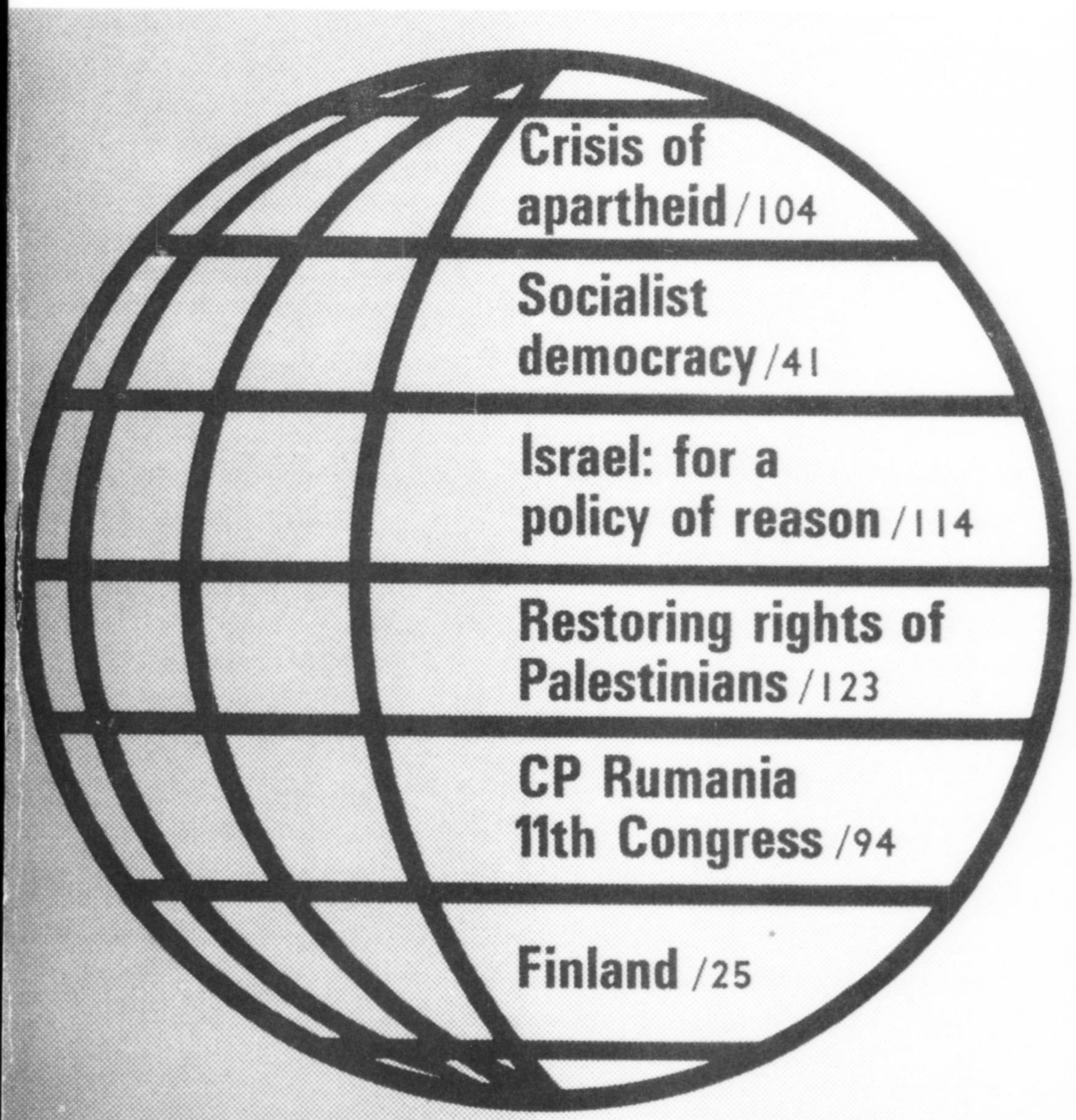
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Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

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Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Communique of Budapest preparatory meeting

In accordance with the agreement reached at the consultative meeting of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe in Warsaw in October 1974, a preparatory meeting was held in Budapest on December 19-21. 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, Communist Party of Greece, Communist Party of Ireland, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Polish United Workers' Party, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Communist Party of Great Britain, German Communist Party, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Communist Party of Norway, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, Italian Communist Party, Portuguese Communist Party, Rumanian Communist Party, San Marino Communist Party, Communist Party of Spain, Swiss Party of Labor, Left Party – Communists of Sweden, Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Communist Party of Turkey.

The People's Alliance of Iceland sent the meeting a telegram of greetings.

Expressing satisfaction with the successful work in preparation for the Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties, the participants in the meeting exchanged views on a broad range of political and practical questions of further preparations for the Conference.

The Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties will have on its agenda the questions of the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe. In the course of the discussion the participants in the meeting set forth the views of their Parties on these questions.

*The parties are listed in Hungarian alpabetical order.

Agreement was reached at the Budapest meeting to set up a Drafting Commission of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties in which delegations from all these parties can take part. The Commission will organize its work in line with the exchange of views and results of the Warsaw and Budapest meetings. At the fraternal parties' request, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany agreed to assume the tasks connected with the convening and work of the commission.

The participants in the meeting suggested holding seminars on problems related to the theme of the Conference.

The fraternal parties favor the earliest convening, at summit level, of the final stage of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. Confidence was expressed that successful conclusion of the European Security and Cooperation Conference and implementation of its decisions will not only serve the interests of all countries and peoples of the European continent but will also promote consolidation of durable peace and security throughout the world.

The representatives of Europe's Communists reaffirmed their determination to work for the cohesion and unity of all democratic and progressive forces of the continent.

The parties present at the meeting expressed their solidarity with the Communists and all democrats of Spain, who are fighting for the liquidation of the only remaining fascist regime in Europe, with the peoples of Cyprus and Northern Ireland, with all those fighting in different parts of the world against imperialist oppression, for democracy, national independence, peace and socialism.

The work of the preparatory meeting took place in a spirit of mutual understanding, equality and proletarian solidarity.

Inaugural meeting

The Drafting Commission of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties held an inaugural meeting in Budapest on December 21, 1974.

'In the citadels of capitalism the working class, as recent events have shown, is the principal driving force of the revolutionary struggle, of the entire anti-imperialist, democratic movement.' International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 1969.

COMMUNISTS OF CAPITALIST EUROPE IN STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS:

Western Europe today:

– a highly developed economic region shaken by the all-prevading crisis of capitalism;

– a region where multinational monopolies are highly active;
– a center of state-monopoly integration in the form of the Common Market;
– the place of concentration of NATO forces directed against socialist countries;
– a front of bitter working-class struggles;
– an arena where monopoly capital is opposed by a powerful communist and working-class movement;
– a region where the increasingly strong alliance of left, democratic and anti-imperialist forces is highly active.

In this issue we are continuing the discussion of questions related to the coming Conference of European Communist and Workers' parties.

The main contradiction of contemporary capitalism

Franz Muhri
Chairman, CP of Austria

Economic dislocation, mounting social tensions, obvious signs of political instability – such are the distinguishing features of the present state of the capitalist part of Europe and the rest of the capitalist world. Monopolies and governments are alarmed. Official and opposition experts offer various explanations for the crisis and the way out. Whence the maladies that now afflict capitalist society? The most common answers are that they are due to the 'excessive demands' of the trade unions, or the 'arbitrary decisions' of the oil-producing countries, or the errors and blunders of previous governments and their leaders.

All these answers are shot through with class narrow-mindedness and prejudice. Nor is it only a matter of sparing the monopolies harsh criticism; the very approach is fallacious, for each crisis symptom is seen in isolation. As a result, the intertwining of inflation and recession, monetary and energy crises, economic difficulties and malfunctioning of the political mechanism are dismissed as a chance conjuncture of embarrassing developments.

Actually, of course, what we have is a deep-going and logical process: the synchronization and sharpness of crisis developments affecting both the basis and superstructure of bourgeos society in the mid-70s. And this denotes a definite, and inevitable, qualitative change in the development of capitalism's general crisis. That change is so far-reaching and significant that any comprehensive theoretical and political analysis can be undertaken only on the basis of a detailed discussion by Marxist-Leninist parties.

Both from the scientific and political standpoint it is useful to analyze individual features of this change. It is highly important, for example, to examine the real causes and specific features of the present inflation and expose the absurd theory that the steep rise of prices can be stopped only by freezing wages. But then, revolutionary theory is superior to reformism because it always analyzes the socio-economic system as a whole, regarding its individual elements and manifestations in the light of the system's inherent fundamental regularities.

That is why, we believe, it would be advisable at this point, with the sharpening of the crisis, to dwell on the basic theoretical problems of the economics of contemporary capitalism. This will furnish a fuller picture of the objective and inevitable nature of the situation in the capitalist world, and, in turn, help to elaborate and more precisely formulate conclusions relevant to the strategy of the Communist parties and the working class.

Among the antagonisms that are part of capitalism a fundamental role belongs to the contradiction between the social character of production and the capitalist form of appropriation of its results. From the very inception of the capitalist system, this contradiction was the fullest expression of the conflict between the production forces of society and the relations of production based on private property and the objective basis of the fundamental class antagonism between labor and capital. Inherent in this contradiction is the historical inevitability of capitalism's doom and of the socialist refashioning of the world.

Capitalism evolved from free competition to monopoly to become state-monopoly capitalism. And to maintain itself as a social system, it was obliged to create an intricate mechanism of state intervention in economic processes. It had to act in a way, Lenin remarked, that 'certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 22, p. 265).

No one is going to deny that the capitalism of our day bears little resemblance to the capitalism of a century ago or even of the prewar years. It has acquired a number of new features since the war, even in the past 10 years. Nor could it be otherwise. For bourgeois society cannot, of course, escape the consequences of such momentous de-

velopments as the change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, the unparalleled upsurge of the workers' and mass democratic movement, the growing over of many national-liberation revolutions into a struggle for non-capitalist development, the technological revolution with all its social and economic concomitants.

History has introduced changes in the social and economic system of capitalism, and it is important correctly to assess the degree and character of their impact on the nature of capitalism. In this context, the question of the main contradiction, the motive force of capitalist development, acquires first-rate importance. Let us examine the processes which decisively influence, as they have in the past, the character of capitalist production and the forms of capitalist appropriation.

There is no need to cite the generally-known statistics showing that concentration and centralization of capital follow a development law of capitalism. One example should suffice: in the FRG about 100 firms control two-fifths of stock capital.

The mid-60s saw a leap-like change: the rise and growth of monopoly conglomerates. This accelerated and complicated concentration of capitalist production. The same applies also to the wave of mergers and takeovers affecting big, even giant companies rather than small and medium ones. The number of mergers in France in the 60s increased 150 per cent and in the FRG in 1972 over 500 per cent against 1966. The latest example is the 'steel marriage' of two West German giant concerns, August-Thyssen-Hütte and Rheinstahl.

In Austria, which relative to other developed capitalist countries has a large number of small and medium enterprises, more than half of the work force is employed by companies with 500 or more workers each, where before the war only a quarter of the work force was engaged in enterprises each employing more than 100 workers. Also this figure: in the early 70s, Austria had less than 40 firms with an annual turnover above one billion schillings; now there are twice as many.

Concentration of production and centralization of capital have never been inhibited by national boundaries, but in our day the international essence of the process is clearly demonstrated by the growth of the multinationals. Their total annual turnover, even a few years ago, was equal to the combined national budgets of the USA, FRG, France and Britain. The economies of individual countries, especially smaller ones like Austria, are becoming more and more dependent on these international octopuses. Toward the end of 1971, 29.3 per cent of the Austrian work force was employed by foreign-owned or largely foreign-owned companies.

The economic activity of the capitalist state is now an appreciable

factor in concentrating production. In many West-Europen countries the state controls facilities producing from 20 to 30 per cent of industrial output. It also provides from one-fifth to one half of investment capital. In Austria, state-owned industries account for one-third of GNP and for nearly one-fifth of total exports. Iron, steel and power, are largely controlled by the state sector, which is one of the country's biggest exploiters.

As an inherent process of capitalism, concentration was analyzed by Marx. Lenin examined its immediate consequence, the rise of monopoly, a chief factor in capitalism passing into its imperialist stage. Today we see operation of this general economic law in the growing might of the monopolies and in the extension of state-monopoly organization of economic life.

Operation of that law has now socialized production to a degree hitherto unknown to capitalism. First, never before have such vast manpower and technical resources been concentrated within the framework of coordinated production processes. Second, diversification and interdependence of economic units, enterprises, technological cycles, research and development work, organizationally tied in by the monopoly concerns and the state, have reached an unprecedented scale. Third, direct state intervention in the economy, attempts to regulate national economic processes, have likewise reached an unprecedented scale.

These are all irrefutable facts, but bourgeois and social-reformist theorists use them to argue that socialization of the capitalist economy is complete or is nearing consummation point and, consequently, capitalism is going beyond its own framework. That argument (leaving aside its class-political orientation) is wholly at odds with reality. For the increasingly social nature of production is one thing, and the forms of appropriation of its results, conditioned by production, and primarily property, relations, is quite another. The latter, of course, do not remain stagnant, cast into a permanent mould. But their evolution requires special examination.

It should be stressed that this second aspect of the problem of the main contradiction of capitalism involves the central point at issue between us and our ideological and political opponents. The question on which we differ fundamentally is this: does the tempestuous advance of socialization affect only the production sphere, or does it extend also, and in equal measure, to property relations, thereby abolishing the capitalist form of appropriation of the product of wage labor?

Here is what French economist Perroux has to say on the subject: '. . . The social character of the mode of production can no longer be counterposed to such an abstraction as "private property of the

means of production'' and should be considered in the context of the complicated and sensitive forms of capitalist-type socialization.''*

That is typical of our ideological and political opponents. Let us look into the matter.

The rise of private capitalist property was the negation of the property of the small commodity producer. Similarly, the emergence of joint stock companies represented, in the words of Marx, 'the abolition of capital as private property within the framework of capitalist production itself.' Indeed, in relation to the individual entrepreneur, the joint stock company was a collective owner. But in relation to society and its laboring majority it was but a variety of private property. Drawing attention to that, Marx stressed that 'capitalist enterprise is essentially private even if the associated capitalist takes the place of the individual capitalist.'

Incidentally, on this point the bourgeoisie is far ahead of its theorizing ideologists in grasping the class essence of the matter. And it is no mere accident that in all capitalist countries the non-nationalized and non-state-owned sector of the economy, though it is based on share owning, is still referred to as the *private* sector, *private* business. The reformists can go on talking about the 'diffusion of property' resulting from the wide spread of shareholding, the 'democratization of capital;' but there is the irrefutable cardinal fact that associated or corporative property confronts society as the private right and private interest of the monopoly elite.

But perhaps capitalist property is undergoing radical change as a result of the expansion of state property, of the state itself becoming an active economic force?

Only a very superficial understanding can lead to the conclusion that the means of production in the hands of the bourgeois state represent public property. A closer look will reveal that monopoly capital, which holds sway in the economy, is the real owner of state property. As a rule, state enterprises are run not by the government, and certainly not by elected authorities, but by specially organized trusts or directorates in which direct agents of the monopolies have the final say. One example of this is the Austrian Industrial Company which is supposed to supervise public-sector enterprises. Its Board includes the Director General of Siemens, a subsidiary of the giant West German concern. The management of nationalized industries and banks in Austria is based entirely on capitalist principles, the same principles as those of joint stock companies and private banks.

The organic kinship of state property and its origin, private capitalist

*F. Perroux. *La coexistence pacifique. Vol. I,* Paris, 1958, p. 47.

property, stands out in bold relief in the economic policies of ruling parties and governments of Western Europe.

Austria offers an edifying example in this respect. When it was in office (1966-1970), the bourgeois People's Party made no secret of its policy of undermining the nationalized sector. It even insisted that state property be allowed neither privileges nor constitutional safeguards. The Socialist Party on the other hand, at one time, (in its 1966 Program for Austria) called for constitutional guarantees. Since then, however, the Socialist leadership has backtracked: now that it is in office, the Socialist Party urges 'organic cooperation' of the state and private sectors. Its slogan is 'equal coexistence' of the two, meaning no 'privileges' for nationalized industry, so that there should be no confrontation with private capital.

A favorite argument of reformist ideologists and politicians in Austria, as in many other countries, is that state and private (joint stock, monopoly) enterprises are 'equally beneficial' to society. They would indeed be right if they specified that they meant bourgeois society in which state and private property fulfill an identical *social function*, for together they form the modern system of capitalist production relations.

The nature of state property is determined by the social nature of political power, by which class is in power, and which class interests the government expresses and upholds. For private property to give way to its opposite, public property, there has to be a revolution in social relations. And as long as the social and political domination of the bourgeoisie remains, even in the smallest enterprise with only a few workers, and in the giant corporations, and in a state company like the Austrian steel concern which employs 76,000 – everywhere the worker, deprived of the means of production, is confronted by capitalist property either in the person of his employer, or the associated owner or the collective capitalist, the state. And we have every justification for repeating the words of Engels that 'the transformation, either into joint stock companies (and trusts), or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces.'

And so, from the standpoint of the fundamental issue of property, namely, the relation of the different classes of society to the means of production, the position under state-monopoly capitalism is basically the same as under free competition. But having established that cardinal fact, we should not disregard the evolution of forms of bourgeois property. It played a vital part in the development of the main contradiction of capitalism and in aggravating the main class antagonism, between labor and capital.

The two main varieties of capitalist property, monopoly and

state-monopoly, now dominate the entire system of production relations of capitalist society. Contrary to bourgeois and reformist theorists, private property of the means of production is not vanishing, but is being concentrated in the monopolies and their state. That is the trend of capitalist development at the imperialist stage.

On the one hand, the socialization of production has reached an unprecedentedly high level. On the other, there is the transformation of monopoly and state-monopoly property into the dominant factor of production relations. From the purely economic standpoint, this more pronounced socialization leads to higher labor productivity and higher output. The increased national wealth thus created, however, is controlled by a progressively narrowing part of the bourgeoisie, the part that relies on monopoly and state-monopoly capital. Increasing the number of property holders (shareholders) and expansion of the state sector – a process which has the appearance of progressing 'socialization' – drastically narrows the social group which appropriates the results of production and uses them to further its own interests.

As a result, the main contradiction of capitalism acquires new qualities. This applies, first, to the inherent fundamental class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. State-monopoly capitalism tries more tightly to control the social position and conditions of the working class, thereby extending and intensifying its exploitation. There are direct and indirect restrictions on the right to strike, outright state regulation of wages, chiefly through wage ceilings, 'social partnership' policies, a complex of measures designed to shift the burden of inflation and other crisis developments on to the working people. All this adds to the intensity of the central class contradiction of bourgeois society.

Second, the labor-capital conflict now involves not only the industrial proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The peasants, the bulk of whom are not wage workers, are becoming the target of monopoly exploitation. State-monopoly capitalism, especially now, with the technological revolution, has greatly expanded the army of wage and salary earners, which in developed capitalist countries accounts, on an average, for 80 per cent of the gainfully employed population. The labor-capital contradiction is spilling over into a profound social antagonism between the mass of wage and salary earners, deprived of the means of production, and the ruling top crust of society as represented by the financial and industrial oligarchy supported by monopoly and state power.

Third, state-monopoly capitalism has made for wider differentiation within the bourgeoisie itself. Many of its groups, small and medium businessmen, are finding themselves more and more alienated from the ruling class. They cannot withstand economic competition with

the monopolies and are less able to influence national policies.

The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that socialization of the economy in the setting of monopoly domination and the technological revolution 'leads to the reproduction of social antagonisms on a growing scale and in a sharper form.' This is but a logical sequel to the changes capitalism has gone through, and which have deepened and modified the manifestation of its main contradiction. As a result, the built-in gap between labor and capital has become a rift between the majority of the nation and the monopolies, which dominate both the economy and the state.

The first conclusion to be drawn is that objective factors are enlarging the social base of the anti-monopoly struggle. And we have every right to conclude that the development of capitalism inevitably increases the ranks of the working class and its allies. Some contend that the very opposite is true, that in developed capitalist countries the peasant population is declining, which means that it carries less weight as the proletariat's first and most natural class ally. There is also the contention that the revolutionary potential of society declines with the growth of the middle class, which acts as a buffer, dulling clashes between labor and capital. But all this has no relation whatever to the real consequences of the development of capitalism's main contradiction. The impressive achievements of the working class and Communist parties of a number of capitalist countries in rallying and uniting the democratic, anti-monopoly forces are, in effect, the political expression of the new differentiation of socio-economic interests in bourgeois society.

In assessing the conditions and outlook of the working-class struggle, we must consider the scale and pace of socialization of production, for they are indicative of the speed at which the objective prerequisites for the collapse of capitalism are maturing. And in this context we can recall Lenin's words that 'capitalism in its imperialist stage leads directly to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of new social order, a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialization' (Vol. 22, p. 205). In line with this Leninist approach, we can say that contemporary bourgeois society, against the will and consciousness of its ruling class, is being dragged into a stage of its development that discloses, with the utmost clarity, its inevitable doom, its transitional character, its replacement by another social system.

Socialization of production, attended by expansion of state property, leads to socialism. As Lenin emphasized, 'in a revolutionary situation, during a revolution state-monopoly capitalism is *directly* transformed into socialism' (Vol. 26, p. 170). State-monopoly

capitalism denotes the fullest, all-embracing domination of monopoly and, at the same time, becomes the prelude to socialism. In this we have the inner dialectics of capitalist nationalization. And this must be taken into account in order correctly to orient working-class policy.

The 22nd Congress of our Party (January 1974) said in its resolution: 'Nationalized industry and banking have been used to strengthen state-monopoly capitalism in Austria.' And yet, the Austrian Communists always actively campaigned for a larger state sector. Were we wrong? No, today too we insist on nationalization of Austrian and foreign monopoly concerns and insurance companies. The 22nd Congress called for removal of monopoly placemen from the management of state-owned industry, giving the workers a share in administration of nationalized enterprises and the right of control, as part of the fight for anti-monopoly democracy, as a transition stage to socialism. This, the Congress stressed, has to be closely linked with the fight for the new state, the state of anti-monopoly democracy.

Nationalization, even the bourgeois kind, is a telling blow to private, including monopoly property. It reveals to the masses that the monopolists' claim to a monopoly of managerial expertise is groundless and that the monopoly bourgeoisie have long since become a group of social parasites. With the present sharpening of crisis developments, notably in view of the role the monopolies played in creating the energy crisis, the demand for nationalization is expressive of the interests of the widest sections of the population; it is a democratic slogan that unites them. The political topicality of that slogan has been stressed by Communist parties in many capitalist countries.

Lastly, it should be remembered that these modifications of the main contradiction of capitalism have not only objective, but also subjective consequences. It would be oversimplification to believe that widening of the social and economic rift in society described above automatically leads to a similar division in the ideological and political spheres. The fact is that present-day capitalism resorts to methods that have a contradictory effect on the consciousness of the workers and of the people generally. Of course, economic difficulties compounded by social tensions heighten the workers' class-consciousness and political activity, and help to generate opposition sentiments. But on the other hand, socialization of production, in combination with the state form of property, provides a receptive soil for all manner of social illusions which the monopolies use in their own interest.

In many West European countries, Austria included, bourgeois and opportunist ideas about labor and capital sharing a 'community of interests,' about class collaboration being the basis of national pros-

perity, enjoy wide currency. The many shortcomings of the Austrian labor movement are due above all to the ideology and policy of social partnership which the reformist Social-Democrat leaders are inculcating through their Party branches, the trade unions and government institutions.

That being the situation, the task of helping the workers to become conscious of their class interests and of their role of main and leading force of the anti-imperialist movement is an extremely responsible and complex one. It can be accomplished through united offensive action by the working class at factory, local and national level. That is the best way to dispel reformist illusions and promote views based on a scientific understanding of the objective laws of the class struggle. But this task of enhancing the class-consciousness and political activity of the proletariat calls for constant propaganda of Marxism-Leninism.

The deepening of the main contradiction of capitalism is but one of the major problems with which the situation in the capitalist world confronts our theory. The highly volatile character of that situation, making for sudden changes and new antagonisms, coupled with the aggravation of old ones, demands a swift response from Marxist-Leninist theory. As is known, the participants in the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties reaffirmed the desirability, when necessary, of 'collective discussion and elaboration of topical political and theoretical questions.' The problems bred by the present aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism are such that the necessary scientific standards in comprehending them can be ensured only by creative analysis on the scale of the whole communist movement.

Editors' Note. The distinctive features of the present crisis of bourgeois society are continuously discussed in our journal. We feel sure that Comrade Muhri's article will evoke responses from our authors from other fraternal parties, both leading workers and scholars, who could amplify the analysis of the present situation in the capitalist world. There is much to say on such problems, for example, as the causes of simultaneous industrial recession and runaway inflation and their social and political impact on capitalist economies; the various, especially political, aspects of the energy crisis, disruption of the international monetary system, and deteriorating food situation; the diverse social tensions due, notably, to the sharp rise in unemployment and upsurge in strike action; the crisis of the mechanism of monopoly political power; new factors in the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions. Continued in-depth analyses of these and other problems associated with the present crisis of world capitalism are extremely important for a

correct assessment of the perspective and elaboration of the strategy of the revolutionary movement of the working class and its allies.

Toward an alliance of the French people

Paul Courtieu
Member of CC,
French Communist Party

The 21st (special) congress of the French Communist Party* took place in a new political situation characterized primarily by an upsurge in the popular movement for far-reaching change in French political, economic and public life. This was forcefully underscored by the results of the presidential election of May 19, 1974, when almost 13 million, more than 49 per cent of the electorate, voted for radical political change and a new policy based on the objectives and reforms proclaimed in the Common Left Program.

Millions now see the united Left as the nucleus of a new majority capable of becoming a determining factor of France's future. This realization gives the masses confidence in their strength and inspires their struggle; nor has the message been lost on the government and various public and political forces.

The situation in France shows that the political strategy eleaborated by the 17th and 18th Party congresses and adjusted after 1968 is correct. The purpose of the 21st congress was, on the basis of the achievements to date, to set new policy and action frontiers arising from the new situation.

The main issue facing the labor movement and all democratic forces is how to bring about the far-reaching changes capable of resolving the problems facing France and the French people. With this objective in mind, the congress thoroughly analyzed the new conditions of struggle and set new tasks and guidelines.

*Held October 24-27, 1974, it was attended by 1,257 delegates whose average age was 30 years, 70 per cent of whom were wage or salary earners and 29.4 per cent women; 700 of the delegates had joined the Party since 1968.

The congress was preceded by an extensive, thorough discussion, both creative and attacking in character, indicative of the Party's higher ideological and political standards and of the strength of democratic centralism. From that discussion emerged well-thought-out, militant tasks and a feeling of optimism.

The congress began by stressing that big capital bears the full blame for France's present economic and social difficulties. The government's policy is dragging the country down into the mire of crisis and runs contrary to the evolution of the international situation. The congress sharply criticized big business attempts to conceal the real causes and character of the crisis, showing that they should be sought not in a 'crisis of civilization,' not in an 'energy' or 'human crisis,' and not in 'squandering' by French people, who want 'too good a life.'

'The real roots of the present crisis,' Georges Marchais said at the congress, 'lie in the fact that the riches created by the labor of the French people are misused and appropriated by a handful of big owners who spend and squander a huge amount of capital in their drive for quick maximum profit. It is a crisis of the very economic structure, a functional crisis of a system in which private monopoly and state power are closely intertwined; it is, in short, a crisis of state-monopoly capitalism.' And it is global in character, affecting all spheres: the economic, social, political, ethical, ideological and cultural.

Already at the 20th FCP congress, in 1972, it was shown how big capital hoped to escape the contradictions bred by the all-out drive for profit by intensifying exploitation, monopolization of private property and manipulating an increasingly authoritarian government. 'As a consequence,' Marchais stressed in his report, 'it (capital) cannot hope to overcome its contradictions without producing new and more serious ones; each new step encounters growing resistance, revealing more patently than ever that it is incapable of resolving the problems of society, which it nevertheless rules undividedly.'

The Giscard government is not only incapable of preventing the deepening crisis of French society but actually aggravates it. National effort is subordinated and sacrificed to the interests of giant financial groups increasingly cosmopolitan in character. The government is stepping up France's integration in the 'Europe of the trusts,' thereby seriously undermining national sovereignty. It is speeding up the concentration process in industry and commerce and encouraging the liquidation of small and medium farms. It is widening the disproportions between different sectors of the economy and different regions of the country. Under the false guise of creating healthier economic structures it is promoting the disintegration of the state and

nationalized sector and waging an offensive against small and medium businesses, as well as the larger ones that have not achieved international status. It is opening the doors wider to foreign investment in some vitally important economic sectors, increasing France's energy dependence, encouraging the export of capital, placing the franc at the mercy of international speculation and increasingly subordinating foreign trade to conditions laid down by big U.S. and West German firms. It is increasing the national debt.

This policy dooms the working people to more and more hardships, as seen in mounting exploitation of French and immigrant workers, of all wage and salary earners, in growing unemployment and job insecurity, attacks on popular consumption, the declining purchasing capacity of the peasants, the plunder of the people's savings, the reduction of social and cultural allocations, and the worsening living conditions for the working people, their families, the youth and the old, especially among the poorest sections of the population.

The class struggle is on the rise, popular dissatisfaction is growing, ferment is spreading among various social strata, including those that had voted for the Giscard government. Big capital, its power weakened as a result of the presidential elections, has less and less room for maneuver.

To keep in power and continue its policy of shifting the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people and integrating the country more fully in the Atlantic bloc, the government is trying to hold together and, if possible, expand its socio-political base. It has stepped up its anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign, sparing no ideological or political effort to win the support of some workers and democrats for big-capital policies, and strengthen the regime's authoritarian character.

'The exploiter class never voluntarily relinquishes its privileges or its rule,' Georges Marchais declared in his report. 'It will always seek to employ every means at its disposal to stay in power. It can be prevented only if the alignment of political forces favors the working class, favors the people.'

The situation in France and the world runs against the government's policy and favors the democratic struggle.

The 21st Congress unequivocally declared that the crisis of French society is not a fatalistic inevitability. It called on the working people of town and country to reject the government's austerity program and the new forms of class collaboration big capital is promoting under the spurious slogan of 'national unity.'

The government of big capital, the congress resolution says, can be forced to make more concessions, but only if the struggle continues for both *immediate* economic demands and *major objectives* in keep-

ing with the needs of the working class and the development of society (e.g., labor conditions, urbanization and environmental problems, taxation, etc.). It is also necessary to fight for the implementation of FCP proposals for overcoming the crisis – curbing inflation, reducing the balance-of-payments deficit, and maintaining living standards and employment.

The requirements of social development, national interests and the aspirations of the masses underscore the need for real change, that is to say, replacement of the present policy of social regress, economic stagnation, growing authoritarianism and neglect of national interests, by a new policy of social, democratic and national progress, a policy which would lead France out of the crisis.

Such changes are impossible without far-reaching democratic reforms that would undermine the domination of big capital. That is why the 21st Congress stressed that the aggravation of the crisis, far from placing the basic provisions of the Common Program in doubt, reaffirms their relevance and urgency. A new policy is the only positive answer to the crisis.

The congress re-emphasized the importance of nationalization serving the working people and national interests as a necessary basis for carrying out the democratic reforms envisaged in the Common Left Program. It showed that the Program, aimed as it is at undermining the power of the major industrial and financial monopolies, democratization of public life and expansion of liberties, could pave the way for a great policy of social and cultural progress, a policy of national independence and cooperation with all countries.

The Communists' task is to get the millions of French people still asking themselves what kind of change the country needs, to realize and recognize the need for far-reaching democratic reforms, thus making them feasible.

The congress reaffirmed that the Communist Party sees the struggle for the Common Program in its broader aspects, as part of the struggle to build socialism, which is what a revolutionary party is for.

The Communist view of the struggle for democratic reform is clear. Communists favor all reforms that benefit the working class and all working people; but they are against reformism, that is, against restricting the struggle to changes which do not affect the foundations of the capitalist system. They are against subordinating the working class to the ideology and policies of big business and hold that reforms must be used to bring socialism closer.

Our Party has been fighting for unity for 15 years, never losing sight of its political strategy and its ultimate goal of socialism. The congress resolution recapitulates our view of France's transition to socialism, our idea of socialism as applied to French conditions: 'All Com-

munist Party activity is based on the conviction that the transition to socialism can only be the result of a democratic movement of the majority of the people. That is why, at all stages of the struggle, the FCP seeks to win over new supporters of the ideas of socialism. It holds that our people's achievements in effecting our major democratic changes will create the conditions for a popular movement sufficiently broad and resolute to bring about the socialist transformation of France.'

Resolve to build a new society taking into account the conditions and traditions of France's revolutionary democratic movement precludes the very idea of copying any model. But it also means that the new society will be built on the basis of the universal laws of socialism, using the experience of the countries already following the road of socialist construction.

