing business with Chile in defiance of the U.S. blockade.

Imperialism and the Chilean rightists realized that time was running out; there was no hope of regaining power by constitutional means in the 1976 elections. They plunged into a desperate and reckless adventure in April-July 1973. But it was 'rational recklessness': the exploiting classes wanted to show – though this was all too well known – that *they would not voluntarily abandon their positions and would defend them to the last.*

The aggressive imperialist and monopoly groups saw no other way of recovering their forfeited privileges and supremacy, save through a putsch that would stamp out the constitutional order established by the bourgeoisie itself a century and a half before, dissolve popular organizations and abolish democratic freedoms. In short, there would be a *fascist dictatorship*, the most brutal and inhuman form of government imposed by fire and sword.

Those who take a different view of what the putschists were after are ignorant of the situation in our country (unless, of course, their purpose is to mislead world opinion).

The imperialist godfathers of the conspiracy were out for more than the overthrow of President Allende's constitutional government. They were bent on destroying, stamping out – if possible forever – the democratic system built up brick by brick over many long years of struggle. They knew perfectly well that Chile's democratic regime favored the revolutionary process, and regarded its influence on the rest of the continent to be dangerous.

The main aim of the imperialists and the financial oligarchy that stood behind the military junta was to secure a political system assuring the country's dependent position and denying the workers every opportunity of fighting for power. That could only be achieved through a fascist military dictatorship.

The junta is following the classical model of fascism, that of Mussolini, and especially nazi Germany. The resemblance between the methods of the Chileans fascists and the Hitlerites is striking. The world public knows of the crimes and atrocities committed in Chile. Just as in Hitler Germany, repression and terror has become a political norm, the essence of the dictatorial regime. The junta goes out of its way to imitate Hitler, who, too, was opposed by a well organized proletariat with a long tradition of struggle.

Hitler kept Germany in a 'state of emergency,' and used all kinds of specious excuses to proclaim 'states of siege,' in order to step up mass repressions, terrorize the people, and prevent every sign of protest. In Chile, too, a 'state of internal war' has been maintained for over a year, and the curfew has not been lifted. The junta has turned the country into a militarized society, and is continuously adding muscle to its repressive apparatus. Hundreds of thousands of armed

men behave like an occupation army on enemy territory.

Like the Hitlerites, the Chilean fascists howl about all kinds of 'dangers.' Suffice it to recall the absurd claim by Pinochet that '14,000 extremists are priming for an attack on Chile from Argentine territory.' Again we see a mirror-perfect imitation of Hitler, who kept the population in a state of fear of foreign aggression in order to justify the build-up of his military potential and his conquest of other countries 'before they attack the Reich.' The Chilean fascists, too, are buying up arms and bringing the carabinero corps to combat readiness. It is no longer an arm of the Interior Ministry, and comes under the Ministry of National Defense, which is boosting military expenditure.[1]

Like Hitler, the Chilean fascists want to make fear a weapon and spread the 'stench of blood' across the country. All this is in the interests of imperialism and monopoly, and in order to preserve the class privileges of the capitalists. But the terror is not there for the sake of terror. It is terror that, to use Engels's expression, 'makes it possible to maintain exploitation' when all other means fail. In nazi Germany, it was by means of terror that capitalists wrung everything they could out of the workers for their own enrichment. And the fascist dictatorship in Chile, too, is making the working day longer, the wages shorter, and denying the people the gains they won in the struggle against their employers.

Hypocrisy is another feature that the Chilean dictatorship has in common with Hitlerism. Hitler spoke of *peace* as he prepared for *war*. Pinochet speaks of *human rights* as he *suppresses* them with unparalleled brutality. Hitler would dine with a friend, and have him 'eliminated' the following day. To illustrate Pinochet's hypocrisy, let us reproduce his pompous, though not entirely literate, message of July 10, just two months before the putsch, to Jose Toha and his wife:

'Lucia and Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, divisional commander, convey sincere greetings to their distinguished friends Jose Toha and Senora Victoria Morales de Toha, and thank them from the bottom of their hearts for their friendly act of abandoning their ministerial occupation. Lucia and Augusto express the profound feeling they nourish toward Jose Toha and his wife, and ask them to continue to count us among their friends. We hope that when Lucia returns, we shall have the pleasure of your company. Meanwhile, accept our greetings and undying love. Santiago, July 10, 1973.'

The world has heard about the 'suicide' in the junta's dungeons of Jose Toha, that stalwart patriot. So, comment is hardly necessary.

The world has also heard of the 'natural death' of Air Force General Alberto Bachelet, and the 'suicide' of Juan Bustos, Valparaiso's police chief under the Popular Unity government. Both

were tortured. How many there are of these men, who committed 'suicide.' The world also knows about the perverse trials, and of how lawyers who dared to defend political prisoners are treated, as was Hector Basoalto. The military tribunal cut short his speech on behalf of his client, denied him the right to speak in court, and pronounced him professionally unfit because his 'speech abounded in Marxist propaganda.' But this did not prevent General Gustavo Leigh, one of the junta's chiefs, to refer several days later in a speech at the Catholic University to 'rule of law in Chile,' 'the respect shown the human individual and his ideas,' and to claim that 'the accused are guaranteed a defense, and lawyers enjoy every facility and right in performing their function.'

That is the nazi pattern. On March 21, 1933, Hitler instituted a 'special tribunal for political crimes and anti-government actions and pronouncements.' Defense lawyers had to be cleared with the nazi leadership. Theirs was a hard and risky job: often enough their clients would 'die' or mysteriously disappear. Lawyers for the widow of Dr. Klausener, leader of the German Catholic Action killed by the nazis, were packed off to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and kept their until they returned their briefs.

In Chile, the Christian, and especially Catholic, church and the Jewish community had to invoke habeas corpus to establish the whereabouts of 131 'vanished' arrested persons. Lawyer Hector Valenzuela Valderrama, a former Demochristian MP and Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, was told by the court that it could 'produce information only on four of the 131, since the whereabouts of the rest were unknown, though the court had all the details about their arrest.' And Valenzuela added: "I have proof that the information about three of the four is untrustworthy. On the fourth, there is the certificate of the Institute of Forensic Medicine that the corpse had been delivered to the morgue.'

Hitler liked to make a great show of receiving foreign ambassadors and statesmen. He assured them of his peaceableness and friendship, while on the same night, German troops invaded their countries. Pinochet, too, is generous with his professions of friendship for neighboring countries, though his geopolitical ambitions are known to be directed against Peru and Bolivia.

There are ample facts to show that the fascist junta is inspired by nazi 'principles' and follows nazi methods. President Kekkonen of Finland has said that 'democracy and civil liberties have been drowned in blood in Chile. The junta has challenged world public opinion.'

But times have changed. In 1933, when Hitler seized power, there was no socialist world system, the USSR was surrounded by hostile

neighbors and the big capitalist powers egged on the nazis.

Pinochet and his clique are operating in an entirely different situation. Suffice it to say that the U.S. government dares not openly support them (though it does so covertly) for it has to reckon with the anti-junta sentiment in the United States itself.

In Germany, Hitler could count on the military – they were entirely at his beck and call. The Chilean army does not lean on any organized political force. It is apprehensive lest it be called to account for what is now happening in the country. Officers, non-coms and privates are worried and resentful. They are conscious of their guilt for all the bloodshed. They know that the time will come, soon, when they will have to face the court of world opinion. They are worried, too, by the disastrous economic situation, the plight of the people, the suffering of their own families and friends. They are aware of the sharpening class contradictions within the armed forces and of the way the junta is perverting the soldier's professional duty. There are many more reasons for this uneasiness, dismay and resentment that are undermining the army's loyalty to the junta.

Hitler had an organized force, the National-Socialist Party. The Chilean fascist junta, while appointing representatives of the reactionary Nationalist Party to top posts and courting support among Frei's close aides, is vilifying and publicly insulting the Demochristian Party. And yet this party, complying with Frei's instructions, helped the coup d'état of September 11, 1973. In Chile, with its long political traditions, the junta is displaying inexplicable zeal in destroying the support, even the neutrality, of those who paved its path to power. Pinochet calls the Demochristians 'hucksters' and says 'there will never be a place for politics' in Chile. He deliberately insults political personalities of every persuasion and every country, declaring: 'I make no promises, I am a soldier, not a politician.'

In Germany, the nazis used a combination of unbridled demagogy and rabid chauvinism to mislead and win over a substantial part of the population, especially the youth. The Chilean junta has no such social base. It has not been able to retain, let alone increase, the support of the classes and groups the reactionaries managed to range against the popular government. For the fact is that its policy is solely in the interests of the U.S. monopolies and the avaricious Chilean oligarchy, and that policy is costing the junta the support of the middle strata. The dictatorship's mouthpiece. *El Mercurio,* complained in one of its editorials that the 'government junta no longer enjoys the warmth and cooperative spirit the population showed in the beginning.' And Pablo Rodriguez, fuehrer of the fascist Patria y Libertad and *El Mercurio*'s official commentator, wrote with indignation: 'We nationalists watch this process with mounting concern. We see opportunists, who only

yesterday represented an active and militant force, falling under the influence of extremist elements and taking an attitude of indifference.' He concluded with this threat: 'If this country is to get along, it must be ruled with a firm hand.'

All this is typical of prevailing sentiments, of the universal condemnation of the fascist junta, primarily by the working class, the peasantry and the middle strata. It suggests that the bourgeoisie is losing the enthusiasm it showed in the early days of the coup. The Popular Unity's May Day manifesto, which has reached us from Chile, says: 'Every measure taken by the military junta is the very opposite of what the opposition advocated in its fight against the Popular Unity. The opposition spoke of democracy, but the country is under a dictatorship; it spoke of freedom, but Chile is honeycombed with concentration camps; it spoke of respect of human rights, but the junta has made torture and execution without trial its "daily bread".'

The junta can now rely only on the oligarchic top crust. Small and medium businessmen have every reason to be dissatisfied with the junta. For thousands of them, its 'free competition' policy in a situation in which the economy is tightly controlled by the monopolies, has meant ruin.

The junta is alienating wide sections of the population, including part of the bourgeoisie, also by its kowtowing to the powerful North American concerns. Dutifully complying with their demands, Pinochet has actually proposed modifying the Andes Pact without taking the trouble to consult its other signatories. He proposes to delete the provisions that prevent the North American monopolies from taking over the national wealth of the Andes countries, from withdrawing capital before the prescribed time, and restrict export of profits. And what are the Chileans to think of the announcement that Anaconda Copper Mining is to be paid $253 million in 'compensation' for nationalization of the Chuquicamata and Exotica mines, and that the initial payment of $65 million is already being made.[2]

Resistance to junta policy is spreading. It is manifested in diverse forms and actions. We are not exaggerating; on the contrary, we believe that revolutionaries must realistically regard the prospects of the people's struggle. But the facts are there. All the information coming from Chile suggests that the movement of resistance to fascism is being reorganized and is growing in strength.

