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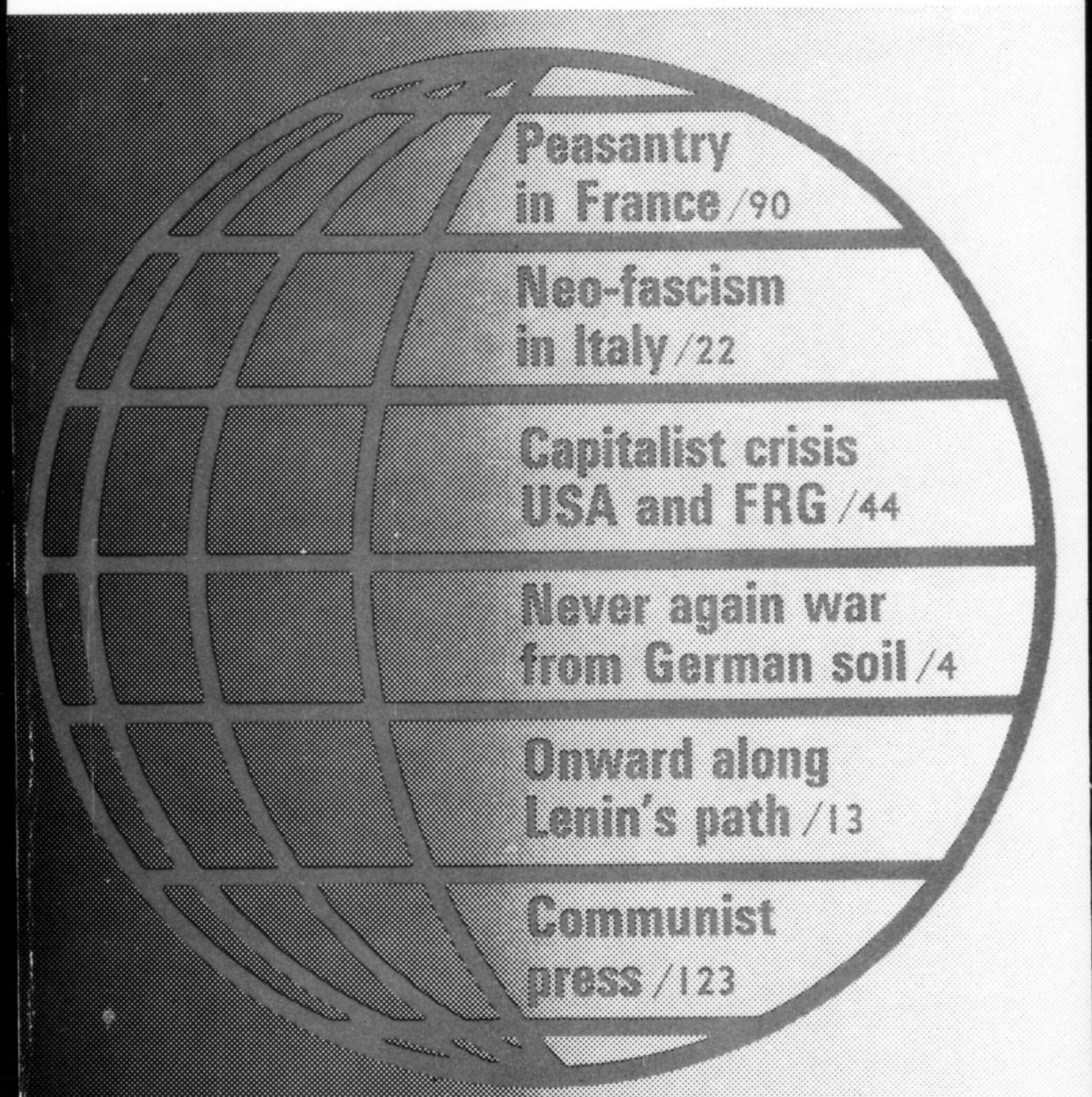

Workers of all countries, unite!

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REVIEW

Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

April 1975, Vol. 18, No. 4

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Thirtieth anniversary of the defeat of German fascism

The war imposed upon the Soviet Union by German fascism was the biggest armed action by the shock forces of world imperialism against socialism, one of the severest trials the Land of Soviets had ever experienced. In this war the destiny of the world's first socialist state and the future of world civilization, progress and democracy were at stake.