The congress pointed out that the Party should use the example of existing socialism to show the masses the advantages of the socialist system, which convincingly demonstrates its ability to resolve the problems of the modern world in the interests of the people.

Special attention was devoted to clarifying the complex questions associated with the Party's basic slogan at the present stage: 'Alliance of the people of France for democratic change.' This slogan is a continuation of our former struggle for unity in the new situation.

It was stressed that the alliance formed in the presidential elections must be expanded to turn it into a broad majority. This is an imperative of success in the drive for far-reaching democratic and social change.

Our Party is fighting for a popular alliance with a specific content and specific principles. 'We see it,' Georges Marchais declared, 'as an alliance which would multiply *the fighting ability of the working people, expand, revitalize and strengthen the struggle of the workers*, democratic and popular forces against the regime of big capital. We need an alliance to fight monopoly power, to set up an advanced democracy, for the subsequent advance toward socialism. We need an alliance to pursue a policy in keeping with the vital needs and basic interests of the working class, all wage and salary earners, the working peasants, the great majority of our people.'

We thus want to create an alliance of French people on a clear foundation, on the basis of the clearly defined objectives and key positions formulated in the Common Program. The Program has been with us for two years now. It has been tested in two major political campaigns: the parliamentary elections in March 1973, and the presidential elections last May. It was supported by more than 49 per cent of the voters. It is a firm foundation on which the alliance can and should be built.

The 1972 agreement between our Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radical Movement on the basis of the Common Government Program has since become much stronger and is the nucleus of the alliance of the people of France. That alliance, essential for carrying out far-reaching democratic change, can be strengthened and expanded only if the Left enhance the quality of their unity, the clarity and consistency of their objectives and their resolve in action.

The congress gave considerable attention to this question. Much is at stake in today's struggle in France. 'We,' Marchais declared, 'want economic, social and political changes on a scale never before witnessed in our country. We do not want our people to experience the bitterness of shattered illusions in the wake of fleeting success, as has happened in the past. In short, we want to advance *farther and higher* than in 1936 or 1945. For this the nation must unite on an *unprecedented scale and at an unprecedentedly high level of political consciousness*.'

The question of raising the quality of the Left alliance is all the more important in view of the fierce resistance of big capital and its government to the far-reaching changes so needed today. The big bourgeoisie, supported by international imperialism, is stepping up its efforts to undermine the Left alliance. Faced with a crisis of the capitalist system, and in search of a way out, it does not preclude the possibility of a Left government that would agree to 'honestly' manage its affairs in the style of West Germany's Helmut Schmidt. It hopes to create more favorable conditions for carrying out its plans by restricting, and if possible weakening, the Communist Party's relative strength on the political scene.

Guided solely by concern for the consolidation of the Left alliance, firmly resolved to help foil reactionary maneuvers aimed at splitting the alliance, wishing to defeat the government and carry out the Common Program, the FCP congress felt compelled to bring out certain issues regarding the position of the Socialist Party.

We noted that our partners failed to show the same conviction and clarity as we in their approach to common tasks, unity and commitments. The congress expressed concern over some of our allies' moves capable of facilitating reactionary attempts to weaken the Left and the Communist Party. The issues we raised concern, first of all, the very objectives of the Left alliance, the tasks of our present struggle, and our allies. The Common Program is a program of struggle, a commitment of the signatory parties to one another and the nation. It is therefore only natural that positions at variance with those commitments invite questions. We hold that to take the country out of the crisis and foil government maneuvers the Left parties, united on the basis of the Common Program, are in duty bound to step

up action to promote and support it and demonstrate the value of their proposals and consistency of their policies in the daily struggle. We hold that clarity of objectives presumes clarity of relations between allies.

After our congress leaders and prominent members of the Socialist Party declared that the present crisis should induce the Left to moderate their demands for social and economic change. They have called upon the workers for new efforts and sacrifices. A Left government, they maintain, could be formed under the present President of the republic and parliamentary majority. The facts thus confirm the relevance of the questions raised by the FCP congress. That is why at the Central Committee meeting following it Georges Marchais felt constrained to ask: 'Do our partners intend to do all they can to create conditions for the success of the policy we are jointly committed to, or are they settling for the prospect of coming to power in the name of some other policy which, being at variance with the demands of the Common Program, could only produce serious complications? . . . This is a crucial question.'

The congress also dealt with the substance of relations between our parties. We hold that they should be based on equal rights and commitments and honest fulfilment of those commitments. The Left parties' natural desire to advance their influence does not mean that one partner should try to gain the upper hand and impose its will on the other. For the Common Program to succeed agreed action is necessary, so that the Left alliance as a whole, and each of its components, should benefit from healthy competition.

Our Party has always been frank with the working people and the nation about the alliance and its problems. That, we hold, is the only way to overcome obstacles and strengthen the alliance. Its preservation and development is the duty, not of party headquarters but of all workers and democrats.

The congress also showed that forging unity of the French people implies not only improving the quality of the Left alliance but *winning new social strata* over to the ideas and objectives of democratic change. The core of this unity is the working class, the motive force and vanguard in the struggle for change, the only basis on which a broad alliance against the policy of big capital, for democratic change, can be built. Which is why the congress stressed the urgency of strengthening working-class unity and drawing more working people, those wage and salary earners still on the sidelines of the struggle, into joint action.

As pointed out at the congress, today the most diverse social strata are victims of big capital, and they can be brought together on the basis of common interests. They include a great many wage and

salary earners (office employees, technicians, engineers, administrative and managerial personnel, intellectuals and professionals), small and medium farmers, artisans and traders, small and medium businessmen, servicemen who, though not belonging to this social stratum, are nevertheless interested in democratic change.

'The watershed lies,' the congress resolution stresses, 'between the masses of the French people living by their labor and serving the country, on the one hand, and the small caste owning and dominating the economy and the state, on the other.' We offer an alliance to 'all working people, all victims of big capital, the whole French people, with the exception of a handful of big businessmen and their political menials.'

The FCP offers different social strata unity with a clearly defined objective: an end to monopoly rule, its policy of robbing the nation and its efforts to use every means to pressurise the working people; the creation of conditions enabling everyone to work in an atmosphere of confidence and freedom.

An alliance of the people of France presumes, finally, support of the new policy by millions of French men and women of different philosophical and political persuasion, but wanting change.

The congress appealed to Christian-Democrat workers, among whom a noticeable evolution is taking place, with more and more Christians favoring alliance with the Communists.

It also appealed to those working men and women, those democrats and patriots who, though neither big proprietors nor minions of fortune, have been persuaded by reactionary propaganda to keep away from the Left, to those who have placed their trust in the 'centrists' or 'reformists,' to Gaullist supporters disillusioned with the government's policy of restricting national independence.

The congress resolution spells out the kind of alliance we are fighting for: 'The Communist Party sees an alliance of the people of France as a powerful popular and national movement based on the unity of different parties and organizations seeking democratic change, as well as on cooperation with trade union, professional, public and family organizations brought together by the program for which they are fighting today and implementation of which will make possible vast social gains for the benefit of man. Each partner to that alliance will preserve its identity and independence on the basis of reciprocity of rights and duties.'

The alliance of the people of France can take shape only in struggle. Its achievement is inseparable from the struggle for immediate economic demands, for the great objectives that accord with the needs of the working people and the requirements of social development, for the urgent measures suggested by the Communist Party to

overcome the crisis. Its achievement is inseparable from the struggle for its class content and correct actions. It presumes greater ideological and political struggle for all victims of monopoly rule to overcome their differences and divisions and realize their common interests and objectives, achievement of which would make positive change possible for all.

To do everything to bring closer the day of democratic change requires not only efforts to create the broadest alliance around the policy outlined by the Common Left Program. It also requires every effort to expand the influence of the Communist Party and strengthen its organization.

The Communist Party is the most resolute opponent of big capital, the most consistent fighter for democracy and socialism, an indefatigable promoter of the alliance of the workers and democratic and national forces.

It played a decisive part in creating the conditions for working out the Common Program and winning the endorsement of its basic provisions by almost 13 million French men and women last May, thereby once again demonstrating its ability to be in the vanguard of the working-class, popular, national struggle. Its existence, its strength and activity are and will continue to be crucial to the strengthening and expansion of the Left alliance, to the creation of the alliance of French people needed to rescue the country from the crisis and ensure its democratic renaissance. Those who really want political change see its best guarantee in the continued existence, strength and activity of the Party. Under all circumstances the Communist Party should have sufficient weight to influence national policy for the benefit of the working people and the nation as a whole.

And that weight, the congress emphasized, will increase together with the growth of the popular movement and the successes of the alliance in achieving the goals of the Common Program. Continued growth of Communist influence is the earnest of a better future for the working people.

The new situation imposes new responsibilities and obligations on our Party. It must therefore possess the means to play its part, and this means infusing new blood. Eighty thousand new members joined the Party in 1974, the largest influx since 1947. As of the end of October, there were 21,163 Party branches, 6,512 of them at enterprises, 9,340 local and 5,311 rural branches. At the end of 1974 the membership was around 450,000.

Nevertheless, we must set ourselves more ambitious goals. The congress provided the answers to numerous questions concerning membership qualifications and opportunities for recruiting new members.

There are more industrial workers, and more women have been promoted to positions of responsibility. A large number of young Communists drawn into the struggle in the last few years have taken their place in Party bodies alongside more experienced activists and are contributing to Party discussions and actions.

The congress stressed the need for faster education of new members and bolder promotion of young Communists, men and women, to responsible Party positions. It emphasized the need for continued perfection of branch activities on the democratic basis essential for greater initiative.

The factory has become the main political as well as economic battlefield. The working-class party has a growing responsibility for the ideological and political struggle in the factories. It is there that the Party must concentrate in the first place. 'It is primarily at the enterprises,' the FCP General Secretary pointed out, 'that the outcome of the struggle to ensure our Party the place it deserves in national life will be decided.' That is why the congress stressed the decisive importance of branch activities at enterprises and the need to set up branches where there still are none. That is why the congress devoted such attention to the question of the qualities of the factory branch secretary, who should be 'the best activist . . . most capable of heading the struggle.'

The congress called upon trade unionists who feel that organized labor action for economic and social progress, democracy and socialism must be supported politically, to join the Party.

The congress called for improving the quality of our propaganda, pointing out to Party branches the need to make better and more effective use of all means at the disposal of the Party. And it called upon the Party to make *L'Humanité* one of the main tools in its struggle.

The FCP is currently engaged in an extensive campaign to explain the congress' assessments and conclusions to the membership and the people at large. This campaign is the focal point of its work in the immediate future. It should answer the question: How to promote and develop a popular majority movement capable of ensuring the far-reaching democratic changes set forth in the Common Program?

Conscious of its responsibility to the nation in this time of crisis and loyal to its national duty, which is inseparable from its duty of international solidarity, the Communist Party, with a sense of reasonable optimism, devotes all its efforts to the unification of the forces capable of carrying out needed democratic change.

Collaboration of Finland's working-class parties: experience and problems

Olavi Hänninen,
Vice-Chairman,
CP of Finland

'Working-class unity and collaboration is to us not a matter of political expediency or tactics whose importance may fluctuate from one day to another. It has always been a key issue, a question of principle and conviction.' This from the now historical appeal for united action issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland in 1954. And today it remains the point of departure of Party efforts to bring the working class together and promote collaboration between its parties.

Basic communist policy calls for a broad front of workers and other democratic forces in the fight against the monopolies and political reaction, for the interests of all working people and the expansion of their rights, for peace and creating the conditions for building a socialist society. The Party calls for cooperation in its program documents, and works for it in practice.

Finland's social, political and economic problems can be resolved only in the framework of collaboration between the Left and centrist parties in the interests of the working people. The CPF has begun preparing proposals for a program of such collaboration, and it will be a key policy topic at the 17th Congress to be convened in May 1975.

United action of the democratic forces is impossible without cooperation between the working-class parties, for which the CPF has always called.

Our Party seeks to raise collaboration between workers and other democratic forces to a new and higher level, it wants to show the working majority of the Finnish people, all sections of the population oppressed by big capital, the way out of the crisis that has affected all aspects of national life.

Together for the interests of the working people

Finland's history since the last war has seen ups and downs in working-class unity and relations between Communists and Social Democrats. Shortly after the war Communists joined the government formed by the three major parties and remained in it until 1948. The improvement of relations between the working-class parties and their participation in government in 1966-1971 promoted united action in other spheres as well: Communists and Social Democrats reached agreement on labor unity, and in the last presidential elections the working-class parties formed an election bloc with the Center Party and Swedish People's Party to back Urho Kekkonen for a new term.

At factories and in trade union locals, Communists and Social Democrats often act together, and this unity is developing.

But there have also been setbacks. At present the Social Democrats are part of the government coalition with the bourgeois Center Party, and their economic policy in the government serves the interests of big capital and is aimed at shifting the burden of the crisis to the working people. Cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats in parliament and municipalities is mainly on specific issues and is neither permanent nor on a program basis. Characteristically, the Social-Democratic Party opposes election alliances or joint platforms of the working-class parties. It declares readiness to enter into temporary or partial agreements at leadership level but eschews broad cooperation. Lately it has been increasingly seeking to dominate the trade unions and other mass working-class organizations, which has strained relations between the working-class parties.

Demands are mounting on the factory floor and in trade union branches for talks between the working-class parties that would lead to agreement on joint action. The workers realize only too well that in the present difficult economic situation their interests cannot be defended effectively enough without such unity.

A higher standard of cooperation of working-class parties means united action for jointly set objectives in the interests of the working people. It could also help promote collaboration between the Left and the Center at government level.

The international situation and working-class collaboration

The world situation is favorable for joint working-class action and the collaboration of its parties. As the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted, imperialism is incapable of retrieving its lost historical initiative, and mankind's main road of development is now determined by the socialist world system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.

The turn toward détente in international relations, achieved thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and the world communist and workers' movement, is an expression of the changed alignment of class forces.

The strengthening of the positions of socialism and the international activities of the CPSU and the Communist parties of a number of other socialist countries have caused differentiation within the Social-Democratic parties. The new situation in Europe and some progressive shifts in the European Social-Democratic movement in the last few years, especially on international issues, open opportunities for developing relations between Communist and Social-Democratic Parties.

The changes within the Social-Democratic movement were reflected in a 1972 decision by the Socialist International, lifting its ban on collaboration with Communists and leaving it to member-parties to decide on bilateral relations with Communist parties.

The Communists had, of course, declared for cooperation with Socialists and Social Democrats at their 1969 Meeting, a stand to which they continue to adhere and which is fundamental to CPF policy.

The positive developments in the international situation facilitate the collaboration of working-class parties and can, in turn, be accelerated by their united action. The working-class parties have a common stake in the struggle for European security and cooperation and the success of the conference discussing these issues.

A positive contribution toward united action of the working class and all democratic forces was the conference of Communist and Workers' parties of European capitalist countries held in Brussels in January 1974. We also look forward with hope to the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties currently being prepared, as well as to the next international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

Aggravation of the class struggle in Finland and the trade unions.

The resolution of our 16th Party Congress (1972) noted: 'Our country is going through a period of deepening social contradictions stemming from the very economic foundations of state-monopoly capitalism, a period of growing acuteness of the class struggle. A reflection of this process is, in particular, the continuing political crisis, the recurrent government crises, the substantial shifts in popular support for certain political parties.'

The situation in Finland contains the objective prerequisites for a new upsurge of the working-class struggle and advances in the strug-

gle of the Communist Party, the workers and other democratic forces for a more active national foreign policy of peace, for continued expansion of cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union, for weakening the positions of big capital and reducing its privileges, for broader democracy and better living conditions.

The number of strikes and strikers is growing. There were more than 1,000 walkouts involving 700,000 workers in 1973, and even more in 1974. Moreover, striking workers act together, regardless of party affiliation or the opposition of Social-Democratic trade union leaders trying to break down their unity.

The three-way split of the trade union movement brought about by the Social-Democratic Party in the 1950s has been overcome and labor is organized in the Central Finnish Trades Union Organization (CFTU) and united industrial unions. This has enhanced working-class organization and swelled trade-union membership: 10 years ago the CFTU had less than 300,000 members, now there are almost 900,000. Following the restoration of unity, the unions' constitutions and programs were revised in a democratic spirit and the elections to official posts reflected the political alignment of forces in the labor movement. There are 14 Social-Democrats and eight Communists on the CFTU Executive, with approximately the same ratios in other CFTU bodies. The working class now has greater opportunities for defending its interests than ever before, and the key problem is how best to use them, how to put labor's programs into effect, how to pursue a democratic policy instead of one of class collaboration and *diktat*.

Appreciable positive changes have taken place among the younger workers. They are more active in the unions and on the political scene. Never before have Marxist-Leninist ideas been so widely supported among the student youth. More Communists are elected to the self-governing school, college and university bodies, causing serious concern to Social Democrats.

The essence of Social-Democracy

The Social-Democratic parties can still rely on considerable support, especially among industrial and white-collar workers and workers in the service industries. In many countries they exercise considerable, even decisive, influence on government policies. That is the case in Finland today.

We should not brush this away by saying that the Social-Democratic leadership is adept at misleading the workers. The reasons are rooted in the social conditions conducive to reformist moves, as well as in historical tradition. The SDP leadership manages to follow a policy in keeping with the interests of big capital, but in

ways that make it difficult to expose it in the eyes of the masses. Under mass pressure, it flexibly concedes some working-class demands, blunting the mass struggle. Besides, we must remember the demagogy of Social-Democratic politicians.

There are differences in the policy of different Social-Democratic parties, depending on their situation, the situation of the working class, and the historical traditions. Also, as we have said, international factors exercise a distinct influence. This is also true of the Finnish Social Democrats.

They have to reckon with the Communist viewpoint on the vital issues of our time. The world communist movement's postulate that in present conditions the socialist revolution may in many countries come about in a peaceful way, for example, has made a strong impact on their outlook. The same may be said of our view that cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats is possible and desirable also during the passage to socialism.

Though the programs of some Social-Democratic parties, including that of Finland, proclaim democratic, even socialist aims, social-democracy is in essence reformist, and adjusted to the bourgeois system. Most Social-Democratic leaders have the confidence of the capitalist class.

Typically, Social Democrats confine their aims to modest social reforms. It is therefore more correct to describe them as social-reformists rather than simply reformists.

In their bid for influence, the Social-Democratic parties claim – with some success – that the workers' social gains are chiefly the result of SDP policy. And it is true that workers have won partial gains in the fight for higher wages, shorter hours, longer vacations, and social insurance in old age, illness and unemployment. But these fall far short of what is needed and are, moreover, under constant capitalist attack.

Communists do not deny the significance of reforms. They fight for them. But reforms are not their end goal. For them, democratic changes are a factor facilitating the struggle against the capitalist system.

Under present-day capitalism partial reforms that leave the pillars of exploitation intact are increasingly ineffectual. And this will only be more true with the passage of time. So, if the Social-Democratic parties continue to follow their policy, they will face the prospect of stagnation and complete identification with bourgeois parties. But at present there is a difference between bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties, and this should be borne in mind.

The Social-Democratic Party of Finland

At one time the SDP of Finland belonged to the right wing of the world social-democratic movement. In the 1960s, its position changed to some extent. There were positive modifications in its stand on certain foreign-political questions, particularly in respect to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and in its activity in the Socialist International. These mainly tactical shifts were prompted by more realistic assessments of the existing socialism, and the foreign policy of the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union.

There are several currents in the SDP of Finland, among which the predominant one, headed by Chairman Rafael Paasio and Secretary K. Sorsa, may be regarded as centrist. The centrist group, however, can hardly be described as close-knit, and its policy is anything but consistent.

The right-wingers, who have of late firmed up their positions, supported the centrists at the latest congresses. They are fairly prominent, especially in the Party's press and apparatus, the trade-union and cooperative movements, and the Central League of Workers' Sports Societies, formed as a counterweight to the bigger Workers' Sports League comprising Communists and Social Democrats.

The right wing is trying to build up influence in preparation for the coming SDPF congress in June. Some right-wingers are engaged in anti-communist propaganda. The preparations for the congress are therefore tending to bring the rivalry between the right wing and the centrists into the open.

The left forces were highly active at the 1972 congress, and voted for cooperation with the Communist Party. A third of the delegates supported the call for broader cooperation.

The Left presented a clear-cut alternative on the following points: the terms of Finland's relationship with the EEC (some Social-Democrats, in fact, were against contractual relations with the Common Market, thus going along with the Communist standpoint); cooperation of left forces, and democratization of collective bargaining procedures; anti-capitalist democratic solutions, especially in foreign policy and particularly in relation to the developing countries.

Negotiations with Social Democrats

The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland offered the SDP to negotiate joint action. The latter, which had previously scorned our proposals, and did not even answer them, agreed to examine the matter at its congress. The SDP congress was held soon after ours and passed the following resolution: 'Despite ideological differences, the SDPF, being the major representative of the labor movement, is prepared to cooperate openly with, among others, the

people's democratic movement* (of which the Communist Party is the leading force – *O.H.*) in matters on which understanding can be reached in each separate case. No element of such cooperation should jeopardize the ideological and organizational independence of the two parties.'

Though this resolution diverged from the Communist Party's proposal of broad cooperation oriented on the elaboration of a joint program, it did not reject cooperation in principle. As a result, negotiations got off to a start in 1973.

The CPF proposed joint action on the following:

– rejection of the proposal to conclude a free trade agreement between Finland and the EEC, development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union, and other socialist countries;

– promotion of the country's foreign policy of peace, helping to consolidate European security and aiding the people of Vietnam;

– assuring the growth of workers' real wages, increasing the specific weight of the payroll in the national income, cutting down differences in income, taking steps to curb price increases and to lighten the tax burden of working people;

– solving topical social problems, and defining the general principles of the pensions scheme;

– developing the health system and labor protection at enterprises;

– implementing democracy in factory management;

– updating the country's Constitution;

– improving the state's investment policy and extending its role in economic life;

– combating the growing rightist activity and anti-Soviet attacks.

There were several contacts on this score in the spring of 1973. The SDPF spokesmen did not reply to the Communist Party's proposals, and made no clear counter-proposals. The negotiations lapsed due to the reluctance of the SDPF, probably because of its divergent attitudes, especially on economic questions.

At the end of 1974, the SDPF leadership announced that it was ready to resume negotiations, the purpose of which, it said, would be to establish cooperation between the left and center. But by the beginning of this year the talks had not been renewed.

Why has the SDPF decided to continue the talks? Among the several reasons are its recent setbacks in municipal and trade-union elections, and in elections to student councils. Furthermore, the So-

*The reference is to the Finnish People's Democratic League, a mass socio-political organization formed on the initiative of the CP of Finland and the Left Socialists in 1944. In parliament and the municipalities the CPF acts in the framework of the League – *Ed.*

cial Democrats cannot afford to ignore the mood of the masses, which are making insistent demands to change economic policy and want united working-class action to achieve this.

The position of the Communist Party

Working for cooperation among working-class parties, the Central Committee of the CPF passed a decision on this score in January 1974, setting out our position and the relevant tasks.*

The decision makes the following important point: to accomplish the tasks implicit in the Party's general line it is necessary to forge working-class action unity. In view of the variety of trends that have arisen in the working-class movement over the years, and considering the rich post-war experience, it is clear that working-class action unity requires cooperation among working-class parties backed by the masses and based on jointly defined concrete aims. Such cooperation is feasible. It must be founded on the common historical objectives requiring joint struggle: to defeat big capital, develop and extend democracy, consolidate peace, and build socialism.

Though elaboration of a joint program is impossible at present due to the negative attitude of the SDP leadership, we must continue to strive for it. At present, there can be cooperation on separate issues at leadership level, in parliament, in communal bodies, the trade unions and other mass organizations where both Communists and Social Democrats are represented.

Our Central Committee decision stresses the need for explaining to the masses our principles and aims concerning cooperation among the working people and their parties. A special effort should be made in enterprises and mass organizations. The CC CPF has decided to publish the Party's documents relevant to cooperation.

The workers must be told what results a policy pursuing their interests could yield today. The CC CPF called on the members to promote united action with Social Democrats at local level and in mass work at enterprises. It should defend the workers' interests, work against the capitalist economic policy and any agreement with the EEC, for broader relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, for an active policy of peace, and against the rightist forces.

For our future negotiations with the SDP we have decided to draw up detailed proposals concerning the aims of cooperation.

*The decision refers to cooperation with Social Democrats, implying members of both the SDPF and the Socialist Workers' Party of Finland. The Socialist Workers' Party was formed in 1973, following the dissolution of the social-democratic league of workers and small farmers. A section of the league's members joined the SDPF, while the majority founded the new party. It is not represented in Parliament, and has no strength to speak of in either the municipal bodies or the trade-union movement.

Our Central Committee decision refers to the need for a deeper discussion of the fundamental ideological aspects of cooperation, and for stepping up the struggle against reformism. Our propaganda must elucidate such questions as the forms of transition to socialism, the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the substance and guaranteed freedoms of socialist democracy, cooperation of parties in the socialist environment, and the constitutional rights of parties and citizens under socialism. We must seek an exchange of opinions on these questions with the Social Democrats.

The approach to cooperation must not be one-sided: adaptation to the policy of the Social Democrats and any and all diktat must be ruled out, for this would make cooperation impossible.

Further consolidation of our Party and of its unity is crucial for the action unity of the working class. For this we must increase our influence in the enterprises and working-class organizations – the trade unions, cooperative movement, sports societies, and among the youth.

The Communist Party on the upgrade

Our prospects are good. In 1974 the Communist Party celebrated the 30th anniversary of its legal activity and of the founding of the people's democratic movement. The celebrations attracted the masses, and were bigger than anything seen in the country before. The membership in our organizations is growing fast. So is the circulation of our press. The Party's positions in enterprises and trade unions have never been as solid. In particular, Communists have gained ground in all the seven trade unions that held congresses in 1974. We have also won stronger backing among the youth.

The latest elections are evidence of our growing prestige. At present, the parliamentary group of Communists and people's democrats (numbering 37 deputies) is second only to the Social Democrats.

During the spring of 1974 collective bargaining affecting the interests of some 1,500,000 workers and employees, most union members backed and fought for the communist proposals. This campaign brought to the surface the contradictions between the interests of the trade-union membership and the policy of the Social Democrats who comprise the majority in the leadership of the trade-union movement and gravitate toward employers' interests.

The Communist Party and the people's-democratic movement in Finland are on the upgrade. This means greater influence and more opportunities in the fight for the action unity of working-class and democratic forces, and for a new, democratic and progressive turn in Finnish politics.

Growing social contradictions and class struggles in capitalist Europe

Facts and figures

Capitalism has lost much ground in its birthplace, Europe, and its domination today is limited to one-third of the continent. Nevertheless, Western Europe[1] remains a powerful center of imperialism whose economic and political weight in the capitalist world is increasing.

Postwar development in Western Europe is highlighted by integration processes. The basis of capitalist integration is concentration of production and capital, growing monopoly power, expansion of monopoly activities beyond national frontiers and ever closer relations between monopolies. (See Table 1.)

Table 1

Mergers and takeovers in leading West European countries

	Britain	FRG	France
1955-1959	3,200	76	2,950
1960-1964	3,828	147	7,020
1965-1970	7,044	689	11,764

As a result of mergers, there is an increasing number of big firms ranking among the world's most powerful monopolies. Thirty-five out of the 100 major industrial monopolies are of European origin.

Integration processes led to the formation in 1957 of the European Economic Community, or Common Market, a state-monopoly community which originally comprised six countries – the FRG, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. In 1973 it was joined by Britain, Denmark and Ireland.

Today, the nine EEC countries have a population of 256.5 million and hold a dominant place in the West European economy. They account for 84 per cent of the industrial output, 82 per cent of the

exports and 76 per cent of the liquid currency reserves of Western Europe.

Thirteen West European countries – Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, the FRG, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Turkey – are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an aggressive military bloc formed on the initiative and under the leadership of the United States in 1949 and directed primarily against the socialist countries. Canada is another non-European member of NATO besides the United States. In July 1966 France withdrew from the military organization of NATO, but remained a member of the NATO political alliance. In 1974, following the overthrow of its fascist regime, Greece announced its withdrawal from the NATO military organization.

The London Strategic Research Institute sets the strength of the combined armed forces of NATO at more than one million men. In Northern, Central and Southern Europe NATO has 60 divisions equipped with 7,600 tanks and 3,146 aircraft. Stationed in Western Europe are 315,000 U.S. troops and 7,000 U.S. nuclear tactical weapons (some sources estimate their number at 8,000). In 25 years the NATO countries have spent the enormous sum of 1,820,000 million dollars for military purposes. In 1974 their military expenditure added up to $132,000m., the European members of the alliance spending $44,400m.

In 1969 10 European members of NATO – Belgium, Britain, Denmark, the FRG, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway and Turkey – set up the so-called Eurogroup to intensify their role in the bloc and better to coordinate military preparations. The Eurogroup's activity entailed greater military spending for its members and whereas they had planned an increase of $2,000m. for 1974, they actually spent $4,500m. In 1975 the Eurogroup intends to increase the NATO military potential by more than 1,700 tanks and armoured cars, 238 aircraft, over 1,100 anti-tank guns, about 1,400 anti-aircraft weapons and much else.

Along with Japan and the United States, Western Europe is a key area of imperialist rivalry. In 1973 it accounted for 31 per cent of the capitalist world's industrial output. (See Table 2.)

The share of the Nine in the non-socialist part of the world in 1973 was: coal 23.7 per cent, natural gas 14.1 per cent, electric power 38.1 per cent, steel 30.5 per cent, aluminium and copper 15.3 per cent each, cement 28.3 per cent, synthetic rubber 30.5 per cent, plastics 36 per cent, merchant vessels 24.4 per cent, automobiles 38.7 per cent (of the output of the eight main producers).

Direct investments by U.S. companies in Western Europe, especially in Common Market countries, have been growing rapidly. In

Table 2

Changes of correlation of strength of main imperialist centers

	Nine EEC Countries	
	% of U.S.	% of Japan
Gross national product		
1958	55	677
1965	58	489
1972	61	319
Foreign trade		
1958	226	1,186
1965	274	799
1973	305	562
Liquid assets		
1958	70	1,492
1965	177	1,268
1973	477	560

1960 they made up about $7,000m., and in 1972, $30,000m. As a result, some of the industries of West European countries are in American hands. U.S. monopolies control 80 per cent of the production of electronic computers, 50 per cent of the production of semiconductors in Western Europe, and 30 per cent of the car output of the Common Market.

Exporting capital on a growing scale, U.S. monopolies take advantage of factors that enable them to make bigger profits than at home: the existence of a highly-skilled labor force accepting lower wages than in the U.S., lower taxes, proximity to markets and raw material sources, the absence of tariff barriers, the free flow of labor and capital within the Common Market, and so on.

Oil-producing countries have lately begun to invest in the West European economy. Iran has purchased 25 per cent of the shares of Krupp (FRG) and Kuwait has bought 14.6 per cent of the shares of Daimler-Benz for about DM 1,000m.

The scientific and technological revolution requires extensive growth of science and education. Spending on research is growing steeply. In 1967-1972 it went up by 38 per cent in France and 83 per cent in Italy – at a higher rate than in the United States. However, West European countries will yet have to go a long way to catch up with the U.S. In 1969, for example, there were 246,900 scientists and

engineers doing research in Western Europe against 535,000 in the U.S., spending on research was $10,400m. and $26,000m. respectively.

Western Europe leads in world capitalist trade. Its share in imports from non-socialist countries was 51.2 per cent in 1973, of which 42.3 per cent was accounted for by Common Market countries.

Western Europe is an important trade partner of socialist countries. In 1972 it accounted for 80.5 per cent of the trade of the CMEA countries and Yugoslavia with the capitalist world.

Trade between Eastern and Western Europe continues to grow. In 1973, with overall imports and exports of the FRG in current prices increasing by 13 and 20 per cent respectively, imports from socialist countries went up by 22 per cent and exports by 36 per cent. In the same year, trade between France and the Soviet Union rose by 40 per cent.

There are growing crisis phenomena in capitalist Europe. Economic development is slowing down. While in the first half of 1973 the growth rate of industrial production was eight per cent, early in 1974 it dropped to two per cent.

Concomitants of the new recession are runaway inflation and increasing raw material and energy problems. The gravity of inflation is seen in the fact that in 1971-1973 the amount of payment media in circulation in Britain grew six times faster than domestic trade; in Sweden and Spain the growth was fivefold and in Italy fourfold.

The growth rate of inflation in the main capitalist countries doubled in 1974 as against 1973.