A while ago Pinochet complained that 'Marxism continues to poison the minds of the Chilean youth.' He was alluding to the swelling student protest against the junta. Notwithstanding the savage repressions, the students came out in force against the 'self-financing policy' that benefits the sons of the rich, and the junta was compelled to retreat. It is infuriated by the graffiti on house walls. Many other

examples could be cited, but it is enough to say that the tense atmosphere of universal protest and the more energetic anti-fascist actions forced the junta to carry out a 'second coup' in July. According to official data more than 14,000 were arrested.[3]

The junta is everywhere condemned and everywhere there is a demand for its international isolation. Mankind, which has gone through all the horrors of the Brown Plague, must redouble its efforts to prevent recrudescence of Hitlerism on Chilean soil. The wave of protests against the junta's atrocities that has swept the world, and the active solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people, are producing concrete positive results. There is no need to emphasize that they have already saved many lives. The fact that fascism is denounced throughout the world is a sign of the times. Information travels fast in our day and this works against the junta, for its crimes immediately become known everywhere. Some are inclined to think that the junta is indifferent to protests by world public opinion and to the demands for an end to the atrocities. That is not so. The junta is well aware of the wrath of mankind; it knows that the universal condemnation of its actions is undermining the morale of the armed forces, its main base of support. Yet it is precisely at this time that imperialism needs the unity and undivided support of the armed forces and the carabineros. This it has failed to secure. Despite all the desperate measures of the High Command and the savage discipline, there is no unity within the army.[4] The dictatorship's stability is very relative. It is caught in a vicious circle: by trying to mute the discontent by more repressions it is only breeding more discontent.

Elimination of the fascist regime in Chile will not be easy – let there be no illusions on that score. The dictatorship is holding the people at gunpoint. But historically it is doomed. For ranged against it are the working class and the entire people. The conscience of democrats and the humane spirit of our nation will never be reconciled to it. The preconditions are being created for a broad and powerful anti-fascist front. And international solidarity, which has already played such a big role, can make a still bigger contribution to our struggle.

1. In 1974 the budget of the War Ministry grew by 50 per cent.

2. To justify repeal of the Popular government's nationalization, *unanimously* approved by parliament and fully conformative with the Constitution, the fascists, in their anti-patriotic ecstasy of devotion to imperialism, have contrived to produce a new statute enabling them to change the Constitution to suit their purposes.

3. Hitler's night raids sent thousands to the concentration camps on trumped-up charges. In Chile the pretext is 'campaign against crime and suspicious individuals.' But a few days after the arrests, the junta blandly announced that they were part of a routine 'prophylactic' action.

4. According to press reports, in September a group of navymen issued and circulated a manifesto accusing Pinochet of atrocities against the people. Let the world know, the Manifesto says, that the armed forces are made up not only of fascists and traitors. The time for action will come. Meanwhile, we are working underground, in close contact with civilian organizations, to overthrow the hated junta when the hour strikes. – *Ed.*

Last resort of the dictatorship

Luis Zapirain
Spanish journalist

With the mass struggle spearheaded by the working class on the rise and different political and national forces coming to terms, the Franco regime is launching one wave of repression after another. 'Persecution is the last resort of the dictatorship in its efforts to prolong its days,' was how Dolores Ibarruri, chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, summed up the situation in a recent interview for the newspaper *Pravda*.

When the working people come out in force, the dictatorship responds with daily arrests. Democrats are persecuted for taking part in strikes and demonstrations. A strike of 10,000 workers in Biscay was followed up by a mass lockout, and now the police, working hand in glove with the industrialists, are resorting to the same tactic throughout the country in an effort to quench the struggle. Military tribunals and law-and-order courts are handing down an endless stream of long jail sentences, meting out punishment to workers daring to demand higher wages.

When popular unity advances and a Democratic Junta of Spain is set up, the Franco regime responds with repressions. In September 67 persons, among them workers and intellectuals, were detained for gathering at Sabadell Monastery to read the newly formed Junta's Declaration. Several days later 200 workers and several lawyers and clergymen were arrested in a Madrid Church. The sacking of dozens of democratic university teachers was followed by a round-up of students and professors who spoke up for their rights. Some 2,500 hospital doctors out of a total 3,000 went on strike to protest the police 'good conduct certificates' needed to get a job.

When the Communist Party strengthens its positions, redoubled

persecution, provocations and repressions follow. The bombing of the Rolando Cafe in Madrid's Puerta del Sol district, in which 11 persons died and 81 were injured, bears all the hallmarks of a fascist provocation. It was engineered by the police in an attempt to frame Communists; the CP has stated that the group of detainees includes people never known for their CP affiliations.

The Franco regime is an anachronism in present-day Europe. Weakened by opposition blows and internal contradictions, it cannot resist the popular movement, to which Spain's future belongs.

Victims of genocide

Tomas Mbokaya
Member of Political Commission,
Paraguayan CP

Four centuries ago what is now Paraguay was populated by some 250,000 Indians. Time and again these free, proud and valiant people repelled attacks by Spanish colonialists. But gradually, by fire and sword, the cross, hunger and deceit, the indigenous population was destroyed, driven off its land or reduced to slavery. Only little more than 35,000 Indians survived the 'tender mercies' of the conquerors and oppressors.

The lot of the Indian is particularly hard in Paraguay, a country ruled by a bestial fascist dictatorship, which has denied the majority of the population even elementary rights. Indians have no rights at all. And since they are not christened, they do not even have a birth certificate and are thus outside the pale of political and public life. As though this were not enough, the Western 'Christian world' resorts to outright genocide.

The international Convention[1] defines genocide as actions committed with deliberate intent to wholly or partly exterminate a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Such actions include the taking of life, grave bodily damage and mental harm, and deliberate creation of conditions calculated wholly or partly to annihilate a group. A widespread form of genocide is to drive a people off its traditional lands.

A statement issued by Bern University in June 1973 compared the organized destruction of Paraguayan Indians and the conditions in which they were kept in the 'reservations' with the lot of the prisoners of Nazi concentration camps. This genocide, the statement pointed

out, has the overt approval, even support, of Paraguayan government agencies. Professor Richard Arens of Temple University (USA) corroborated the viewpoint of his Bern colleagues, adding that the treatment of Paraguayan Indians evokes horror, because it is comparable only to the brutality of the nazis.[2]

These and other exposures give the lie to official Paraguayan propaganda that the bleak past of the Indians is long over and that they are living in peace and happiness in their tropical jungle. The story that the Indian problem has 'bypassed Paraguay,' unlike the other countries of Latin America, bursts like a bubble.

More and more facts about the true condition of the Paraguayan Indians are coming to light. A few years ago public opinion in Latin America was shocked by a picture, taken by Uruguayan journalist Borche of a killer holding the severed head of an Indian. The killer was a Paraguayan serviceman, and his victim, an Indian of the Ayoreo tribe living in the Chaco area. Soldiers are rewarded with reduction of military service for destroying Indians.

The Ache-Guayaki tribe is being mercilessly exterminated. Over four centuries ago the fairly large Ache tribe[3] led an Indian insurrection against its oppressors. It has now been reduced to something like 1,000 and according to other sources to a mere 500.

In the eastern part of Paraguay, inhabited by the Guayaki, there are regular manhunts supervised by military and civilian officials from their cars. When all the Indians are rounded up, the adults are killed and the children are herded off to San Juan Nepomuceno, the big slave-trading center. With the knowledge of authorities, children are sold at prices ranging from 2,500 to 10,000 guaranis ($20 to $80). Girls sold into slavery are, as a rule, doomed to concubinage.

Every pretext is good enough for mounting a brutal expedition against the Guayaki. In August 1971, for example, the owners of the Naranjito estate discovered two dead cows. Without taking the trouble to find out how they had been killed, they immediately organized an expedition against the Indians. They caught up with a group of Indians on government land near Silva-cue and, according to one of the hunters, killed more than 10 with machetes, including the mothers of captured children. The use of machetes is not uncommon and has been cynically described as a means of saving ammunition.

Around 230 captured Indians are kept in the National Guayaki Colony, a concentration camp of the worst type: no medical aid, no education for the children, death is the penalty for the slightest sign of protest or resistance. There is a semi-starvation diet, with exceptions for the 'obedient' – those who agree to grow marijuana, a source of 'extra income' for fascist-regime officials. Scholars have recorded the songs of the Ache tribe which lament its extermination, the lot of a people reduced to 'semi-corpses.'

A mere 90 families remain of the Guana tribe, which was reputedly numerous at the turn of the century. The tribe was driven off its land, its traditional crafts were banned, and it was put into the Alto-Paraguay tanine factories. The same lot befell the Tobas, Angaites, Sanapanas and Guarayos. They were stripped of their land, and prevented from hunting and fishing. In search of food they dispersed across the inner areas of the Chaco and Alto Paraguay districts, and accept any job, to the delight of the timber and tanine companies.

The Indians of the Emok tribe in Villa Rey have been driven off their land. The land-grabbers were helped by the army, which drove many Indians into the jungle. The rest settled near the Avanzada cattle-breeding farm. Its owner and local landlords wanted the Indians to leave. The Emoks were accused of cattle rustling. And only after the Indians had been expelled, it was discovered that the cattle had been stolen by local caudillos, members of the Colorado Party. Yet nothing was done to the culprits because, being Stroessner agents, they were 'beyond the law.'

Military bases and installations, including airfields, landing strips and strategic highways, are built with U.S. assistance on land once owned by the Indian tribes. And, naturally, all of them are always open to the Pentagon, which stands guard over U.S. imperialism's interests in Latin America. Another essential reason for the expulsion of Indians from their land is the regime's desire to assure the economic penetration into Paraguay of U.S. and other foreign monopolies. A huge area in the Chaco, for example, was recently turned over to the U.S. Texaco concern for oil prospecting.

In these conditions, the remnants of Paraguay's Indian tribes are sure to suffer new and still greater persecution. The reactionary dictatorship is trying to cultivate public contempt of Indians to make it easier to carry out physical, national and cultural genocide.

The Paraguayan Communists are urgently calling for an international solidarity campaign to save the Indians, and first of all the Ache-Guayaki from total extermination. All available documentary evidence about the conditions of the Paraguayan Indians must be more widely circulated.[4]

The bold exposures by students of the Indian tribes of Paraguay are doubtlessly useful. But they will yield no tangible result as long as they are confined to mere criticism and as long as nothing is done to uproot the evil.

Only effective and far-reaching agrarian reform that would give back the Indian population its lands could serve as a start for solving the problem. But that start can be made only after the Stroessner dictatorship is overthrown.

Furthermore, the agrarian reform must be accompanied by broad autonomy for the Indians, as envisaged in the Program of the Paraguayan Communist Party. As long as the Indians are oppressed, the people of Paraguay will not be free. And freedom can be won only through a broad anti-dictatorial front. The final social liberation of the Indians is closely linked with the struggle of the working class and the people for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution opening the way to socialism in Paraguay.

1. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1948, and ratified by dozens of states.

2. *The Nation*, September 24, 1973. Arens notes that Contric, a former SS officer, Josef Mengele, the killer-doctor from the Auschwitz concentration camp, and other nazis hiding in Paraguay are giving the Paraguayan regime 'expert advice' in repression and genocide.

3. A tribe adept at tree-climbing with a distinctive chest structure.

4. The West-German ethnologist Mark Münzel, for example, managed to visit the National Guayaki Colony, where he photographed people dying of hunger. He also witnessed a manhunt. His attempts to stop the killers failed. He was subsequently expelled from the country, but had compiled enough facts to make the following statement in the press: 'In my opinion we must treat the genocide in Paraguay more seriously and strictly . . . The territory of the Paraguayan Republic is fully controlled by the authorities, and they cannot absolve themselves of guilt by saying that they know nothing about it . . . The Paraguayan authorities at all levels, including President Stroessner, know about the crimes committed, among others, against the Ache-Guayaki.' *Bohemia*, May 4, 1973, pp. 92-93.