The Soviet people and their valiant Armed Forces, led by the Communist Party, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Nazi Germany and its satellites, upheld the freedom and independence of the socialist Motherland, accomplished a great liberating mission and honorably fulfilled their internationalist duty. The Soviet Union became the main force which barred the way of German fascism to world domination, bore the brunt of the war and played the decisive part in the defeat of Nazi Germany and then of militarist Japan.

The victory over fascism was a historic event of world significance and had a most powerful impact on world development. It showed socialism to be the most reliable bulwark of peace, democracy and social progress. . . .

Its 30th anniversary will be celebrated as an international holiday of all progressive forces, which emphasizes the invariable solidarity of the CPSU and the Soviet people with the fraternal socialist countries, the revolutionary working-class movement, the Communist parties, the national-liberation movement and all champions of social progress.

(From the CC CPSU Statement on the '30th Anniversary of the Soviet People's Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45')

So that war shall never again start from German soil

Friedrich Ebert
Member, PB, CC SUPG

This spring the people of the German Democratic Republic are celebrating a truly great holiday, the 30th anniversary of liberation from Nazism. There have been many 'red-letter days' in my more than 60 years in politics. But never, neither under the Kaiser, nor in the Weimar Republic nor under Nazi dictatorship, were they holidays for all Germans, for there was the class division separating the mass of exploited from the small group of exploiters. It is probably safe to say that May 8, 1945 was a happy day for all Germans, for it marked the end, at long last, of the war unleashed by the Nazis in 1939.

However, with the exception of the none-too-numerous contingent of active anti-fascist Resistance fighters, the overwhelming feeling among the people was one of fear, fear that they would have to pay for the Nazi crimes against humanity. Long years of anti-communist and anti-Soviet policy, culminating in the Nazi attack on the USSR in June 1941, had left a deep imprint on the German mind.

On May 8, 1945, the people had not yet come to see that the Soviet victory was just as historically inevitable as the defeat of Nazi Germany. For it was not merely the victory of one army over another, but also the triumph of the profoundly humanistic socialist system over the criminal system of exploitation, oppression and death – a victory that reaffirmed the superiority of the socialist political and social system over imperialism.

With no really deep knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the progressive elements, including even those in the working-class movement, did not immediately appreciate that this victory was a historic turning point for our people, that their liberation by the glorious Soviet army was an important stage in world socialism's development, begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution. But the great political and social changes in the German Democratic Republic, carried out with the effective material and ideological assistance of the USSR and the CPSU, made Liberation Day an important event in the life of our

people, and they celebrate it together with the whole of progressive mankind.

The road we have traversed since Nazi Germany's unconditional surrender, the road that has made the GDR an inalienable part of the socialist community, has been a successful and at the same time a very complex one. Today, the problems we have to solve and the means of solving them are more or less balanced. This is due primarily to the steadily strengthening material and technical base of each socialist state and of the community as a whole. But immediately after May 8, 1945, the politically conscious forces of the German working-class movement were faced with problems that seemed absolutely insoluble. But solved they had to be.

The numerous measures taken by the Soviet military authorities to ward off starvation, restart industry, transport and the cultural institutions gradually but steadily helped to obliterate the anti-Bolshevik stereotypes engraved in the minds of millions. They also helped to promote the indestructible friendship that now exists between the peoples of the GDR and the Soviet Union.

The all-round disinterested assistance and support of the Soviet Communists was decisive in overcoming the terrible consequences of Nazism and in building a state from whose soil war shall never again start. This was keenly felt by members of the two workers' parties, the Communists and the Social Democrats. The officers and men of the Soviet Army willingly and in comradely spirit shared with them their rich experience in building soicalist society.

The politically more mature forces of the German working-class movement had a clear understanding of the basic task and how to cope with it. Maximum use had to be made of the favorable situation resulting from the victory of the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition and from the aggravated crisis of world imperialism, to root out, once and for all, imperialism and militarism in Germany. This implied laying the foundations for the political power of the working class and socialism.