As inflation increases monopoly profits grow, while the working people's standard of life declines. Compared with the autumn of 1973, real wages in the autumn of 1974 were lower by one per cent in France, three per cent in the FRG and four per cent in Britain and Italy. (See Table 3)

In the first quarter of 1974 prices went up 14.3 per cent in Italy, 13.8 in Denmark, 12.7 in Britain, 11.3 in France, 10.4 in Switzerland, 9.8 in Sweden, 8.5 in Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium. 7.9 in Luxembourg and 7.4 per cent in the FRG.

Unemployment has become chronic in the capitalist world. It is indicative that the slight upward trend in the West European economy in 1973 led to only a negligible reduction of unemployment. Whereas in 1972 unemployed averaged 3.5 million, including 3 million in the Nine, their numbers in 1973 were 3.2 million and 2.7 million respectively.

According to data released by an EEC commission, there were 3,598,733 unemployed in the nine EEC countries in November 1974. (See Table 4.)

Table 3

Growth of cost of living (over previous year, per cent)

	Average annual rate, 1965-1970	1971	1972	1973
Austria	3.3	4.5	5.7	8.1
Belgium	3.6	3.9	5.8	7.3
Britain	4.6	9.4	7.1	10.6
Denmark	6.6	6.0	6.6	8.9
Finland	4.7	6.2	7.5	11.4
France	4.0	5.5	5.9	7.3
FRG	2.7	5.3	5.5	7.2
Ireland	4.8	9.0	8.2	11.9
Italy	3.2	4.8	5.7	10.8
Netherlands	5.0	7.6	7.8	8.0
Spain	5.1	8.0	8.3	12.0
Sweden	4.4	7.4	6.1	7.0
Switzerland	3.3	7.1	6.1	8.8

Table 4

Officially Registered Unemployed (,000)

	1965	1970	1973
Western Europe (millions)	2.4	2.7	3.2
EEC countries	2,062	2,195	2,742
Belgium	55.4	71.3	91.9
Britain	359.8	640.0	652.8[2]
Denmark	16.1	23.9	20.4
Ireland	28.6	41.6	43.9
Italy	1,285.5	960.9	1,166.8
Netherlands	26.7	46.4	112.3
France	142.1	262.1	394.1
FRG	147.4	148.8	260.0
Austria	65.5	58.4	42.1
Norway	13.4	12.5	12.8
Sweden	44.0	59.0	99.1

Of the 230 million wage workers engaged in the national economy of developed capitalist countries in 1972, 108 million, or almost one half, are in Western Europe; 61 million of them are engaged in industry, 42 million in services and 5 million in farming.

The more developed countries show a high proportion of foreign workers recruited in other European and in developing countries. The total number exceeded 11 million by mid-1974 and stood at 2.3 million in the FRG (9 per cent), 2.5 million in France (8 per cent), 1 million in Switzerland (30 per cent) and 0.8 million in Belgium (25 per cent).

The vast scale of the strike movement is evidence of growing class contradictions. (See Table 5)

Table 5

Strikes

	Annual Averages					
	1951-55	1956-60	1961-65	1966-70	1971	1972
Strikers (,000)	4,378	4,578	7,105	10,050	9,699	9.516
Man-days (,000)	14,006	16,401	21,441	58,200	43,819	49,541

In 1973 strikers totalled 224,000 in the FRG, 1,590,000 in Britain, 1,772,000 in France and 13,860,000 in Italy. The strike movement was also intense in 1974.[3]

The growth of the class struggle makes for stronger trends toward unity in the trade union movement on both the national and the European level.

In January 1974, for the first time since the 1949 split of the World Federation of Trade Unions, leaders of European trade union centers affiliated with the WFTU, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and World Confederation of Labor (WCL) met in Geneva to negotiate cooperation on problems common to all the working people of Europe.

February 1973 saw the founding of the European Confederation of Trade Unions (ECTU), which comprises 17 member organizations of the ICFTU representing 14 West European countries. The ECTU sees its task in stepping up the struggle for the working people's interests, against the policy of multinational monopolies. It has declared itself to be autonomous in relation to the ICFTU and open to new members, including those outside the ICFTU. In the summer of

1974 it admitted the General Italian Confederation of Labor, a member of the WFTU.

The Communist and Workers' parties of Western Europe are the most consistent champions of the working people's interests. Fighting for lasting peace, against monopoly domination, and for far-reaching social changes paving the way to socialism, Communists strive for unity of action of the working class and all democratic forces.

Thirteen Communist and Workers' parties of Western Europe – the CP of Belgium, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, CP of Denmark, CP of Finland, French CP, CP of Greece, Italian CP, CP of Luxembourg, CP of the Netherlands, CP of Norway, San Marino CP, Left Party – Communists of Sweden, and Swiss Party of Labor – hold seats in the parliaments of their countries.

Following the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in Portugal, the Portuguese Communist Party has been in the government.

The Communist parties of Spain and Turkey are operating underground.

The Communist parties coordinate action for common objectives. They hold periodical conferences and other meetings. The Brussels Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of European capitalist countries (January 1974) adopted a Political Declaration which analyzes the present situation and determines the main lines of joint struggle. Communist unity in Europe will benefit greatly from the Conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe on the 'Struggle for Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe' to be held in the German Democratic Republic.

This survey is based on UN and national statistics, press reports and research data published in socialist and capitalist countries of Europe.

1. In present-day political parlance, 'Western Europe' is a synonym for the capitalist part of the continent. It comprises both the West European countries in the strict sense of the term and the capitalist countries of Central, Southern and Northern Europe.
2. Since November 1972, British statistics uses a new method of registering unemployed – it leaves out those who have 'lost all hope of finding a job.'
3. For details on the strike movement see *WMR*, May 1974.

theory

The present-day problems of socialist democracy and its perspectives

Theoretical conference

As reported in our previous issue, the international theoretical conference on socialist democracy and its perspectives, held in Sofia under the joint auspices of our journal and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, November 12-14, 1974, was attended by Party leaders and scholars from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union, and by members of the *WMR* Editorial Board.

Below we present short accounts of the fraternal delegations' main contributions in the order in which they were made. A survey of other contributions, the questions and answers, and the concluding remarks, will appear in forthcoming issues.

AN OBJECTIVE LAW OF BUILDING THE NEW SOCIETY

Alexander Lilov
Member of PB and CC Secretary,
Bulgarian Communist Party

In the introduction, Alexander Lilov welcomed the conference participants on behalf of the Central Committee and Political Bureau and the First Secretary of the Party Todor Zhivkov, and wished the conference success.

The joint discussion of socialist democracy, he said, is a new expression of the fraternal parties' policy of combining their theoretical potential for timely Marxist-Leninist elaboration of the key problems of the socialist countries' development. The results show that it is a fruitful procedure. The higher the degree of integrating the theoretical and ideological efforts of the socialist countries, the more

clearly can we elucidate the problems of the times, and the less are the chances of error.

It is clearer than ever that only socialism can organize and govern society by real and effective democracy. This is the case in all fraternal socialist countries, the entire socialist community. And the grim struggle of Communist and Workers' parties in the capitalist world is also dedicated to this objective. But the main burden has fallen to the CPSU, the working class and people of the great Soviet Union, the world's first country to have built socialism and now building communist society. Soviet experience is therefore of universal significance. History has confirmed Georgi Dimitrov's formula that the attitude to the Soviet Union and its historical experience is the touchstone of proletarian internationalism and the revolutionism of political movements, parties, and leaders.

Though we have had socialist democracy in Bulgaria for 30 years, its practical, theoretical and ideological aspects continue to engage the Party's close attention. This is not due to any setbacks or political complications, but to the following objective factors of steady and constructive advance to mature socialism:

First, socialist democracy is not immutable. It develops continuously, is continuously improved, and passes different stages. This process is not a merely quantitative change of the traits, qualities and functions it possessed at birth, but involves deep-going qualitative transformations.

Second, socialist democracy is the product of the socialist system, but is also objectively necessary for its development. Socialist society cannot develop without the growth of democracy.

Third, like all other processes in socialist society, the development of democracy is neither spontaneous nor automatic. It is historically conditioned and geared to the objective situation, and directed by the Communist Party.

The Bulgarian Communist Party's increasing attention to problems of democracy is not motivated by exclusively internal factors. Democracy holds a central place in present-day political life, the class struggle and the revolutionary process. The people's fight for democratic rights in capitalist countries is gaining in scale and assuming turbulent forms. Furthermore, democracy is in the center of the present-day ideological struggle, and is one of the main targets of anti-communist attacks, one of the main spheres of contention between political parties, regimes and, above all, social systems. The question of democracy is, therefore, an ever-present attribute of modern politics, because it concerns the questions of power, administration of society, and vital interests of classes.

However, no Marxist analysis of this will be complete if it is

confined to just these points. The substance of the matter is much deeper, and may be traced to the changing structure, correlation and role of the motive forces of world history, the qualitatively new objectives of humanity's social progress. The October Revolution awakened the immense worker and peasant masses, all laboring groups, encouraging their independent role in the making of history. And that is the highest expression of democracy known to man. The tasks crucial for the further progressive development of society can be fulfilled by the masses and only by the masses when they take over guidance of their countries' social and politcal affairs. In this sense the new tasks facing mankind are thorougly democratic, and transcend the traditional objectives of bourgeois democracy. They are anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist, and cannot be accomplished within the framework of bourgeois democracy because they originate from the crisis of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy itself. Historically, bourgeois democracy has exhausted itself. But its impotence in dealing with the new problems is not absolute impotence in the actual political struggle. The shipwreck of bourgeois democracy is not like a shipwreck at sea. While denying them participation in vital decision-making, bourgeois democracy does grant the working people certain real, though considerably restricted rights. Certainly, these are not attributes of 'pure bourgeois democracy,' as capitalist propaganda would have us believe, but the fruit of a long and bitter struggle by the working class. However, assessing them from the heights scaled in the social process today, we might paraphrase Marx's thought that the main result of the democratic struggle of the popular masses is not what they have gained, but that they have shed the illusion that their vital problems can be solved within the framework of bourgeois democracy.

Lilov listed the conclusions to be drawn from the development of socialist democracy in Bulgaria. There are three truly historic events in the annals of the Communist Party bearing on the development of socialist democracy: the Fifth Congress (1948) at which Dimitrov theoretically substantiated people's democracy as a new form of proletarian dictatorship; the Central Committee plenum of April 1956, which under Todor Zhivkov's guidance fully restored the Leninist principles of leadership and norms of Party life, and stimulated growth of socialist democracy in the country's social and political life; and the 10th Congress (1971), which worked out the main aspects of socialist democracy during the building of mature socialist society.

In substance, these three forums worked out the course of development of socialist democracy on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary experience of Bulgaria and the rest of the world. Faithful to this Leninist policy, the Party has in recent

years continued to elaborate and solve some of the key problems in this field. The main result is a scientifically-grounded system of administration.

The masses, Alexander Lilov emphasized, are participating in the administration of Bulgarian society to an unprecedented extent. This has become an effective factor in government. Profound changes have occurred in the character, composition and functions of representative bodies, which are organs of true popular power. Not only are they elected by the people, but also consist of representatives of the people. Not only do they govern the masses, but also express their interests.

Democracy is a built-in attribute of the socialist economic system. Socialist production is incompatible with exploitation and private ownership of the means of production. The socialist state tests and introduces new forms of people's participation in management. From shop floor to amalgamation and ministry there are successfully functioning representative bodies consisting of working people with prerogatives that assure effective influence and initiative, and defense of their interests against possible bureaucratic abuses or deformations.

The expansion of people's control over state institutions is another powerful lever of socialist democracy. Real and effective people's control is one of the main criteria of genuine democracy. So, a unified system of state and people's control was established in 1972. The State Control Committee is a mixed state-public organ, consisting of representatives of public organizations, and local committees of people's control, too, are elected by councils and general meetings of working people.

The steeply rising role of public organizations in administration is an important trend in the growth of socialist democracy. The introduction of the public-and-state principle in the structure and functions of government, which gave birth to qualitatively new bodies of government – public-state bodies – is a new element and a new stage in this field. While retaining the essential prerogatives and functions of a state institution, these bodies have a broader social base and draw people, public organizations and unions engaged in a specific sphere into the management of that sphere. This assures a higher degree of competence and initiative, and reduces chances of parochialism and bureaucratic abuse. The Committee and local councils for art and culture, the Committee for Science, Technical Progress and Higher Education, the Committee for the Press, the Youth and Sports Committee, the Recreation and Tourism Committee, and other recently formed bodies, are all public-state organs, and are functioning smoothly.

Summing up, Lilov said that the prime and most essential feature,

sense and content of socialist democracy, as pointed out in particular by Leonid Brezhnev at the 24th CPSU Congress, is the participation of the masses in the country's administration. More, this is also the prime and most essential advantage of socialist over bourgeois democracy.

The other typical feature is the leading role of the working class and its political vanguard. The proletariat is the first class in history not to regard power as an aim, as a function of dominating others for its narrow selfish interests, but as a means of building a classless society, i.e., of achieving the ideal of 'pure' human equality.

Examining the objective necessity of the Communist Party's leading role in society and state, Lilov demonstrated that incomprehension, underestimation or neglect of the class approach in questions of democracy lead to grave consequences, sometimes not short of bloodshed – the price for deviations or utopian illusions. Bourgeois propaganda contends that absence of opposition parties in socialist society make its political system undemocratic. But let us look into the class content of the concept 'political opposition.' In capitalist society an oppressed class is vital for the exploiters. Whether or not the bourgeoisie recognizes the right of the oppressed to protest their condition, it cannot eliminate the causes of opposition. In socialist society opposition is not an objectively necessary element of democracy, because the elimination of social antagonisms also eliminates the basis for opposition.

Socialism's historic aims require complete consolidation of the working class, not its division into rival parties. It is not fear of opposition, therefore, but lack of objective causes for it that explains its absence in the socialist political structure, whether unitarian or consisting of several parties.

The provision of essential conditions for scientific guidance of society and state is an important feature of socialist democracy. Doubly so in view of the present scientific-technical revolution. This is why the Party works for the swiftest possible growth of the scientific potential, which could serve society in all material and cultural fields.

Our Party is aware that not everything has yet been done to assure the maximum growth of socialist democracy in Bulgaria. Not all the forms and means of involving people in government are in full operation. Much remains to be done to elevate the role of local and central state bodies, to improve their style and methods.

In conclusion Lilov dealt with some aspects of the present-day ideological struggle over problems of socialist democracy. To improve our ideological work, he said, we must assure more active, systematic and accurate theoretical studies. Though much has been

done in this respect, it is still short of the requirements, and this reflects unfavorably on the effectiveness of our ideological work. We must therefore concert the efforts of our theorists, select groups of trained researchers, determine the main subjects and problems, and speed up their elaboration. Our propaganda must assure an offensive stand in the struggle against bourgeois and opportunist ideology. The main thing is to show that assessments of socialist democracy based on the criteria, elements and forms of bourgeois democracy are incorrect and spurious. Our propaganda must not take the bait of bourgeois ideology and involve itself in explaining why we lack this or that element of bourgeois democracy. The idea is to show the tremendous advantages of socialism over the bourgeois political system.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROBLEMS OF THE DEMOCRACY OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Ivan Kapitonov
Secretary of Central Committee, CPSU

Ivan Kapitonov conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes from General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. He went on to say that the Soviet Communist Party attaches fundamental importance to the development of democracy. 'Victorious socialism,' Lenin said, 'must necessarily establish a full democracy' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 143). The Leninist policy of full-scale development of socialist democracy is postulated in the Program of the CPSU. The question is closely examined by the 23rd and 24th Congresses, in documents on the centenary of Lenin's birth, the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and in speeches by Leonid Brezhnev.

The question of democracy has stood in the center of the acute ideological struggle on the international arena throughout the existence of socialism. Our opponents stop at nothing to discredit socialism in the eyes of the people. They falsify facts and misrepresent the principles of our political system. And we should bear in mind that a section of the public in capitalist countries, accustomed to the criteria of bourgeois democracy, is not always and not immediately able to understand the fundamentally new political fabric of the socialist state and society.

Going on to specific aspects in the development of socialist democracy, Kapitonov recalled that soon after the October Revolution Lenin rightly described Soviet power as a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic. It has given unpre-

cedented scope to democracy for the vast majority, the working people.

With the consolidation and development of socialism – of its material and technical basis, political superstructure, and new social relations – socialist democracy is demonstrating its clear superiority over bourgeois democracy.

Its advantages are most fully evident in developed socialist society. The growth of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people is a major, qualitatively new stage of socialist democracy, made possible by the full and final victory of socialism and the consolidation of the social, political and ideological unity of Soviet society. It was socialist social relations, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the alliance of the working class and collective farmers, of manual and mental workers, and the friendship of the peoples of our country, that extended the social basis of Soviet statehood to the proportions that made it a state of the whole people.

While this did not change the nature of our state, it gave further development to its basic principles. The democratic mechanism of working people's power created and developed by the proletarian dictatorship, has remained. The leading role of the working class, too, has remained and acquired new forms. Still greater scope has opened for the all-round development of democracy.

For the CPSU the main content of the development of socialist democracy lies in increasing the participation of citizens in the administration of the state and society. First of all, this means elevating the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies – the political foundation of our socialist state.

The Soviets are democratic not only in nature, but also in composition and the content and methods of their work. Altogether, 2,200,000 deputies are elected, two-thirds of whom are workers and collective farmers. In just the past 20 years more than 20 million people have passed this school of government. In addition, the Soviets are assisted by activists, whose numbers now exceed 30 million.

The Soviet Constitution provides for the recall of deputies at any time if they do not live up to the responsibilities of their office. Deputies to local Soviets recalled in 1973 totalled 177. Eleven deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were recalled after the Law on the Recall of Supreme Soviet Deputies was passed in 1959.

A Status of Deputies Law enacted on the recommendation of our 24th Congress, defines the rights and duties of deputies, and the duties toward deputies of state and public bodies and officials. It also formalizes and extends the deputy's legal guarantees.

State bodies work with the trade unions, Young Communist League and other public organizations in drawing the masses into the

administration of society. The Soviet trade unions possess the right of legislative initiative. They take part in drawing up laws and regulations relating to working conditions, and control the observance of labor legislation, rules and standards of labor protection and safety. They are also in charge of social insurance, which is fully financed by the state and applies to all blue and white collar workers.

Proposals relating to the life, work and leisure of the youth are made by the YCL. Some 250 government decisions were worked out and enacted with YCL participation between 1963 and 1973. YCL representatives sit on the collegiums of the all-Union and republican ministries of culture, higher and specialized secondary education, and public education, and on the People's Control Committee, the Physical Culture and Sports Committee, and others.

Working people take direct part in production management chiefly at their enterprises – through workers' meetings, conclusion of collective agreements between their union and the administration, the system of permanent production conferences, and through various forms of public control. There are permanent production conferences at practically all enterprises, totalling some six million people, two-thirds of them workers.

Some bourgeois parties portray bourgeois-reformist projects of workers' participation in management as a model of democracy. But they do not affect the pillars of the exploiting system, and are sometimes even used by monopolies to revive reformist illusions in the working-class movement, and also to intensify labor. There is also an anarcho-syndicalist tendency in the labor movement, whose exponents want autonomous labor collectives to follow what is in substance a course of competitive struggle against each other. This is contrary to the basic interests of the working class.

Not separate collectives, but all the people, the state of the people, are the owners of all enterprises in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For us, the workers' greater role in management has nothing in common with the idea of autonomy.

Kapitonov dealt with improvements in legislation. In the past 10 years, he said, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted new legislative principles on labor, health, public education, marriage and family, the use of land and water, as well as laws improving the system of management in industry and other fields. Comrade Brezhnev noted in his election speech that the laws passed in recent years 'continue our fundamental line of continuously expanding and enriching the rights of the individual, the working man, and we may say on the whole that our legislation has been extensively renewed, has become more stable and democratic.'

The growth of socialist democracy is closely associated with the

rising political consciousness of the masses, their knowledge of Party and state policy, their feeling of being masters of the country, the growth of their initiative. It has become common practice to submit the drafts of important legislation for nationwide discussion.

The CPSU follows developments relating to the growth of democracy in the fraternal countries with deep interest and attention, and strives to use their experience in a creative spirit. For our part, we give our friends every opportunity to acquaint themselves with our realities and the experience and traditions of Soviet democracy.

The objective character of the growth of socialist democracy is a question of great theoretical and practical significance. The essential difference between our democracy and bourgeois democracy is that socialism, to use Lenin's words, shifts the center of gravity from merely formal recognition of democratic rights and freedoms to their effective implementation – to creating social, economic and political conditions in which all citizens have a real opportunity to use the rights afforded by the state.

Take the right to work. In the USSR unemployment has been unknown for over 40 years, while the right to work has gained new content: its guarantees have been made more and more effective, because working conditions are better, earnings are higher, and the work itself requires greater skills and is increasingly more creative.

This also applies to the right to leisure, to social security in old age and disability, and the right to education. To these social and economic rights inscribed in the Constitution new ones are being added, in particular such as derive from the growth of state funds for public use.

Concerned with extending the rights of the people, the CPSU also raises the citizens' civic responsibilities, for democracy cannot be expanded without this.

The Party's approach to the question of political freedoms in developed socialist society is a truly class approach. Freedom of speech, press, assembly, inviolability of the home, privacy of correspondence and other civic freedoms and rights are guaranteed by law and ensured by all appropriate means. It will be recalled that the Soviet Union has acceded to international covenants on social and political human rights.

But we have never denied that we do not tolerate propaganda of war, violence, immorality, or of racist, fascist and other man-hating ideas contrary to the justice and humanity of our system.

Of no small importance among the objective factors determining the growth of democracy in the Soviet Union is a favorable international situation. Socialist and communist construction has its own objective laws, but its rates unavoidably depend on the international conditions.

The radical shift from cold war to détente is of fundamental significance. Our Party devotes continuous and unflagging attention to the problems of peace and international cooperation. The Central Committee, its Political Bureau, and Comrade Brezhnev are working fruitfully to promote peace and cooperation. An important part is played by the agreed policy of the countries of the socialist community, supported by the Communist and Workers' parties, the national-liberation movement, and progressives across the world.

In the concluding part of his contribution, Kapitonov pointed out that the Communist Party, with a membership of more than 15 million, is the main bearer of the principles of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union. The Party comprises the leading core in all mass organizations, both public and state. This is recorded in the Constitution. This right was given by the people and the Party uses it on behalf and in the interests of the people. In the revolutionary struggle, the Great Patriotic War, and in the course of socialist and communist construction the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has won prestige and authority that greatly exceed those of other organizations.

The Communist Party can correctly solve on a truly scientific basis complicated economic, political, social, moral and other problems relating to the growth of democracy. Guided by the laws of social development, it takes into account all the finer points in the relation of classes, and assures an enduring worker-peasant alliance, the social and political unity of society. The Party has united the working people of different nationalities into a close-knit family of fraternal peoples whose mutual relations have a new, internationalist foundation. This is of the utmost importance for a country like the Soviet Union, encompassing more than a hundred nations and nationalities.

Party guidance of state and public organizations is first and foremost political. The Party works out the political line, guides and coordinates their work, provides conditions for the development of their initiative and creative approach. The experience of the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries shows that the working-class party, closely linked with the masses, assures consistent observance of the principles of socialist democracy.

Continuous development of socialist democracy is an objective necessity implicit in the very nature of our system, which is steadily growing into communism. The development of socialist democracy contrasts with the growing instability of the capitalist political system, the crisis of bourgeois democracy.

The mechanism of monopoly domination is running into trouble more and more often. Long government crises and drawn-out conflicts between bourgeois-reformist and conservative currents in

the ruling echelon, and political scandals precipitated by bureaucratic cooruption have become commonplace. In some countries, old bourgeois parties have lost their formerly stable majority, and the number of voters that stay away from the ballot box is increasing. The deteriorating conditions tend to embitter the class battles. To prolong their rule at any price, the reactionary bourgeoisie tries where possible to establish terrorist dictatorships, as is the case in Chile. But the forces of progress have much sounder positions now. They are strong enough to frustrate reactionary attacks on their democratic gains, and to counter-attack, to work for the abolition of fascist regimes. Striking evidence is provided by the events in Portugal and Greece.

In sum, we have before us two tendencies of development. On the one hand, there is continuous deepening and improvement of democracy in the socialist environment, and on the other, a crisis of the system of state-monopoly rule. These two tendencies show the directions of social development, confirming the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the inevitability of the victory of socialism.

THE END GOAL: ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Albert Norden
Member of PB and Secretary of CC,
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

By taking the administration of society into their own hands the laboring classes are saving the planet from destruction. The masses have understood that it is their supreme duty and absolute historical right to be masters of their destiny. They take over government in order to expropriate the expropriators and to put an end to destructive imperialist wars. By so doing they are at long last making democracy exactly what this Greek word stands for – government by the people.

Stressing the unity of socialism and democracy, Albert Norden said:

The Eighth Congress of the SUPG held in 1971 outlined the main direction of the further development of the state – improvement of the centralized state administration and planning, effectively combined with the growing creative initiative of working people. This means developing socialist democracy and implementing the time-tested Leninist principle of democratic centralism, thus paving the way to ever greater and conscious participation of citizens in state affairs and realization of their ideas and proposals for improving the life and administration of society.

In substance, developing socialist democracy means strengthening the political power of the working class and its allies, and stimulating their initiative. This is why it follows the general laws of social development, though these manifest themselves in specific ways and particular forms from country to country. The continuous expansion and deepening of democracy stimulates mass involvement in building a common exploitation-free social formation. There is striking evidence of this in our time, with the Soviet Union already building the material and technical basis of communism and the other countries of the socialist community erecting developed socialist societies on the basis of a common conception.

The continuously growing leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party ranks as the main general objective law governing the development of socialist democracy.

The policy outlined by the Eighth SUPG Congress has gained the approval and support of the working people. The people of the GDR, headed by the working class, regard the main objective set by the Congress as the right way of raising the living standard and advancing the policy of peace.

Under Party guidance, the initiative of the masses has assured steady economic growth and consistent improvement of the conditions of work and life in the GDR. This has stimulated the growth of socialist democracy, drawing the people into the work of resolving the problems of society.

The socialist emulation movement is particularly striking evidence of this. Outstanding results in meeting plan targets were achieved in the competition marking the 25th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic.

The working people of the socialist countries own all factories and all the land. A new morality has taken shape – that of the owners of socialist property. It has led to the understanding that socialist democracy begins in the factories, where the people's wealth is created. As a result, the emulation movement is one of the most important forms of the people's participation in management – socialist democracy in action.

The working people's growing involvement in shaping their own conditions of work and life, their growing awareness of being the bearers of power, help to raise the quality of discussions of factory plans. The entire working class, all cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and other working people participate in the discussion of the country's economic plan, and in many factories commitments are assumed in excess of the original state assignment.

This is how, spurred by the conviction that public wealth benefits all working people, socialist democracy operates in the sphere of

material production, which is decisive for social progress.

Consistent orientation on the main social-economic objectives leads through the constructive efforts of all working people to a further consolidation of the alliance of workers and cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and other sections. In agriculture this means introducing industrial methods through joint undertakings by cooperatives and state enterprises. This helps to approximate the conditions of life and work of cooperative farmers and workers and has a favorable effect on their thinking.

The alliance of classes and social groups finds political expression in the comradely cooperation based on trust between our Party and other friendly democratic parties and the mass organizations of working people in the National Front of the GDR. It will be recalled that apart from the Socialist Unity Party, the leading working-class party, there are other parties in the GDR: the Democratic Peasant Party, Christian-Democratic Union, Liberal-Democratic Party and National-Democratic Party. They are parties of former petty-bourgeois strata, artisans and craftsmen, and Christians. They have more than 49,000 deputies in the representative bodies, and as many as 55,000 of their members work on the various committees of the National Front.

This cooperation under the guidance of the SUPG has been fruitful in all the stages of the revolutionary process, and will continue to grow. Meanwhile, socialist principles are taking root in the thinking and behavior of the friendly parties, of their members and followers. This shows that in implementing the general principles of socialist democracy we take full account of our specific historical situation and traditions.

Of course, the existence of one or several parties is not a measure of the degree of socialist democracy. It is merely an indication of the variety of forms in which the single essence of socialist democracy materalizes.

The typical feature of socialist democracy is its ever deeper internationalist character. Citizens of the GDR combine pride in their socialist country with fraternal feelings for the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. This is a powerful stimulant of the workers' initiative to use Soviet production experience, to exercise mass control over plan fulfilment in the framework of socialist economic integration, and to learn more about the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Some of the laws passed in the GDR in recent years reflect the Soviet experience, as well as new ideas for improving democratic centralism.

In the past several months, for example, we have consolidated the

authority of popular representative bodies – from the People's Chamber down to the community councils. The aim is to improve them as effective organs in the Leninist sense. Here, too, the main condition is to further extend the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. By its decisions, its ideological work, selection and promotion of personnel, chiefly from among the workers, the Party provides ever more favorable conditions for the popular representative bodies.

Stressing that socialist democracy affords material guarantees of broad civic rights and conditions for the free development of the individual, Norden went on to say:

With the guaranteed social arrangements, working people feel an ever greater need to participate in moulding social relations and in administering the state. The organic fusion of the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution takes material shape in the enrichment of social relations and the new opportunities for the all-round development of the individual for the good of society and the individual.

Imperialism is unable to solve all these vitally important problems. The social-reformists of the FRG conceal this inability with claims of a new 'quality of life.' They want people to reconcile themselves with the disastrous consequences of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. Working people are told that they should abandon efforts to eliminate the causes of the drastic deterioration of their condition. The bourgeoisie is reducing to nil the remnants of bourgeois democracy and going over to authoritarian, sometimes even fascist, methods of rule wherever the internal and international relation of forces permits it to do so. This leads to the decay of capitalism, in the light of which it is all the more understandable that socialist democracy inspires working people to fight against imperialism.

The humanism of socialist society, its humane essence, have become a reality for everyone in the countries of the socialist community. This is why people are more active in building the new society.

The trade unions are especially active. And not only in planning, but also in the field of legislation. No important law concerning labor or the social needs of people can be passed without their approval. Bills are drawn up with the broad democratic cooperation of all citizens. More than 1,500,000 people at 60,000 special meetings, for example, expressed their opinions of the bill on local representative bodies and their organs. Something like 4,300 proposals were made, many of which were included in the final text. And more than 5,400,000 citizens at more than 240,000 meetings took part in the discussion of the youth bill. As many as 4,821 proposals were made, resulting in some 200 changes in the final text adopted by the People's Chamber in 1974.

On no account do we belittle the work of jurists. But under socialism the elaboration of bills cannot be left exclusively to them. The working people follow their own experience in creating their laws. That, in substance, is the key to their effectiveness.

In capitalist countries the rights of working people are being curtailed and constitutions are being amended to the detriment of democracy. As many as 65 out of the 146 articles of the Constitution were completely or partially repealed, complemented or amended, and 33 articles written in anew since the founding of the FRG. Among these are the provisions relating to the so-called 'extraordinary circumstances,' empowering the government to suspend the operation of all formal democratic articles of the Constitution as it sees fit. As many as 14 articles of the Constitution were repealed, complemented or amended in the first three years of the SDP/FDP government. These practices show that imperialism is reluctant and unable to give working people even a modicum of democratic rights. As Lenin pointed out, imperialism stands for reaction all down the line.

Under socialism, state power and democracy constitute an unbreakable whole embodying the unity of the state and the citizen. And since the state acts as the organizing force of social progress, assuring fuller satisfaction of the needs of the society and the individual, the relationship between the Party, the state and the citizens logically becomes closer. The interaction of governmental and non-governmental, public forms of political power is of the utmost importance for the growth of socialist democracy. The links between elected organs of power, mass public organizations and collectives of workers are becoming more solid. This may be illustrated by the joint decisions of the Party, government and trade unions on social programs. It may also be illustrated by the close collaboration of local government bodies with enterprises and public organizations in solving problems of concern to citizens. And it is illustrated, among other things, by the emulation movement in improving towns and villages and by the joint work of local government bodies, the enterprises and the National Front committees to improve conditions and leisure facilities for all citizens.

Thanks to the activity of the masses government measures are becoming more effective. This shows that socialist democracy is also a means of enhancing public work – it mobilizes all potentialities and opportunities for improving the people's condition.

The working people make sensible use of their rights. Legal provisions and moral stimuli complement each other. In fact, it is an important function of socialist law to require and promote conscious and sensible public behavior (this is an important element of the socialist way of life).

Socialist democracy is the expression of the people's growing political awareness and at once a means of stimulating this awareness. To improve the content and forms of socialist democracy and thereby make the advantages of the socialist system still more apparent for the whole world, is the constant concern of the working-class party.

THE PARTY AS THE GUIDING FORCE

Jerzy Lukaszewicz
Secretary of Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

The need of discussing problems of socialist democracy and exchanging experience is underscored by both the outstanding accomplishments of the brother parties of the socialist countries in promoting democracy and the relevance and importance of the issues.