Dead ends of neo-colonialism

Jean Suret-Canal
Deputy Director,
Marxist Research Center (France)

The colonial system established by the end of the 19th century, one of the components of imperialism, which Lenin defined as the highest and last stage of capitalism, disintegrated after the Second World War and ceased to exist, at least in the classical form known till then.

Its collapse was presaged by a number of developments. The war ended with the defeat of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of

world imperialism. Allied declarations stated that it was being waged for the peoples' right to self-determination and independent development. This the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries were not inclined to forget. The old colonial powers – Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Belgium – emerged from the world conflict greatly weakened. The expansion and strengthening of the socialist world system, with a number of European and Asian countries taking the road to socialism, was an example and encouragement for colonial peoples. All this contributed to the unprecedented build-up of the national liberation movement in the postwar period.

India's independence, the victory of the revolution in China and the imperialists' defeats in Indochina were the main stages in the disintegration of the colonial system, crowned in the years 1956-1964 by the emergence of most African countries to independent statehood.

The old colonialism which arrogated the peoples' right to self-determination has not disappeared. About 40 million persons are still in colonial bondage: in the so-called overseas departments and territories of France, under the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and in other colonies in both hemispheres. But they are the exception rather than the rule.

Political independence, however, is not enough to overcome the former colonies' subordinate position vis-à-vis imperialism. By whatever means independence is achieved, whether won by force of arms or granted under pressure of conditions, when it is limited to the restoration of political sovereignty the positions of imperialism, especially economic, remain largely unaffected.

Those countries which took the road of socialism and rid themselves of the power of foreign capital became fully independent and resolutely undertook to overcome their backwardness, that economic and social heritage of the colonial and semi-colonial regime.

In other new nations imperialism seeks to preserve or even expand its economic and ideological positions and political influence and thereby keep them dependent. It is this policy that has been described as neo-colonialism.

Examples resembling neo-colonialist tactics can be found in the past history of imperialism. They include a variety of methods of shackling and reducing sovereign nations to the level of semi-colonies (China, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan), protectorates or de facto colonies (Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia). The neo-colonialists also employ tactics devised by the United States, which at the turn of the century used its economic and military power to evolve a brand of colonialism without colonies in Latin America. Without encroaching directly on national sovereignty, the United States nevertheless imposed its domination through economic pressure, making use of the

privileged minority and military cliques sharing common interests with imperialism, and in many cases through direct military intervention.

Essentially, however, all these forms of imperialist domination differed from neo-colonialism, for they were an expression of the strength of imperialism at a time when it was at the peak of its power. Neo-colonialism, on the other hand, emerged when imperialism was seriously weakened, at a time of defeat and retreat, when the old colonialism was shorn of direct political power and denied military presence in the colonies and protectorates. The imperialists were thus driven to seek new methods to preserve, and if possible expand, economic positions, political and ideological influence. The tactics of neo-colonialism are employed extensively by the former colonial powers and by their old imperialist competitors, both of whom pursue the global objective of keeping the newly-liberated countries in the orbit of capitalist development and relegating them to second place in the international capitalist division of labor.

For almost 15 years neo-colonialist policies yielded dividends. The old colonial powers, France and Britain in the first place, managed, albeit with difficulty, to hold their own in the face of the assault of the national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and their powerful imperialist rivals, the United States, West Germany and Japan, on the other. But the experience of that period also showed that neo-colonialism was no longer capable of yielding the desired effect. It had entered a period of protracted crisis. The history of French neo-colonialism is a case in point.

Following the liberation of France toward the end of World War II, the combined pressure of the popular forces of the Resistance Movement and the national-liberation movements in the colonies undermined the old French colonial system. The laws of 1946 abolishing the *régime de l'indigenat*[1] and forced labor seemed to open a new era.

Soon, however, the positions of colonial reaction were bolstered by unity on the right and removal of the Communists from the government. The French Union became a new cloak for the old French Empire. The war in Indochina (1945) and the ruthless suppression of the popular movement in Madagascar (1947) marked the beginning of a long period of colonial wars[2] and repression. But it was also marked by forced concessions and defeats, culminating in the Dien Bien Phu debacle (1954) and the Evian agreements (1962).[3]

From the outset the Fifth Republic relied on the colonial 'ultras' who accused the politicians of the Fourth Republic[4] of 'selling out the Empire.' The policy pursued by de Gaulle, recognized leader of colonial reaction since 1946, when he came to power in 1958 remained essentially the same, with a refurbished facade: the discredited

French Union was renamed the French Community. Guinea, which refused to join and opted for independence, became a target of sanctions, and the cruel war in Algeria went on for another four years.

The independence acquired in 1960 by most of the peoples of the former French possessions in Tropical Africa and the 1962 Evian agreements signalled the total bankruptcy of the colonial policy. The Gaullist government, however, managed to portray its failure with all its political consequences, as the fulfilment of a deliberate plan. The forced abandonment of indefensible positions was pictured as magnanimous liberalism; independence won after many years of struggle as a gift of 'decolonization.' This was buttressed by figures on economic, financial and technical aid claimed to be noble and unselfish. The growing participation of French state capital in the former colonies' economies[5] was proof of capitalism's desire to keep the economic wheels turning not by spontaneous mechanisms alone. In France itself state interference was increasing: a characteristic feature of state-monopoly capitalism, a new phase of imperialism. In the capitalist framework such interference ensures maximum effectiveness of investment for private monopolies and makes the public shoulder responsibility for capital-intensive or low-profit industries.

Most of the 'cooperation' agreements signed in the 60s restricted the new nations' sovereignty, providing for military bases on their territories, France's exclusive right of access to strategic raw materials, etc. Belonging to the franc zone deprived the countries of independence in monetary, financial and generally economic policies. France retained the 'right' to export inflation and devaluation to African countries and resort to draconian methods to keep them from escaping the vicious circle of the franc zone. The existence of a foreign currency pool[6] allowed the French government to control their foreign trade. The 'advantages' of free convertibility in the franc zone benefitted primarily private French firms, which could freely transfer their profits and capital to France.

The former French possessions' economic dependence and disproportions, far from disappearing, continued to multiply. So-called development efforts were aimed not at tapping the resources needed to raise living standards or expand independent, balanced economies, but at exploiting only those of interest to French and foreign monopolies: agricultural and mineral raw materials, especially oil.

Living standards in the new nations declined instead of rising. More and more people left the villages for the cities, where they swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Mass migration to Europe depleted local labor reserves. Inadequate food production drove up imports. Falling prices of traditional farm products and rising prices of imported industrial goods undercut export proceeds and hard currency reserves. The

long drought that began in 1968 placed the countries of the sub-Sahara region[7] on the brink of national catastrophe.

Industrialization in the new states is still restricted to primary processing of farm produce for export and expanding some industries (food, textiles) to replace imports. Integrated industrialization embracing all stages, from the raw material to the finished product and equipment, is not even on the agenda.

Financial difficulties hold back school development, and universal education is still a long way off. The primary, secondary and higher school system is patterned after the French model and out of key with national realities and interests.

Realizing that the grave situation in the new states would inevitably provoke social upheavals which could jeopardize their positions, the French neo-colonialists made an attempt to adjust their policy, but the effort never got out of the blueprint stage. The Jeanneney[8] report, 'The Policy of Aid and Cooperation,' published in 1964 promised, for example, to change trade terms, double aid by 1975 and thus ensure an economic upsurge of the former French colonies. But in 1971 another (unpublished) government report noted the failure of the plan and suggested as an antidote the exploitation of cheap manpower in export industries (after the pattern of Taiwan and South Korea), the halting of efforts to expand school education, and the boosting of food production (a belated measure; besides, the means for carrying it out are lacking).

Despite all its efforts the positions of French imperialism in what was once its private domain have been undermined. The protectionist mechanisms of the franc zone and 'cooperation' agreements can no longer keep the former colonies a French monopoly preserve.

To be sure, French private investment is still dominant in the franc zone, but France's 'allies' and competitors, the U.S. and the EEC countries, have already made inroads in the mining and manufacturing industries, as well as in banking. France still holds first place in the former colonies' foreign trade, but its share is 30 to 50 per cent, down from 70-90 per cent in 1960.

However, the main threat to the fragile edifice of French neo-colonialism in the new nations of Tropical Africa is the mounting anti-imperialist movement. The neo-colonialists' efforts to enlist the support of the local bureaucratic and commercial bourgeoisie, with whom they are linked economically, socially and politically, no longer yield the desired results. The masses are gradually coming to realize their responsibility for the future of their countries, for their national and social interests, which are in antagonistic contradiction with the objectives and methods of neo-colonialism. The mass movement is influencing the ruling and propertied circles – weak, few in numbers,

and divided as they are. Active supporters of neo-colonialism until the recent past, their attitudes are now beginning to change. Neo-colonialist policies are increasingly clashing with their own interests, and they are getting tired of their 'junior partner' role, of being the social base of monopolies from the former mother country. Resentful of being kept on short rations and treated like servants, they are beginning to support demands of Africanization in both the state and private sectors of the economy, even the 'Africanization' of all foreign capital.

The collapse of the 'decolonization' myth was, of course, in many ways facilitated by the neo-colonialists themselves, by their stubborn attempts to pursue a reactionary, egoistic policy toward the former colonies and their inability to see its failures and work out a fundamentally new policy. Characteristic in this respect is the admission of *Le Monde,* which in November 1973 carried a series of articles by G. Comte discussing problems on which the Communists have long had a clearly defined stand. The author claims, in part; 'For 13 years the Fifth Republic has been giving Black Africa technical and financial assistance freely and often on more favorable terms than before, in order to protect its important positions there with relatively small outlays.' But: 'The rules of the franc zone, so strict for the unrich, the occasional slips in the selection of technical advisers, and the exorbitant profits of French-owned commercial and industrial enterprises, caused an undercurrent of impatience.'

It should be emphasized that from the outset the French neo-colonial system was threatened by the major breaches in it made by the countries that fought for genuine political and economic independence and opted for the non-capitalist road of development: Guinea in 1958, Mali in 1960, and Algeria in 1962. And although a coup d'état halted the Mali experiment, that country's blows against neo-colonialism played their part. The 1963 revolution in the Congo (Brazzaville) at once took an anti-neo-colonialist stand. With time the system of French neo-colonialism in Africa began to produce new, deep cracks. Here are some of the major facts.

The Common Afro-Malagasy Organization (OCAM)[9] which had served as a vehicle of French influence under the signboard of an African 'regional' organization, fell apart when, following Mauritania and Zaire, the Congo People's Republic, Cameroon, Chad and Madagascar left it. The franc zone is in a crisis and Mauritania and Madagascar have already opted out of it. French ruling circles were forced to revise the status of the Central and West African monetary unions under their control and accept a number of demands of African members. Most of the new states have demanded a revision of the cooperation agreements concluded in the early 60s[10], and some have won important changes in their favor.

The crisis of French neo-colonialism is, obviously, not an isolated development and is part of the acute, far-reaching crisis of the imperialist system as a whole.