But on May 8, 1945 there were still many obstacles to that. The working-class movement lacked a revolutionary vanguard in the form of a united and militant Marxist party. The split in the working class dating back to World War I had to be healed. It had hampered the fight against imperialism and to a decisive extent helped the nazi takeover.

The German working class had to pay for this with the death of many of its finest sons in the anti-fascist struggle of 1933-1945. The names of Thaelmann and Breitscheid symbolize the tens of thousands of German Communists and Social Democrats who gave their lives in heroic battle against fascist barbarity. In the underground, in the

hellish concentration camps and in the anti-fascist Resistance abroad, there matured the basic understanding that the only way to put an end to imperialist crises and war was to destroy the very foundations of imperialist power, and that the only force capable of doing that was the working class led by a united Marxist-Leninist party.

Immediately after liberation members of the two workers' parties strove for united action. But between this honest desire for unity and its practical realization were circumstances, the complexity of which the younger generation cannot readily appreciate. As one who had an active part in the unity process, I well remember the thinking and behavior of many honest Social Democrat activists. We know from history that the thoughts and actions of such Social Democrats were largely determined by bourgeois parliamentary concepts which 'hampered the struggle for a fundamentally new organization of the state as an instrument of working-class power. At first, many Social Democrats' positive attitude toward the Soviet Union was merely a matter of political expediency. They did not yet realize that friendship with the Soviet Union was in the vital interests of the working class and an expression of proletarian internationalism. Many Social Democrats, while strongly urging implementation of the joint anti-fascist and democratic measures envisaged in the agreement with the Communist Party, not infrequently tried to apply old reformist methods and had illusions about the intentions of the imperialist occupying powers. They sincerely worked side by side with the Communists, but their inconsistency enabled the opportunist leaders to try to undermine faith in the strength of the working class, incite anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and thereby widen the split within the working class.'*

I vividly remember the spirited debates among Social Democrats in the Soviet Occupation Zone over how best to alter the class structure of rural Germany, where the big landowners, the Junkers, still held sway. The Communist Party, in its historic appeal 'To the Working Folk of Town and Village, Men and Women, Young Germans!' of June 11, 1945, demanded full and uncompensated liquidation of the big estates and their transfer, together with all property, to the provincial authorities for distribution among farm laborers and propertyless peasants. Today everybody realizes that this was the only correct way to complete one of the major aspects of the bourgeois-democratic revolution begun in November 1918; the only way, in fact, to lay an indestructible foundation for the worker-peasant alliance and prepare the ground – literally and figuratively – for the socialist reality which our Constitution defines in these words: 'The German Democratic

*'Class Struggle – Tradition – Socialism. From the Early History of the German People to the Formation of Developed Socialist Society in the German Democratic Republic.' Berlin, 1974, pp. 500-501.

Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants. It is the political organization of the laboring people of town and country led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party.'

In 1945, many Social Democrats did not question the need to break up the big landed estates for distribution among the resettlers, poor peasants and farm laborers. What they did question was uncompensated appropriation, and also the need for a worker-peasant alliance, now the natural and indestructible foundation of the German Democratic Republic.

Our Soviet comrades helped bring about ideological clarity on this crucial issue. Trained and steeled by the Party of Lenin, and combining firm consitency with comradely tact, they shared with us their rich experience, always in the sense of Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action, never as mechanical copying of Soviet methods in building the worker-peasant alliance.

The Soviet Communists helped us understand the need for ideological preconditions for a merger of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties. Hundreds of thousands of their members were working in the joint action committees, and there was a spontaneous desire for a united party, but not everyone understood the need for full ideological clarity prior to organizational merger. This sincere desire of many Social Democrats to overcome, at one stroke, the fatal split of the German working-class movement betrayed inadequate knowledge of Lenin's struggle for the new-type party or underestimation of that struggle.