Our Party, consistently implementing the decisions of its Sixth Congress (1971), holds that the main way to advance socialist democracy in Poland is by speeding up socio-economic development and pursuing the ideological offensive designed to promote the socialist ideology in the public consciousness. In expanding socialist democracy, we encourage various forms of the creative initiative daily displayed by millions of people in their work and public activities. The Party does its best to raise the role of the people in drawing up development programs and formulating policies, to enhance public influence over decision-making and putting decisions into effect. One of the means to this end is extensive consultation with the people on important Party and government decisions and constant direct contacts between central and provincial Party authorities and the working class. The PUWP Central Committee has direct ties with 164 major industrial transport and construction enterprises, as well as with 100 rural communities. Such ties help keep the workers and peasants informed of the purposes of political actions by the Party and state leadership and improve the flow of information from below. Whenever necessary, the Party launches extensive public discussions of key issues of national socio-economic development. To this end, for example, the theses for the Sixth Congress presented alternative proposals on questions of earlier pensions and shorter working hours. A similar approach was taken with the housing program and, at present, with the program for expanding food production. Public discussions have an important impact on the final decisions and serve as a school of socialist democracy by drawing millions of people directly into the processes of decision-making on issues of national importance.

Stressing that socialist democracy is steadily expanding, Lukaszewicz proceeded to analyze its basic features and the ways it influences socialist construction.

The main political factor of socialist construction is the Marxist-Leninist party, which plays the leading part in national life. Of special importance are two spheres of Party activity: concern for the due processes of inner-Party democracy and direct promotion of socialist democracy in all public and government domains.

The experience of People's Poland and other socialist countries shows that the quality of inner-Party life and the extent to which it is in keeping with Leninist standards has a profound impact on the quality of public life, influences the society as a whole, and promotes desirable organizational relations and relations between people. At the same time, it is the main guarantee of the proper functioning of the system of socialist democracy.

In the last three years the Party has made a huge step forward in this sphere. The position of Party bodies elected by congresses, conferences and meetings has been stengthened substantially, enhancing their dominant and controlling role vis-a-vis Party bureaus, secretariats and the whole Party apparatus. Close ties between the PUWP leadership and the Party activists and rank-and-file members have become characteristic of the Party work style.

The working-class party promotes extensive political and public ties with non-members and collaborates with allied parties – the United Peasant Party (UPP) and Democratic Party (DP) – in the framework of the Popular Unity Front. Poland's multi-party system differs basically from bourgeois systems. It is the product of a long period of political evolution in conditions of building socialism as a result of which the UPP and DP have unreservedly accepted the Marxist program and recognized the leading role of the working-class party. The allied parties take part in promoting national tasks, but they concentrate on certain groups of the population in keeping with historically evolved ties. The UPP, with a membership of 400,000, works among the rural population traditionally linked with the peasant movement. The DP, with 90,000 members, is active mainly among artisans and sections of the intelligentsia, primarily the so-called free professions. Together with the UPP and DP, the PUWP promotes national unity on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist program of development.

The Popular Unity Front plays a significant part in public life. Its role and tasks are outlined in a Party document, 'The Position of the Political Bureau of the CC PUWP Regarding the Tasks of Popular Unity Front Committees,' passed in 1973. The Front is an expression of the unity of all patriotic forces, all conscious and active citizens of

socialist Poland on fundamental national issues. It promotes socialist democracy, public participation in solving important national problems and the satisfaction of many requirements of society.

Lukaszewicz went on to examine some questions of moulding socialist consciousness. Taking into account Polish conditions and historical experience, he said, we set as a prime task of ideological-educational work the fostering of public awareness of national interests and priorities, of the need for a greater self-discipline and public order. Speaking at the Sixth PUWP Congress, Edward Gierek said in this connection that there can be no rights without obligations, no freedom without responsibility. That, in particular, is why such importance is attached to the continued perfection of the organizational forms of human activities and relations in the course of socialist construction, to the full observation of the principle of democratic centralism in all public life. This adds substantially to the educational functions of the state and the need for educated personnel.

Emphasizing that socialist democracy has nothing in common with political rivalries in capitalist countries, Lukaszewicz dwelt on PUWP efforts to step up parliamentary activity. The Sejm meets in full session eight times a year, while its 22 committees function virtually the year round, submitting views and opinions and looking into the actions of the government and its agencies. The Sejm has 19 provincial deputy groups whose main task is to keep in touch with the constituencies.

Questions discussed at PUWP Central Committee meetings are submitted to full sessions of the Sejm, either as specific government programs or as draft Sejm decisions moved by the PUWP parliamentary group. We view this practice as extemely useful, because such debate, culminating in specific legislation, as well as debates on national socio-economic development plans and the state budget and discussion of government reports on their fulfilment, give the Sejm an effective part in the shaping of national policies.

The people can exercise their sovereign power only if they have an integrated system of representative bodies. After the victory of the popular-democratic revolution in Poland the People's Councils became such bodies.

Changing social, economic and political conditions over the last few years, as well as the growing political consciousness and activity of the working people, made necessary changes in the status of the People's Councils with a view to increasing their role in running the state and meeting the people's requirements. The reform carried out in accordance with the decisions of the Sixth Party Congress was aimed at strengthening the People's Councils as representative bodies, on the one hand, and modernizing the structure of local

government administration, on the other. The People's Councils have been given greater powers in integrated programming of socio-economic development in their respective districts and regions, explicitly including government agencies, cooperative and public organizations based in the given area formerly independent of the Councils.

Originally, the People's Councils had a presidium as the executive arm for directing the Council's work and representing it externally. A consequence, in our conditions, was that the Councils did not fully perform their organizational and control functions. Now the Councils have two new agencies: an executive administrative body with suitable machinery, and a presidium that supervises the organizational and control functions.

With a view to strengthening the People's Councils, the first national Party conference decided to nominate as their chairmen the first secretaries of provincial and district PUWP committees and, as conditions matured, the first secretaries of rural committees. The purpose is, first, to bolster the People's Councils' prestige in their relationship with administrative bodies, and, second, to strengthen the Councils' links with the Party and enhance the latter's leading role.

Public organizations play an extremely important part in the system of socialist democracy. They deal with specific population groups and concentrate on specific aspects of public life. The experience of building socialism shows convincingly that the role and significance of public organizations in national life increases parallel with the growth of the Party's leading role and the consolidation of the socialist state; their scale, range and possibilities expand, but so does their responsibility.

An important event was the PUWP Politbureau decision on the tasks of the trade unions in building socialism. We hold that trade-union activity should be based on the principle of unity and interdependence of questions of production, conditions of life, education, on the principle of unity of the rights and duties of each worker. Hence the prime tasks of Poland's trade unions:

– mobilization and organization of the working people for developing the socialist economy, technology and culture and strengthening the socialist state;

– concern for the living, social and cultural standards of the working people and the observance of their rights in the day-to-day affairs of their factories or offices;

– drawing workers into running socialist enterprises, remembering that the trade unions are a school of socialism.

It is in the light of these tasks that we promote the role of worker self-management, notably through production conferences as a form

of broad worker participation in management and, at the same time, one of the main forms of consulting the people.

In 1973, the PUWP Politbureau defined the 'Tasks in Strengthening and Developing Residential Self-Government in Urban Communities.' It pointed out that not only the place of work, but the place of residence should increasingly become a sphere of lively public activity, initiative, self-management and work of the territorial echelons of Party and public organizations. Giving residential self-management bodies greater powers in decision-making and action broadens socialist democracy, accelerates changes in people's mentality and improves their living conditions and reacreational opportunities.

Since its Sixth Congress the Party has been giving much attention to ideological-educational and ethical problems, especially education of the youth. At the beginning of 1973 organizational changes were carried out in the youth movement, aimed at further cementing and integrating different organizations. In the spring of that year the Federation of Socialist Youth Leagues was set up to coordinate the work of all youth organizations. The Party and state leadership set great store in youth contributions to building socialism and set them new tasks in carrying out the great program of accelerated socio-economic development.

All initiatives aimed at developing and strengthening socialist democracy, Lukaszewicz said in conclusion, are long-term in character and are consistently carried out by the Party. They stem from the Sixth Congress' strategic program, a program of accelerated national socio-economic development and of heightening socialist public consciousness and the leading role of the Party in the life of the state and the people. The higher the people's socialist consciousness and the farther the principles of socialism extend into all spheres of public life, the richer the practice of socialist democracy throughout the country.

BUILDING UP A SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

Pedro Margolles
Central Committee functionary,
Communist Party of Cuba

Throughout the more than 100 years of struggle for genuine and final independence, the Cuban people have aspired to democracy. The victory of the January 1 revolution became possible thanks to the

decisive support of the whole people for the Rebel Army of workers, peasants and students.

From the outset the new revolutionary government began to perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proceeded to carry out the program proclaimed by Fidel Castro in 1953 in his defense speech at the trial in connection with the assault of the Moncada barracks. Summing up the results and achievements of the revolutionary struggle 20 years later, Fidel Castro dwelt on how the people see the exercise of power today: 'For the first time the worker, peasant, student, the most dispossessed sections of the people have reached the summits of national life. The revolutionary government is their government, the state is their state, the soldier is their soldier, because they have become soldiers themselves; the rifle has become their rifle, the gun their gun, the tank their tank, the government their government, because they themselves represent that government.'

Noting that all these years the main task of the revolution was to repulse imperialist aggression and withstand the economic blockade, Margolles continued: We relied on the solidarity of the peoples of the world, the socialist countries and the unselfish, generous help of the great Soviet Union, without which our people would have been compelled to wage their struggle in incomparably harder conditions, with little chance of survival.

In the last few years we have been pushing forward with the establishment of revolutionary institutions of power. A series of measures was carried out, including a restructuring of the Party apparatus from the Central Committee down to the municipal committees; the mechanism of its functioning, role and duties were clearly defined. An important element in the restructuring of state bodies was the establishment of the Council of Ministers' Executive Committee. Another important measure was the strengthening of mass organizations and the Young Communist League.

Much was done to improve the Party apparatus' work style. In the provinces review meetings were held in all Party organizations, from the local branches to the provincial level. The fundamental principle was democratic centralism, and the membership took an active part in formulating the prime objectives and tasks of Party organizations at all levels.

The functions and internal relations between the Party and the administrative apparatus have been clearly defined. We go by the definition of Central Committee second secretary Raul Castro that the Party's power rests on its moral prestige, on its influence on the masses, on the clarity with which it expresses the masses' interests and aspirations, on the realization of their revolutionary duties and their confidence in the Party. The main thing in promoting socialist

democracy is the Party's leading role. The Party gives leadership to the state, controls its work and helps improve the functioning of the state mechanism as a whole, but without usurping the state's functions.

Our Party is preparing for its first congress in 1975 with full realization of its responsibilities and the thoroughness which an event of such magnitude requires. We are guided by Fidel Castro's thesis that the revolution is performed by the masses for the masses, by the party of the masses for the masses.

A number of mass organizations have held congresses of their own recently. The Fourth Congress of the National Small Farmers' Association, held in 1971, discussed the main problems involved in the activities of its primary organizations, the situation of peasant families, financial resources of the peasants and ways of their participation in building socialism. The Second Congress of the Young Communist League showed that the youth takes an active part in discussing the issues of the day. It adopted a new constitution based on the principles of democratic centralism.

An event of tremendous significance was the 13th Congress of the Cuban Labor Center in 1973, which was a major step toward the strengthening and democratization of the labor movement. The workers discussed the congress agenda before it started and submitted proposals connected with the building of our society, active participation of the working people in running the economy through their trade union representatives, and participation in factory management councils.

The congress decisions laid down important economic principles and defined the ways in which organized labor could take part in discussing economic plans.

In 1974, thousands of meetings were held at industrial and service enterprises at which workers actively discussed their plans. Many suggestions aimed at boosting efficiency were made. It is a Party principle that worker participation in management should not be restricted to discussing the plans of the specific production unit or service. It is necessary to perfect the organizational forms and economic methods of work and leadership, seeking constant mass participation and correctly blending the interests of the national economy, the worker collective and each individual worker. The Party is currently studying and analyzing these questions with relevance to our own experience and that of the brother socialist countries.

Preparations are under way for the second congress of the Cuban Women's Federation. The slogan, 'Expand women's revolutionary action,' is an appeal for more active participation in public life.

An important aspect of socialist democracy is ensuring the due process of law. In 1969, the Central Committee decided to set up legal research committees to draw up legislation in keeping with the conditions and specific features of our system. The result was a number of draft laws on the organization of the judicial system and on criminal, civil and administrative court proceedings. Not long ago the whole people discussed the Family Code, and currently drafts of the criminal and civil codes are being prepared. Intensive work is going on to prepare a draft of the socialist Constitution. Like other drafts, it will be discussed nationally. And a referendum on the Constitution is planned after it is discussed at the First Party congress.

New legislation already in effect includes the law on the judicial system laying down procedures for electing judges and the participation of civilian judges on tribunals. All judges are elected for specific periods and may be recalled. They are obliged to report on their work, which is one of the forms of public control. The law governing legal proceedings in criminal cases establishes, among other rights, legal guarantees of the accused and their right to defense.

Typically, the first drafts of all bills are discussed by ministries and government agencies, as well as lawyers, who put forward their considerations and remarks. After that they are submitted for discussion by the masses: at meetings in all industrial communities, peasant organizations, educational establishments, army units, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, and other mass organizations.

The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has helped the legal research committees.

Since the end of 1973 work has been going on to organize representative bodies, at first in one province, Matanzas.

Starting with 1976, local government authorities will be set up throughout the country, but the Party leadership has decided to begin with only one of the six provinces so as to reveal possible shortcomings in practice. The local government authorities set up in Matanzas Province are based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of organization and functioning of representative bodies in socialist states. They are: broadest mass participation in running government affairs; democratic centralism; the leading role of the Communist Party; socialist legality as an essential element of democracy and correct formulation of the tasks of proletarian dictatorship; economic activity based on socialist planning, accounting and control.

Our country's administrative and political division requires four levels of state-political leadership. The basic unit is the municipality or local committee. Several municipalities or local committees constitute a region; several regions constitute a province, and the provinces make up the country.

Delegates to municipal or local assemblies are elected by universal suffrage with equal, direct and secret ballot. The municipal assemblies elect executive committees and the delegates to represent them in the regions, provinces, as well as the National Assembly, when it is established.

Thus, the assemblies of each level are made up of delegates elected by the people. Executive committee members of municipal or local committees must be elected delegates for the district in which they reside. Officials of regional and provincial executive committees, however, can be considered for appointment regardless of whether they are elected delegates or not.

Candidates are nominated by committees headed by the Party and comprising members of the Young Communist League and other mass organizations. The assembly of each level can endorse the list of candidates in toto or selectively and suggest other candidates. In cities, communities and villages all people entitled to vote hold meetings to nominate candidates to municipal assemblies.

The extraordinary scope of this democratic process is obvious: 4,955 meetings were held at which 11,019 candidates were nominated, of whom 4,712 were left in the lists. The meetings were attended by more than 230,000 voters, 72.1 per cent of the voting population.

Since the number of candidates in the election districts was not restricted (and there must be at least two candidates, with a minimum of 50 per cent of the ballot plus one vote needed to be elected), a runoff election is usually held between the two candidates topping the poll. Thus, of the 1,079 candidates in Matanzas Province, 54 per cent were elected in the first round of voting, and 46 per cent in the runoff, with 93.6 per cent of the eligible voters taking part in the first round and 91.4 per cent in the second. Never before had the people of our country participated so actively in elections.

The voting age has been set at 16, requiring a reform of our Fundamental Law, which had prohibited persons below 20 from voting or being elected. This reform was prompted by the political maturity of the youth.

The formation of local government authorities in Matanzas Province also means mass participation in running the economy: 5,597 industrial units and services formerly run by central government agencies have been placed under the control of various echelons of local government, with 4,971 subordinated to the municipal level, 529 to the regional and 97 to the provincial.

At each of these levels administrations have been set up based on the principle of dual subordination: to the respective assembly and the higher echelon of industrial management. This makes it possible for the ministries and central bodies to give local authorities normative,

methodological and planning guidance to ensure unity of technological and cadres policy and national economic planning. At the same time the local echelons are ensured extensive participation in supervising the production units directly concerned with meeting local demand.

Participation of the masses in managing production units and services (subordinated to the various levels of local government) ensures the people's direct control over their operations. It is exercised by the respective assembly through labor commissions headed by a delegate in which other local residents take part.

Even the brief period since the establishment of local government authorities in Matanzas Province indicates the great importance of the experiment for the subsequent establishment of such bodies throughout the country.

REVOLUTIONARY POPULAR GOVERNMENT

Tsedendambyn Gotov
Member of CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party,
Secretary of Presidium of the
Great People's Khural (Parliament),
Mongolian People's Republic

In the transition from capitalism to socialism socialist democracy passes through a stage of proletarian democracy, followed by development into democracy of the whole people and, finally, democracy of the whole people. In Mongolia's case, where the transition was from pre-capitalist relations to socialism, proletarian democracy is preceded by a stage of revolutionary democracy.

Revolutionary democracy is not a type of bourgeois democracy, just as the state of democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary people is not a bourgeois type of state. It is democracy of a socialist type. And revolutionary democracy is not the same as socialist democracy, but its historical precursor. Like proletarian and socialist democracy, it is democracy for the working people. It is an instrument of suppressing exploiter attempts to restore the old, obsolete system.

In Mongolia, revolutionary democracy evolved into socialist democracy in the 40s, when the necessary social, economic and political conditions were created. It formed in conditions of democratization of the social and state system, dismantling of the feudal state machinery and establishment of a new, popular state apparatus; in conditions of democratization of legal institutions and procedures, of turning civil servants standing above the people into executors of the will of the people and the popular government, in conditions where the toiling

masses were drawn into the management of state affairs through the establishment of popular organs of power, ensuring the masses political freedoms and rights, etc.

Revolutionary democracy took shape, first, under the benign influence of Soviet socialist democracy, on the one hand, and in the absence of any traditions of bourgeois democracy, on the other. Second, it evolved in conditions of acute class struggle: resistance of the overthrown feudal class, the age-old burden of autocratic traditions, ideology and psychology, and the influence of Buddhism. Third, cultural backwardness, the low cultural standards of the people, etc., created considerable difficulties in the formation and consolidation of that democracy.

However, all the difficulties and obstacles to the development of revolutionary democracy were overcome thanks to our Party's correct leadership, the revolutionary integrity of the popular government, the political activity of the working people, and the help of the Soviet Union, coupled with its experience, which Mongolia has always viewed as a model of resolving socio-economic and political tasks.

The proclamation of the Mongolian People's Republic 50 years ago, in November 1924, was a major landmark in the development of revolutionary democracy. It signalled the consolidation of popular government and the expansion and further development of revolutionary democracy as reflected in the expansion of the representative organs of power, the People's Khurals (assemblies). Development of the system of representative government was characterized by the growing role of the Khurals, the broadening of their responsibilities and involvement of the arats (livestock farmers) in public, revolutionary affairs. The Khurals acted as tools of revolutionary dictatorship of the people against the overthrown feudal class; they were important organizations of the working people, a valuable school of management, involving tens of thousands of arats who formerly had no access whatsoever to government affairs. The number of delegates to the People's Khurals of all levels, including the number of worker and arat representatives, has been constantly increasing. The tables below give the social composition of four of the Great People's Khurals (congresses convened between 1924 and 1940) and four of the Great People's Khurals (parliament) elected after 1940:

Great People's Khurals (congresses)	first	third	fifth	eighth
Total delegates	77	81	85	532
Arats	71	76	83	531
Feudals	6	5	2	1

Great People's Khurals (parliament)	first	third	fifth	eighth
Total delegates	285	233	270	336
Workers	40	58	58	86
Arats	113	78	74	101
Employees	132	97	138	149

The figures reveal how flagrantly the state of affairs in our country is distorted by bourgeois falsifiers of history such as N. Knutson, G. Murphy and W. Ballis who claim that Mongolia's legislative and executive authorities are not representative, undemocratic and not supported or trusted by the people. The facts point to the expansion of representative democracy, to the growing unity of the Party and the people and the genuinely democratic character of the Mongolian people's state.

The evolution of democracy in Mongolia took place within the framework of developments common to all socialist countries:

– Growing leading role of the Party, with Party leadership not an end in itself but an important prerequisite for the development of democracy;

– Development and strengthening of democratic centralism in correct balance with the independence of the lower echelons and expansion of their rights and terms of reference;

– Development and continued expansion of representative and direct democracy, involvement of broad sections of the people in running the state;

– Ensuring social and political freedoms (freedom of opinion, assembly, association, etc.), socio-economic rights (the right to work and rest, old-age and disability support) and other rights and freedoms for the working people;

– Genuine equality irrespective of sex, nationality, education, way of life, etc;

– Due process of law.

These common characteristics were realized in keeping with con-

crete historical conditions, the alignment of class forces and the acuteness of the class struggle, involving specific forms and methods, such, for example, as transitional forms of representative government (the Provisional State Khural) and systems of government (the constitutional monarchy from 1921 to 1924), depriving the exploiters of political rights, etc.

The experience of the Mongolian People's Republic and other socialist countries goes to show that the main line in the development of socialist democracy is its expansion and perfection, extensive involvement of the working people in managing state affairs. Violation of that important principle results in anarchy, usurpation of power and violations of the law.

Socialism is a democratic society, and as such possesses inexhaustible opportunities for promoting democracy. Socialist ownership of the means of production not only creates a real basis for genuine democracy but makes it necessary, since it is impossible to manage large-scale public property, protect and multiply it without the participation of the collective, without broad democracy.

Mongolia's socialist gains have provided scope for the development of socialist democracy. The 1960 Constitution, which codified its principles, marks a new period of development.

At the present stage of completing the building of socialism our Party gives great attention to the development of socialist democracy. The 15th MPRP congress held in 1966 and the new Party Program it adopted set the task of unswervingly promoting socialist democracy, extensively involving the working people in state affairs, expanding the Khurals' control over executive bodies, giving greater authority to the Khurals, enlivening the work of their standing committees, promoting public principles in the functioning of the Khurals and the state apparatus, resolutely combating bureaucratic abuses and red tape, irresponsibility and deceit, ensuring strict observance of socialist legality and public law and order. Guided by the decisions of its congresses and relying on its own experience and that of the fraternal socialist countries, the Party is planning important steps aimed at further promoting and expanding socialist democracy and ensuring that they are implemented in practice.

Thanks to this, over the last decade or so the role of the People's Khurals has been steadily increasing, public organizations have been taking a greater part in management, the administrative apparatus has been improving its work, the art of management, and professional standards and personal responsibility of personnel have been rising. Methods of arm-chair administration are being eradicated. Methods of economic incentive and persuasion are being used more and more widely and continued steps are being taken to achieve the socialist ideal of social equality of all people.

Numerous facts in our life indicate that at present socialist democracy in Mongolia is developing along the following main lines:

– Strengthening of the leading role of the Party;

– Strengthening the representative bodies, the People's Khurals, and broadening their activity;

– Further development and expansion of various forms of democracy (referendums, village meetings, industrial worker conferences, etc.) and greater participation of citizens in the management of society;

– Greater activity of public organizations in running the state, expansion of their functions and raising their role;

– Comprehensiveness of democracy, which now embraces not only political life, but the economy, culture and other aspects of public life as well;

– Greater democracy in the functioning of government authorities, expansion of their terms of reference and independence;

– Strict state and labor discipline and unswerving application of socialist law;

– Development and expansion of citizens' rights and freedoms stipulated in the Constitution, and de facto state guarantees of their observance;

– Continued study and practical utilization of the experience of developing democracy in the countries of the socialist community.

The firm basis of socialist democracy is socialist ownership, the moral-political unity of the whole people, the leading role of the Party and the unity of the people around the Party. Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural, said that 'the development of democracy is possible only given the high political consciousness and discipline of the working people, strict observance by them of their civic duties, coupled with a gradual extension of their responsibilities to the state and society.'

Our Party holds that consolidation of the leading role of the Mongolian working class in society is the main line of development of socialist democracy.

The MPRP welcomes and encourages suggestions from industrial and agricultural workers, it encourages the initiative of labor collectives, seeing it as an important lever in the perfection of social relations.

THE STATE AND THE PUBLIC

Ion Ceterchi
Member of CC, Rumanian CP,
Chairman of the Legislative Council

The past three decades have been the richest period of social, economic and political advances of fundamental importance in the history of our people. Revolutionary changes unprecedented in scope and rate have transformed Rumanian society. Socialism and people's rule have become firmly established.

The Rumanian Communist Party bases its policy of building the new society on the inseparable unity of socialism and democracy. 'Our Party,' said General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, 'sees socialism and democracy as inseparable.'

Deep-going and complex as it is, socialist democracy is a process of continuous search for the most suitable forms and methods of applying it, for the best ways of drawing the masses into effective management of public affairs and for means to give full play to the personality of every individual. The stages through which society passes after the people win power also leave their impression on the development of socialist democracy.

The victory of socialism in Rumania and the transition to the stage of building a comprehensively developed socialist society, outlined in the decisions of the 10th Party Congress in 1969, provided ample scope for the whole people to participate in political activity. Rumanian society has in recent years been characterized by a continuous deepening of socialist democracy, of all its aspects. Speaking of the coming development stage in Rumania, the draft Program of the Communist Party* underscores the need for more and more working men and women, for the whole people, to take part in the management of economic and other public affairs. It regards the development of socialist democracy as a fundamental factor and objective requisite for building a comprehensively developed socialist society and going over to communism.

The socialist revolution and socialist construction reject theories denying the ability of the masses to lead society or participate actively in politics. Ceterchi dwelled on some of the measures the Communist Party has taken, or plans to take, to promote socialist democracy. The RCP maintains that in the period of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and of effecting the transition to com-

*Approved by the 11th Party Congress late in November 1974. – *Ed.*

munism, the role of the state and of non-governmental organizations increases in every public sphere along with the leading role of the Party.

While exercising its leading role, the Party steadfastly fosters its links with the masses on democratic lines and encourages nationwide discussion of its policies and its program. To exercise its leading role in state and society on an optimal basis, the Party requires an organizational system adapted to new developments and applying the principles of democratic centralism, such as collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism. The Party gives leadership not by administrative methods of fiat. It works not from outside but inside government and economic bodies and assumes direct responsibility for the implementation of the program of building a comprehensively developed socialist society.

The Communist Party provides political leadership primarily by setting the general and foreign policy line, the strategic development program for the country based on a knowledge of objective laws, on creative application of the universal principles of building socialism to the social, historical and national reality prevailing in Rumania, and on scientific analysis of the relationship between the general and the specific. The Party's theoretical elaboration of fundamental problems of the development of Rumanian society is reflected in its draft Program. Being the principal ideological, theoretical and political charter, the Program analyzes the social processes that will take place in Rumanian society, specifies the main lines of the Party's activity for the next 20 years, assesses and draws conclusions regarding complex problems of international development.

The role of the state increases throughout the period of building comprehensively developed socialism and going over to communism. Depending on the actual conditions, special emphasis is laid on this or that activity of the state. But irrespective of these conditions the role of the state in organizing social and economic activities on scientific lines grows steadily. To be sure, account must be taken of the dynamics of the socialist state, for the state has undergone and will still undergo substantial changes, perfecting itself as socialist construction progresses.

At this stage of the development of Rumanian society the activities of the state and the Party, the two basic components of the socialist superstructure draw closer together, interpenetrate and become interlocked ever more closely. This interlocking takes the most diverse forms. Mention should therefore be made of measures to eliminate duplication of Party and government activity, and to assure the principle of vesting Party and government functions in the same person at all levels, in urban and rural areas. The periodic transfer of people

holding various Party and government posts serves, for its part, to gradually renew the leading cadres and to combat stagnation and outdated methods.

The interlocking of Party and government activity expresses itself, among other things, in the setting up of agencies performing both Party and government functions, such as the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, Central Workers' Control Council, Council for Culture and Socialist Education, and National Council for Science and Technology. Their principal functions are analysis, elaboration of guidelines and control. This is of great help to the top Party and government bodies. Their methods of leadership are those of both Party and government bodies; they make political and legally binding decisions, and are accountable to both the Party and the government. This combination has the merit of lending special political significance to social, economic, scientific and cultural activities.

Of course, the interlocking of Party and government activity does not mean a fusion of these two types of public activity and management, which will remain separate and autonomous for a long time to come, that is, for as long as the state and the Party exist.

The people's participation in the solution of problems of socialist construction through various mass organizations plays an important part in fostering socialist democracy. It is to this end that an effort has been made in recent years to improve the structure, activity and working methods of the trade unions, women's and youth organizations, art and professional unions, scientific, social and cultural societies and associations.

A highly important measure intended to improve the organizational forms of the people's participation in the management of public affairs was the establishment in 1968 of the Socialist Unity Front as a revolutionary political, representative democratic organization uniting all non-governmental organizations and social groups under the leadership of the RCP. The SUF is a reflection of the harmonious unity of the working people with the Party and represents all working people irrespective of nationality.

According to a decision of its First Congress (May 1974), the SUF has important tasks to fulfil in furthering socialist democracy and enlisting the participation of all citizens in political activity. The SUF coordinates the activity of all its member organizations, directs the work of public control bodies, organizes election campaigns, nominates the candidates and checks their work to ensure that they fulfil their commitments to the electorate.

With the evolution of the Rumanian political system, the activities of government bodies and non-governmental organizations draw closer together and intertwine. This takes diverse forms, which are

continuously improved. Representatives of public organizations are members of government bodies, such as the cabinet, the collegiums of ministries, local government bodies, and working people's councils and committees, and collective management bodies of economic organizations and institutions. Non-governmental organizations help to carry out the national plan and to draft guidelines. They play an important part in elections to representative bodies, exercise public control and see to the strict enforcement of laws in some economic and other public spheres.

In view of the objective process of fusion of the socialist state with society, the Party calls attention to the dangers posed by a tendency toward red tape in the management of economic, cultural and other public affairs, which may result in loss of contact with the masses and give rise to contradictions detrimental to socialist construction. This is why steps are taken to intensify public control over government bodies at all levels.

At this stage of the evolution of the state, measures are adopted to improve the forms, pattern, principles and methods of state activity. It is in this sense that the principles of democratic centralism are promoted with due regard to new conditions. Decision-making by central bodies on key matters dialectically combines with extension of the powers and autonomy of local bodies and economic organizations. The principle of collective leadership is highly effective.

In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth and 10th Party congresses and national Party conferences, the role of representative bodies was heightened and their functions were defined more precisely to distinguish them from those of executive bodies. The Grand National Assembly, the highest organ of state power and the sole legislative body, plays a bigger role and has introduced the practice of holding open sittings. The role of local government bodies has increased too.

Steps have been taken to ensure that in future elections several candidates are nominated for each office, which will enable citizens to elect the most competent and efficient men and women showing initiative and upholding the people's fundamental interests with firmness and a sense of responsibility.

The Communist Party has been doing much, especially of late, to streamline the state apparatus, cut expenses and eliminate duplication and formalism. All government bodies were restructured, redundant echelons abolished, and the non-productive apparatus reduced. This made it possible to reassign specialists from administrative offices to industrial jobs.

Agencies of the socialist state refute by their activity the elitist and technocratic theories widely advocated in the West, proving that they

cannot operate in isolation from the masses, without the direct and increasing participation of citizens in the solution of the problems of government and society. There are, specifically, public discussions of important bills prior to their official approval, and periodical national or regional conferences of experts and other people active in a definite branch. Among the new methods of leadership are trips by Party and government representatives to various regions, towns or villages, where they visit factories, agricultural cooperatives, educational institutions, and so on, to familiarize themselves with the state of affairs and to discuss various local problems with working people. Socialist enterprises hold biannual general staff meetings, which are their highest leading body.

There are two growing trends: toward extending the forms of the citizens' direct participation in management and toward combining representative with direct democracy as a method of leadership.

The historic achievements which the Rumanian people are putting on record with legitimate pride on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of liberation show beyond all doubt that only when socialist democracy is consistently applied is it possible to ensure the people's unity and cohesion around the Party and the country's steady advance to higher stages of socialist and communist civilization.

THE SPHERE OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Oldrich Svestka
Secretary of Central Committee,
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The development of socialist democracy is a key aspect of building a developed socialist society, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia constantly devotes much attention to it. The 14th Party Congress (1971) adopted a number of decisions to expand socialist democracy, consolidate the socialist state and extend the citizens' participation in the control of social processes. Today's vast production effort and political activity aimed at carrying out Congress decisions are evidence that Party policy meets the people's interests and aspirations.

Socialist progress in Czechoslovakia over more than a quarter of a century is evidence of the advantages of the socialist system. Our people, led by the Communist Party, have assured unprecedented development in every sphere and brought into being new, qualitatively higher inner and foreign political relations. The economic potential of our socialist republic is growing on the basis of socialist property, and our people's living and cultural standards are improv-

ing. Socialist democracy is developing. All this has helped – in the relatively short time since the 1968-1969 crisis – to give the citizens a greater sense of political, social, economic and legal security. Socialist democracy also finds expression in the federal system of our state and in the mutual relations of the Czechs, Slovaks and other nationalities.