The three anti-imperialist currents – the socialist world system, the working-class movement of the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement – are considerably stronger, although the going has not always been smooth. But difficulties and setbacks – primarily the divisive policy of the Chinese leaders and the coup in Chile – failed to halt developments which in 1973 led to positive changes in the international situation. Agreements were signed on Vietnam, where the United States had waged a predatory neo-colonialist war for almost 20 years; the United States was forced to recognize the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with different socio-political systems; détente began in Europe; the imperialist policy in the Middle East, which assigns zionism the role of main weapon in the struggle against progressive Arab regimes and the Arab people's liberation movement as a whole, is suffering defeat.

The time is long past when the UN voting machine could be manipulated by the U.S. government to imperialist ends. With the support of the socialist countries the new states, whose numbers are growing, often make the United Nations adopt decisions running contrary to imperialist policy.

A major event in international life was the conference of 76 non-aligned states in Algiers in 1973. They unanimously declared for anti-imperialist struggle, demanded the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, a just settlement of the Mideast conflict, the dissolution of military alliances bred by the cold war, rejection of all forms of foreign occupation and recognition of the inalienable right of every nation to own and control its economic resources. 'The conference reaffirms,' stated the Declaration, 'the need to put an end to all forms of foreign domination and exploitation with a view to creating conditions for genuine development. It proclaims the right of states to take over their natural resources and develop them in the interests of their peoples and in the framework of a freely chosen system of development.' The conference also demanded that countries of the Third World become equal participants in the settlement of international problems, notably those linked with the world monetary system and trade.

The objectives of the Arab liberation war in October 1973 and the producer countries' use of oil as a means of economic liberation were in full accord with the course endorsed by the conference. Both events made for a further deepening of the energy and raw material crisis in the capitalist West and aggravation of imperialist contradictions.

Over the last 30 years economic development and, especially, the

scientific and technological revolution have led to a considerable increase in energy and raw materials consumption.

The logic of the profit drive naturally moves the monopolies to exploit these resources in a way to ensure maximum profit. That is why, ignoring many traditional national energy and raw material sources, they turned to the 'underdeveloped' countries where manpower is cheaper and deposits are more profitable. As a consequence, the imperialist division of labor, which dooms the dependent countries to the role of raw materials appendages, has been maintained and even consolidated. And though the share of dependent countries – the former colonies – in supplies of some types of raw materials has decreased (notably in food and vegetable raw materials, due to competition of man-made products), in all the main mineral and energy materials their share is greater than before.

The United States, formerly an exporter of mineral raw materials and largely self-sufficient, is finding it increasingly difficult to keep its industry adequately supplied. Foreign dependence is especially great in the following nine items (1970 data): chromium, niobium and tin, 100 per cent; platinum, 98 per cent; cobalt, 96 per cent; manganese, 94 per cent; nickel, 91 per cent; aluminium, 86 per cent; zinc, 60 per cent. France, once an exporter of iron and aluminium, now imports half its iron, while imports of bauxites and alumina in 1972 alone increased by 46 per cent.

Special mention should be made of the fierce struggle that has flared up in the capitalist world over oil.

As is known, changes in the energy diet have made most European capitalist countries dependent on foreign sources. In 1960, coal accounted for 51 per cent of world energy consumption, and three-quarters of it was mined in imperialist countries. In 1972, oil was already accountable for more than half the world energy consumption, and more than two-thirds of it was supplied by 'underdeveloped' countries.

Small wonder that the Arab countries, which produce 38 per cent of the capitalist world's oil, were able to use it as a weapon in their political and economic struggle against imperialism. All the more so as the share of oil reserves belonging to Arab countries increased from 2 to 20 per cent in the period between 1967 and 1973 (the eve of the October war).

The uncontrolled domination of foreign, mainly U.S., monopolies over Arab oil is coming to an end, and national governments are increasingly laying down the conditions of production and marketing. The oil example has caught the imagination of other producers of raw materials. In Togo, for instance, the government is establishing control over deposits of phosphates, the country's principal source of

export revenues; Gabon and Niger are debating the question of raising uranium prices; the Cóngo People's Republic is demanding a seven-fold increase in concession fees in 1974 from the Elf-Congo oil company.

Worthy of special mention in connection with the mounting struggle for mineral and energy reserves in the capitalist world is the hypocrisy of the imperialist monopolies, which, together with the obedient bourgeois mass media, blame the newly-free states for the deterioration of living conditions (spiralling prices and higher unemployment) in the West in the last three or four years. It is common knowledge, however, that all these years the oil companies speculated on the rising prices of industrial goods and caused an artificial oil shortage in Europe. For decades they profited at the expense of the producer and consumer countries. That is why the peoples must do away with the parasitic power of the monopolies.

At the Central Committee meeting of the French Communist Party on January 18, 1974, Georges Marchais said, 'We call upon the workers, the masses ... to refuse to pay for disastrous policies for which they bear no responsibility. We call them to action to force the perpetrators of that policy and those who profit from it to foot the bill ...' The French CP advocates new policy with respect to the countries of the third world and territories still under colonial rule. Its basic demands are set forth in the common government program of the left forces put forward by the Communists, Socialists and Left Radicals in the 1973 parliamentary and 1974 presidential elections.[11]

On Africa, the program calls for urgent initiatives to achieve trust in relations with the peoples and countries of the continent. These include an end to cooperation with the racist government in Pretoria, notably halting arms sales to it, and support of UN resolutions denouncing the policies of neo-colonialism and racism, recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, lifting the ban on entry into France and activities of the leaders of liberation movements.

The common program calls for immediate recognition of the right of self-determination of the peoples of France's 'overseas' departments and territories and for providing the material means for its practical realization.

A Left government in France, it says, would establish relations of cooperation and equality with all developing countries, 'precluding neo-colonialism or political strings, and based on voluntary agreement, respect of independence, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.' It would support the efforts of states aimed at 'gaining or re-establishing full control over the national wealth.' French help would be increased and aimed not at ensuring monopoly profits but at satisfying the national interests of the recipient coun-

tries. A Left government would seek to align the activity of international organizations with the genuine needs of the developing countries.

In France itself the program envisages nationalization of key sectors of the economy, which would make it possible to do away with the 'logic' of monopoly profit, develop currently neglected industries (energy, raw materials) and at the same time help the former colonies set up industries using local raw materials and energy sources.

Long-term contracts between the producers and consumers of energy and raw materials in which the French side would be represented by nationalized industries, would promote harmonious and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Implementation of this policy would at the same time ensure our country's own national interests and strengthen still more our people's ties with all anti-imperialist forces and, especially, the national-liberation movement.

1. A system whereby indigenous inhabitants of the colonies were citizens of France without the same rights as the French. – *Ed.*

2. In Indochina (1945-1954) and Algeria (1954-1962). – *Ed.*

3. Evian – the town in France where the agreements recognizing Algeria's independence were signed. – *Ed.*

4. Each 'new' republic in France starts with the adoption of a new Constitution: thus, the Fourth Republic dates from the Constitution of December 1946, and the Fifth from that of September 1958. – *Ed.*

5. The beginnings of this policy go back to 1946, long before the colonies gained independence. – *Ed.*

6. All foreign currency proceeds in the franc zone were funnelled into the pool, the affairs of which were for all practical purposes completely in French hands. – *Ed.*

7. The swath of arid savannah south of the Sahara including Mauritania, Mali, Chad, Niger, Upper Volta and a part of Senegal. – *Ed.*

8. Minister of Industry and Trade and chairman of a special commission set up to study the situation in countries of the French Community and draw up recommendations. – *Ed.*

9. Today it is the Common Afro-Mauritian organization. – *Ed.*

10. Such demands were made by Mauritania, Madagascar, Cameroon, the Congo People's Republic, Dahomey, Niger, Chad, Togo, and the Ivory Coast. – *Ed.*

11. In the 1973 elections this program won more than 10 million votes. In the second round of the presidential elections, a year later, the joint candidature of the parties sponsoring the program polled almost 13 million votes. – *Ed.*

Book reviews

THE RESULTS AND PROBLEMS OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

The recently published *Selected Speeches and Articles* by A.N. Kosygin,* member of the CC CPSU Political Bureau and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, covers a period of 35 years in the history of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party. The book deals with the Party's economic policy, topical problems of economic development, the shaping of social relations, the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet international position and growing prestige.

A central place is devoted to speeches relating to the implementation of the decisions of the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses, showing the historic achievements of the Soviet Union. Every line in the book is evidence of the advantages of the socialist system, and underscores the special features of developed socialism.

The collection shows the difficulties of growth and the acuteness of the problems in every period. Even the formulation of tasks set by the Party at different times reveals the dynamics and complexity of the country's development. Take one example: speaking at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation in June 1945, Kosygin referred to the ravages of war and, among other things, to the millions of demolished homes. The Party set this objective: 'This winter no family will have to live in dugouts' (p. 36). In 1971, reporting to the 24th CPSU Congress that 11,333,000 flats had been built in the preceding five years and that no other country in the world had built as much in the same short term, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers stressed that the Party and Government would devote still greater attention to the housing problem (p. 501). The main idea in the book is that the economic effort and Party and government activity are centered on the well-being of the people.

*A.N. Kosygin, *Izbranniye rechi i statyi*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1974, 783 pp.

The book deals at length with the problems of developed socialist society, in which top priority goes to satisfying material and cultural needs, to moulding the socialist life-style and assuring all-round development of the personality. As stressed by the 24th CPSU Congress, this is the period when the solution of social problems becomes crucial for economic growth. The author examines the building of the material and technical base of the new society and the shaping of produciton relations. He analyzes the substance of the Leninist Party style of economic management in concrete conditions, listing its most salient features as: scientific and thorough consideration of the objective laws and tendencies of social development; a political approach to economic problems; reliance on the masses, and their continuously greater involvement in production management and administration of society.

The book substantiates measures taken by the Party in recent years. The essential principles of the new system of planning and economic stimuli are set out in Kosygin's report to the September 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, with the later articles and speeches reflecting the Party's effort to effect further improvements and assure fuller harmony of the individual and collective interest in the results of labor, of the interests of individuals, enterprises, and society as a whole. 'The economic reform,' the author says, 'is no overnight act. It is a process of improving economic management in order to make the maximum use of all the advantages of the socialist system' (p. 534).

Socialist economic management is described by the author as a compound of creative mass activity, a process in which the working people are the subject, as well as object, of management. 'Planning,' the book says, 'is not really the purely economic operation that many people often take it to be.... We regard the plan as a compound of economic and social objectives to be attained in the fixed period, a complex of all questions relating to the life of people' (p. 209).

International affairs are among the main topics in the book. The author examines the development of the socialist world system and the many-sided cooperation of the fraternal parties. He deals with the advantages of the economic integration of countries of the socialist community, and calls for better coordination of planning, stressing that unity and cooperation are a crucial factor of peace and social progress.

He dwells on the humanitarian substance of the Peace Program set out in L.I. Brezhnev's report to the 24th CPSU Congress, and presents an iron-clad case in favor of economic cooperation among all peoples of the world.

A.N. Kosygin's book is an important appreciation of the home and

foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the present stage, and of its rich experience in guiding socialist society.

Alexander Volkov

MONOPOLY CONSPIRACY

Many books have appeared in the U.S. and other countries recently explaining the reasons for the energy crisis and offering solutions. This one, by Gus Hall,* General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, holds a special place, for it gives a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problem and suggests radical measures for ending the energy crisis, and crises in general.