Our comrades in the Communist Party were faced with other, though no less complex problems. First, we had 'to carry out thorough ideological and political education so that all Party members fully understood the new tasks of the working-class movement after liberation from nazism, the need to overcome dogmatic and sectarian influences. Implementation of the Communist-Social Democrat agreement on joint action entailed complex political and ideological struggle.'*

Many of these problems were resolved in our joint effort to establish an anti-fascist democratic order. And from the numerous, at times painful, lessons there grew the irreversible urge for organizational unity. That was sealed on April 21, 1946, with the symbolic handshake of the Chairmen of the Communist Party, Wilhelm Pieck, and of the Social Democrat Party, Otto Grotewohl. Thus was born the Socialist Unity Party of Germany which re-established unity of the German working class in the spirit of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This was historically inevitable, but it would have been inconceivable

*Ibid., p. 501.

without the constant and comprehensive ideological, political and material assistance of the Soviet Communists. Proof of that could be seen in the deplorable course events had taken in the Western occupation zones, though there, too, the Communists and many honest Social Democrats were anxious to achieve unity.

The 1,300,000 members of the SUPG were proud of the fact that progress toward ideological clarity had made unity possible. But unity on a Marxist basis was the first, albeit decisive step. To appreciate the scale and scope of the problems facing us at that time it should be remembered that 'the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, continuing all the revolutionary traditions of the German working-class movement, was transformed, in the *process* (my italics – *F.E.*) of construction, into a Marxist-Leninist party. Taking the CPSU as a model, and drawing on its wealth of experience, the SUPG withstood all the ordeals of the harsh conditions of class struggle as the vanguard of the working class and of all working people.'*

What problems did the Party have to tackle first? It had to be brought home to the former Social Democrats in the SUPG that Lenin was the brilliant continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels in imperialism's formative period. For decades, imperialist propaganda, condoned and even supported by the rightist leaders of Germany's Social Democrat Party, had maligned Leninism, the CPSU and the Soviet Union. This had to end. Besides, the history of the German working-class movement, particularly since the turn of the century, had to be critically reviewed, and this led to many differences of opinion. The development of the SUPG as a Marxist-Leninist party also required that the principles of democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, and conscious discipline should become a natural component of the ideology of its every member.

Need it be said that members of Lenin's Party were our model, our helpers and comrades in arms? I remember the many talks I had with comrades of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany and members of the CPSU leadership concerning democratic development in the face of fascist intrigue and imperialist interference, implementation of the Potsdam and Allied Control Council's decisions on demilitarization, denazification and democratization, and inner-Party development.

This was crucial for our economy, for our first steps in planning, for our efforts to organize a democratic state and revive cultural life. In addition there was the invaluable Soviet aid in food, seed, harvesters and tractors. The sweeping Soviet measures helping the revival of the

**Twenty-five Years of the GDR – A Quarter Century of Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism.* Berlin, 1974, p. 10.

German people on an anti-fascist, democratic foundation changed the people's attitude to the Soviet Army. They began to understand that Soviet soldiers and the peoples of the Soviet Union were helpers and class brothers aspiring to the same lofty goal to which German working people, too, had aspired for so long: that war should never again start from German soil. This change in people's thinking was reflected in their use of the word 'friends' in reference to Russians, and this has taken deep root in the GDR.

The active alliance of the CPSU and SUPG grew still more significant when it became obvious that home and foreign reaction was bent on reviving imperialism in the Western zones, precluding the prospect of a united peace-loving and democratic German republic. As the only possible response to the founding of the FRG, and expressing the will of the people, we constituted the German Democratic Republic on October 7, 1949. Imperialism, which had succeeded in restoring its positions within the limits of the FRG, naturally regarded this logical step as a challenge. The establishment of the GDR was, indeed, no simple act of founding a second state on German soil to formalize the gains of the anti-fascist, democratic overturn. It meant (and here lay the special threat to imperialism) that socialism on German soil – the program aim of the SUPG – had entered the stage of practice.

The 'Main Principles and Aims of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,' adopted by its inaugural congress, said clearly: 'Solution of the everyday problems, however, will not eliminate the system of capitalist exploitation and oppression, will not abolish the anarchy of the capitalist mode of production, will not yield final assurances of peace.'