Socialism is inseparably linked with the highest form of activity of the working class and other working people – revolutionary struggle for social progress. It is itself the product of this activity and at the same time provides the prerequisites of its continuous expansion. The state, non-governmental organizations and the socialist political system as a whole become an instrument for maintaining socialist gains, for consolidating them and carrying them forward. This is the substance of socialist democracy.

Socialism removes centuries-old obstacles to the people's initiative and enables millions of formerly disfranchised men and women to receive an education and participate in public life and in government. Unlike bourgeois democracy, which is nominal, socialist democracy is real because it meets the fundamental interests of the working class and other working people through the institutions of the political system. What makes it strong is that the socialist system guarantees the working people the right to work, education, maintenance in case of illness or in old age, medical care, and other rights which the bourgeois system could not even proclaim, let alone guarantee. There is, furthermore, the fact that socialism creates real opportunities for the working people's increasing participation in leadership and in the management of public affairs. Whereas bourgeois democracy implies at best a nominal codification of civil rights, under socialism genuine democracy covers every public sphere ranging from production based on social ownership to education, culture and politics.

The standing, role and social composition of national committees or local government bodies, are in keeping with the nature and aims of socialist democracy. More and more working people directly engaged in production and other public spheres are elected to them. Close links between national committees and the population, public sittings, the work of standing committees and regular personal contacts between deputies and voters enable vast segments of the population to share in control over the fulfilment of electoral programs and in the management of public affairs. In this field as well, the advantages of the socialist system over nominal bourgeois democracy under which contacts with the voters exist only during election campaigns are obvious.

The trade unions play a significant role in fostering socialist democracy due to the enormous importance of the economy, whose pro-

gress paves the way for progress in other spheres. This is why the working people's active participation, especially through their trade unions, in the management and advancement of the economy is typical of socialist democracy. Production conferences as permanent elected bodies on the shop floor are an important factor in extending the working people's participation in economic management. Similar bodies are to be set up at factory level.

The leading role of the Communist Party and steps to perfect and enhance it guarantee the unity of the workers' class and social interests and the socialist and democratic progress of the whole country. Being the vanguard of socialist society, the Party works for a durable and far-reaching alliance with all working people. It holds that socialism can only triumph and develop as a result of the creative activity of the masses. The progress we have made is the result of devoted and comprehensive activity by the working people, of their initiative in setting and fulfilling new and daring tasks. The creative participation of the masses in the shaping and implementation of Party policy shows that they assimilate the ideas of scientific communism set forth in Party documents and decisions and participate meaningfully in government and in public activity generally. The system of socialist democracy is aimed at moulding the working people's socialist consciousness, at making them ever more aware of their responsibility for the common cause and of being masters of their country.

Worthy of special note is the class nature of political power, of democracy, which has always been, and will remain, an object of sharp ideological confrontation. The significance of the ideological struggle grows as the principle of peaceful coexistence takes deeper root. This struggle involves every key problem of social development, including the problem of democracy.

The main purpose of the bourgeoisie's ideological subversion in this sphere is to weaken and eventually undermine the class substance of the socialist state and democracy. The bourgeoisie attacks the basic objective and subjective factors at the root of the genuine democracy of socialist society and the new quality of socialist democracy – the hegemony of the working class and its alliance with other working people, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, socialist ownership of the means of production and proletarian internationalism.

Bourgeois ideologists, and right and 'left'-wing revisionists along with them, misrepresent the ideological, political, social and economic content of socialist democracy. As for bourgeois democracy, they describe it as 'pure democracy.' They adapt this concept to various concrete historical conditions. To them, the criterion of democracy of

the political organization of society is not the people's participation in government and the management of society, fidelity of the country's home and foreign policies to the working people's interests and the resulting continuous growth of the people's creative activity in every public sphere, but formal points identifying democracy with its external, legal aspects. Bourgeois ideologists equate the socialist system with 'totalitarianism' and infer on this basis that socialism and democracy are incompatible by nature. 'Totalitarianism' is the bogey used to frighten the man in the street with the 'horrors' of communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is shamelessly slandered as 'rule of coercion.'

Those who uphold these concepts do hot hesitate to compare the socialist system to fascism, alleging that they are 'two varieties of totalitarianism.' They counterpose socialism and fascism to bourgeois democracy as its antithesis in an effort to disguise the fundamental difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the various forms of bourgeois dictatorship, including fascism. They are echoed by right and 'left'-wing opportunists in the world communist movement who have chosen anti-Sovietism as a weapon while scorning comradely exchanges of opinion.

Bourgeois ideologists applaud the revisionists' treacherous, divisive activity while describing a friendly attitude to the Soviet Union and its policy and ideology as an indication of lack of democracy and a renunciation of sovereignty.

It will be readily seen that all this is prompted by the desire to divide socialist forces and the socialist community. These false contentions of bourgeois ideologists were supported by the Maoists, who are known for their nationalism, anti-Sovietism and attacks on socialist democracy.

The brother countries' great achievements in advancing democracy and socialist statehood compel bourgeois ideologists to modify their views and put forward new concepts. To distort the historic meaning and development trend of socialism, they resort to the 'theory of convergence' which claims that socialism and capitalism tend to draw clsoer together and that this should also express itself in a 'convergence' of socialism and 'democracy,' that is, bourgeois democracy. They demand 'free play of political forces' and 'equal partnership' of diverse political parties and organizations 'competing' for political power.

Hence the high-sounding slogans of 'democratic socialism' or 'socialism with a human face' whose meaning we know well from our own bitter experience. Bourgeois and revisionist propaganda rejects the principles of socialist democracy and advocates 'pluralistic democracy' as the alternative. Yet the fundamental antithesis between

socialist and bourgeois democracy is a direct expression of the antagonistic contradiction between socialism and capitalism. This is why socialist democracy has its own principles and traditions and cannot be a 'continuation' or 'consistent application' of bourgeois democratic principles but only their dialectical negation. The theory of 'pluralistic democracy' runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, and Czechoslovak experience showed again that as a component of the ideology of 'democratic socialism' it denies socialist democracy.

When, in 1968-1969, the counter-revolution was on the offensive we heard advocates of 'pluralistic democracy' also uphold the 'elite' theory, whose thoroughly anti-democratic character is manifest. This shows the real purpose of such concepts and their common class basis, bourgeois ideology. Both of them are ultimately directed, if from different angles, against the leading role of the working class and its party in socialist society. Characteristically, the vaious theories of the 'elite' which we had to contend with in the late 60s and of which we know from the activity of bourgeois and revisionist ideologists in other countries allege that as a result of the scientific and technological revolution the working class loses both the right to its leading role in society and the possibility of exercising it. Science and technology, they said, become the decisive factors of social progress, with the 'natural' result that the working class loses its leading positions in society, which go to scientists, technologists and 'experts' generally. Many of these ideologists go evern further, saying that the workers have no interest at all in scientific and technological progress, because it eliminates physical labor. This not only denies the leading role of the working class, but portrays it as a conservative force.

Reality disproves these anti-democratic concepts. The workers are deeply interested in scientific and technological progress because they see in it a most important means of achieving their ultimate goals. This is why the working class is the leading factor in the scientific and technological revolution and inspires the activity of socialist intellectuals in accomplishing it.

Contrary to the allegations of anti-communists, socialist society is characterized by solid alliance of the working class and intellectuals, which today expresses itself in creative labor. Experience shows that initiative in production yields the best results when workers, technologists, designers and researchers cooperate to solve key problems. Consequently, to represent the workers as an obstacle to scientific and technological progress means attributing to socialist reality characteristics of capitalist relations of production under which the achievements of science and technology operate as a factor alien and hostile to the working class. It is an attempt to isolate scientists and technologists from the working class and therefore diverges from a

fundamental principle of socialism. This is what the theory of the 'elite' means in the ideological struggle today.

Promoting socialist democracy is a standing task of the Communist Party. The Party never loses sight of the need to strengthen its alliance with all working people, eliminate bureaucratic abuses in national committees and other government bodies, combat opportunism and sectarianism and improve the work of mass organizations, in particular the trade unions. It is only on these conditions that we shall be able to cope with the tasks of building a developed socialist society and with the complex relations at the present stage of the class struggle.

SEARCHING FOR NEW SOLUTIONS

Pal Romany
Member and head of department,
CC, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Pal Romany greeted the conference on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

We are convinced, he went on, that this conference, like all those sponsored by *World Marxist Review* earlier, will furnish a profound scientific analysis of the general laws governing socialist construction and contribute to the effort to attain the great goal of the peoples following the socialist road, to the cause of the working people of the world.

The socialist countries have registered major gains in building the new society. The alignment of political forces has changed. The defeated ruling classes of the past have virtually gone out of existence. The means of production have become social property, at least in the main, with the result that the social composition of socialist society has radically changed. The working class has become the leading force building the new society under the leadership of its Party and according to Marxist-Leninist theory. It is natural that there is a continuous search in the brother countries for ways and means of exercising power that enable socialist democracy to manifest itself more and more effectively, assuring the rapid progress of society as a whole. The socialist countries strive to consolidate new relations and meet new social requirements, in particular by gradually changing the organizational structure of power.

The Central Committee of our Party takes systematic steps to perfect the management of public affairs by the state. We draw on the vast experience of brother parties, primarily on the experience of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Our Party sees the main line of development of the Hungarian political system in increasing the political activity of non-governmental institutions and social groups and in reducing the administrative functions of the state.

The Party and the government carried out an economic reform, whose purpose, as defined in a Central Committee decision in May 1966, is to strengthen the socialist social system, speed fulfilment of the main task of the Party and people – to complete the building of socialist society, promote socialist relations of production and the growth of the productive forces, increase the autonomy of the enterprises, improve their operation, perfect economic planning, apply the principles of socialist labor remuneration more effectively, provide further inducements for conscientious and high-standard work, and raise the efficiency of social production.

Noteworthy advances have been made toward these objectives over the past years. People are aware that their growing personal incomes and the overall volume of consumption are a result of more effective work on their part. The production units are not only economic organizations but socialist collectives with rights and duties toward one another and society.

Naturally, in a developing economy, especially in a country like Hungary, where 40 per cent of the national income is derived from foreign trade, it is necessary to regularly analyze the trend of economic processes and introduce changes meeting the interests of society and the need to develop internal and international economic relations. The Party has done so in the past and will do so in the future.

Evidence of the changed role of the state is the reform of councils, or local government bodies, and changes in their relations with central bodies. In 1970, after years of theoretical and political preparatory work, our Central Committee took up this matter. On the basis of its decision, the parliament passed a new law on the councils whose main provisions were included in the new Constitution (1972).

There are two problems worthy of special attention. One is the problem of greatly increasing the autonomy of councils. According to the new conception, they represent the people's interests and are both local self-government and national government bodies. Local self-government in this case means autonomy of local councils, especially broadened in local economic management, finance, the utilities and supply. In addition, the powers of higher government bodies have been considerably decentralized to enable local bodies to make decisions on prblems of local significance.

It is envisaged that the number of districts is to decrease gradually, while the number of towns and their significance will grow. Accord-

ingly, the jurisdiction of towns and villages has been appreciably extended and the role of districts modified, with the result that their principal responsibility today is to consider appeals by citizens or organizations against decisions of town or village councils. In other words, the district bodies have become a controlling authority. As for the regions, they verify execution of the decisions of the central authorities by towns and villages and represent their interests. In keeping with this conception, we have adopted a system of indirect elections to regional councils by members of town and village councils.

We consider that greater autonomy at local level should encourage the activity of the masses. This is why another objective of the reform was to extend the sphere of action of the public. We now regard the local councils, especially town and village councils, as both government bodies and public organizations linked with the population. They concern themselves directly with the all-round development of their respective areas.

What are the results of the reform? It is beyond question that representative bodies now play a much greater role in both urban and rural areas. There are more problems now on which only local councils may decide. Also, institutions of direct democracy, such as village meetings, have gained greater influence. To emphasize the distinctive character of local government, we now hold elections to the State Assembly and the councils at different times.

The autonomy of local bodies cannot be increased without raising the political and professional standard of their staffs. The new legislation also provides for this. For example, the secretary of the executive committee is appointed for an indefinite term. This means that there is always someone on the staff with special training to deal competently with the problems of government over the long term.

Another line of development of socialist democracy is to heighten the role of non-governmental organizations. Accordingly, we in Hungary took steps to enhance the significance of the trade unions as organizations expressing the general interests of the working people and the particular interests of worker collectives.

The Party considers that the trade unions should be able to settle differences between workers and management or between factories, which are liable to arise even under socialism. We strive to ensure greater influence of unions in factories. By a government decision they have been granted veto powers in a definite range of questions.

Democracy at the factory is a component of socialist democracy. We make a point of enabling the workers to take an active part in the solution of every problem of the factory. The decisions adopted by our Central Committee in 1972 and 1974 are intended to guarantee

more effective democracy in the factories and are at the basis of a number of important measures.

We regard advancement of democracy at the factory as essential for building socialism. To begin with, this form of democracy helps to raise the standard of economic activity and manage the factory more efficiently. The idea of counterposing the management to the working people's democratic institutions and to worker participation in control is unacceptable to us. From the point of view of both principle and practice, a socialist factory can be run efficiently provided these two forms are combined. Democracy at the factory gives the workers a keener sense of being in control and encourages their initiative. Lastly, in view of the working people's social and political interests, the factory is the most important sphere of their life and work.

Hungary has much valuable experience in maintaining democratic institutions in the factories. Their forms vary. The important thing in each case is to use the form to which it is particularly easy to impart the right content and which guarantees effective participation by the workers in the solution of every problem of the factory.

The 1966 electoral reform had a twofold purpose: encouraging the citizens' interest in general and local elections, and heightening by political means the role of working people's representative bodies in the everyday activity of the state. The Central Committee decisions of 1970 took the matter a step farther. Their main points can be stated as follows:

To increase the role of citizens, the right to nominate candidates is granted to electors' meetings. The Popular Front may make proposals which, however, must be put to the vote at these meetings.

There are more electoral districts in which each seat is contested by two or three candidates. The Central Committee suggested that several candidates be nominated in every electoral district where this is socially necessary, but that this is not obligatory where no such need exists. A nominee supporting the Popular Front program who wins one-third of the votes by a show of hands is included in the list of candidates. Any participant in the meeting may nominate a candidate.

Where several candidates are nominated, the voter must indicate in the ballot the candidate he votes for. Formerly, under the regulations of 1966, a vote was considered to have been cast for the candidate heading the list unless the voter indicated otherwise. Since 1970 such ballots are considered invalid because they do not show the voter's choice. Contrary to expectations, this new provision has not led to any appreciable increase of invalid ballots, which is an indication of the citizens' increased interest in elections, their ability to exercise their rights and their active participation in the poll.

Lastly, the activity of the electorate has grown due to amendments

in the electoral system. Prior to 1970, four categories of representative bodies were elected: the State Assembly, regional, district, and town (village) councils. Since 1970 direct elections are held only to parliament and town (village) councils. There is no representation at district level but only administrative bodies subordinated to the executive committees of regional councils. Members of the latter are elected by town (village) councils, mostly from their own midst. It follows that we have partly introduced two-stage elections, or indirect representation.

The purpose of indirect representation on the regional level is to provide opportunities for representing the collective interests of towns and villages. In our conditions, this corresponds to the new role of the regions mentioned earlier. This form of representation helps to express and coordinate within the region concerned the distinctive interests of its component territorial units and the interests of different social groups.

Socialist democracy cannot be furthered without strengthening the power of the working class and heightening its social and political role in society. The Central Committee of our Party and Comrade Kadar have repeatedly pointed out that the cause of the working class is the cause of the whole people, of the whole socialist nation. All the fundamental work of perfecting the political system of socialism and promoting socialist democracy is concentrated in the Party, in its Central Committee and various Party bodies. The Party's duty is to determine the lines of development of every process in this sphere, analyze and solve theoretical problems and organize everyday activities.

In carrying out these tasks today, no Communist Party should proceed solely from its own experience. We must draw on the common, collective experience, especially the experience of parties in power, bearing the responsibilities of government. The HSWP will hold its 11th Congress in March 1975. The drafts of the main Congress documents will be submitted for public discussion. This is a further indication of the vast potentialities and great vitality of socialist democracy.

All speakers at the conference pointed out the importance and timeliness of the initiative taken by its sponsors – *World Marxist Review* and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. In the opinion of all participants, the conference enabled the brother parties concerned to hold an interesting and useful exchange of views and experiences on the highly topical problem of advancing democracy in socialist countries.



The vanguard of the working class and the dynamics of social development

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In analyzing the salient characteristics of the Marxist-Leninist party of our time, it is important, we believe, to bear in mind that the revolutionary party of the working class, like the class itself and like every phenomenon of nature, society or thought, is governed by dialectical laws. Only metaphysicians will deny the continuous evolution in the Communist parties from lower to higher, from simple to complex, from less to more perfect forms and methods. Marxist-Leninist analysis of every new historical situation extends the parties' knowledge of the world and the laws governing the life of society. Nor is this merely an accumulation of quantitative changes, for the process goes through qualitatively new stages. In other words, the Marxist-Leninist party today is the vanguard of the working class and all working people, a vanguard developing ideologically, politically and organizationally.

This continuous evolution is made possible by the fact that the party bases its activity on fundamental principles which have fully proved their worth in the course of history and are never renounced. Here are some of these principles:

– Marxism-Leninism is the ideological and theoretical basis of the Party, which uncompromisingly upholds its purity against all right or 'left'-wing opportunist falsification;

– the Party must operate as the conscious, organized and disci-

Continuing our international discussion on 'The Marxist-Leninist Party of Our Epoch.' Authors from nine Communist parties already took part in the exchange of views on this subject. See *WMR*, February, April, June, July, September, October, November and December 1974.

plined vanguard of the working class at every stage of the struggle for the transition from capitalism to communism, that is, the stages of winning, developing and safeguarding democracy, fighting for the political power of the working class, and building socialist and communist society;

– the Party is the embodiment of consistent proletarian internationalism.

It is these fundamental principles that enable the Marxist-Leninist parties to advance to qualitatively new stages. How dynamically they develop was shown when, in 1973, the world communist movement commemorated the 70th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. The Bolshevik Party, the party of a new type launched by Lenin at that Congress, transformed backward tsarist Russia into a socialist state which today is building a communist society and without which no major international problem can be solved. The CPSU achieved this by leaning on the working people's growing confidence and by showing them that the main goal is to bring the working class to power and build socialism. It opened a realistic way to this goal, both elucidating and overcoming complicated situations. Lenin's Party always inspired the masses with proletarian internationalism, doing so even in the most trying conditions, as during the Great Patriotic War. It always assessed its new experience, extended its knowledge and improved its work. Unquestionably, this also accounts for the great gains which the CPSU registers today in carrying out the decisions of its 24th Congress.

The record of the SUPG and the strategy and tactics approved by its Eighth Party Congress (1971) refute the mechanistic interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist parties' continuity of policy, alleged to conserve what is outdated and to run counter to the objectively necessary, qualitatively new requirements of social development. One of the distinguishing features of the Leninist working methods sought by the SUPG leadership is, in our view, to combine loyalty to revolutionary tradition with the solution of new problems and with revolutionary prognostication and forethought concerning both the near and the distant future. Future writers of the history of our Party as well as we contemporaries have good reason to describe the Eighth Party Congress as a qualitatively new stage and an objectively necessary turning point in the evolution of our Party.

Historically, the Congress declared, our republic has reached the developed-socialism stage of the communist formation. A prominent qualitative index of this stage is the immense, dynamically growing conscious activity of the working class as the leading social force. The greatly increased influence and leading role of the working class in society foster the creative initiative of its allies, the cooperative

farmers and socialist intellectuals, as well as the youth and women. It is initiative aimed at accomplishing the main task set by the Eighth Congress, that is, raising our people's material and cultural standards.

The new phase of developed socialism in the GDR is not a result of spontaneous processes. We owe it to objective historical factors and to our Marxist-Leninist Party's steadfast and meaningful activity. The revolutionary transformation of production relations in laying the groundwork for socialism brought about a far-reaching change in the consciousness of the working class, whose ability to control complex processes in an industrially developed socialist society rose to a new plane.

The growth, consolidation and effective use of socialist property revealed to both the workers and their allies what is qualitatively new in social, human relations under socialism. They showed them the advantages of socialism over the old system, a system based on exploitation. The working people of the GDR have come to see that the manifest rise in their standard of life is not a 'gift from above,' but the result of their own effort, of their labor freed from exploitation. Revolutionary changes in the foundations, and hence in the living conditions, of society as a whole and in the life of every individual, likewise led to appreciable changes in world outlook and imparted to the masses a scientific understanding of relations between classes and strata in socialist society. Under the influence of the working class, the overwhelming majority of the people realized that the decisive condition for success is the leadership of society by the Marxist-Leninist party as the highest form of political organization of the working class, a leadership based on unity and on scientific knowledge of the laws of socialist development. This historically high degree of maturity of social consciousness and of confidence in the Marxist-Leninist Party was a result of both propaganda among the masses and 'their own political experience' (Lenin, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 93).

Increased political experience and the new level of consciousness of the working class and other working people were profoundly analyzed by the 14th CC Plenum (1970) and then by the Eighth Party Congress. Thereby the Party ensured complete harmony between its activity and the interests and level of social awareness of the working class and its allies, and specified its policy line at the given stage. 'The task of the SUPG as the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class,' said Erich Honecker in his report to the Eighth Congress, 'is to politically direct social development in the GDR according to scientifically sound strategy and tactics. It encourages all citizens to show initiative in achieving still greater prosperity for the socialist

order . . . The Central Committee stresses that *political* leadership of society is the pivot of Party leadership. '

Developed socialist society is an objectively conditioned stage of history and not, as our opponents assert, an extra stage, invented by us, on the road from socialism to communism. The Party's policies are based on a profound knowledge of the substance of developed socialism as a stage in history and on analysis of the objective degree of growth of the republic's productive forces, maturity of social and economic relations, the conditions in which the scientific and technological revolution goes on and the requirements of economic integration of the socialist community.

Our working class strives to use the advantages of socialism ever more fully in the interests of the people and world socialism. It puts exacting demands in this respect to its vanguard, the SUPG. This is the chief reason for the logically growing role of the Marxist-Leninist party in developed socialist society. It also explains why the Party attaches tremendous importance, especially since its Eighth Congress, to the old but still relevant problem of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, the problem of continuously shaping harmonious relations between the Party, the classes and the masses.

Both the present and the future of every Marxist-Leninist party depend on whether this problem is solved in a Leninist spirit. The principles of solving it constitute one of the most important distinctions between parties which rightly call themselves Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois or Social-Democratic parties.

Ossip Flechtheim, a politologist, recently published an article entitled 'Do Parties Still Have a Future?' He admits that parties are invariably interested in 'ensuring the immediate particular interests . . . of *the mighty and propertied,'* whose *'position, mentality and ideology* largely limit the parties' policy.' Flechtheim goes on to say that in face of the universal necessity for reform and renewal, which has assumed truly revolutionary dimensions, 'these parties' ability to effect "the great transformation" falls appallingly *short of the needs of the times.'* Since Flechtheim is dealing with parties committed to upholding an exploiting system, he comes to the following conclusion which is both inevitable and typical of a bourgeois theorist: 'Inasmuch as the party of today generally subordinates the long-range interests of mankind to *short-range special ambitions and notions,* it is, now as in the past, anything but a "party of the future"' (my italics. *H.W.*)

This admission by an apologist for capitalism is merely a further proof of the vast superiority and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist party. Practice shows that the SUPG, like the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, defends the interests of the working class and other working people and not those of any privileged groups. It gives the lie

to the enemies of socialism, to the 'left' and right-wing opportunists of every shade who distort Lenin's theory of the new-type party, alleging that it serves an 'elite' and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is 'dictatorship of the party,' or the 'omnipotence' of a 'mysterious' apparatus.

Such allegations are not new. Lenin refuted them as far back as 1920. 'The mere presentation of the question — "dictatorship of the party *or* dictatorship of the class; dictatorship (party) of the leaders *or* dictatorship (party) of the masses?" – testifies to most incredibly and hopelessly muddled thinking,' he wrote (Vol. 31, p. 41). We know that the masses are divided into classes and that these classes are generally or mostly led by political parties, which are, as a rule, controlled by more or less permanent groups of the most authoritative, influential and experienced persons elected to key positions and known as leaders. Lenin regarded incomprehension of this as ridiculous, to say the least.

The experience of the Marxist-Leninist party's leadership of socialist society for almost six decades after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution shows that Lenin was right in saying that while the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable it 'is not exercised by an organization which takes in all industrial workers' (Vol. 32, p. 20) and 'would not work except through the Communist party' (p. 199). The Party also sees to it that the finest, most influential and most gifted of its members do not merely assume functions involving the highest responsibility, but actually perform them in keeping with the interests of the working class and the good of the people. The performance of important functions does not entitle these people to privileges or special rights. The Party ensures that those who hold key posts represent no parochial or other exclusive interests and that their own interests are always in harmony and coincide with the aspirations of the working class and the people. Anyone who cannot steadfastly apply this principle risks forfeiting confidence and being relieved of his post. This is why the SUPG expects its functionaries to appear before the working people at regular intervals, consult them and ascertain their opinions.

The quality of political leadership largely depends, of course, on the political human qualities of those elected to leading bodies. This applies to both members of branch, district and regional Party committees and delegates to the Party's highest authority, Congress. Accordingly, the SUPG always gives much attention to the stability and steady improvement of the social and political composition of the Party as a whole and all its leading committees, from top to bottom.

Our Party has over 1.9 million full and candidate members representing every section of the people. Concentrated in this vanguard is

strength of the working-class, and the Party does not seek mass recruitment. Its aim is to increase the proportion of workers, mostly young workers.

Over 56 per cent of our Party members are workers. Our aim is to continue enrolling primarily young industrial workers who are keenly aware of their class interests, as well as front-rank cooperative farmers. However, we must not in so doing forget the need to build up our influence in every public sphere, including the universities, research institutes and unions of creative workers.

The following figures give an idea of the results of the Party's sustained effort to regulate the social composition of new members.

Among the candidate members admitted in the first half of 1974, workers made up 75.7 per cent, with 82.5 per cent of the new members under 30.

Among those elected full or alternate members of district, city or city district committees last January, workers made up 55 per cent (against 52 per cent in 1971). It is indicative that 52.5 per cent of these workers are directly engaged in material production.

No less than 88 per cent of the first secretaries of district Party committees are of working class origin, and 93.9 per cent have been Party members for more than 20 years.

On the regional Party committees elected in 1974, the share of workers is 1.2 per cent greater than in 1971 and 41.8 per cent of the workers elected to these committees are directly engaged in material production. The share of workers among the delegates to the latest annual regional conferences was 62.4 per cent, and 56.8 per cent of the 391 comrades who spoke at these conferences were workers.

These are not 'show statistics.' They are evidence of the growing activity of the working class and of its increasing sense of responsibility toward its Party. They also indicate that the political leadership of socialist society is not exercised by a 'mysterious,' anonymous apparatus. Party members elect to leading committees at all levels the finest working men and women loyal to revolutionary traditions, sons and daughters of the people, and the elected realize that they must study harder than ever to know more, and must, by maintaining daily contact with the masses, justify the confidence shown them.

'To do service to the masses and express *their* interests,' Lenin wrote, 'the advanced contingent, the organization, must carry on all its activity ampng the masses, drawing from the masses all the best forces without any exception, at every step verifying carefully and objectively whether contact with the masses is being maintained and whether it is a live contact. In this way, and *only* in this way, does the advanced contingent train and enlighten the masses, expressing *their* interests, teaching them organization and directing *all* the activities of

the masses along the path of conscious class politics' (Vol. 19, p. 409).

The continuity of revolutionary traditions and success in fulfilling the Party's program and tasks, and hence in meeting the aspirations of the working class and the people, depend on the qualities of the Party leadership democratically elected by congress. The Eighth Congress of the SUPG elected the Central Committee which, in turn, elected the Political Bureau and the Secretariat. These two bodies, led by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC, ensure the consistent implementation of our Party's Marxist-Leninist general line. They enjoy the full confidence of the citizens of the GDR. The experience of the SUPG shows how correct Wilhelm Pieck, the first President of our republic, was when, in 1939, he wrote that the struggle for Marxism-Leninism in the Party also expresses itself in the formation of a revolutionary leadership.

The SUPG leadership continuously perfects the forms and methods of Party work and devises new ones when necessary, applying the tried and tested principle of democratic centralism. It does its best to draw every member into Party work. 'Where we have a Party comrade we also have the Party and there our arguments carry more weight.' These words, spoken by Erich Honecker, fill Communists with a proud sense of confidence and raise their prestige as Party members and individuals. Communists are eager to learn, extend their knowledge and widen their range of arguments, so as to better represent their Party. The CC directs a regular flow of information to all organizations, especially factory and farm branches.

The conferences which the CC Secretariat has held with district committee secretaries since the Eighth Congress play an important part in stepping up Party work and fostering inner-Party democracy. At these conferences, which are important political forums, the First Secretary of the CC discusses fundamental problems of Party policy.

Thus, numerous facts disprove the allegations of diverse renegades – that the Marxist-Leninist party today is an 'extraneous' stagnated body artificially kept alive by 'dogmas,' that it has been brought into being by a 'new class' of 'functionaries' alienated from the people, that it makes decisions 'over people's heads' to please the 'apparatus,' and so on. These falsehoods are refuted by the actual practice of the CPSU, SUPG and other fraternal parties basing their relations with the working class and other working people on Leninist principles.

It is fair to say, therefore, that unlike bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties and groups, the Marxist-Leninist parties of today are efficient social entities whose backbone is the working class, the leading as well as the soundest force of the people.

The Communist Party has a lofty ultimate goal, socialism and

communism. It consistently expresses the interests of the working class and all other working people and is equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory and method. All this enables it to analyze every situation, no matter how complicated, and apply the right tactics. The Communists do not have a universal remedy for all situations. But neither do they evolve their tactics by intuition, by merely following their revolutionary instinct. 'Tactics,' Lenin wrote, 'must be based on a sober and strictly objective appraisal of *all* the class forces in a particular state (and of the states that surround it, and of all states the world over) as well as of the experience of revolutionary movements' (Vol. 31, p. 63).

Our Party, like other fraternal parties, is always guided by this thesis of Lenin's in setting its goals. The task of *politically leading developed socialist society*, set by the Eighth Congress, has many aspects. It implies management of the economy and of the diverse social processes on the strength of constant scientific analysis. But it also implies effort to provide favorable foreign policy conditions for socialist construction by working for peace in Europe and the world, for normalization and expansion of relations with all states, including the FRG, on the principles of peaceful coexistence and in close coordination with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is carrying out the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

In fulfilling this task, our Party, its Central Committee and above all its First Secretary, Erich Honecker, conduct manifold theoretical, ideological and organizing activities based on Lenin's doctrine of the Party, on Leninism. We see in the experience and Leninist strategy and tactics of the CPSU an example, an inexhaustible source of knowledge and a basis for our practice. A component of our Party's theoretical and ideological work has always been, especially since the Eighth Congress, to demonstrate scientifically and in terms convincing to the masses that the Soviet Union has not only paved the way from capitalism to socialism for mankind, but is the first country to be advancing to communism, thereby offering all peoples a realistic future.

In assessing the immense historic achievements of the CPSU, we stress its decisive role in today's world revolutionary process. Our Party regards the attitude to the Soviet Union and the CPSU as a criterion of the attitude to socialism and Leninism. Lenin said that only he who recognizes the inevitability of the class struggle and of the dictatorship of the proletariat may call himself a Marxist. By the same token, we have every reason to say that only he who recognizes Leninism as the Marxism of our epoch and acknowledges the fact that the Soviet Union consistently puts Leninism into practice and that the

experiences and policies of the CPSU are part and parcel of the theory and practice of Leninism, may call himself a Leninist. Those, however, who follow an anti-Soviet policy and slander Lenin's Party as the Maoists and their underlings do, are splitting the revolutionary working-class movement and deserting the revolutionary working-class movement and deserting to the camp of imperialism and revisionism. Consequently, they have no right to call themselves Marxist-Leninists.

Prominent in the political activity of our Party and its Central Committee are scientific elaboration of an economic policy intended to build up the material and technical foundation of developed socialism, the problem of promoting the economic system, and long-range planning till 1990, agreed with the Soviet Union. The Party calls for closely combining the advantages of socialism as a social system with scientific and technological progress and with the further intensification of extended reproduction. The very formulation of this task shows that leadership is not reduced to production management in the narrow sense of the term but implies influencing complex social processes. It is a question of raising the *standard* of working-class leadership of society and strengthening the alliance of the working class with the intellectuals and cooperative farmers.