Nearly 75 per cent of the production, refining and distribution of petroleum products in the non-socialist world is effectively owned and controlled by a gigantic cartel of seven multinational monopolies, the biggest and most powerful of which is Rockefeller's Exxon. Gus Hall subjects this 'giant among giants' to a searching analysis to disclose the link between the oil monopolies and the causes of the energy crisis. He traces the origins of Exxon, its links with other monopolies, domestic and foreign policies, its influence on the government and the two political parties. His consistent and detailed examination proves that the 1973-74 energy crisis is the result of a conspiracy of state-monopoly capitalism, in which the Rockefeller Exxon played a very important part indeed.

The word 'rip-off' in popular U.S. parlance connotes robbery. By creating artificial shortages the monopolies are able to increase their profits. The oil shortage, Gus Hall says, is 'an unprecedented, colossal, criminal, corporate rip-off' (p. 5). Moreover, 'the energy crisis and the rising spiral of prices, rents and taxes are not momentary waves that will subside . . . There will be periodic ups and downs, but the longer-range outlook is more of the same . . . In one form or another continued energy crises, food shortages, price rip-offs, criminal pass-on-the-cost additions to electricity bills, rents and taxes are going to be a feature of life in the United States from now on. They are symptoms of a new stage in the decay of capitalism' (p. 3).

The genealogy and profile of Exxon disclose the sources of its immense power and influence. The progeny of 100 years of thievery, pillage and aggression by the Rockefellers, whose total assets 'now easily exceed 100,000 million dollars' (p. 65), Exxon's vast wealth has been amassed by operations that included anti-labor frameups and the use of murder and force to prevent unionization; the racist theft of Indian lands and denial of employment to Black workers; providing

*Gus Hall. *The Energy Rip-Off. Cause and Cure*. New York, International Publishers, 1974. 227 pp.

synthetic tetraethyl for Hitler's tank armies and for the U.S. bombers over Indochina; and outright plunder of the petroleum resources of developing countries.

The oil monopolies were able to carry off their gigantic robbery because of interlocking relations with the state. By its depletion allowances, tax loopholes, embargo on overseas oil, subsidization of tanker fleets and of research and development on behalf of the monopolies, giveaways of government land and vast areas of the continental shelf, military and diplomatic assistance, anti-labor legislation and court injunctions and wage freezes, the government promotes and enforces policies that enable the oil monopolies to extract super-profits.

Gus Hall's book is replete with factual data drawn from oil industry materials, government sources and the works of specialists. It contains an analysis of the new features of state-monopoly capitalism, the role of the state in the economy as well as in politics, the state's subordination to the dictates of the financial and industrial oligarchy.

The cure for energy rip-offs, says Gus Hall, is 'through nationalizing the entire energy complex, lock, stock and barrel, and putting it under control of a democratically elected National Energy Council' (p. 168). The book concludes by spelling out the Communist Party's program for solving the energy crisis, and relating the people's need for a radical solution of the crisis at home to struggle for détente in the world.

John Pittman

FIGHTING AGE-OLD BACKWARDNESS

Overcoming the survivals of feudalism in Italy's agriculture figures prominently in the communist campaign for democratic change. This is all the more important since the economic, social and cultural gap between North and South is widening. Backwardness in the South, Italy's main farming area, has reached a point where some economists describe it as a 'raw material appendage' or 'colony' of the North.

Why is farming backward? What is the condition of the peasants? How do the Communists propose to change the situation, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and step up the worker-peasant struggle? The answers will be found in this book by Communist MP Livio Stefanelli, *Backwardness and Agrarian Relations in the South*.* It is a solidly researched discussion of the situation in Italian agriculture. Some of the facts are staggering: over 1,200,000 peasants are share-croppers, giving up as much as half of their crops. That has gone on

*Livio Stefanelli. *Arretratezza e patti agrari nel Mezzogiorno*. Bari, De Donato, 1974, pp. 220.

for hundreds of years and Italian capitalism is content to keep it that way for it is closely associated with the landed aristocracy and shares in its profits. Stefanelli exposes the close links between the big landlords and the leaders of the Cristian-Democratic Party, the political arm of the Italian bourgeoisie in power throughout the postwar period.

It is against this conservative bloc that the peasants are fighting with the support of the working class and all progressive and democratic forces. Nor has the struggle been in vain: several million hectares of land have been taken away from the big estates and distributed among peasants. The book also exposes the official propaganda in favor of the government's agrarian policy which Stefanelli describes as 'development of backwardness.' For without a break-up of the existing rural structure government subsidies always end up in the pockets of the big estate owners, while the condition of the peasants remains unchanged. All this, of course, helps the monopolies – for one thing, the impoverished South provides a ready supply of cheap labor power.

The Communist Party policy is clear: an end to share-cropping, broad democratic change in Italian farming. And the Communists have brought a number of bills before Parliament to change the economic, political and social picture in rural Italy. The struggle of the peasants and the working class for progressive change in the countryside is a major part of the general struggle for democracy and socialism now being waged in Italy.

Yevgeni Yaropolov

SERVANTS OF REACTION

Albert Norden, the author of *Uncrowned Kings*,* is a member of the SUPG Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee and the author of a number of theoretical studies. In this book he traces the history of the Fugger family which has been conspicuous since the early 15th century to the present day in the FRG.

At the dawn of capitalism the Fuggers acquired vast financial and political power, and practically controlled the country's commercial, financial and mining capital. Norden dispels the legend coined by bourgeois historiographers: 'It was not so much genius that brought them on the German stage to become the gods of commerce and finance, as the ability to understand the objective trends of economic development . . . and use them unscrupulously in their interests' (pp. 17-18).

*Albert Norden, *Herrscher ohne Krone*. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1974. 249 pp.

The Peasant War in Germany, the 450th anniversary of which will be observed next year, produced such heroes of the people as Thomas Müntzer and Michael Gaismair. For the people they were political and military leaders in the fight for a society without class differences and for the full equality of all men of labor. But history, the author stresses, has recorded many other names – the names of those who, on the orders of the Emperor and the Pope, drenched in blood the soil of Alsace, Thuringia, Tyrol, Carinthia and Styria. Among the most notorious were the Fuggers. They used all their authority, money and influence, helping princes to recruit mercenaries against the insurgents, and on their own estates savagely murdered rebelling peasants.

Drawing on hitherto unknown documents, Norden produces a picture of the latter-day Fuggers. Early in this century they were among the most active in the chauvinist faction of German imperialism, and later zealous helpers of Hitler and his nazi dictatorship. Today they hold an important place in the West German economy and are closely linked with international monopoly capital. They have thrown their political and financial weight behind Franz Josef Strauss and his extremist Bavarian Christian Social Union. In the spring of 1972 when agreements were concluded with the socialist countries, the head of the Fugger-Glött clan signed a statement protesting against the treaties with the USSR, Poland and the GDR. Events have run a full circle: the forces that suppressed the peasant revolt, the first major attempt to change the pattern of society in German history – and which were always on the side of capitalism and imperialism, are now trying to poison the political climate in the FRG in the interests of finance capital.

Drawing lessons from the past helps to mobilize new generations to combat the forces responsible for exploitation, oppression, war and genocide. This book, well written and well argumented, is a valuable weapon in the ideological battles of our time.

Erich Hall

FROM THE IDEAL TO THE REALITY

For more than three years now there has been an officially-sponsored campaign of preparations for the 200th Anniversary of the Republic in the United States. The mass media, all manner of ad hoc committees, research groups, official and unofficial propaganda outlets are busy boosting the jubilee as a tribute to '200 years of achievement.' Of course, the bi-centennial of the United States in 1976 is a noteworthy occasion and is bound to have its impact on the ideological struggle between the worlds of capitalism and socialism.

The first Marxist-Leninist works on the subject have come from V.

Korionov, noted Soviet publicist, and Mihaly Simai, a Hungarian economist.* They use the same approach: analyze the evolution of American society, and compare the ideological heritage of the founding fathers with the present-day realities in a country that has often been held up as the 'acme of Western civilization.' The analysis is buttressed by documentary and statistical evidence, mainly from U.S. sources, and references to historical and sociological literature.

U.S. capitalism developed in the most favorable domestic and international conditions. It could and did absorb much of the Old World's capital and labor power. The civil war was fought more than 100 years ago, and the two world wars, which did not directly affect the U.S. population, meant much profit for the monopolies.

America was thus able to accumulate vast national wealth and build up a powerful economic potential. There was everything, it would seem, to provide a life of plenty for the people and, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, equal opportunity for all. Why, the authors ask, are the laboring masses so unsure of the future, and why have all the riches been concentrated in a monopoly elite? Why is it that in this 'affluent society' more than 40 million are living on or below the borderline of poverty, and why the sharpening urban crisis, the growing racial tensions, destruction of the environment, mounting crime, devaluation of moral values, and modern technology used solely in the interests of profit?

The authors' analysis leads them to conclude that the contradictions between the opportunities and realities of America are not accidental. They are the inevitable result of the laws governing capitalist development and are therefore inherent in the system itself. And in this, the main country of capitalism, these contradictions stand out more saliently than elsewhere.

Simai cites this paradox: the United States approaches its 200th anniversary with an accumulation of insoluble problems, deflated ideals, a divided and disillusioned society, and a divided ruling class torn by inner contradictions and with only the haziest of notions of how to rescue the country from its predicament.

Hence the widespread disbelief in the official propaganda line that the USA is following in the footsteps of the founding fathers. Korionov cites this episode: a reporter of the *Miami Herald*, Colin Dangaard, had copies of the Declaration of Independence printed, with its lofty references to himan rights, fraternity and justice, and asked 300 people to sign it. Only one did, the rest dismissed it as 'communist propaganda written by an enemy of America,' etc., and

*V. Korionov. *The USA, 200 Years: Opportunities, Promises, Realities*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1974, 255 pp. M. Simai. *The U.S. Before its Bicentenary*. Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiado, 1974, 367 pp.

someone even threatened to call the police. Public opinion, which reflects the country's values, is a sensitive barometer.

'Our society has been widely proclaimed the society of affluence – the shining example of what capitalism can accomplish,' says the Program of the CPUSA, 'but beneath the symbols of affluence, beneath the glitter of polished chrome and the outlines of television antennas, lie the symptoms of crisis . . .' The value of these two books lies in their Marxist-Leninist analysis of America's evolution from the lofty ideals of the first settlers to present-day reality, showing us the essence and causes of the present crisis of U.S. society.

N.S.

INDEPENDENCE OR NEO-COLONIALISM?

Jean Poncet has written extensively on Tunisia, its economy, geography and history. This book, *Tunisia In Search of a Future*,* is the story of how the country has fared since it became independent in 1956. Some of the conditions in which the decolonization process began suggested that Tunisia would take a place of its own in the ex-colonial world. First, political independence was won practically without bloodshed under the leadership of the Destour Socialist Party which has since ruled the country. Its leader, President Bourguiba, has pursued a policy of peaceful relations and cooperation with the capitalist countries, pledging respect for private property and inviting foreign investments. The author says that under the leadership of its petty bourgeoisie Tunisia could become a showpiece of development powered by assistance from the 'free world,' a country 'without a workers' or peasants' revolution and without Communists in government' (p. 59). Enough time has passed for a balance sheet to be drawn up of the country's economic, social and cultural progress, and for passing judgement on the viability of the path it has chosen.