Mindful of the historical mission of the working class, the SUPG drew the following conclusion: 'The working class will not liberate itself from exploitation and oppression until it also liberates all society from exploitation and oppression and builds a socialist society. Socialism assures all nations, all peoples free exercise of their rights and development of their abilities. Socialism alone represents for humanity the kingdom of freedom and universal well-being.' The decisive precondition for this was clear: the working class had to win political power under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party and in alliance with all other working people. The founding of the GDR represented the fulfilment of this objective. The aim set in April 1946 ('The Socialist Unity Party of Germany is fighting for this new state on the basis of a democratic republic') has been the cornerstone of GDR policy since October 7, 1949.

The establishment of the GDR was a turning point in the history of the German and other peoples of Europe. It would have been incon-

ceivable without the invaluable assistance of the peoples of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin's Party. Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, stressed this historic fact in his speech on the 25th anniversary of the GDR. 'The heroic struggle of the Soviet people,' he said, 'liberated our people from fascism and enabled them to take the road to progress. The development of our German Democratic Republic was and is unthinkable without fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. This unshakeable principle of our policy has deep roots in the struggle of the finest sons of the German working class who have since the day of the Great October Socialist Revolution shown their allegiance to the Party and country of Lenin, the embodiment of the future of mankind. It was in this spirit that they began to implant friendship with the Soviet Union in the minds and hearts of our people in 1945. The great idea of friendship with the Soviet Union accompanied our first undertakings and became the foundation of our state. More, it was thanks to this friendship, thanks to being part of the socialist community, that the German Democratic Republic is now a constituent of the world's most powerful and influential force – the force of socialism, which has consolidated itself securely on three continents.'

In his speech on the same occasion, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, described the sharpness of the struggle for the now securely formalized results, recalling 'the persistence of the imperialist circles in trying to break ... the republic, to prevent it from consolidating itself in Europe, to prevent international recognition of the GDR as a sovereign state.' Comrade Brezhnev noted, however, that though the imperialists are using a variety of political, ideological, economic and military means, their struggle is doomed to failure. Imperialism's attempts 'were frustrated by the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist states. Recognition of the GDR in international law was listed as one of the important aims in all the programmatic foreign-policy documents of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the decisions of the European and international meetings of Communist Parties. The struggle for the recognition of the GDR ranked among the key objectives of the Peace Program of the 24th CPSU Congress. And what had to come about did come about. The German Democratic Republic, the first state of the German working people in history, is now officially recognized by practically the entire world and occupies its legitimate place in the United Nations.'

Developments since May 8, 1945, confirm the historic significance of the active alliance between the CPSU and SUPG. It has given birth to the profound, unbreakable and continuously growing friendship between the 250 million people of the USSR and the 17 million citizens of the socialist GDR.

As a member of the SUPG leadership since the Party's birth and as the long-time President of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, I have witnessed and participated in the growth of the active alliance with Lenin's Party and of our people's friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. On the eve of the 30th anniversary of liberation from fascism, I feel entitled, to express some thoughts, based partly on personal experience.

The 30 years since liberation have been a period of successful struggle for the consistent implementation of the bequests of the heroes of the anti-fascist Resistance and the millions of fighters of the anti-Hitler coalition, in which the Soviet Union was the decisive force. May 8, 1945, was the beginning of a new phase in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism on all continents. Consonant with the lessons of history and the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the GDR and its citizens have dedicated themselves to the lofty aim of safeguarding and strengthening peace and promoting democracy and social justice throughout the world. Now they are making impressive progress in the drive for the aims set by the Eighth SUPG Congress (1971) and mark the liberation anniversary in line with their advanced ideas and deeds in the name of socialism, in the name of lasting peace.

The 30 years since liberation have seen constant fraternal aid and support from the Soviet Union and CPSU to the consolidation of the SUPG as a militant Marxist-Leninist party acclaimed by friends and feared by enemies as a staunch fighter for the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The 30 years since liberation have been a period of creative use of Marxist-Leninist theory in building a developed socialist society in the GDR. All varieties of bourgeois ideology have suffered a crushing defeat on its territory.

The 30 years since liberation have seen the growth of the socialist world system into a decisive force in the struggle against imperialism. The system of exploitation has suffered defeats of historic impact.

Last but not least, the 30 years since liberation have seen the consolidation of the socialist community, in which the 17 million citizens of the GDR are firmly integrated.