A decisive advantage of socialism is, undoubtedly, the objectively existing *open* character of social interconnections and economic processes, which do not take place 'behind the producers' backs' as under capitalism. This is due to the nature of socialist social relations, to public ownership of the means of production. It does not follow, however, that social processes under developed socialism are simple or take place of themselves, automatically. On the contrary, the high degree of labor division, specialization and concentration of socialist production require highly competent management under realistic and well-balanced plans. Last but not least, these plans must be known to the working people and it is a matter of decisive importance that the working people should regard them as their own. 'Realistic plans,' said Erich Honecker at the Ninth Plenum of the CC SUPG (May 1973), '. . . also provide a solid basis for socialist democracy at factory level. We therefore expect the workers to be informed even more fully of the situation and problems of their enterprises and to be drawn even more effectively into the drafting of major decisions. Production plans should be discussed with the work teams. A socialist-type leader should show his ability primarily by knowing how to mobilize the creative energies of the work collective.'

The inexhaustible energy and initiative of the masses, inspired by the Eighth Party Congress and subsequent CC plenums, show that the goals we have set are realistic. A further proof of this is the Party's

systematic and meaningful implementation of its social and political program. It helps in decisive measure to remove all remaining elements of social inequality and direct the process of making the working class more homogeneous and of bringing classes and social strata closer together under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of its ideology. The deepening crisis of the capitalist system is extending to ever wider areas of public and private life. The contention of Social-Democratic and other theorists that capitalism had brought a 'high quality of life' was disproved by the upheaval provoked by the international oil companies. But our 25-year-old republic, which is marching on side by side with the Soviet Union, is forming in practice, not in theory, a new way of life free of crises and worthy of man. Our people, led by the working class and its Party, realize more and more that the criteria of capitalist society, which has outlived its day and suffers from crises, the criteria of its insecure way of life, are unsuitable for socialism.

Socialism develops and moulds its own way of life, one corresponding to its own criteria, development laws and structures, man being the real gauge of everything in every respect. 'The way in which men produce their means of subsistence,' Marx and Engels wrote in *The German Ideology,* '. . . must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with *what* they produce and with *how* they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production' (*The German Ideology,* Progress Publishers, Moscow 1968, pp. 31-32).

The goal of socialism is to create material conditions for production, or conditions for labor and life as we say nowadays, so as to bring them into optimal harmony with the good of the people within the socialist community of nations. It is for this goal that our Marxist-Leninist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, is developing and working.

Program for comprehensively developed socialism

Barbu Zaharescu
Member of Central Auditing Commission, Rumanian CP

SUMMING UP THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The 11th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party met in Bucharest from November 25 through 28. It discussed and unanimously adopted the 'Program of the Rumanian Communist Party for Building a Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society and for Rumania's Advance to Communism.' A document of tremendous theoretical and practical significance, the Program sets out the main lines of the Party's activity for the next 20-25 years. Congress also discussed the Central Committee report for the period since the 10th Congress, the report of the Central Auditing Commission, directives for the 1976-80 social and economic development plan, and the main lines of Rumania's development in 1981-1990. Congress amended a number of provisions of the Party Rules, adopted a moral code for Communists in conformity with the principles of socialist ethics and justice, elected the Party General Secretary, the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

The 2,450 delegates, elected at 39 district conferences and at a conference of the Bucharest organization, represented 2,462,380 Party members. Also present were 139 delegations and representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, ruling and other democratic parties and anti-imperialist organizations from more than 100 socialist, developing and capitalist countries. Many parties and organizations which for one reason or another could not send representatives, addressed warm messages of solidarity to the Congress.

Congress examined in detail every aspect of the Party's work: economic, Party affairs, ideological, scientific and cultural, foreign policy. It discussed and whole-heartedly approved the extensive and

manifold activities of the Central Committee and of the Party's General Secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu. As many as 343 delegates spoke and made proposals on all agenda items. The Congress was thus a democratic forum for the Party and the people. Its documents are the result of comprehensive pre-Congress discussions in all Party organizations and committees.

The wide-ranging and detailed Central Committee report presented by Nicolae Ceausescu listed the major achievements of our people under the Party's leadership in the first four years of the current five-year plan (1971-1975).

In the 30 years since the overthrow of fascist rule, industrial output increased nearly 30-fold. The current five-year plan holds a special place in Rumania's rapid economic growth, in expanding and modernizing the country's material and technical potential. It provides for the commissioning of more than 2,400 new production units. Following the 1972 national conference, all Party organizations responded to the Bucharest organization's appeal for its pre-schedule fulfilment. And at the Congress, Bucharest and 25 districts reported that they had reached industrial output targets for the first four years, five months ahead of schedule. Fulfilment of the 1975 plan will assure an average growth rate of 14 per cent, which is far above the initial target figure.

The following statistics cited by Nicolae Ceausescu are indicative of our high growth rate in the current five-year period. For instance, growth of installed capacity will be over 5 million kw, or 3.3 times more than in 1961-65. The average annual increase of output in engineering will be 18.6 per cent, including 20 per cent in electrical engineering, 27 in electronics, 33 in precision and optical instruments and machinery, 25 in technological equipment and 19 in shipbuilding. Chemicals will register an average gain of 19 per cent, light industry 14 and food 9 per cent. This will be matched by higher quality and technical standards, use of new technology, higher productivity and lower production costs.

A more than 5 per cent average annual increase has been achieved in agriculture, with output nearly twice the prewar figure. The increase is largely due to mechanization, chemicalization, irrigation and land improvement. Meat is up 40 per cent on the previous five-year plan.

Average annual growth of the national income is close to 12 per cent, and this has meant higher material and cultural standards for the people and also bigger accumulation to finance the development program. This year real wages will be approximately 23 per cent above 1970, that is, in excess of the 18-20 per cent increase envisaged by the 10th Party Congress. Peasant incomes this year will be 35 per cent

greater than in 1971. And if we add pensions, family grants, student stipends, free medical service and other social and cultural expenditures, we can safely say that real incomes in 1975 will be nearly 55 per cent above the 1970 level.

These achievements, Ceausescu told the Congress, 'are convincing proof of the correctness of the Party's policy, based on creative application of universally valid propositions to the concrete conditions in Rumania, which unswervingly follows Marxist-Leninist principles in building the new social system.'

The achievements of the past 30 years since liberation from fascism are the basis for socialist Rumania's new advance. The five-year plan directives and the guidelines for 1981-90 approved by Congress are blueprints for building a comprehensively developed socialist society. They envisage rapid growth which will put Rumania among the developed socialist countries and other economically advanced countries of the world. Congress decided to regard the five-year plan directives as part of the Party's program.

In the coming five years, and in the longer period up to 1990, the main effort will be aimed at rapidly building up the country's material and technical potential. By virtue of this rapid economic growth Rumania will no longer rank as a developing country by 1980. Such growth under an integrated plan requires the participation of the entire nation in managing the economy and shaping its own future.

The next five-year plan (1976-1980) will see more intensive use of all our economic potentialities. There will be more exploration of energy and raw material resources; steps will be taken to increase power output to 75-80 billion kwh by 1980, and a nuclear energy program will be launched.

Average growth of industrial output up to 1980 will be between nine and 10 per cent, with output of producer goods rising at a higher rate than that of consumer goods. In engineering, annual accretion will be 11.5-12.5 per cent, with emphasis on electrical engineering and electronics, precision instruments, etc. Here the growth rate will be double or even triple that of 1971-1975. The following are some of the target figures for 1980: steel – 17-18 million tons with a bigger share of high-grade alloy steels; chemicals – an increase of 60-80 per cent; light and food industries – 40-50 per cent, with quality rising to meet consumer demands.

While not easy, the goals set for industry are realistic. They can be attained by raising technical levels and improving quality. The plan calls for a 6.5-7 per cent cut in production costs, to be achieved by new technology and retooling.

The next five-year plan, Ceausescu said, must become 'a five-year plan of the scientific and technological revolution, a plan of making

wide use of the latest achievements in Rumania's industry.'

Industrial productivity will rise by 38-42 per cent in the next five years.

The five-year plan devotes special attention to agriculture, which is one of the main branches of the economy. Gross agricultural output is to rise 25-34 per cent against the mean for 1971-1975. The target is an average annual grain crop of 18-20 million tons. By 1980 it is planned to increase the cattle population to 8 million, pigs 12 million and sheep 18-20 million. To attain these results, we must equip agriculture with adequate technical facilities and introduce the latest scientific achievements to improve seed and livestock.

To be sure, growth of agricultural production does not depend on technology alone. The General Secretary rightly dwelled in his report on a number of social measures, stressing the need to strengthen the agricultural production cooperatives economically and structurally, improve the organization of their production, enhance the role of inter-cooperative councils in the matter of specialization and in coordinating the activity of affiliated cooperatives, and consolidate the public property of the cooperatives, which is the basis of Rumania's socialist agriculture.

The directives envisage large-scale economic and social projects. We shall begin building the Danube-Black Sea and Bucharest-Danube canals, and other works will be carried out to make inland rivers navigable. Construction of a subway will begin in Bucharest.

The roughly 2,700 new industrial projects to go into operation in the coming five years are to be rationally distributed across the country so that no district should lack a developed industry by 1980.

Such swift development is unthinkable without large material resources. The directives envisage an 8-9 per cent average annual growth of the social product, and a 9-10 per cent increase in the national income. The 1980 social product will amount to 1,400 billion lei, and the national income to 600 billion. Out of this sum 66-67 per cent will go to the consumption fund, and 33-34 per cent to the development fund. The latter will finance the construction of new enterprises, educational establishments, cultural and medical institutions, housing and other projects of direct benefit to the people.

Growth of the productive forces requires a steady increase in the percentage of manpower engaged in non-agricultural fields, first of all industry. In 1976-1980 the number of people engaged in these fields will rise by 1-1.2 million, bringing the total to 7.5 million or 72 per cent of the gainfully employed population. There will be a massive shift of manpower from farming to other economic fields. This makes it essential to provide training to approximately 2 million people, includ-

ing 250,000 technicians, foremen, engineers and economists in 1976-1980.

To develop production on the basis of advanced technology, we need extensive reasearch. A general research program has been drawn up for the next 10 years, with special programs relating to priority topics. The directives envisage close links between applied and basic researches, which are inter-dependent.

Of course, rapid growth is not an end in itself. 'The aim of all our socio-economic activity, the supreme aim of our Party's policy,' Ceausescu said, '... is to raise the material and cultural level of the entire people in accordance with the scientifically determined physiological requirements and cultural needs arising from the continuous progress of human knowledge.'

The five-year plan for 1976-1980 envisages a further substantial improvement of the material and cultural well-being of all working people. Compared with the level reached in 1975, average nominal earnings will go up 24-26 per cent, and real earnings 18-20 per cent. Real incomes in the agricultural production cooperatives will climb by 20-25 per cent. Pensions will go up an average 15-16 per cent, and state funds allocated for social and cultural projects (construction of schools, hospitals, nurseries and kindergartens, etc.) will be nearly 50 per cent higher.

In a socialist economy, the targets set for improving the living standard may be considered entirely realistic, because all the means of production belong to those who use them and because the currency, unlike those of the capitalist world, is stable. The five-year plan envisages measures to strengthen the rate of the national currency in relation to others, securing conditions for the convertibility of the Rumanian leu in the long term.

To improve housing conditions, it is planned to build 815,000 flats in the coming five years.

The main lines of Rumania's economic and social development for the 1981-1990 period envisage further rapid growth in every field. In 1990 the national income will exceed 1975 by 250 to 280 per cent and will stand at $2,500-$3,000 per capita. This will be brought about by increasing labor productivity 2.3-2.5-fold against 1975. The standard of living will improve and the housing problem, which is still acute in even the economically most developed countries, will be solved.

Of course, the Party does not expect to achieve all this in autarkic conditions. We can do it only by taking an active part in the international division of labor and by exchanging material and cultural values with all countries irrespective of the social system. Today this is an objective necessity for every country, contributing to world cooperation and peace, and helping to establish a new international economic

order ending relations based on inequality and eliminating imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies.

In foreign economic relations Congress put first the task of furthering trade and cooperation with all socialist countries with a view to solving common problems. Needless to say, the CMEA countries will hold a prominent place in these relations. The CMEA Comprehensive Program unanimously adopted in 1971 provides vast opportunities for the member-countries to expand and diversify cooperation in production.

The program approved by Congress envisages economic exchange with developing countries on a larger scale than before, in particular production cooperation. It also provides for the extension of economic relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence with developed capitalist countries.

Congress devoted due attention to the problems of perfecting the management of economic and other public affairs and of increasing the role of the state in the leadership of socialist society with due regard to the deep changes taking place in its structure. In accordance with the concept of strengthening the role of the state as organizer of economic and public life, it will also be necessary to perfect the organizational framework so as to enable the whole people to participate ever more extensively and effectively in the control of every activity of the socialist state and every socio-economic process under the integrated national plan.

Obviously, the immense task of building a comprehensively developed socialist society and going over to a higher system, communism, cannot be accomplished without difficulties, shortcomings or mistakes, inevitable when a nation follows a new road. However, difficulties are surmounted and shortcomings and mistakes eliminated because Rumanian society has a tested leader equipped with Marxism-Leninism – the Communist Party. Congress gave much attention to the problem of strengthening the Party and increasing its leading role, which it has earned by its firmness in transforming society on revolutionary lines and the people's esteem and confidence.

The Party membership has gone up by more than 500,000 since the previous congress. Workers account for more than 48 per cent of the membership, a proportion indicative of the increased role of the working class in society. Cooperative peasants make up 22 per cent and intellectuals over 21 per cent. Upwards of 71 per cent of the members are directly engaged in material production. In numerical strength and social and national composition, the Party may be said to reflect the present stage of development of Rumanian society and the changes that have occurred in its structure. The Party shoulders tasks

of ever greater dimensions as the country advances to a comprehensively developed socialist society and to communism. It must therefore set higher admission standards and steadily improve the ideological and political training and heighten the communist awareness of its members.

Congress stressed that Party committees and organizations should work collectively and that Party functionaries and every Communist should take active part in the drafting and execution of decisions of central and local bodies. Democratic centralism should remain the basic organizational principle of Party work, for it harmoniously combines unity of leadership and discipline with a growing sense of responsibility and greater initiative on the part of every Party organization and the participation of every Communist in the drafting and execution of Party decisions.

To build socialism and communism, we need people who are well trained professionally and, moreover, possess a high degree of social consciousness and high ideological standard, and are devoted builders of the new society. The objective of cultivating the new individual was accentuated at Congress by the unanimous approval of the draft of a communist moral code based on the principles of socialist ethics and justice.

Congress pointed out that people should be selected and promoted according to their professional and political qualities. Also, due attention, should be given to the renewal of Party cadres by younger people to blend the experience of the older generation with the verve of youth. Congress stressed the importance of periodically transferring people from one job to another in order to prevent stagnation and encourage new ideas and foster a revolutionary spirit in every Party activist.

The amendments to the Party Rules approved by Congress have the same purpose. They envisage that members of Party committees and functionaries of all levels – from branch organizations to the Central Committee – must have definite seniority in the Party and its organs depending on the level of the body to which they are elected. Besides, the Executive Committee of the Central Committee was renamed the Political Executive Committee to stress its role in directing Party work between CC plenary meetings. The Political Executive Committee has a Standing Bureau accountable to it to direct current activity.

The international activity of the Party and the Rumanian state was extensively discussed both at plenary sittings and in sections of Congress. The presence of so many foreign delegations was evidence of the great scope of the Party's international relations.

The report submitted by Nicolae Ceausescu furnishes a detailed

analysis of the international situation. It stresses the changes that have come about lately in the alignment of world forces, and the beginning of international détente due in great measure to the activity of the socialist countries and the Soviet Union, whose international role is very considerable.

The report says that 'the role of the People's Republic of China in international affairs and in the solution of complicated problems troubling the world today has likewise increased.'

Despite the positive changes in recent years, the international situation is particularly complicated. It has a number of aspects which add to instability and endanger peace and international security. Economic, social, national and political contradictions are becoming much sharper throughout the world. 'We may say,' said Ceausescu, 'that we are at the beginning of a new stage in the crisis of the capitalist system, a crisis involving every sphere of public life and finding expression, in greater or lesser measure, on all continents.'

The present international situation may in many respects be compared to the situation before the First and Second World Wars. However, today's problems are more fomidable because of the unprecedented intensification of the crisis of the capitalist system, which is aggravated by the energy, raw material and monetary crises. Also, the present situation differs radically from the earlier situation due, first of all, to the immense progress of socialism, the liberation of former colonies, and the growth of the working-class movement in the capitalist world. The current crisis is speeding the revolutionary process, changing the alignment of international forces in favor of social progress and of the forces championing a better and more just world.

Rumania has steadfastly pursued a policy of peace and international cooperation, a policy of developing relations with every country irrespective of social system. By virtue of this policy, it now has diplomatic relations with 119 countries and maintains economic and commercial ties and cooperation with 130 countries. Rumania has always given prime consideration to the development of cooperation with all socialist countries. It has friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaties with almost all European socialist countries. The Soviet Union holds first place in Rumania's external economic ties and cooperation. 'We wish to reaffirm at this congress,' Ceausescu said, 'the resolve of the Rumanian Communist Party and socialist Rumania to go on working firmly for the development of relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Soviet Union, holding that this is in the best interests of the two parties and peoples, of the common cause of socialism and world peace.'

Nicolae Ceausescu also stressed that in present-day international conditions it is necessary to develop relations of cooperation between

the Warsaw Treaty member-states. However, Rumania does not favor military blocs and holds that the struggle should be stepped up for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, for strengthening the political aspect of the Warsaw Treaty with the purpose of promoting détente and cooperation in Europe and all over the world.

The Rumanian Communist Party and the Rumanian Socialist Republic also maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with the Communist parties and socialist countries of Asia and America, with the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China, and with other fraternal parties and socialist countries. The Congress came out resolutely for strengthening the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries and overcoming all still existing differences, being guided by the incontestable fact that the principles of socialism and the safeguarding of peace are common to all socialist countries.

Congress also came out in favor of expanding many-sided cooperation with developing countries striving to overcome their economic backwardness and the consequences of colonialism and neocolonialism in order to ensure their economic and political independence. Consistently putting into effect the principles of peaceful coexistence, Rumania is expanding cooperation with all countries irrespective of their social system, including the developed capitalist countries.

Rumania bases its relations with all countries on the principles of full equality, respect of national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, renunciation of the use or threat of force, respect of the right of every people freely to determine their economic and social development without outside interference, and respect of their right to build their own free, independent life.

Nicolae Ceausescu made a convincing and impassioned plea for the need to establish a new international economic and political order, overcome underdevelopment, democratize international relations, establish a better and more just peace, for universal and, in the first place, nuclear disarmament. His arguments made a deep impression on the delegates and guests.

Congress declared for greater cooperation and solidarity among all communist and Workers' parties, with which our Party is linked by a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and a common goal, socialism and communism. At the same time, the RCP is expanding cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties, progressive, revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces all over the world. The congress voiced its solidarity with the parties fighting in the harsh conditions of illegality and fascist terror, with the Communist Party, socialist parties and anti-fascist democratic forces of Spain, with the Communists,

Socialists, Radicals and all democrats of Chile, with all revolutionary and progressive forces holding aloft, in extremely difficult conditions, the banner of struggle for social and national justice.

Congress declared for the unity of all Communist and Workers' parties and other socialist and progressive forces, based on independence and the right of every party to formulate its own policies without outside interference.

The delegates issued a mandate to the newly elected Central Committee to ensure our Party's participation in the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. It is our Party's understanding that the conference should take place in a democratic atmosphere, ensuring the full equality of all participating parties both in the preparatory stages and in the discussion; it should not set itself the objective of drawing up binding documents, nor should it discuss, criticize or censure other parties. Only then can the Conference promote the unity of Communist and Workers' parties.

As for the holding of a world conference of Communist and Workers' parties, the Congress stated that the question was not yet ripe and instructed the Central Committee to examine it when it finds it necessary and inform the Party of its conclusions.

The last item on the agenda was the election of the Party General Secretary, Central Committee and Central Auditing Commission. In line with the explicit wish of the whole Party, the Congress, in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, re-elected Nicolae Ceausescu to the high post of General Secretary. His election was a natural consequence of the assessment of the high leadership qualities displayed by Ceausescu since the time he first headed the Party. The Congress resolution adopted in conclusion of its work states:

'Congress stresses the decisive role of the General Secretary in the theoretical substantiation and elaboration of the Program of the Rumanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's invaluable contribution in defining the strategic and tactical line and main directions of action for sussessfully building a comprehensively developed socialist society in Rumania and the transition to the building of communism.'

Nicolae Ceausescu also made a decisive contribution to the formulation of the political line in external relations of the Party and the Rumanian state by his personal, indefatigable activity helping to raise the international prestige of socialist Rumania.

The importance of the 11th Congress' documents and decisions, defining the directions of the development of socialist Rumania to the end of the century, makes it of historical significance for the Rumanian people's future. It represents a valuable contribution to the development of the international communist movement.

political panorama

The crisis of apartheid

Yusuf M. Dadoo
Chairman, South African CP

The major developments in the international situation and in our country in the recent period pose new problems and organizational tasks for our Party and the entire liberation and working-class movement. The crisis of apartheid is growing and more than at any other time conditions are ripening which hold out possibilities of important advances for the revolutionary forces.

The worldwide solidarity movement is gaining momentum. All honest people demand that the imperialist governments stop economic and military aid to the South African racist regime. A key role in mobilizing world opinion and providing moral and material support to the liberation forces is played by the socialist world and its strongest bastion, the Soviet Union. The independent African states, through the OAU, remain fully committed to a policy of eliminating the racist regimes and foreign rule on the African continent.

On the home front the enormous revolutionary potential of the African working class shows itself, mainly in industrial actions, with an ever greater force. In the last few years close on 200,000 workers in every part of the country downed tools in support of claims for better pay and working conditions. They acted in unity and are continuing to do so in spite of the absence of trade union rights and despite the fact that the organized force of the state is mobilized to crush them. The ferment has grown perceptibly among the miners – traditionally the most exploited sector of the work force.

Militancy among the youth and students continues to grow along and in close connection with workers' action and despite arrests, jailings, and the unending persecution of youth and student leaders. In the countryside the arbitrary removal of whole communities and even tribes from their ancient lands and their resettlement to the plots little fit for cultivation is meeting with growing resistance and has to be enforced by armed police contingents.

Among the Colored and Indian people there have been more signs

of growing identification with the African majority.[1] Solidarity with their African class brothers by Indian workers during the strike wave and the rejection by Colored political figures, especially in the Labor Party, of government attempts to steer them away from their fellow Blacks, are among the many indications of growing all-Black unity.

The growth of revolutionary processes in our country is matched by important advances of the liberation movements in the neighboring territories.

The big strides made by FRELIMO and the approaching independence of Mozambique are bringing the liberation force closer and closer to the main fortress of reaction and racism in Southern Africa. The fall of the Caetano regime is in a large measure a tribute to the achievements of the freedom forces in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. As a result of the events in Portugal, one of the important pillars of the unholy alliance of racists and colonialists in Southern Africa has crumbled. In Zimbabwe the successful activities of the ZAPU and ZANU guerillas are creating a new threat to the Smith regime and an indirect threat to its prop – the racist government of South Africa.

The action of SWAPO guerrillas and its impressive political activity inside Namibia (South-West Africa) have created new grave problems for the Pretoria regime.

The overall significance of the revolutionary processes in the world, Africa, and our country has not been lost on the Vorster regime. Even among the white electorate, which has a complete monopoly of political rights, the recent minor successes of the Progressive Party[2] in the General Election indicate a trend which recognizes the need for new solutions. Although these 'solutions' are designed to perpetuate white rule they nevertheless have significance for our liberation movement as reflecting signs of conflict between the various elements of the ruling classes over problems of how best to safeguard the racist-colonialist structure. Even government ministers are talking, as never before, of the urgent need to meet the challenge of the changing situation by the introduction of 'reforms' and the elimination of what they term 'petty apartheid.'[3] The Minister of Bantu Administration, Michael Botha, warned recently that South Africa has not got much time in which to stave off what it fears most – a complete victory by the oppressed black masses. In regard to what he called black-white relations he said 'it is one minute to midnight.'

The roots of the growing crisis of apartheid lie in the deepening of the conflicts in the socio-economic structure of the South African Republic. This structure shares with world imperialism, of which it is an integral part, an inability to overcome the ever-recurring crisis inherent in the capitalist mode of production. At the same time it

suffers from special contradictions which flow from its internal racist-colonialist character.

Although it has specific features, apartheid is, in its essence, a continuation of the traditional policy to strengthen and perpetuate the policy of white domination. This overriding policy has always had as its foundation the maximum exploitation of the working people which is facilitated by the imposition of an inhuman regime of racial enslavement and oppression of the black masses. But as a special ideology, apartheid has its origins in the attempts by the ruling class to meet the changes that were taking place in the socio-economic structure in the late 40s. What were these changes?

The traditional labor structure in South Africa was, in its earlier period, based almost completely on migratory labor, all of which had direct or indirect links with the rural reserves. Such a labor force was not only more easily dealt with but its connection with the reserves provided the excuse for below-minimum wage levels on the argument that the wage packet was supplemented and subsidized by land holding in the reserves.

The trend toward permanent urbanization of a black proletariat no longer having economic links with the countryside was given a special spurt by the postwar economic growth. This had important political and economic implications. Politically, the racist regime was increasingly faced with the growing challenge and potential revolutionary capacity of an urban proletariat more and more cut off from the land and tribal allegiances. Economically, new steps were considered necessary to ensure the continued production and reproduction of black labor power under conditions which would continue to favor the lowest possible wage levels.

Apartheid was designed to meet this twofold need. In the political sphere the answer which it gave was to go in for a more intensive and naked form of political repression and the elimination of the historical residue of political rights of the black people such as the formal legality of their mass organizations and the token representation of a handful of African and Colored voters in the Parliament through white candidates. The open embrace by the Nationalist Party[4] of Hitlerite Germany and nazi ideology made it well suited as a ruling class instrument in its attempts to keep the mass of the exploited in check.

In the economic sphere apartheid was designed to stop and reverse the process of black urbanization and to create conditions in which the reserves could more effectively be used as reserve pools of labor and as a means of transforming the urban proletariat again into a semi-migratory work force with direct and indirect links in the reserves. To advance this policy the fiction was spread that every black worker had a 'citizenship' in one or other of the so-called 'homelands'[5] and that even those born in urban areas (the vast major-

ity) were there as 'foreigners' and could expect no political rights. A deliberate attempt was made to reduce the number of Africans in the towns while keeping them integrated in the economy by encouraging industrialists to move their factories to the borders of the 'homelands.'

The crisis of apartheid is, in important respects, connected with the system's substantial failure to turn the clock back by the use of these new devices. In every sphere of life the racist state has become more and not less dependent on a permanently urban-based black proletariat. The percentage of black labor employed in the manufacturing industry has increased steadily from 57.6 per cent of the work force in 1936 to 66.5 per cent in 1951 and to 73.3 per cent in 1967. The trend continues. Between 1971 and 1972 Africans employed in the manufacturing industry increased by twice as much as the whites and in the railways by five times as much. The same pattern shows itself in the mining industry and repeats itself in almost every sphere of urban and rural employment. On the white farms Africans constitute 82.7 per cent of the labor force and most of the balance are Colored and Indian workers.

Government estimates show that during the period 1947 to 1967 there has been an increase of 156 per cent in the number of Africans in white areas and the latest census shows that in a city like Johannesburg the African population has increased more than twice the rate of the white population increase during the period 1960-1970. The planned reduction of black presence in white areas was to be accompanied by the creation of job opportunities in and near the so-called Bantu homelands. The efforts in this direction have had results which can only be described as farcical. Only 78,451 new jobs have been created in the 'border' regions in the 11 1/2 years from June 1960 to December 1972. The Government's own blueprint stipulated that even a minimal implementation of true apartheid would have required the creation of 500,000 new jobs during this period.

Job-reservation – a device to give whites a monopoly of certain skilled jobs – has substantially failed. Shortages of skilled and semi-skilled labor which interfered with the expansion of the economy as a whole and threatened to create havoc in important sectors of industry, resulted in all-round pressure particularly by employers for the admission of blacks into some areas of skilled and semi-skilled operations. The resistance of the white workers to this is being broken down by handouts and open bribery.

In every sphere the racists have failed to stem the flow of African workers into the cities, into every sector of the economy and into the heart of 'white' South Africa. More and more the white working class is being elevated to managerial and supervisory roles and the whole

productive machine is overwhelmingly dependent on black labor. When it is remembered that this whole process is taking place against the background of a complete denial of civil, political and trade union rights to the majority, the recipe for revolutionary explosion is evident and ever-present. And the racist state is working frantically to defuse this explosive potential which has been created by the substantial failure of the dreams of the 'apartheid' idealists!

The recent spate of so-called reforms and increasing talk of more reforms are an attempt to preserve the ruling class in its present position of dominance in the light of new realities.

Shortage of white manpower is forcing the regime for the first time in South Africa's history to give arms selectively to its black military units in the hope that they will play an effective part in meeting the growing threat from the liberation forces. For the white state this is a last resort gamble.

Industrial action by the black working class has resulted in nominal wage rises in industry and in the mines. In fact, the workers have not even been compensated for the dramatic fall in their income as a result of inflation. In the mining industry the real income of the average black miner was no higher in 1972 than in 1911. The average 22 per cent rise in income still means that the black miner earns less than 21 rands per month. The meanness of the increase is underlined by the fact that in 1972 the growth in mine profits alone was more than double the total black wage bill. Increasingly the former protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland which provide 26 per cent of all mine labor, are becoming more vocal on behalf of their migrants even though their continued status as hostages of the South African economy limits their room to maneuver. When it is remembered too that Mozambique provides 23 per cent of all mine labor, the prospect of a major political change there will add a new dimension to growing labor problems of the mining industry. It is no doubt with the future in mind that Oppenheimer's mining group has recently begun to experiment in one mine with a non-migrant and permanent labor force. This first attempt in South Africa's history to move away from the migratory system on the mines is an indication of the kind of reforms the ruling class is forced to make, and must in the long term introduce a new and more favorable element in the area of class struggle.

The lesson of the recent powerful upsurge of industrial action was not lost on South Africa's regime and some of the 'reforms' which have been introduced are clearly designed to pre-empt the natural growth of black trade union organizations.

Bantu Administration areas have been created in various parts of the country within which labor mobility will be easier. The effect will be that the size of the pass areas has been increased and Africans

residing in some towns will no longer need special permission to take jobs in a limited number of others which fall within the wider area.

The increasing talk of removing some of the irritating effects of 'petty apartheid' and the claim by Jansen, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, that he would try to make the lot of black urban dwellers 'as happy as possible' and that 'we should get away from the idea of the homelands as dumping grounds for people we don't want in South Africa' are of minor importance. The main purpose of apartheid – that of reducing the number of African workers in the larger cities and tying them down to forced settlement areas in the reserves – remains unchanged.

On the whole, the measures which have been taken recently reflect the responses of the ruling class in a situation in which it is trying to contain an awakening people and to find new ways of overcoming the insoluble contradictions and stresses of capitalist-race-rule in South Africa, and, more specifically, the failure of some of its recent policies. They highlight a recognition by some of the more astute observers in the enemy camp that urgent gestures are necessary to cover up the real processes at work because more than ever the previous rationalizations are wearing thin.

Obviously, the maneuvers of the ruling class are an indication of an inexorable crisis. Its main features lie in the changes in the class consciousness of African workers. Even the small successes such as the recent meager wage rises create rising expectations and have given them new experience of the potential of united action on a much bigger scale. The forced retreat by the Government on the question of certain levels of skilled work for blacks provides a spur for greater achievement in this field and highlights still further in the minds of the African workers the iniquitous wage gap between them and the whites who previously carried out the same work. The new deceptive Labor Bill places more firmly on the agenda the urgent need to struggle for real trade union rights and the right to strike.

It is in this sense that some of the reforms which have been won and other adjustments which are being made by the regime in an attempt to overcome the insoluble contradictions of apartheid, are opening up new possibilities of mass mobilization. Such mobilization is all the more necessary because we know that everything the racist state gives with one hand it will try to take away with the other.

At the same time, the fact that the regime is forced to make concessions, however minor, and to go in for complex deceptions which pretend to meet some of the basic demands, is evidence of a ferment within the system reflecting an intensification of its contradictions.

It is in the area of the Bantustans[6] that the regime has pushed ahead

in the recent period with a renewed vigor. It is above all anxious to create ethnic administrations in which so-called traditional black leaders will help to institutionalize the break-up of nationwide African consciousness, to consolidate the white man's claim over the greater and richest parts of South Africa and to make easier the transformation of the reserves into more manageable sources of cheap migrant black labor with the black administrations acting as more effective middlemen.