A free enterprise policy was proclaimed in 1956. There were to be no 'revolutionary reforms' to frighten the national bourgeoisie and scare away foreign investments. But it soon became clear that private capital could not on its own build up the national economy. In the early 60s the government introduced stringent economic regulation and long-term planning. It took the initiative also in carrying out a series of structural reforms in agriculture, in financing expansion of heavy and light industries, set up control of foreign and wholesale trade and reorganized the credit system. But the ambitious 10-year development plan (1962-71) required tremendous outlays of capital, and Tunisia sought foreign loans. The per capita government debt is

*Jean Poncet. *La Tunisie à la recherche de son avenir*. Paris, Editions sociales, 1974, 221 pp.

among the highest of the developing countries. Industrial growth has been slow and uneven.

The author looks into the reasons for the failure of this 'experiment in national development planning.' And he finds that no matter how carefully the economic development model had been worked out the aims it set could be achieved only through deep-going socio-economic change. Poncet believes that the planners paid little attention to agrarian reform, employment and higher wages (pp. 91-92). The national bourgeoisie resisted government attempts to use foreign investments for expansion of industries that did not promise quick returns.

In 1969 a new develoment model was worked out, allowing for more freedom for private capital which immediately began to flow into such quick-profit industries as tourism, hotels, etc. There was more foreign aid too, but on terms profitable to the aid-givers (p. 144). On the whole, the economic picture of today's Tunisia is one of local capitalism developing in subordination to the interests of big monopoly.

What of the future? Tunisia will have to solve a multitude of problems – employment, higher wages, assistance to the small and middle farmer, social insurance, the government debt, cooperation with African, Asian and socialist countries. But who is going to solve them? The working class, the author says, is only at the beginning of its formative stage and the national bourgeoisie cannot be relied upon to make the necessary changes. Poncet places his hopes on the democratic, liberal, progressive forces which, if working in unity, could carry out a constructive program. And their cooperation with international democratic movements and with the socialist countries, he writes, would help the country end uneven development, unemployment and neo-colonialist exploitation.

His conclusions apply in equal measure to many other developing countries. Dependence on foreign imperialist 'aid' and the initiative of the national bourgeoisie, which ignores the vital interests of the people, cannot put an end to subservience to the world capitalist system and cannot create an independent economy.

Natalie Duval

A NEW ENGELS BIOGRAPHY

Frederick Engels was always extemely modest about his great contribution to the revolutionary movement and the growth and enrichment of Marxist ideas. Now we have the first English edition of a biography of him prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow which was published in 1970. It is the product of a high-level team of Marxist historians and writers, produced by Progress Pub-

lishers, Moscow. It is the entrancing history of a modest, but truly great revolutionary leader.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS IN THE BATTLE OF IDEAS

Prof. Valter Roman,
Director, Rumanian Communist Party Publishing House

Our publishing house is 30 years old. It has put out 8,300 titles in a total printing of 248 million. The list includes Marxist-Leninist classics – 257 titles, more than 9 million copies, 33 volumes of collected works of Marx and Engels, the complete works of Lenin in two editions (translated from the Fourth and Fifth Russian editions). Rumania is the only other country besides the Soviet Union where we have put out the complete works of Lenin.

We strive to give the reader books that help to mould the new man of socialist and communist society, a man of high ideals and high culture. Prominent in our plans are books on the Party's enhanced role in the life of society and its creative application in Rumanian conditions of the general laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Our books deal with structural changes in Rumanian society, the nature of contradictions under socialism and the ways of resolving them, socialist humanism and socialist democracy, the principles of socialist ethics. Documents of the Rumanian Communist Party, which hold a leading place among books of this type, are first put out as popular pamphlets and later in special volumes, of which 23 have already been published. To this should be added the nine volumes of reports, articles, speeches and interviews by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP and President of the Socialist Republic of Rumania, under the title, *Rumania on the Road to Building a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society* (about 780,000 copies in Rumanian, Hungarian and German). All Party documents and other publications are translated into the languages of other nationalities living in our country.

In 1974 Rumania marked two important events – the 30th anniversary of the national anti-fascist and anti-imperialist rising, and the 11th RCP Congress. On these two occasions we issued 'The Rumanian Economy in the Period of Building a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society.' 'The 80th Anniversary of the Rumanian Working-Class Political Party,' 'Introduction to the Science of Directing Socialist Society,' 'Socialist Rumania's Foreign-Policy Principles,' 'Demographic and Economic Problems in Developing Countries,' and others.

We are also putting out a thematic series to keep the reader abreast of developments. It includes 'Problems of Political and Socio-Economic Organization and Management'' (with special sections for Party functionaries, trade union officials and economic executives), 'The Building of a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society' (with sections on economics, philosophy and ethics), 'Theory and Method in the Social Sciences,' 'Philosophical and Sociological Library,' 'Dialectical Materialism and Modern Science,' 'Ideological Debates,' 'International Problems,' 'Ideas of Today,' 'Anthology of Rumanian Revolutionary and Progressive Social and Political Thought,' 'Pages from History,' 'Political Portraits.'

The 12 volumes we have put out on international themes give the reader a rounded out picture of our Party's and government's activities on the international scene, explain our Party's position on questions of the international communist and workers' movement, and so on. We are also putting out reports on meetings of Rumanian Party and government leaders with their opposite numbers in other countries, and policy statements by the Rumanian Communist Party on international solidarity with Communist and Workers' parties and all revolutionary, progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

We make a point of popularizing the history of the international working-class struggle. Recent publications include the works of leaders of the international communist and workers' movement and also books on Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other countries.

Our publishing house is responsible for the Rumanian edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*.

Our editors frequently meet with Party officials, lecturers and propagandists, workers and students. Exchanges of opinion help us widen the subjects and improve the quality of our books and keep us in constant touch with our readership.

WMR QUESTIONNAIRE

Polish sociologist Wladyslaw Markiewicz* answers our questions. 1. What are you working on at present? 2. What problem is central to

*Wladyslaw Markiewicz, born 1920, son of a miner, fought in the Resistance, spent four years in the Nazi Mauthausen concentration camp, graduated Poznan University in sociology in 1950, was director of Poznan Institute of Sociology and of the Polish Academy's Western Institute. Markiewicz is a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences and scientific secretary of its Department of Social Sciences, also professor of Warsaw University. He is a member of the PUWP's Central Auditing Commission. His books include 'Changes in the National Consciousness of Re-emigrants,' 'Society and Sociology in the FRG,' 'Social Processes in Industrialization,' 'Sociology in the Service of the People,' and numerous articles and essays.

your work? 3. What contribution do you intend to make to research on this problem?

1. In the nearly 25 years that I have been active in science I have often changed and extended my fields of research: Poland's modern socio-political history, sociology of the people, and changes in the national consciousness. I have also dealt with the sociology of labor and industry, and intend to go further into this field. I have always been interested in the political culture of the Polish nation. Though I had often turned to the topic before, my systematic research did not begin until 1970. The book I am writing now will be a critical examination of bourgeois politologists on political culture, contrasting the Marxist-Leninist approach to the formation of political principles and individual and group behavior.

2. The role of historical tradition in educating the man of developed socialist society is now being widely discussed in Poland and I intend to devote a special chapter to this in my book. In it I propose to examine some of the distorted views on the Polish national character. Drawing on 30 years of People's Poland, I shall endeavor to show the fallacy of the still current view of our people as lacking organizational ability and capable only of improvization.

3. A scientifically substantiated system of education and of moulding the personality is of immense importance in fashioning the value judgements of the man of developed socialist society, his patriotic and internationalist aspirations. In my research, I devote special attention to devising a scientifically substantiated methodological approach to assure the continued improvement and expansion of our national educational system, mass propaganda and dissemination of knowledge.

THE PARTY PRESS

L'UNITA'S FIGHTING FUND

L'Unita, the Italian Communist daily, keeps its readers informed on donations to the Party press fund. This year's target is 4,000 million liras. By the time of *L'Unita*'s annual festival early in September, the Party had collected 3,547 million liras.

Donations from the working people are helping the Party start new periodicals. The latest to be launched is *Quaderni friulani,* a Party journal for the Friuli-Venezia-Giulia region. The occasion was marked by a public meeting attended by local Party leaders and cultural personalities. The secretary of the regional Party Committee, Renzo Pascolat, and the journal's editor, Giulio D'Andrea, expressed the hope that the quarterly would become a valuable weapon in the

fight for democracy in this large region of Italy. The journal will deal with ideology and politics, history and culture.

Press comment emphasizes that the new journal is being started at a time when many bourgeois publications are closing down.

E.Y.

COMBATING ILLITERACY

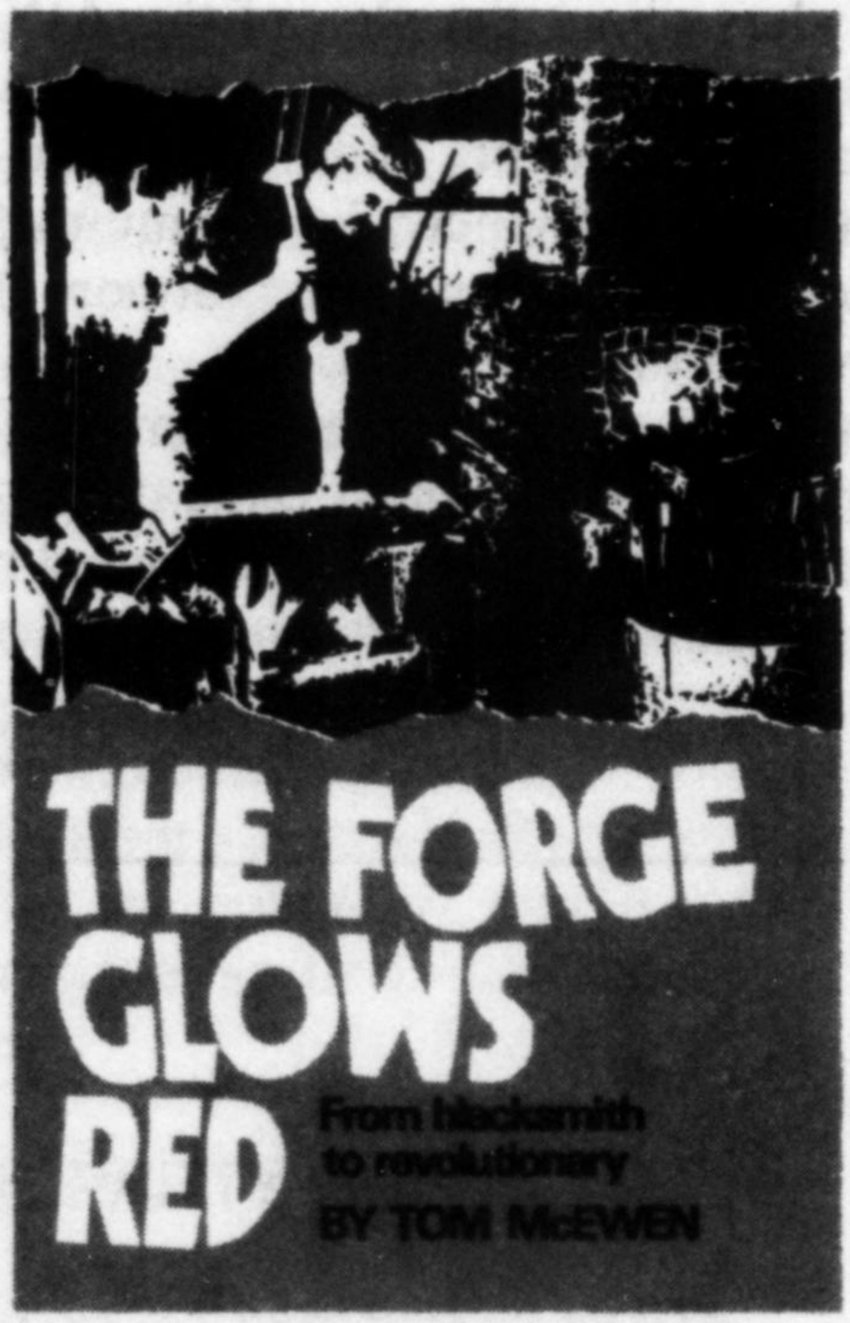
The campaign to wipe out illiteracy, initiated by democratic mass organizations, is being prominently featured in the Indian Communist press. The central organ of the CPI *New Age* is consistently popularizing the initiative of the All-India Youth Federation and popular committees engaged in the mass literacy drive. In one of its recent issues *New Age* informs its readers about the plan of the AIYF to open 100 schools in Hyderabad State for Telugu-speaking adults and train volunteer teachers from among students and young industrial and office workers. The scheme will be financed by donations from Federation members and supporters. Young blood donors have pledged to hand their money over to these schools.