Thanks primarily to the Leninist national policy of the USSR, the alliance with the socialist community embodies Marx's brilliant proposition: 'For the peoples to unite effectively, they must have common interests. For their interests to be the same, the existing property relations must be destroyed, because they give rise to the exploitation of peoples by other peoples; none but the working class has a stake in destroying the existing property relations. So it is the only class that can do so. At the same time, the proletariat's victory over the

bourgeoisie means elimination of all the national and industrial conflicts that breed hostility between peoples at the present time' (Marx, *On Poland*).

By decision of its legislature, the historic changes registered in the GDR on its 25th anniversary are also recorded in the Constitution. This is a logical sequel to the development that began with the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism. During this period our foreign policy was constantly attuned to the principle of serving socialism, peace, international understanding and security, promoting the principles of peaceful coesistence, and supporting states and peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism and all other forms of oppression. What the peoples of the GDR feel strongest these days is now and forever recorded as a constitutional principle: 'The German Democratic Republic is irreversibly and for all time connected with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by bonds of friendship. The close and fraternal alliance with the USSR guarantees the people of the German Democratic Republic further progress along the road of socialism and peace.

'The German Democratic Republic is an inseparable constituent of the community of socialist states. Loyal to the principles of socialist internationalism, it contributes to the strengthening of the community of socialist states, promotes and develops friendship, all-round cooperation and mutual assistance with all states of the socialist community' (Constitution of the German Democratic Republic).

The future of our people is thus assured by its unbreakable friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and its consolidation as a member of the socialist community. The citizens of the GDR have learned to appreciate the fact that the alliance with the Soviet Union is a source of strength and vitality. This is why the 30th anniversary of liberation sees our republic ranged firmly on the side of the victors, those who are favored by history, those who are moving irrepressibly toward the world triumph of socialism.

Onward along Lenin's path

Pal Losonczi
Chairman of the Presidium,
Hungarian People's Republic

A new chapter began in Hungarian history 30 years ago, when the heroic Soviet Army completed the liberation of our country from the tyranny of Hitler fascists and their Hungarian underlings. On this memorable anniversary, we think with deep and everlasting gratitude of the Soviet soldiers who gave their lives to free our country.

Liberation marked a decisive turn in Hungarian history and was a highlight of the closing stage of World War II in Europe. Five weeks after the termination of hostilities in Hungary, German imperialism surrendered unconditionally, admitting total defeat. The nazi empire collapsed under the blows of the allied powers. The peoples fighting against fascism came out victors in the war in which the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the burden. The decisive defeat was inflicted on fascism by the Soviet Army. The Soviet people made the greatest sacrifices to achieve victory and free their country and Europe. Every unbiased Western expert or historian today admits this indisputable fact. The defeat of the nazi military and political machinery was accompanied by an unparalleled growth of the strength and influence of the Soviet Union, which, in turn, brought about a radical change in the alignment of international forces. The Soviet Union's historic victory over fascism paved the way to freedom for our country and enabled our working class to take power and deliver the country from the shackles of the bourgeois system. Three decades ago the Hungarian people embarked on social and economic progress. April 4, 1945, the day when the new, people's democratic Hungary was born, became our greatest national holiday.

Since 1919, when the Hungarian Soviet Republic was suppressed by international imperialism, the country had been ruled by the counter-revolutionary Horthy regime. The big landed proprietors ruled supreme. For a quarter of a century, the ruling class poisoned the people's minds with fascist ideology and demagogy, brutally persecuted progressive thought and denied the people all political rights. Industry was lopsided and its standard exceedingly low, and

farming was backward. Before the war 36 per cent of those engaged in farming were landless peasants and about as many were peasants whose incomes were below the subsistence minimum. The big estates had no work for them. One hundred big proprietors owned 30 per cent of the entire land area and nine per cent of the population pocketed 33 per cent of all incomes. Culture was within reach of only a small privileged group, and widespread illiteracy and a backward health service were another aftermath of the Horthy regime.

The only political force capable of mobilizing the people to build a new life was the Communist Party, which in the years of fascist rule had been deep underground. After liberation the left forces rallied under its leadership and the people's devoted effort eliminated the ravages of the war.