By 1970 the population in the reserves had risen to seven million. The increase in population is partly the result of the implementation of resettlement policies, affecting people mainly from the 'white' farms and those in rural 'black spots.'[7] In the period from 1960 to 1970 reliable estimates by the Institute of Race Relations show that 1.6 million Africans were dumped into the reserves of whom 1.2 million were from rural areas, including rural 'Black spots.' It is significant that the rate of 'repatriation' from the urban areas has been comparatively smaller and has in fact slowed down. The homelands, observes a South African columnist, 'are in fact degenerating into labor reservoirs for the systematic exploitation by white industrialists or farmers.' There are now many areas with massive unemployment which are being reserved for particular types of employment recruitment. An example is one area in Bophuthatswana which is closed to labor officers from the white towns and has been reserved for farm labor recruiters only.

The traditional subsistence economy in the reserves is already unable to sustain life even at its lowest level. Studies in the Ciskei in the late 1960s show that one-third of families had no arable land at all. In the Transkei 95 per cent of families had much less than the 4.3 hectares of land officials regard as the minimum necessary to make a living. In all the 'homelands' unemployment, land and cattle shortages, starvation, regular famines, horrific levels of infant mortality, etc., are creating conditions of crisis proportions.

Despite the apparent advantages which such conditions have for an economy based on the maximum exploitation of black labor, there is a noticeable recognition that it contains an explosive potential which, coupled with African resistance in the cities and industrial complexes, poses a mounting threat to white minority rule.

The center of gravity of resistance to white domination in the modern period has understandably been in the urban complexes. The black proletariat has a political consciousness and a history of militant struggle which places it in the vanguard of our national-democratic revolution.

It is mainly in the urban areas where objective conditions have helped to break down tribal barriers and where a new national African

consciousness was formed which not only cuts across tribal divisions but also creates strong links with the other oppressed minorities – the Colored and Indian people. The upsurge in the 50s which embraced the country areas had its inspiration in the political ferment which was taking place in the main urban centers.

Among other things the Bantustan program is destined to once again create tribal divisions among the African working people, to move the fulcrum of political activity away from the towns and into the separate 'homelands,' and thus to emasculate the united working class as a political force in the areas most vital to the enemy – its industrial complexes.

Unity of the oppressed black people is a fundamental pre-condition for liberation. There can be no compromise with a policy which serves to turn the clock back and divides the people once again along ethnic lines. Change in our country depends upon the mobilization and action of our oppressed people with the black working class as its most advanced instrument; it cannot be brought about by those who hold office at the pleasure of the white state. Their limited horizons lead them to confuse their own impotence with that of the people and to spread despair, timidity and unprincipled compromises.

The South African Communist Party (SACP) has never in principle refused to use 'what is available at present' in order to fight for immediate improvements in the life of the people and as platforms to advance their long-term aims. But such activity must not be allowed to divert the people from the struggle for fundamental change. On the whole, especially in the context of the growing mood of militancy and resistance, the record of the Bantustans shows that to a greater or lesser degree each one of them is playing a harmful and diversionary role. They will continue to do so unless the people led by their movements take a hand as they did in Namibia where the Ovambos[8] almost unanimously and contemptuously rejected the Bantustan proposals in the recent elections when only 1.6 per cent of the total electorate voted.

We have always been and always will be in the forefront of the struggle for better all-round conditions because we believe that the struggle for these, properly directed and related to long-term aims of power to the people, is an indispensable school for the creation of revolutionary consciousness. We therefore distinguish between reforms which are won by the struggle of the people, and maneuvers which are aimed at entrenching class exploitation and race rule.

The changing situation clothes with greater urgency the need of our movement to more fully implement the tasks set out by our Central Committee in the report adopted by its Plenary Session in 1973. This report provided guidelines of Party actions.

We remain more than ever convinced that the white minority will not surrender its control of the state without a violent struggle. In the forefront of our tasks, therefore, stands the urgent need to create conditions in which organized physical resistance will begin to play a bigger and bigger part. But this task requires more than just exhortation and more than just technical preparation and the activities of professional armed cadres. It calls for the simultaneous intensification of mass struggles in the course of which the people will feel their strength and gain more and more confidence in their capacity to meet and challenge the enemy on his own ground.

Now more than at any other time it is ripe for the workers to press ahead with the creation of nationwide trade unions, free of white patronage, to reject the government-created Works Committees, to create their own factory committees free of employer and Government domination and to use their collective strength to gain full trade union rights and better conditions. Of prime importance is the right to strike which the workers must act on in defiance of the strangulating 'no-strike' provisions of the new Labor Law. The South African Congress of Trade Unions, SACTU, as the most experienced and genuinely working-class trade union center must be strengthened and must place itself at the head of the struggle in the factories for better conditions and trade union organization.[9] A renewed organizational drive is needed to organize the millions of black workers on the white farms.

SACTU has always upheld the unity of all workers irrespective of race or color. Its aim is to have all workers in an industry in one union. The SACP must support those efforts.

The successful workers' actions of 1973 and 1974 and the failure of some of the Government's previous labor policies, have injected an element of confusion and division between the Government, certain sections of industry and the white working class. This division (though not fundamental) and even some of the limited concessions which the government and the employers have been forced to make, provide a further basis for the struggle of African workers.

In the countryside, mass population shifting must be resisted and the enemy must be more and more prevented from implementing its resettlement and Bantustan policies. Majority rule over the whole of South Africa must be the uncompromising demand both in the towns and homelands.

The working and student youth must be further mobilized and organized in their restless urge for the complete liberation of the Black people and the trend for closer collaboration between the youth and the workers and those on the land should be strengthened. The youth

have a special role to play in helping to elaborate and to spread the policies and program of the liberation front.

The key to the successful advance in the struggle and to the use of the more favorable conditions which are developing, is in the hands of the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress. The strengthening of its underground machinery at leadership and other levels remains a priority, as does the establishment of the effective clandestine links between the underground and all organized centers of opposition in town and country. It is necessary for the underground to sharpen its propaganda weapons and to ensure that the message and guidelines of the liberation alliance reach all sections of our people with increasing frequency. People at all levels should be encouraged to take their own initiatives to create clandestine groups under proper conspiratorial conditions which will ensure their survival.

We must rebuff tendencies toward anti-communism which make their appearance from time to time. The whole experience of South Africa has shown the destructive effort of such ideas, sedulously spread by the oppressors, within the ranks of the workers' and the liberation movements.

Not only South African but also world history has shown that Marxism-Leninism is the only correct revolutionary theory for countries in all stages of historical development. Our Party, as the party of the most advanced class, and the propagandist of Marxism, has proved its indispensable role, both as an independent organization and as an integral part of the national liberation movement.

Together with the national liberation front as a whole we are moving forward to intensified mass resistance and the stepping-up of preparations for armed struggle.

1. According to the 1970 census, the Republic of South Africa had the following racial groups: over 15 million Africans, two million Coloreds, 650,000 Indians, and almost four million whites. – *Ed.*

2. This bourgeois liberal party, founded in 1959, opposes the extreme forms of racial discrimination. In the 1974 election it has increased the number of its seats in parliament from one to six, against 122 of the ruling Nationalist Party. – *Ed.*

3. Segregation on transport, in utilities, etc. – *Ed.*

4. Founded in 1912 as a party of the most reactionary bourgeoisie and farmers. In power since 1948, its policy is rabid anti-communism and racism. – *Ed.*

5. Territories set aside for different ethnic groups. – *Ed.*

6. In 1959 the South Africa parliament passed a Bantu self-government act providing for the establishment of Bantustans as settlement areas (homelands) for each Bantu people. Several Bantustans with limited self-government have already been set up: Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa and Kwazulu. – *Ed.*

7. Traditional African tribal lands in white settlement areas. – *Ed.*

8. A Bantu-speaking Negroid people making up more than 50 per cent of the population of Namibia. – *Ed.*

9. For more on South Africa's trade union movement see 'Struggle of the South African Working Class' by A. Lerumo, *WMR*, November 1973. – *Ed.*

For a policy of reason

David Khenin
Member of PB and
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More than a year has passed since the October war. The Communists and other champions of peace, Jews and Arabs alike, are convinced that there had been a way for averting that war. If the Israeli government had followed it, the war could have been averted, and its numerous victims could have been saved. Saved, too, would have been the grief and suffering, and the tremendous damage caused to the people of Israel and the peoples of Arab countries. Yet the threat of a repetition remains. It is the task of all, therefore, to analyze this bitter experience and draw correct conclusions, in order to prevent dangerous developments in our region which carry with them still graver consequences than those of the October war.

In October 1973 Israel's rulers suffered a major defeat. Its reasons are rooted in their policy since the June 1967 war.

Directed and supported by U.S. imperialism, they have stubbornly and recklessly striven:

– to overthrow the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Syria, to arrest the progressive processes in the Arab world, to defeat the national liberation movement of the Arab peoples, and thereby restore the imperilled positions of the USA and the U.S. oil monopolies in the Arab East;

– to weaken ties between the Arab states and the countries of the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place;

– to exploit their successes and imperialist successes in the Arab East in order to weaken the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa.

The Meir-Dayan government policy between March 1969 and October 1973 was planned and implemented to suit these objectives. At the same time, the government sought to consolidate positions in the occupied Arab territories and saddle the Arabs with its own terms

through mounting military pressure. With the support of the right-wing 'opposition' (first of all the reactionary Likud) the government foiled the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242, denied the very existence and rights of the Palestine Arab people.

For more than six years the Israeli authorities fostered an atmosphere of nationalist and militarist arrogance. Elated and deluded by the June 1967 victory, they disparaged the strength of the Arab states and over-rated their own, maintaining, for example, that Israel was a power equal to France and Britain and that if a new war broke out, it would end with the overwhelming victory of Israel in less than six days. The view was voiced that the frontiers, such as the Suez Canal and the Golan Heights, were ideal and the Arab armies could do nothing about it.

The developments of 1973 and 1974 have, however, proved how great is the danger for Israel stemming from this nationalist, adventurist and arrogant policy, how great is the danger of ignoring world processes and, first and foremost, the change in the world balance of power to the detriment of the imperialist guardians of the Israeli government, of ignoring the change in the Middle East expressed in the rising political, economic and military power of the Arab world. Constructing its aggressive plans, the Israeli government has also failed to take into account the mounting inter-imperialist contradictions, which surfaced abruptly in October 1973 and the subsequent period, when only the United States out of all the big NATO countries rendered Israel open support.

The policy of accomplished facts and annexations, the attempts at foiling the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242, did not serve the national interests of the Israeli people. It served the interests of the U.S. oil monopolies and U.S. imperialism, leading to Israel's isolation in the international arena. About 30 states severed diplomatic relations with Israel during and immediately after the October war.

The people are paying a high price for the reckless policy of their rulers. Israeli losses in the October war totalled 10,000 killed and wounded. The war cost 35,000 million Israeli lira, which, according to former Finance Minister P. Sapir, will have to be refunded 'by our sons and even our grandchildren.' In 1974 the foreign debt reached 6,000 million dollars – a rise of approximately 2,000 million dollars compared with 1973. The inflationary process has accelerated. In the 1972-73 budgetary year prices rose by 26 per cent, and in 1973-74 they rose 38 per cent. According to the Labor Ministry, 'pockets of unemployment' are already appearing in the country. The authorities see the way out of the economic difficulties in a further deterioration of the living standards. This is borne out by the devaluation of the Israeli

lira by as much as 43 per cent in November 1974,* and the doubling and trebling of prices for staple foodstuffs and the sharp rise in service charges. Meanwhile, the profits of the foreign and local capitalists are increasing continuously, since the militarization of the economy continues.

The war and its consequences have caused an 'earthquake,' said the former Minister of Justice J. Shapiro. This is hardly a surprising statement: the political and military concepts of the official Israeli policy have collapsed like a house of cards. After several months of agony, the Golda Meir-Dayan government was compelled to resign in April 1974.

It may be asked what conclusions the ruling circles and right-wing forces in Israel have drawn from their major setbacks in October 1973 and the highly unfavorable developments at home and on the international scene? There is just one answer: their 'conclusions' are again imperilling peace and security in the Middle East, and barring the way to peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the Israeli and the Arab peoples.

No sooner had the war ended than the ruling circles of Israel began to prepare for revenge. Public opinion in the country is being manipulated, wth attention concentrated on the theme of 'mishap in the field of security' rather than the essential faults of government policy since the June 1967 war and the responsibility of the leadership. The aim is to prevent the popular masses and the youth from drawing the correct conclusions, to prove the virtues of their foreign policy principle and the necessity of carrying on in the same direction.

Wide public circles hoped that the Rabin-Peres government would seek a peaceful settlement in the framework of the Geneva conference. Various circles demanded that the disengagement agreements should constitute a first step toward the longed for peace. But their hopes were dashed. When presenting his government to the Knesset, Y. Rabin declared that this would be a government of continuity and change. He has kept his word as regards 'continuity:' Israel adamantly refuses to withdraw to the borders of June 5, 1967, denies the right of the Palestine Arab people to a national state, does not recognize, and will not negotiate with, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).* The Communist parliamentary faction warned against the peril inherent in these attitudes, which expressed the continuation of

*$1 now costs 6 Israeli lira instead of 4.2.

*Speaking in the Knesset on November 26, 1974, Taufik Toubi, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary of the CPI, condemned this short-sighted policy and said the situation would be different if Israel showed readiness to negotiate with the PLO in Geneva, consenting to the creation of an Arab Palestinian state.

the old policy that had led to the October war. In sum, there is no visible change in the foreign policy of the ruling elements.

For some months now the authorities are fanning a war-like atmosphere. Government ministers, among whom the war minister, S. Peres, excels in particular, and members of the army command, are taking a prominent part in this campaign. Peres has spoken about the approaching war, and even mentioned dates. M. Gur, the Chief of Staff, declared: 'We must retain the option to launch a pre-emptive war if the sky becomes clouded. This is important for us, this is important for the world, this is important for our enemies – let them know that we have this option at our disposal if certain conditions will develop.'

Even groups close to the government expressed doubts over its policy. The semi-official daily *Davar* found it necessary to criticize official declarations about an approaching war. 'These utterances,' the paper wrote, 'state that we cannot lead a normal life, that tomorrow we will fight again; this is apt to lead one to "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we shall die" and the other to despair.'

Official government declarations are aimed at raising the morale by means of an artificial 'security psychosis.' On the home front, the authorities want to overcome the depression and shock which spread among the public subsequent on the October war, and to strengthen the confidence in government policy without changing its content. On the external front, they want to demonstrate strength and the threat of using force against the Arab countries, so as to 'soften' them at negotiations. 'Softening' means to accept Israel's proposals for an arrangement. Peres defined it as follows: 'We must again infuse the people with the feeling of self-confidence, and inspire the Arabs with the feeling of deterrence.'

Israeli army maneuvers inside the country and in occupied territories and the re-enrolment in military units of persons earlier exempted on various grounds, coupled with broad militarization of the economy, are aimed at fanning a warlike psychosis to support the government's threats to launch a pre-emptive war. Israel's military budget, according to Minister Y. Rabinovitz, 'has no equal in the world.' In 1973-74 defense expenditure amounted to 9,000 million lira plus $2,000 million (in 1972-1973 it was $700 million) for acquisition of arms. This constitutes nearly half of total budget expenditure (by comparison military expenditures in the USA amount to 30 per cent, and in the FRG to about 20 per cent). During his last visit to Washington, Y. Rabin requested an allotment of $1,500 million annually for a period of three years for military acquisitions, chiefly of sophisticated offensive weapons.

Ignoring the existence of the Palestine Arab people and negating their national rights constituted the cornerstone of the policy of all Israeli governments and the Zionist leadership throughout. The Communist Party of Israel has been alone in calling for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. It has emphasized time and again that the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be solved, peace, security and Israel's legitimate rights – such as free navigation and abrogation of the Arab boycott – cannot be secured without recognizing the rights of the Palestine Arab people to self-determination.

Life has proved that the Israeli rulers' policy on the Palestinian question has caused severe harm to peace in the Middle East and to the national interests of the Israeli people and prevents Israel from integrating as a state with equal rights in the family of peoples in this region.

Nowadays, many people in Israel can see that it is a dangerous illusion to ignore the rights of the Palestine Arab people. No less dangerous are the aggressive actions of the Israeli army against Palestine refugees living in camps in the neighboring Arab countries, as are the police repressions against the peaceful population in the occupied territories. This has fed and provoked terroristic reprisals against the Israeli civilian population.

The favorable opportunities arising with the new progressive tendencies in the Palestinian movement and its representative organization, the PLO, should be utilized. Even the Israeli press is compelled to admit that PLO opposes the adventurist actions of isolated extremist groups. The PLO decision in favor of participating in the Geneva Conference (on condition that it consider the Palestinian problem a national problem) constitutes a definite step forward. However, the attitude of the Israeli government on the Palestinian problem grinds the axe of elements opposed to positive processes in the Palestinian movement. As the Communists see it, those who condemn events such as the tragedies at Kiriat-Shmoneh in April 1974 and Maolot in May 1974,* and aspire to ensuring a life of peace and quiet for the citizens of Israel, must raise their voices against the government's policy which ignores the rights of the Palestine Arab people and permits vengeful raids against their refugee camps.

Most of the countries of the world refuse to accept the position of the Israeli government on the Palestinian problem and held that there can be no settlement of the Middle East crisis until the lawful rights of the Palestine Arab people are restored. In November 1974 the UN General Assembly supported the just rights of Palestinians by an

*When several Israeli civilians lost their lives in clashes between Palestinian guerrillas and Israeli military. – *Ed.*

overwhelming majority vote and decided to grant the PLO observer status as the legitimate representative of the Palestine Arab people entitled to participate in the work of the General Assembly and all conferences convened by international bodies. The Israeli delegate was the only one who opposed even the inclusion of this in the Assembly's agenda. Thus, the Israeli government was completely isolated in such an important question on the arrangement of peace in the Middle East.

In its aggressive annexationist policy the Israeli government continues to rely on U.S. imperialism, in the belief that the USA, striving to strengthen her position in the Arab world, will have to resort to the services of the Israeli government as a whip against the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples. It also welcomes the American tactic of offering a 'lollypop' to strengthen pro-imperialist trends among Arab ruling elements. Y. Rabin said in so many words: 'It is important to strengthen USA positions in the Arab countries.' We doubt very much that the expectations of both the United States and Israel will ever come true. Peace and ensuring the security and sovereignty of Israel will not be achieved by throwing oneself into the arms of the USA, but by shaping good-neighbor relations with the Arab world and seeking the restoration of all-round contacts with the countries of the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place.

The Soviet government follows a principled, Leninist policy, which accords with the interests of all peoples of the region, including the people of Israel. This policy is expressed in Soviet support of the right of all peoples to live in independence, working for the restoration of the violated rights of the Palestinian Arabs, and against the Israeli policy of occupation and annexation of Arab territories.

The policy of the Soviet Union since the June 1967 war was directed at a fundamental solution of the crisis which would fulfil the rights of all the states and peoples of the Middle East and would lead to stable peace in the region, thus putting an end to bloodshed and wars, facilitating normal neighborly relations. This is the consistent policy of the Soviet Union.

The Israeli rulers know this. Had they really aspired to a fundamental settlement, they would have – instead of inciting hostility against the Soviet Union – lent a hand to Soviet efforts together with those of socialist countries and other peace-loving states, to find a just solution of the crisis on the basis of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly resolutions, and in the framework of the Peace Conference in Geneva. Such a policy would extract Israel from her isolation, open before her wide horizons politically and economically for cooperation

with Arab countries, and provide effective guarantees of peace and security.

This is the policy required by the true national interests of the Israeli people. Public opinion and many politicians in Israel are beginning to understand this.

Subsequent on the October war our country was witness to a protest movement of soldiers and youth, campaigning for a new policy to end wars and establish lasting peace. True, there were also negative developments: the extreme right Likud, exploiting the war shock of the people, launched a demagogic campaign calling for a 'government of national unity.' This assault was rebutted. Regrettably, however, the 'process of awakening,' as we call the movement of soldiers and youth, did not yield palpable results, and here is why:

All the champions of annexation united in order to curb the process of awakening of wide popular circles. They were joined by all those who were responsible for the failures in the October war, and all the champions of the policy of status quo. On the other hand, the weakness of the protest movement lay in the absence of a clear program for solving the Arab-Israeli conflict snd the Palestine problem. It was both socially and politically a highly heterogeneous movement. Also, it was insufficiently organized. As a result, it did not exist for long, and disintegrated.

Meanwhile, a sharp political crisis erupted in the country. The differences between and within the governing parties became sharper. One of the expressions of this was the polemics in the ruling Labor Party. Recently, at a gathering of the 'ideological circle for clarifying problems of society and state' (formed by the Labor Party leadership) spokesmen of the circle questioned the government's policy toward the Arab states and the Palestine Arab people, and expressed realistic rational views concerning settlement of the Middle East crisis. Admittedly, most of the critics of the government's policy have not yet given up the annexationist positions.

Anyone striving for a realistic policy blocking the road to a new war and leading to peace, must reach the conclusion that it is impossible to create an alternative to the existing policy and to the demagogy of Lukud, without abandoning 'moderate' annexationist positions which deny the Palestine Arab people the right of self-determination within the general framework of a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The ruling circles and the right 'opposition' displayed outrage over the resolutions passed by the 29th session of the UN General Assembly on the Palestine question. There erupted a new round of war hysteria and saber rattling. Again, calls resound for a government of

'national unity' which would include representatives of the most extreme aggressive and reactionary forces.

It is the view of the Communist Party that the General Assembly resolution on the Palestine question constitutes an important contribution to world peace and the final settlement of the Middle East conflict.

The cardinal task at present is to unite all forces, including the realistic-minded members of the Labor Party and the parties of the government coalition who aspire to peace, and to mount a struggle for leading Israel on to the path of a peaceful and just solution of the Middle East crisis.

Guided by the resolutions of its 17th Congress (June 1972) concerning the establishment of a mass peace front in Israel, our Party considers its patriotic and internationalist duty to work actively for uniting all democratic and peace-loving forces in the country for joint struggle against the menace of a new war and for the peaceful cohabitation of the peoples of the Middle East.

The revolutionary process, independence and international relations

Juan Velasco Alvarado, President of the Republic of Peru, answers questions put by *WMR*.

Q. The world follows with close attention the deep-going changes which the people and the revolutionary government of the armed forces of Peru are carrying out to end economic dependence and embark on social progress. What would you describe as the main obstacles to the progress of the revolution today?

A. The obstacles hampering the Peruvian revolutionary process vary in nature. I will list those that I consider particularly serious.

First of all, there are the interests of certain economic and political quarters intent on preserving the traditional order agianst which our revolution has risen. There still exist groups possessing economic and political power that would like to go back to the past. The counter-revolutionary forces have not yet disappeared.

Second, there is the burden of conservative views, ideas, values,

habits and behavior which characterized the old society and which the revolution is trying to change. In every sphere of life we come across various survivals of the past, above all oligarchic ideas and the individualist spirit which predominated in Peru before the revolution.

A third obstacle is international economic power, which strives to isolate Peru, misrepresent our national revolution and suppress it from without.

A fourth obstacle is the attitude of the leadership of the traditional political currents based on an elitist, oligarchic conception of politics and rejecting our revolution, whose purpose is to build a society shared by the whole population. All these groups regard politics as the monopoly of a minority holding power. We, however, look on politics as an increasingly democratic universal exercise of power by the working people who organize to this end independently and on a voluntary basis.

Fifth, there is incomprehension of fundamentally new ideological and political guidelines such as ours. It is shown by many, even among those who back our revolution and regard themselves as participants in it. However, the new ideas of the Peruvian revolution are gradually gaining ground – nor could it have been otherwise – and more and more people come to appreciate and share them. This takes time, of course.

Sixth, there are the economic difficulties arising from the worldwide crisis which, needless to say, is beyond our control.

Q. What are the foreign-policy principles of the revolutionary government? What is your opinion of the policy of détente followed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries? What would you say about the significance of growing cultural, diplomatic and commercial relations with socialist countries?

A. The foreign policy of the revolutionary government is based above all on the principle of complete independence and sovereignty in determining the country's international attitude in full accordance with the national interest. This implies respect for the principle of non-interference, which has two aspects, as everyone knows: we do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries and do not allow other countries to interfere in ours. This principle is applied in the economic, political, ideological, military and cultural spheres.

We welcome every effort to bring about durable international détente. It is only natural that Peru should give sympathetic support to every effort of this kind.

From the outset of the revolutionary process in our country, we established – in line with our independent foreign policy – comprehensive relations with various countries of the world, including countries whose governments adhere to a socialist position. Relations with

these countries have been most satisfactory to this day. We hope they will stay so. In other words, the Peruvian government considers them very important.

Q. What do you think of the present character of the inter-American system? How should Latin American countries build their relations with Cuba?

A. In the sphere your question refers to, as well as in any other sphere of international relations, Peru's attitude has been perfectly clear ever since the beginning of the revolution. We consider that the inter-American system should be thoroughly reorganized. We have expressed this opinion publicly and officially for a long time. Peru believes that relations between countries of our hemisphere should be based on strict respect for the principles of equality, sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

I need hardly add that this also applies to relations with Cuba. Cuba is a Latin American country and we do not see how anyone could refuse to treat it as such. Latin America's political realities and ideological panorama vary from country to country and are markedly pluralistic. Peru takes these Latin American realities into account. To recognize pluralism means recognizing the right of every country to pursue its own national policy, whether or not it differs from that of other countries. This is entirely in line with Peru's foreign-policy principles.

The way to restoring the violated rights of the Palestinian people

An interview with *Yassir Arafat*, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Question: What is your assessment of the situation in the world and the Middle East from the point of view of a settlement of the Palestinian problem?

Answer: As is known, in the last few years imperialism has suffered a number of major defeats. As a consequence, peace has been restored in many parts of the globe. The balance of forces on the international scene has changed in favor of socialism and progressive, democratic and liberation movements.

In the Middle East, however, the situation remains explosive, it

continues to threaten universal peace. The main source of tensions is Israel, a smouldering hotbed of aggression in this important area of the globe.

Israel is an advance post of imperialism on the border of Arab states. It enjoys the full support of the United States and is constantly encouraged by it. In its Middle East plans, U.S. imperialism relies on the aggressive Zionist leadership of Israel, which has turned the country into a faithful guardian of the interests and investments of American oil monopolies, into a policeman with the task of fighting the Arab peoples' national-liberation movement and undermining their political and economic independence.

Zionism has always acted as an invader and colonizer with regard to our country, Palestine. The Israeli rulers have deprived the Arab people of Palestine of their national territory, made the overwhelming majority refugees, and placed those who remained beyond the law. Israel took an active part in the tripartite aggression of 1956 in concert with the forces of old colonialism (Great Britain and France) to prevent Egypt from asserting her sovereignty over the whole of her national territory and natural resources. Israel played the same imperialist role in the June 1967 aggression, the purpose of which was to keep patriotic and progressive Arab regimes from advancing along the road of far-reaching social and economic change, and to restore imperialist domination over our peoples. Zionism and imperialism began to prepare the 1967 aggression well in advance, when they saw that, thanks to the strengthening of diverse relations and friendship with the Soviet Union, the Arab national-liberation movement was achieving important successes in the political and economic fields.

For seven years following the June aggression Israel's Zionist leadership openly flouted world public opinion. Thus, the UN General Assembly refused to recognize any changes in the legal status of the occupied territories engineered by the Israeli invaders, yet Israel ignored the UN stand and in effect annexed the Arab sector of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. It regarded the Jordan and the Suez Canal as 'secure borders' from which no pressure could force it to retreat. The Israeli rulers deny the reality of the existence of the Arab people of Palestine, stubbornly refusing to recognize their national rights. And in all of this they enjoy the full and unconditional support of U.S. imperialism.

In the face of Israel's aggressive imperialist policy it is only natural and logical that the Arabs, the Arab people of Palestine in the first place, have risen to the defense of their existence and very life. The racist essence of the Zionist movement, its colonialist and expansionist aspirations and organic merger with imperialist strategic objec-

tives have convinced the Arabs of the need to resist it with all their strength and by every means.

From the very first hours of the 1948 aggression against the Arab population of Palestine aimed at evicting it from its native land, our people rose to the struggle against the invaders and have not halted it for a single day. All classes and social strata of Palestinian Arab society, with the exception of a wretched handful of collaborationists, joined the struggle. Resistance to the enemy mounted, it became irreversible in character. The year 1965 was a milestone in the Palestinian Arabs' liberation movement. Seeing that all other ways of restoring their legitimate national rights were barred, our people launched an active and organized armed struggle to achieve that goal.

In October 1973, Israel paid dearly for its aggressive and pig-headed policy. The October liberation war toppled the legend of its invincibility. The victory in October was achieved thanks to the all-round and resolute support of the Soviet Union to Egypt and Syria. The balance of forces in the Middle East has changed. The Israeli rulers' phrenetic plans of perpetuating their hold on the temporarily occupied Arab territories and establishing the hegemony of Zionism in our region have failed. This was also a devastating blow against imperialist strategy, for the defeat of Israel and Zionism is an obvious defeat for U.S. imperialism.

The October war created objective possibilities for the achievement of two such important objectives of the Arab nation as the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories and assurance of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. The Palestinian revolution took full part in the war alongside the armies of Egypt and Syria and armed units from other Arab countries. We consider its military and political results to be also a major victory of ours, which opens up the way to the implementation of the Palestinian people's immediate and strategic tasks.

Question: The changes in the Mideast situation as a consequence of the October 1973 war have evidently been reflected in the objectives and tasks of the Palestine liberation movement. Could you tell us of this?

Answer: Naturally, the successes of October 1973 and the new realities and possibilities created by them have been reflected in the tactics and strategy of the revolution.

At its 12th session (June 1974), the Palestine National Council, proceeding from an objective analysis of the results of the war, adopted a momentous political program for our revolution, which resolutely stresses the need to set up an independent national authority of the Palestinian people on national territory as it is freed from

Israeli occupation* and thereby implement the second objective of the October war. The program calls upon all Arab countries to continue the struggle. For the peoples of our region and their progressive forces see an organic connection between the enemy's expulsion from the occupied territories and the restoration of the Palestinian people's national rights. The program especially emphasizes the need to foil the plans of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction for sacrificing our people's vital interests to Israel in exchange for agreement to withdraw troops from one part of the occupied territories or another.

The program takes account of the changed alignment of forces both on the Middle Eastern and world scene and fully corresponds to it. First of all, it rests on a correct, scientific grasp of the nature of the present stage, on a realization of the need correctly to utilize existing positive factors in the interests of the Palestinian people. For the first time our people have gained the opportunity of establishing full national sovereignty over a part of their country's territory and establishing a firm base for continuing the struggle for the restoration of their legitimate rights in full accord with the UN Charter and resolutions.

Palestinian revolutionaries realize only too well that achievement of the political program's goals will call for the Palestinian Arab's intense and stubborn struggle in the face of the desperate resistance of Israel's Zionist leadership. We seek to prevent any weakening of unity in the Arab camp. It was precisely the absence of such unity that repeatedly made it possible for imperialism to take action directed against the Palestinian people's rights, at isolating the revolution and delivering it blows, thereby consolidating its domination over Arab countries.

Question; Could you define the main factors and conditions which should facilitate implementation of the Palestine National Council's program?

Answer: Besides its political program, the National Council drew up a consistent system of measures for its fullest implementation. These can be briefly summed up as the following.

Further strengthening of the Palesinian people's unity, both in the occupied territories and beyond them, mobilization of the masses and their rallying to the political program's tasks is proclaimed a vital necessity. The PLO is proclaimed the main leader and only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. A new leadership has been elected which has been authorized to implement the National Political Program.

*The Arab press speaks in this connection of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. – *Ed.*

The program's realism stems from the fact that it is rooted in the firm base of a powerful patriotic movement. The leadership of the revolution has already elaborated the tactics of further stepping up the struggle, expanding it, enriching it with new forms, methods and means. Our tactics are to step up fighting action daily and hourly and thereby strengthen the revolution's position in the masses, enhance popular cohesion around the program's national tasks, and prevent the enemy and reactionary Arab agents from undermining our people's unity or isolating them from the revolution.

The revolution has always fought against the plans of Arab reactionaries directed against our motherland. Success came in 1973 with the isolation of the Jordanian regime in the Arab world, knocking the ground from under its claims at representing any segment of our people. The Arab summit in Algiers (November 1973) recognized the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, which alone can define their rights and tasks at each stage of the struggle. And although imperialism and Arab reactionary circles attempted to torpedo that conference decision and prepare the ground for an imperialist solution of their own, the stand taken by the official and public circles of most Arab states demonstrated convincingly that such attempts had no future. A similar decision was passed by the second Islamic summit in Lahore, Pakistan, in February 1974.