In the same state, *New Age* reports, a committee to combat illiteracy has been set up and has already held a seminar on textbooks for four-year evening schools for adults. The seminar was attended by 15 writers and scientists, and 4 of the 49 textbooks submitted were chosen.

V.M.

Pages from Labor history

The Forge Glows Red



The biography of a man whose life is interwoven with the history of the Canadian labor movement of the last 50 years.

Order from your local bookstore or from

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 Adelaide St. W. Toronto, Ont.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

Contents for 1974

(Numbers 1-12)

	No.	Page
Alvarez, J.A. The October Revolution and the revolutionary practice of today	11	21
Apro, A. Supreme organ of popular rule	10	27
Bilak, V. Strengthen basis for positive change	1	7
Chaoui, N. The anti-imperialist front and the Arab liberation movement	8	30
Communique from the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties on work of the journal 'Problems of Peace and Socialism'	2	3
Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe to hold conference	12	12
Communists and European security	12	3
Conference of Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-States	6	22
Dadoo, Y. In Africa only followers of Vorster, Smith and Caetano have profited from the cold war	1	22
Danelius, G. Peace, revolution and the Communists' duty	4	3
Dange, S.A. International détente welcome development to peoples of Asia	1	10
Fantis, A. Peaceful coexistence and class interests	7	14
Fraternal Party leaders speak	12	4
Galkin, A. Fascist defeats and the extreme right menace	12	26
Gensous, P. New developments in the international trade union movement	7	21
Hahn, G. Broader front of the peace struggle	12	14
Handal, S.J. Don't let imperialism start any wars	1	19
Honecker, E. On the road of socialist revolution	10	3
Jagielski, M. The strategy of cooperation	11	30
Jaroszewicz, M. Thirty years of people's power	7	3
Kulakov, F. The Leninist agrarian policy and its implementation in the USSR	10	15
Lenart, J. Leninism and the lessons of the Slovak uprising	8	20
Luvsan, S. Collective security in Asia – a dictate of the times	4	9

	No.	Page
Mendes, C. Portugal casts off fascism	6	25
New Lenin documents	3	3
Olszowski, S. The foundation of peace and international security	9	15
Papaioannou, E. Détente benefits all countries	1	15
Peace to the world in the new year	1	3
Ponomaryov, B. The world situation and the revolutionary process	6	3
Puja, F. Coordinating diplomacy of socialist countries	8	13
Reimann, M. Peace, war, revolution	8	3
Shcherbitsky, V. International significance of national relations in the USSR	11	8
Shytikov, A., Gensous, P., Kubka, J., Salati, R., Oppenheimer, M., Habicht, M. Responsibility for the future of Europe	12	36
Sindermann, H. Economic integration of sovereign states	6	15
Strougal, L. International significance of socialism's economic achievements	9	8
Suika, B. The détente and the confrontation of ideas	12	19
To our readers	5	3
Tsedenbal, Yu. The instructive lessons of Mongolia's progress	11	3
Urbany, D. Doctrine that explains and transforms the world	2	7
Van Geyt, L. Broad alliance for peace	1	13
Zhivkov, T. From the summit of 30 years	9	3
THE PARTY		
Baillot, L. Culture, intellectuals and the working class	10	44
Bogicevic, M. Congress of revolutionary action	11	51
Bonev, V. The struggle for a united front	7	29
Chaoui, N. Championing the people's cause	11	44
Chaoui, N. A realistic alternative	7	57
Cioara, G. Party political work and socio-economic development	3	26
Conference of CC Secretaries of Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries	2 3	45 56
Conference of Communist Parties of Capitalist Europe	3	53

	No.	Page
Cunhal, A. Communist ethics	1	25
Dobieszewski, A. The force cementing and transforming society	4	31
Doig, M. Canadians must be masters in their own house	8	47
Doig, M. Generalization of revolutionary experience is an international duty	3	17
Dragoicheva, T. The Bulgarian Communist Party's experience in building up the armed forces of the revolution	12	60
Gensini, G., Blum, J., Schröder, K-H., Jackson, G.E., Gasperoni, E. A component of unity	5	85
Gonzalez, B. Promotion of vigilance	2	47
Grüneberg, G. Agrarian policy of the SUPG	4	24
Hall, G. Marxism-Leninism is creativity	6	29
Hoffman, J. We rely on young people	9	33
In brief	6	51
	8	45
Iscaro, R. Vanguard of the working class, organizer of the masses	7	38
Jakab, S. Party of its class. Party of the masses	3	34
Kashtan, W. Communists in mass political campaigns	4	39
Kuster, B. The Party grows younger	3	43
Lopez, F. For an attacking propaganda	3	44
Mies, H. Country's destiny must be in the hands of the people	1	35
Mikhailov, S. Sociological research in Party work	11	54
Muhri, F. Democratic and socialist alternative for Austria	4	16
Nagy, L., Proshunin, N. How mass support is won	2	37
Noll, F. Information stands	7	58
Nørlund, I. The search for new ways	12	52
Papaioannou, E. Building up popular unity	8	38
Party news	1	41
	2	46
	3	43
	4	39
	7	57
	9	33
	11	54

	No.	Page
Peluffo, V. After emerging from illegality	1	41
Rodriguez, M. Twenty-five trying years	9	25
Saarinen, A. Leading force of democratic development	11	38
Sanchez, O. Fidelity to revolutionary principles	4	36
Schröder, K-H. Organization of internationalists	10	36
Singh, L. Organization and militancy	9	34
Sobolev, A. Organizer of revolutionary action	2	18
Stepanov, L. Communists at work	3	46
Sychra, I. Mass meetings across the country	2	46
Szlachic, F. Dynamism of socialist development	2	29
A tried and tested weapon. *Round-table discussion*	6	42
Varela, T., Kwiatowski, G. Volkov, A. Poland: bastions of socialism	10	50
Vasquez, R. The Party manifesto and the reaction of the masses	1	43
Youth activity in society and the Communists.	7	47
Theoretical conference	8	54
Zücker-Schilling, E. Memorable February 1934	6	53

THEORY

Afanasyev, V. Scientific management of society and socialist democracy	11	84
Alliance of world socialism and the national-liberation movement. *Theoretical conference*	10 11	61 61
Arbatov, G. Strength-policy stalemates	2	55
Cholaj, H. Political economy and social progress	6	58
Cox, I. Some new features of the capitalist crisis	5	20
Deepening of the general crisis of capitalism	8	80
Differences in outlook and political cooperation *Meeting of Marxists and Catholics*	6	74
Economic integration and the world revolutionary process. *International theoretical conference*	9	39
Görög, T. The science of revolution and building the new society	12	69
Hall, G. Collective responsibility for the development of theory	8	94
Häber, H. Centers of imperialist rivalry	1	66
International socialist property	6	66
Iribajakov, N. Common economic and political aims	2	80
Jaroszewski, T. Socialism and the left Catholic interpretation of Christian humanism	8	97

	No.	Page
Kelle, V. Historical materialism and the battle of ideas	4	60
Kosolapov, R. The approach to the study of developed socialism	9	63
Labor vs capital. *International research group*	2	64
Lewis, J. Prejudices passed as truths	1	58
Lilov, A. The ideological confrontation today	5	69
Peaceful coexistence of states and the class struggle	3	58
Pechenev, V. Revolutionary unity of the generations	3	65
Purton, J. The crisis of capitalism: some of the problems	12	79
Ronai, R., Karpati, S. Basis and superstructure in the building of full socialism	1	50
Schleifstein, J. The 'quality of life' concept and whom it serves	7	76
Stoichev, T. Ideological aspects of the dialogue with believers	10	73
Venetsanopoulos, V., Guliev, V., Zawadzki, S., Schmirgeld, J. Notes on the history of the idea of proletarian dictatorship	7	64
Werblan, A. Community of vital interests and aims	5	6
Whom does the army serve? *International research group*	4	43
POLITICAL PANORAMA		
Aleksic, M. Growing cooperation	7	110
Alvarez, O. Revolutionary Cuba's economic development	11	94
Alvarez, S., Jorge, J.P., Loules, K., Nadra, F., Gomes, S. Dorcilien, J., Bruno, M. The hour of freedom will strike	5	110
Ashhab, N., Osman, M., Haba, A. The Arab front in Middle East conflict	1	101
Ashhab, N. The Palestinian aspect of the Middle East crisis	4	88
Bellamy, J. The struggle against racism in Britain	3	97
Cabral, V. The republic's motto – unity, struggle, progress	2	112
Call for solidarity	4	95
Castillo, R. Lessons and prospects of the revolution	7	83
	8	107
Chamorro, C.V. Stay the hand of the executioner!	11	122
Communist fighter	8	129

	No.	Page
Constantinu, D. Difficult days for Cyprus	9	123
Cox, I., Sanchez, O., Doig, M., Pafitis, K., Safari, H., Kwiatowski, G. Equal rights, mutual assistance, economic advantage	6	92
Cuadra, C. Regime without a future	12	99
Delgado, A. Against the danger of militarism	2	103
Della Seta, P. Sources of the housing crisis	4	98
Eskandari, I., Bilen, I. Anti-communism beating a retreat	8	116
Friends look at Bulgaria	9	82
Furnberg, F., Knutsen, M.G., Karkabi, Z. No return to power politics	5	57
Giaurov, K. Socialist competition and development of the personality	4	74
Haba, A. Promising first steps	6	109
Ibrahim, B. The oil weapon	5	93
Jagan, C. From Guyana to Chile	6	101
Kashtan, W., Gautier, H. Détente and the working class	5	50
Khenin, D. Israel after the October War	2	96
Krishnan, N.K., Subasinghe, D.W., Roy, K. South Asia: peace and cooperation	5	61
Lara, O. Words of wrath	6	107
Latin America: experiences and lessons of revolutionary struggle. *International seminar*	5	95
Life in the socialist world	2	85
Lourenco, A.D. Portuguese reaction played for high stakes and lost	12	88
Mbokaya, T. Victims of genocide	12	108
Mendes, C. The dawn of freedom	7	95
Mendes, C. The real way to real equality	10	102
Millas, O. Economic chaos in Chile	9	113
Mouhammed, A. Forcing the monarchy to retreat	11	118
Mroue, K. Use the opportunities of the new situation in the Middle East	3	90
Nassar, F. Together we shall win!	11	116
Nina, T. Formulas for counter-revolutionary coups	6	104
O'Riordan, M. Inspiring changes	5	48
Parliament and the class struggle	10	81
Pastorino, E. Stop the terror!	7	108
Path of progress	1	76
Perez, J. From dictatorship to provisional government	11	107