At the Arab summit in Rabat, Morocco, in October 1974, all participants (including the King of Jordan) reaffirmed their recognition of the PLO as the only and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of a National State in Palestinian territories liberated from Israel.

Of special significance for the Palestinian revolution were the UN General Assembly resolutions passed in the autumn of 1974. In September, the General Assembly, for the first time in a quarter of a century, included the Palestine Problem (not the 'Israeli-Arab conflict' or the 'refugee problem,' as before) on its agenda. Subsequently it invited the PLO to attend the session and put forward its views.

We regard November 22, 1974, as a historic day for the Arab people of Palestine: by an overwhelming majority the General Assembly passed a resolution declaring support for their rights usurped by the Zionist invaders. The resolution speaks of our people's incontestable right to self-determination without outside interference, to national independence and sovereignty. It also recognizes the Palestinian Arabs' right to seek fulfilment of their aspirations by all means according with the objectives and principles of the United Nations. The Assembly instructed the UN Secretary-General to get in touch with

the PLO and grant it observer status with the United Nations, with the right to participate in General Assembly deliberations and all conferences sponsored by international organizations.

Internationally, the Palestine revolution is an inalienable part of the world national-liberation movement. We clearly understand the vital need for consistent and responsible efforts to strengthen contacts with the socialist community, with the forces of progress and democracy.

Question: The whole world is witness to Israel's continuing military operations against the Palestinian resistance movement. How is the struggle developing in the occupied territories?

Answer: Alongside armed resistance and operations by combat groups in the occuped lands, both of which have become systematic since 1965, there has been a wide mass movement (strikes, protest actions, demonstrations, uprisings). Schools were closed, teachers and lawyers went on strike. Now, seven years after the June 1967 war, Palestinian lawyers are refusing to plead cases in the tribunals set up by the occupation authorities, thereby demonstrating their non-recognition of the occupation and their resistance to it. Mass actions created a favorable climate for the armed combat groups, and their actions, in turn, helped to spread the resistance movement to all occupied areas. Most of the Arab Palestinian population are now involved in it.

In the 10 years after 1965, the revolution accumulated a vast fund of experience. With the organization, in August 1973, of the Palestine National Front on occupied territory – in full conformance with the PLO statutes and many decisions of the Palestine National Council – the struggle became still more intensive and multiform. The Front is an inseparable part of the PLO and includes all the patriotic and progressive forces within the country, all the Palestine resistance detachments. Its combat actions have raised to a new level the struggle of our people languishing under the yoke of occupation. The recent powerful upsurge of the broad mass movement in the occupied territories, while the Palestinian Question was under discussion in the United Nations, is a clear and bright evidence.

The enemy retaliated with more repressions. Let me cite some of the facts about the Nazi-like terror of the Israeli military clique. The number of destroyed Palestinian homes on the Western bank and in the Gaza Strip is 19,000 (8,000 and 11,000 respectively). The number of arrested and taken prisoner is about 18,000.* Prisoners are subjected to cruel torture. Many of them died, others face death.** The

*Former Israeli defence minister Moshe Dayan admitted before the October war that 23,000 Arabs, including hundreds of women, were being held in Israeli prisons.

**The UN Human Rights Committee appointed a special commission to investigate

enemy has expelled thousands of resistance supporters on diverse pretexts. Everyone knows that the Israeli militarists are pursuing a genocide policy in relation to our people and are deliberately working to undermine the very foundations of its existence.

Despite the martial law imposed on our people, we can speak with pride of their courage and stamina, their growing revolutionary consciousness and the uninterrupted expansion of the mass movement and the armed resistance.

It will take a long and persevering struggle finally to foil the conspiracies against the Arab people of Palestine, against its right to its national territory. And the struggle will have to be waged not only by the Palestinians, but by all honest, progressive people throughout the world, by everyone who supports international security, justice and cooperation. The Palestinian people can disrupt the enemy's plans. For that they have to intensify their struggle and vary the forms and methods of resistance. We must find the correct combination of military, political and diplomatic struggle. This will generate an even greater upsurge of the popular movement and it will exert an increasing influence on the changing alignment of forces in the Middle East.

Question: The Palestinians are winning more and more friends for their just cause. How do you assess the importance of international solidarity with the Palestine Resistance Movement?

Answer: In the Arab world the attitude to the Palestine revolution – along with resistance to Israel – is one of the problems on which there is polarization of political forces and public opinion. The great prestige our cause enjoys is evidenced by the organization of the Arab Front to help the Palestine revolution in November 1972. It is composed of 43 political parties which enjoy much influence among the public of Arab countries. The Front fully supports the program of our revolution and is making a weighty contribution to it in the common interests of effective resistance to the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The Arab Palestinian people can rely on the fraternal Arab peoples and on friendly progressive forces.

The Palestine liberation movement has established and is consistently developing relations with the socialist community. The process has been especially intensive after 1965, when the armed resistance movement broke out for the restoration of the Arab Palestinian people's legitimate rights. Our contacts rest on a principled foundation, the common struggle against imperialism, mutual understanding, and on the militant progressive character of the Palestine revolution. Cooperation and contacts between us are developing for the benefit of

the conduct of the Israeli authorities. In its official report it condemned the prison regimen and harsh treatment of prisoners.

the people of Palestine and the common cause of liberation and progress. This strengthens the positions of the revolution, sharply restricts the area for imperialist maneuvers designed to impose direct negotiations and a separate settlement between the Zionist enemy and the Arab states to the detriment of the national rights of the Palestinian people and Arab-Soviet friendship. Our relations are of a constructive and purposeful character. They are permeated with the spirit of sincere friendship and militant comradeship. Time has steeled them, making them even firmer.

It should be especially emphasized that closer ties with socialism find their expression at many levels. An important part is played by cooperation aimed at frustrating plans and maneuvers directed not only against the Palestine revolution and the Palestinian people, but also against the patriotic and progressive forces of the entire Arab East. In a number of cases this cooperation saved the revolution from many dangers and weakened the pressure brought to bear on it.

Our own experience and that of other embattled peoples has proved that he who wants to wage a decisive battle against imperialism must strengthen and develop cooperation with socialism, and, above all, with the Soviet Union. Our recent visits to the USSR, Bulgaria, Poland, the GDR, Hungary and Yugoslavia, provide conclusive proof of that.

Special mention should be made of the PLO delegation to Moscow last November. There were high-level talks – the delegation was received by A.N. Kosygin, Member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Speaking for the Arab people of Palestine, our delegation expressed deep gratitude for the Soviet Union's noble and principled stand on the Palestinian problem and a Middle East settlement, and for its constant, disinterested and effective aid to Arab countries and peoples in their fight against imperialism, Zionism, aggression, for national independence, peace and social progress.

The Soviet Union declared it would continue to support the Arab people of Palestine in the fight for their lawful rights, including their inalienable right to return to their homeland, self-determination and the building of their own national home, up to and including their own statehood. A PLO office is being opened in Moscow.

The Palestinian revolutionaries are firmly convinced that closer friendship between all the contingents of the Arab national liberation movement and the Soviet Union and other socialist states is an indispensable condition for liberating the occupied Arab lands and securing the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The future of our militant, humane and sincere relations is as broad as the striving of modern man for a life of peace, prosperity and social

justice – as broad as his apirations for a life free of national oppression. That can be achieved only by putting an end to all manifestations of imperialism, Zionism and racism through solidarity of the genuine revolutionary forces working for the good of man and for the progress of all mankind.

Question: Could you describe the process of strengthening the unity of the Palestine resistance movement?

Answer: Unity of all the patriotic and progressive forces in a powerful and close-knit front is a decisive factor in the victory of any people fighting imperialism. Only such a front can unit the masses and organize and mobilize them for a victorious anti-imperialist struggle. That is why one of the fundamental principles of our revolution, national unity, must be achieved to guarantee our people victory.

The leaders of our revolution are convinced that national unity must rest on democratic foundations; these should be further strengthened in the PLO, and for these reasons:

– first, the PLO is a mass patriotic organization uniting all national forces and contingents;

– second, its doors are not closed, it is not the monopoly of some group or groups; on the contrary, its doors are open to all patriots fighting the Israeli occupation and prepared to accept the PLO political program;

– third, the revolution makes allowance for all national forces and detachments to be represented at the highest level, from the PLO Executive Committee and Central Council to the National Council of Palestine.

Within the democratic framework, each revolutionary detachment can retain its organizational and ideological independence. But in their struggle they must be guided by a program of joint action. And once such a program, framed with the participation of all, is approved, its implementation is obligatory for all. Only the National Council, the supreme legislative body for Palestine, is entitled to make decisions in conformity with this program. It has also to be emphasized that the PLO is the sole representative of all the Palestinian national forces in the Arab world and on the international scene, and is empowered to surmount all difficulties that may arise in this connection.

From the outset of the armed struggle the combat detachments were looking for agreement to consolidate their ranks within a democratic framework far from antagonistic conflicts which harmed many of the national-liberation movements. The democratic principle must serve to strengthen our unity, not weaken it.

Our experience has taught us that unity of all patriots and revolutionaries in a powerful and close-knit front around a political

program of concrete and clear aims is the earnest of continued development of our struggle and its extension to the broad masses on occupied territory and beyond it.

With trust in peace and détente

Tran Trong Quat
Secretary of the Vietnam
Peace Committee, DRV

In an interview with a *WMR* correspondent, Tran Trong Quat discussed the work of the Vietnam Peace Committee.

The Vietnamese people, he said, highly value the peace won in a hard struggle against the imperialist aggressors. They have suffered all the bitter trials and deprivations of war; now they are busy healing its wounds. Houses, factories, hospitals and schools, all the essential attributes of peace and happiness, are being built anew. But if need be the people are ready to rise again to defend their independence.

The Vietnam Peace Committee derives support from the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's Federation, the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth League, the Vietnamese Journalists Association, and other mass organizations. Representatives of all sections of the population, national minorities, ethnic groups and religious denominations collaborate with us. This helps the Peace Committee in its task of promoting friendship and understanding with the peoples of different countries, thereby contributing to peace. We are working along two main lines. Internally, we are bringing home to the Vietnamese people the objectives and scale of the world peace movement. Internationally, we seek to familiarize people all over the world with the vital problems facing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In 1974 we played host to several dozen delegations from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the USA and many countries of Western Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. Our visitors are invariably shocked by the scale and degree of the destruction we

suffered, which lays bare the horrors of war and the terrible hardship it brings.

Although the United States suffered defeat, it is still trying to wage a colonial war in South Vietnam and continues, together with the Saigon administration, to violate important provisions of the Paris agreement on Vietnam. That is why the Vietnamese people are so intent on the struggle for strict implementation of the Paris agreement by the U.S. and the Saigon administration; our efforts are supported by all peace-loving forces.

The imperialists, of course, are trying to obstruct the peace movement in Southeast Asia. In Thailand the government continues to allow the United States to use military bases against Vietnam. In the Philippines contacts with Vietnam's peace champions are prohibited. One of our tasks is to forge greater unity between the patriotic forces of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The Vietnamese people highly value the support of all who oppose imperialist encroachments in South Vietnam and other parts of Indochina.

Our movement is doing much to promote the ideas of peace, international détente and disarmament, explaining to the people that the opportunities for peace have never been so favorable. This is a consequence of the struggle of all peoples, including the Vietnamese, against imperialism. The forces of imperialism have suffered defeat and are compelled to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

We point out that the ideas of détente and peaceful coexistence are advocated and upheld by the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for the implementation of those ideas is not a tactical device; it is strategic in character. The main thing in détente is the easing of tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States. Thus, the establishment of peaceful relations between these two countries has become a prime factor of our time. This is the view of our people.

Of course, peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and international détente do not mean any subsiding of the struggle between colonialists and oppressed peoples. To achieve peace and détente we must roll back imperialism and strengthen the forces of the socialist countries, the international working class and the national-liberation movement, those three main currents of the revolutionary process.

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books and the press

Book reviews

THE LEADING FORCE OF SOCIETY

In the German Democratic Republic, 69 per cent of the ministers and secretaries of state, 87 per cent of the chairmen of district councils, 92 per cent of the general directors of industrial amalgamations and managers of big factories, about 75 per cent of the judges, over 81 per cent of the public procurators and 80 per cent of the army officers come from working-class families. These data are contained in *The Leading Role of the Working Class in Socialist Countries,** a joint work by scholars of the Higher Party School of the CC CPSU, the Karl Marx Higher Party School of the CC SUPG, the Higher School of Social Sciences of the CC PUWP and the Higher Political School of the CC CP of Czechoslovakia. The book came out in Moscow last year in a substantially enlarged second edition which, unlike the first, has Czechoslovak scholars among its authors. Besides, the new edition takes into account the documents of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Eighth Congress of the SUPG, the Sixth Congress of the PUWP and the 14th Congress of the CPC, all of which were held after the appearance of the first edition.

One of the topical questions discussed in the book is the significance of the changes in the structure of society. The facts show that the place and role of the working class in socialist society is steadily growing. The proportion of industrial workers in the population of the Soviet Union increased from 33.5 per cent in 1939 to 60.3 per cent in 1973. In Poland the workers account for more than 40 per cent of all working people and for about 65 per cent of those in the socialized sector of the economy. In Czechoslovakia workers made up over 56 per cent of the population as long ago as 1950 and 58 per cent in 1970. In the GDR the proportion of wage and salary earners

**Vedushchaya rol rabochego klassa v sotsialisticheskikh stranakh.* Moscow. Mysl Publishers, 1974, 268 pp.

among the gainfully employed went up from 78.4 per cent in 1955 to 87 per cent in 1972.

The role of the working class is increasing due to its growing numbers and to many other factors, one of which is the rising general standard of education and skill. In the Soviet Union workers with a 10 or seven-year secondary education made up 8.4 per cent in 1939 and over 66 per cent in 1973. In Poland the number of workers with an eight-year or secondary technical education has doubled over the past decade.

The book furnishes interesting information on changes in the character and content of labor brought about by the scientific and technological revolution under socialism. In the Soviet Union 290 working-class occupations require a secondary education. Up to 700,000 graduate engineers or technicians are employed in Soviet industry to operate sophisticated machinery. They constitute a new social group known as worker intellectuals. Similar developments are under way in other socialist countries. 'Evidently,' one of the authors writes, 'the composition of the working class today cannot be restricted to manual workers ... Intellectualization of the worker's labor leads to the effacement of social boundaries between workers and intellectuals.' On the other hand, the authors point out that distinctions between the working class and the technological intelligentsia have not yet been eliminated and the intelligentsia is still a social stratum. They show that many highly important social changes are diverse aspects of one process – the formation of a completely homogeneous society.

A noteworthy merit of the book is its criticism of bourgeois and revisionist concepts minimizing the role of the working class. Much space is given to the elitest theory aimed at perpetuating the domination of the exploiting minority over the working majority. This is no new theory, of course. Proudhon argued that the division of labor between manager and managed was due to differences in natural capabilities and could therefore never change. Answering him, Marx said that Proudhon had mistaken cause for effect. 'In principle,' he wrote, 'a porter differs less from a philosopher than a mastiff from a greyhound. It is the division of labor which has set a gulf between them.'*

Proudhon's present-day followers try to work their constructions into the context of the scientific and technological revolution. They claim that management of production and social development as a whole is becoming so complicated that most people cannot cope with

*Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*. Moscow, 1959, p. 129.

it and only the 'elite' is equal to it. The obvious aim of this undemocratic theory is to bar the bulk of the population, first of all the working class, from power.

The authors supply evidence of the triumph of the opposite: under socialism more and more working people are proving equal to the job of running society. It is quite true that present-day social and economic developments are highly intricate. Precisely this is one of the reasons for the growing role of the working-class party, which in fraternal socialist countries is becoming the party of the whole people, their vanguard. Not an 'elite,' but the working class holds first place in the ruling Communist parties of socialist countries.

Recent years have seen many more works on key problems of Marxist-Leninist science by teams of scholars of various socialist countries. This is indicative, above all, of the objective need to pool the research potentials of brother countries in order to probe effectively into the most complicated and most acute problems of today. It also reveals the sustained effort of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist community to coordinate their activities and expand cooperation in the ideological field. The appearance of the book under review shows that this effort is fruitful.

O.L.

THE PURPOSE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY

Tadeusz Jaroszęwski's book, *A Discourse on Practice: Interpreting the Philosophy of Karl Marx,** analyzes the conception of practice as a category of dialectical and historical materialism. The author notes that his work was prompted by the desire to clear Marx's views of 'petrified subjective interpretations' (p. 13) abonding in bourgeois and revisionist literature. To accomplish this, it is necessary to clarify a number of general methodological problems bearing on the whole of Marx's work. Accordingly, the author puts two questions. First, is there any difference between the early and later writings of Marx to substantiate claims of bourgeois and revisionist 'Marxologists' that they reflect two distinct outlooks or two philosophical conceptions? Second, does Marx's later work negate his earlier concepts or is it their dialectical continuation?

As Jaroszewski sees it, Marx's abandonment of radical democratism in favor of scientific communism, of Feuerbach's Young Hegelian idealism and abstract anthropologism in favor of historical materialism, or, in other words, the 'birth of Marxian communism,' took place in 1842-1843, that is, much earlier than some analysts

*Tadeusz M. Jaroszewski, *Rozwazania o praktyce, Wokol interpretacji filozofii Karola Marksa*. Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. Warsaw, 1974. 391 pp.

affirm. The author shows that after 1843 Marx formulated the general tenets of his materialism in such works as *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, *The Holy Family*, *The German Ideology* and *Theses on Feuerbach*. He elaborated this new trend in subsequent philosophical, economic and historical writings. Hence, to counterpose Marx's early work to its subsequent development is as wrong as to counterpose the original design of a building to the building itself, since one grows out of the other and is inseparable from it.

The author comes to grip with bourgeois scholars and revisionists who treat the young Marx's 'humanism' (1843-1846) and his 'realism' of the later period as antitheses. 'Regardless of whether preference is given to his early writings as being the most valuable or to his later work,' he writes, 'to contrast them and deny continuity in the evolution of Marx's thinking results inevitably in incomprehension of the substance of Marxism' (p. 51). The author criticizes attempts to exclude ethical and humanist problems from Marx's later scientific works. Any serious reader of Marx's theoretical writings will discover that in studying the anatomy of capitalist society and evolving the strategy and tactics of revolution, the author of *Capital* never departed from his humanist program. 'There is every reason to maintain,' Jaroszewski notes, 'that Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, was also founder of scientific theoretical humanism' (p. 74).

The idea of the inseparable connection between the various periods of Marx's work is important if the category of practice is to be investigated properly. In dealing with the concept of practice, Jaroszewski examines three problems: the significance of the category of practice in Marxian philosophy, the scope of the concept of practice, and the subjectivization of practice. The last two problems, which are a subject of lively discussion today, are worthy of special attention.

The author considers that one should include in the domain of practice, as Marx saw it, 'intelligent operations through which people remake material objects, economic and political structures, social institutions and other forms of social organization, meaning operations by both individuals and the masses . . . This activity is prompted by the need to regulate relations between people and their natural environment and between people themselves . . . in order to better meet their continuously developing requirements' (p. 126).

Jaroszewski opposes authors who would include every activity of the individual in the Marxian category of practice, and identify practice with human existence as a whole. Such identification would make it necessary to include sleep, contemplation, and so on, in the concept of practice. Such an extensive interpretation makes pointless Marx's idea of verifying theory through practice, and of practice being the criterion of the truth. Jaroszewski also objects to those who reduce

human existence in all its complexity to its production aspect only, which contrasts with Marx's idea of the 'harmonious man.'

The book stresses that man's production activity is the starting point for analyzing other forms of practice. Without this category it would be difficult to account for such a qualitative change in the evolution of matter as the appearance of man.

Showing that there is no reason either to extend or narrow the concept of practice, the author takes a resolute stand against reducing every problem of dialectical materialism to 'activity experienced subjectively.' He disputes, first of all, Leszek Kolakowski's revisionist tendencies and concepts which, in effect, portray Marxism as a variety of Kantianism. He critically analyzes the subjectivist interpretations of the category of practice offered by Jean-Paul Sartre and Roger Garaudy. Drawing on biological, psychological, ethnographical and archeological data, he shows that the development of science today confirms Marx's ideas about the formation and evolution of man's manifold and universal activities.

Jaroszewski looks into the Marxist conception of the active nature of human knowledge and concerns himself with the Marxist theory of reflection. In particular, he reveals the futility of attempts to question the validity of this theory and equate the Marxist theory with the vulgar concept of mirror reflection.

Jaroszewski's book is the first extensive treatise on the Marxist conception of the category of practice to come out in Poland. It is also the first book to take issue against revisionist and dogmatic misrepresentations of the problem.

Edward Modzelewski

VALID LESSONS OF HISTORY

Some books of long past events are read as if they are about the present. A book of this kind is *Bakunin and Marx: Shadow and Light** by Jacques Duclos, a prominent figure in the French and international communist and working-class movement. Its subject is Marx's fight against the theory and practice of anarchism. Well knowing that the subject is topical (it is dealt with in his two earlier works, *The First International* and *Anarchists Yesterday and Today*), Duclos does not confine himself to a purely historical investigation. He shows how trends which originated in Bakuninism affect the revolutionary struggle today. In particular, he exposes the negative role of anarchists and 'leftists' in the Spanish civil war and the recent events in Chile.

*Jacques Duclos, *Bakounine et Marx. Ombre et Lumière*. Librarie Plon, 1974, 479 pp.

Indeed, members of different social strata in capitalist countries advance 'leftist,' anarchist slogans even today in trying to 'speed' the revolutionary process. The ultra-revolutionaries of today, who have a wrong idea of the fundamental strategic and tactical problems of the working-class movement, often do not even suspect that their theoretical concepts are mere modifications of Bakuninism, criticized by Marx and Engels a hundred years ago. History has long since settled the dispute between anarchism and Marxism – the advancing revolutionary process has borne out the founders of scientific communism. 'The international working-class movement,' Duclos writes, 'dissociated from Bakunin's conceptions and adopted the Marxist doctrine which, enriched by Lenin, became Marxism-Leninism' (p. 7). The Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in the era of victorious socialism throughout the world, translated Marxist-Leninist ideas into reality.

However, inasmuch as 'the mistakes of the revolutionary movement of the past century continue to manifest themselves in other forms' (p. 310), Communists see one of their tasks in bringing home Marx's criticism of Bakuninism to the working people, so that they may avoid mistakes detrimental to the working-class movement. This is what makes Duclos's new book particularly valuable. Drawing on a wealth of documentary evidence, he delves into the origins of Bakuninism, that variety of petty-bourgeois socialism, and into the Bakunists' activities to show how consistently Marx combated anarchist ideology.

Bakunin's and Marx's theses clashed, as Duclos reveals, over key problems of the development of the international labor movement: the peaceful and non-peaceful roads of the revolution, the nature and role of the working-class party, the proletarian state, the revolutionary role of the working class and its participation in political struggle, the relationship between legal and illegal methods of struggle, the allies of the working class. These problems are highly relevant today, at the new stage of the international communist and working-class movement, inasmuch as success in the struggle for democracy and socialism hinges on their solution.

The book concerns itself in detail with Bakunin's theoretical postulates and devotes considerable space to an analysis of his fundamental theory negating the state. Today, too, many 'leftist' trends, ranging from anarchists to certain 'New Left' groups, negate the use of state power. The slogan of 'destroying all state power' was one of the main points of the 'revolutionary' action program which Bakunin tried to impose on the International Working Men's Association, or the First International. He stood against the very principle of state power, failing to understand that states may be different and that the

working-class state is entirely different by nature from the bourgeois state. The anarchist idea of immediately 'abolishing' all government 'is anything but revolutionary . . . and, objectively at least, can be only reactionary' (p. 266). It is because they do not realize the importance of the working class winning state power that contemporary ultra-revolutionaries make such mistakes as refusing to use the bourgeois parliament or arguing against participation in parliamentary elections under any circumstances.

Some 'leftist' theorists have lately contended that the working class of capitalist countries has become 'integrated' in the system and is no longer revolutionary. Duclos shows that there is nothing new about this contention. In fact, the Bakuninists denied the historic role of the working class as the vanguard in revolutionary struggle. Speaking of this in detail, Duclos also mentions Herbert Marcuse and other 'abolishers' of the leading role of the working class (see p. 322).

The Bakuninists, like certain present-day 'super-revolutionaries,' contended that mass work among the population was unnecessary. In their view, propaganda by individuals fomenting discontent and fostering a rebellious spirit among the people was enough to launch a revolt at the appropriate moment. They held that these 'revolutionary conspirators' must form secret organizations to carry out, among other things, acts of terrorism. In other words, the Bakuninists were adventurers who had nothing but contempt for the people (see p. 164). This description may be applied today to those who, holding forth about revolutionary action, distribute inflammatory leaflets calling for a general rising, cause disturbances during mass demonstrations, plant bombs or kidnap statesmen and diplomats. Their activity injures the working-class cause and plays into the hands of extreme reactionaries.

Duclos makes a detailed analysis of Bakunin's views and activities to show that while urging immediate revolutionary action, Bakunin advocated a 'complete refusal to engage in any kind of politics' and denied the need of an independent working-class party.

The views of the 19th century theorist of anarchism link up directly with the call of certain present-day 'leftists' for 'struggle against all parties without exception.' These erroneous ideas were sharply criticized by Marx and Engels, who stressed that the 'constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure triumph of the Social Revolution and its ultimate end – the abolition of classes.'*

**The General Council of the First International, 1870-1871*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 445.

Jacques Duclos' book reveals how an objective historical treatise can become an important weapon in today's struggle for democracy and socialism.

Eugene Brion

MARXISM-LENINISM AND OUR TIME: VOLUME I

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In memoriam

HUBERTO ALVARADO

Guatemalan reaction has committed a new heinous crime: on December 20, 1974, Comrade Huberto Alvarado, General Secretary of the Guatemalan Party of Labor, was arrested and murdered in cold blood.

Huberto Alvarado, a leading member of the international communist and labor movement, staunch fighter against imperialism and local oligarchy, an ardent patriot, was born May 21, 1927. One of the organizers and leaders of the Saker-Ti (Dawn) group of progressive writers and actors, he also contributed to many newspapers and magazines. A member of the Guatemalan Party of Labor since its founding in 1949, Alvarado was General Secretary of the Democratic Youth League from 1952 to 1954, editor-in-chief of the GPL central organ *Tribuna Popular*, and Party organizer among intellectuals. He was also an author, poet and literary critic, who wrote extensively on political and social problems. One of his last pieces, an article 'Twenty-Five Trying Years' appeared (under the alias Miguel Rodriquez) in the September 1974 issue of *World Marxist Review*.

After the CIA-inspired coup that overthrew the progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954, Comrade Alvarado was repeatedly arrested and exiled from the country and for many years worked underground.

His murder has aroused the anger and indignation of progressive people all over the world.

The representatives of the 47 Communist and Workers' parties on the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review* and all members of its multinational staff declare their fraternal solidarity with the Communists of Guatemala, with all Guatemalan patriots, and call upon all people who cherish the ideals of democracy and freedom to expand the campaign of protest against the reign of terror and lawlessness loosed by the Guatemalan regime.

RAJANI PALME DUTT

The death has occurred of Rajani Palme Dutt, prominent leader of the British and international communist and labor movement, staunch

fighter for the interests of the working people, scholar and publicist, a man of versatile talent and great erudition.

Palme Dutt was born June 19, 1896 at Cambridge. His father was an Indian physician and his mother a Swedish citizen. He became politically active in 1914, when he joined the Independent Labour Party. At the age of 20 he was imprisoned for anti-war activity while serving in the Army, and he was expelled from Oxford for propagandizing Marxism (but he subsequently passed his university examinations).

In 1920, Palme Dutt helped to found the Communist Party of Great Britain and played an important part in its organization and ideological activity. From 1943 to 1961 he was Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee, and from 1961 to 1965, Vice-President of the Party.

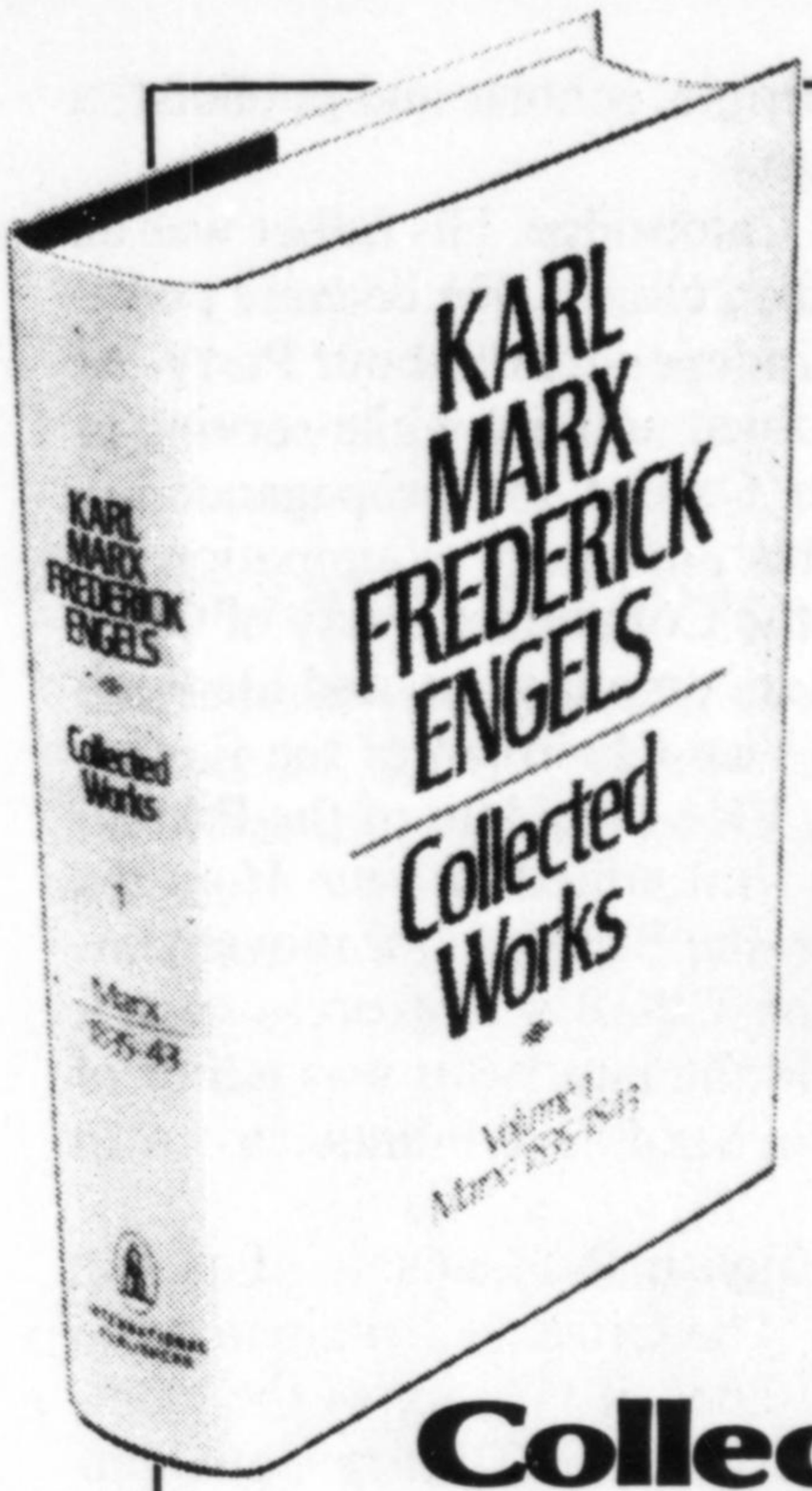
For more than half a century Palme Dutt edited *Labour Monthly*, theoretical journal of the left wing within the British labor movement. He was also one of the founders of the CPGB's first press organ, *Workers' Weekly*, and for a short time in the late 1930s was editor of the *Daily Worker*. To the very last, pen in hand, he continued to be an active political publicist.

In his scientific works ('The New English Reformism,' 'Fascism and Social Revolution,' 'India Today,' 'The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire,' 'The International. Outlines of History of the Communist Movement. 1848-1963,' and others) Palme Dutt reveals himself an outstanding Marxist theoretician. For thousands of British Communists, for millions of readers all over the world, his books are an example of profound conviction in the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism, and a tool in the struggle for social progress, peace and understanding among nations.

Palme Dutt was widely known in the world Communist movement. A measure of his standing was his election in 1935, at the Seventh Comintern Congress, as alternate member of the Comintern Executive Committee. The readers of *World Marxist Review* also know Palme Dutt as the author of many penetrating articles.

A true friend of the Soviet people who had visited the Soviet Union on numerous occasions, he was a tireless propagandist of the achievements of the first socialist state and its peace-loving foreign policy.

The death of Palme Dutt is a bitter loss for the Communists of Great Britain and the whole Communist and labor movement.



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