	No.	Page
Pittman, J. Détente – main stake in the struggle	10	111
Plissonnier, G. The French farmer; changes and perspectives	6	85
Prazsky, J. The dialectics of détente	9	127
Prazsky, J. History in the making	8	130
Prazsky, J. Lost stake in the anti-Soviet game	4	113
Prazsky, J. Old tale with new trimmings	3	115
Prieto, R. Five weeks in Junta torture chambers	2	109
Rabesahala, G. Madagascar looks ahead	7	121
Rodriguez, E. Uruguay after the coup	5	135
Safari, H. Arduous path of a new republic	7	117
Sardesai, S. Achievements and difficulties of non-alignment	3	74
Schmirgeld, J. Accent on sovereignty	10	92
Shundeyev, V. Outlines of the new way	3	105
	4	105
Sinclair, B. Behind the crisis in Northern Ireland	8	123
Souza, R.D. Events in Chile and the revolutionary process in Panama	1	95
Stancel, M. Social aspects of Party policy	11	100
Sudiman, S. Changes in rural Indonesia	10	134
Suret-Canal, J. Dead ends of neo-colonialism	12	111
Teitelboim, V. Prelude to future victories	3	83
Tho, Nguyen Huu. Building the new life in the liberated areas of South Vietnam	4	70
Van Geyt, L. Communal and power crisis in Belgium	9	73
Vasquez, P. An anti-dictatorial front in the making	4	82
Venetsanopoulos, V. The changes in Greece	12	95
Walsh, S. For recognition of the French-Canadian nation	10	126
Waserman, G. The French presidential elections; political polarization	7	99
Weber, E. FRG: new faces, continuity of policy	7	102
Wimmer, E. Social Democracy and 'social partnership'	10	118
Winston, H. Unite efforts against racist ideology and practice	5	79
Yata, A. Change in world relations and the national liberation movement	5	35
Zapirain, L. Last resort of the dictatorship	12	107
Zenon, B. Capitalizing on the 'energy crisis'	3	113

	No.	Page
BOOKS, JOURNALS THE PRESS		
Bardizh, O. Women in the class struggle	3	130
Benoit, L. Voice of honor and conscience	4	127
Bokov, G. Cultivating socialist citizenship	11	124
Books in brief	3	133
	4	138
	7	130
	9	143
Carter, N. A workers' paper	6	126
Cepeda, M. Voz Proletaria – voice of the Colombian Communists	1	124
Concentrated experience of proletarian struggle	4	123
Dansoko, A., Lerumo, A. The famine in Africa: is it drought alone?	1	127
Davydov, Y. Imperialist foreign policy	1	110
Dean, L. Straight talk	4	136
Dort, E. For European peace and security	12	48
Duval, N. Independence or neo-colonialism?	12	128
Fedoseev, P. WMR questionnaire	6	121
Galli, G. Unita – 50 years	2	117
Hall, E. Servants of reaction	12	125
Hennig, G. Books that help us understand our time	7	133
Horeni, Z. 'Facts cannot be silenced'	6	125
Karpinski, K., Senczys, J. The high cost of anti-communism	6	116
Loisau, P. Telephones and politics	6	117
Markiewicz, W. WMR questionnaire	12	131
Mendes, C. Together with the people	6	122
Mhitaryan, S., Rastorguyev, V. From defense to peaceful construction	3	123
Naumov, P. For peace and prosperity	7	127
New editions of 'Das Kapital'	2	125
Niku, K. Our weapon	6	124
N.S. From the ideal to the reality	12	126
O.B. An anti-communist fraud is exposed	1	119
O.L. Plans and achievements	6	118
Pittman, J. Monopoly conspiracy	12	123
Pomeroy, W. The oppressors are never divided by color	2	119
Rakas, M. Preparations for the 10th Congress of Yugoslav League of Communists	4	131

	No.	Page
Richta, R. The impact of the scientific and technological revolution	9	133
Roman, V. Books in the battle of ideas	12	130
Seve, L. A struggle without respite	6	128
Sukhodeyev, V. Cultivation of communist convictions	10	139
Toper, G. Communist press festivals	11	134
Vasiliev, I., Brau, O., Kahulics, L., Danecki, J. Historical progress in perspective	2	125
Volkov, A. The results and problems of communist construction	12	121
W.D. Battle of the microphone	6	125
Widlaszewski, H. 302 titles, 11 million copies	6	120
WMR circulation year 1974	6	127
	7	135
	11	137
Yaropolov, E. Fighting age-old backwardness	12	124
Zimyanin, M. In the interests of peace, democracy and socialism	8	136
DATA		
Brief information about Communist and Workers' Parties		
CP of Denmark, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Guatemalan Party of Labor	1	131
Portuguese CP, People's Party of Iran, Paraguayan CP	2	133
CP of Cuba, CP of Israel, Jordanian CP, People's Party of Panama	3	138
CP of Ireland, CP of Philippines	4	140
CP of Austria, CP of Indonesia	6	138
CP of Uruguay, People's Progressive Party of Guyana, Puerto Rican CP	7	137
CP of Greece, Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand	10	142
Capitalism and the workers' health	2	135
Class battles in the capitalist world. *Facts and figures*	5	29
Fiftieth anniversary of the Lenin recruitment campaign	1	133
The fighting continents. *Facts and figures*	5	42
F.S. Vandalism in the country of Neruda	7	139
An indictment of imperialism. *Facts and figures*	5	121
The march of socialism. *Facts and figures*	5	14

	No.	Page
M.H. Czechoslovak political posters	2	141
New level of cooperation	6	134
Revolution – yes! Military coup – no!	1	135
V.P. The first World Peace Congress	4	142
'We wish you new advances in the struggle for peace and socialism'	1	137
IN MEMORIAM		
Michael Harmel (A. Lerumo)	8	135
Zoltan Komocsin	7	141

communist viewpoint

Subscribe now . . .

6 issues a year $4.
(NEWSSTAND VALUE: $4.50)

COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT is a Marxist theoretical-political journal dealing with Canadian and world affairs from the standpoint of scientific socialism.

In Canada: Single Copy 75c; One Year $4.00; 2 Years $7.00 (Save $1.00). U.S. and Foreign: $5.00 1 Year; $8.50 2 Years. Half-price for students and unemployed. Enclose 15c with U.S. cheques.

Send to:

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....ZONE .....PROV. or STATE .....

Enc. $ ..... Bill me .....

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. W., Toronto M5V 1T4 Canada

Editions of the journal

'PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM' 1974

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH:

(World Marxist Review):
Central Books Ltd., 37 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. 1, England.

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. West, Toronto, Ontario, M5V1T4, Canada.

Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Illinois, 60610, USA.

Problems of Peace and Socialism, 5 Rani Jhansi Rd., New Delhi, India.

FRENCH EDITIONS:
(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale):
Sociéte d'Edition et d'Information, 9 Boulevard des Italiens, Paris (2e), France.

Librairie Rousseau, 36 rue J. J. Rousseau, Genève, Suisse.

Librairie Nouvelles Frontières, 96 ouest, rue Sherbrooke, Montréal, Québec, Canada.

Librairie du Monde, Entier 162, Rue du Midi, Bruxelles, Belgique.

ARABIC EDITIONS:
Al-Wakt, P.O.B. 6247, Beirut, Lebanon.

Dar Hilal, 16 Mohamed Iz Al-Arab Street, Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt.

ETH-Thagafa el-Jadida, Al-Tahrir Square, Bagdad, Iraq.

BENGALI EDITION: Manisha Granthalay Private Ltd., 4/3 B. Bankim, Chatterjee St., Calcutta — 12, India.

BULGARIAN EDITION: "Russki" 6, "Hemus," Sofia, Bulgaria.

CZECH EDITION: Artia, Praha 2, Nové Mesto, Ve smeckách 30, CSSR.

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden, Dr. Tvaergade 3, 1302, Kobenhavn K., Denmark.

FINNISH EDITION:
Aikakauslehti Kommunisti, Kotkankatu 11, 00510 Helsinki 51, Finland.

GERMAN EDITIONS:
Deutscher Buch-Export und-Import GmbH, 701 Leipzig, Leninstrasse 16, GDR.

"Globus," Vertrieb susländischer Zeitschriften, 1200 Wien, Höchstädtplatz 3, Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturvertrieb Zürich, Zürich 4, Feldtstrasse 46, Switzerland.

Brücken-Verlag GmbH, Literatur-Vertrieb, Export-Import, 4000 Düsseldorf, Ackerstrasse 3, FRG.

GREEK EDITION: Thakurova 3, 16616 Prague 6, Czechoslovakia.

HINDI EDITION: Bihar State Council CPI, Ajay Bhawan, Patna-4, India.

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kultura, Konyv-és Hirlap külkereskedelmi Vallalat, Budapest 1., Fö u 32, Hungary.

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita, Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4, Roma, Italy.

JAPANESE EDITION: Nauka Ltd. 2, Kanda-Zinbocho 2-chome, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

MONGOLIAN EDITION:
Ulan-Bator. Sukhebaataryn talbay 2. Mongol ardyn Khusgalt namyn tov namyn Khoroo "Enkh tajvan, socialismyn asuudal" setguuliyn mongol khevlelijn gazar.

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Boks 3715, Oslo, Norway.

PERSIAN EDITION: P.B. 49034, 10028 Stockholm 49, Sweden.

POLISH EDITION: RSW, "Prasa-ksiazka-ruch" BWKZ, Warszawa ul. Wronia 23, Poland.

RUMANIAN EDITION: I.C.E. "Libri," Calea Victoriei 126, Bucuresti, Rumania.

RUSSIAN EDITION: Mezhdunarodnaya kniga, Moscow C-200, USSR.

EDITIONS IN SPANISH:
Ediciones Paz y Socialismo, Apt. Nacional 1253, Bogota, Colombia.

Ediciones de Cultura Popular, San Juan de Letran, 37 — 4° piso Mexico 1, D.F.

Ideologia y Politica, jr. Moquegua 718-203, Lima, Peru.

Edificio Cantaclaro, Esquina San Pedro, Parroquia San Juan, Caracas, Venezuela.

Libreria Internacional, Apdo 758, San José, Costa Rica.

Editorial "Anteo," Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Revista Internacional, Calle 46 Este, No. 16, Panama, Rep. de Panama.

Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa, 16616 Praha 6, Thakurova 3, CSSR.

SWEDISH EDITION: Förlagsaktiebolaget Internationell Revy, Fack, 12206 Enskede 6, Stockholm, Sweden.

VIETNAMESE EDITION: S'o' xuât nhap khâu sách báo 32, Hai Bá Tru'ng, Hà-nôi.