The Communist Party saw the prime task in rehabilitating the country and stabilizing the economy. Late in 1944 a Provisional National Assembly and Provisional National Government were formed and local national committees appeared.

In 1945 an agrarian reform was carried out on the Party's initiative. The peasants' age-old dream came true – the land became the property of those who tilled it. Semi-feudal farm estates, both large and medium-sized, were abolished. Over three million hectares of land were distributed among 642,000 landless and land-hungry peasants.

In the spring of 1945 the new, people's democratic power was already operating throughout the country and in 1946 a Left Bloc was formed under the leadership of the Communist Party. In addition to the CP, the bloc comprised the Social-Democratic Party, National Peasant Party, the All-Hungary Council of Trade Unions. The bloc, also supported by the left-wing section of the Smallholders' Party, proceeded to force reactionary elements out of the government coalition.

Having lost their power, the bourgeoisie and landowners resisted revolutionary changes. With support from one of the ruling parties, the Smallholders' Party, they hatched a conspiracy against the new republic in the spring of 1947. But the people's state led by the Communists foiled the counter-revolutionary plots. Increasingly large sections of the people became convinced that it was the Communists who upheld the interests of the working class and the people and were the leading and motive force of national revival. And indeed, the Communist Party polled the greatest number of votes in the 1947 parliamentary election. It became possible to consolidate, with support from other left-wing forces, a political coalition that was in the nature of a popular front. This meant a direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the autumn of 1947 a three-year economic plan was launched. In November the major banks were

nationalized, bringing more than half the mines and factories, and about 80 per cent of heavy industry under the direct control of the state.

The nationalization of the big banks and some enterprises did not yet amount to a complete expropriation of big business. Even so, it was a promising revolutionary measure marking a decisive victory of the socialist revolution, for a historical goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat was attained thereby. The democratic revolution which followed liberation developed into a socialist revolution.

The struggle for power entered a decisive stage when, in 1948, two working-class parties – the Communist and the Social-Democratic – merged. This restored the political unity of the working class and brought into being a united revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

The Party saw its chief task in maintaining and building up people's power, forming the social and political system of the proletarian dictatorship and speeding socialist construction. It could now concentrate on a sweeping reorganization of society. The First Congress of the Hungarian Working People's Party adopted a program declaration and the first five-year economic development plan, a comprehensive program for building socialism.

To carry on its creative effort, the country needed definite external guarantees. It was essential to remove all vestiges of the former system's foreign political orientation. The counter-revolutionary regime had signed the notorious anti-Comintern pact and added a new grave crime to its earlier ones by joining in Hitler Germany's war against the Soviet Union. The Hungarian people longed for freedom but they were not strong enough to throw off the chains of foreign oppression. Freedom was brought by the Soviet Union, which had withstood the ordeal of fascist aggression. The Soviet Union never equated the Hungarian people with the Hungarian fascist state. Thereby it confirmed the fact that Hungary's Communists were right, for in the most trying years of reaction they said that the people could win freedom and national independence only by siding with the Soviet Union. 'Victory for the Soviet Union and withdrawal from the anti-Soviet war,' said a decision adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary in June 1941, 'are in keeping with the nation's interests and are the only way to transform Hungary into an independent country and reorganize it on democratic lines.'

After liberation the Soviet Union helped Hungary to achieve peace and win sovereignty. It was the first great power to treat our country as an equal, establish friendship and, sign with us a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. It was the first to help Hungary in rehabilitating its economy and improving the people's life.

The aid and support which our people obtained from the Soviet Union immediately after liberation would be hard to overestimate.

Having chosen their road, the people set out with tremendous energy and enthusiasm to build a new, socialist life. The three-year rehabilitation plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule, by late 1949. Industrial production considerably exceeded the prewar amount and farm production came close to the 1934-38 average. Unemployment was eliminated, real incomes almost reached the 1938 level and wages even slightly exceeded it.

Subsequently, in the years of the first five-year plan, industrial production went on growing apace. A socialist sector emerged in farming. From a predominantly agrarian country Hungary became a country where industry predominates.

In spite of the far-reaching achievements, serious distortions began to surface in Party policy. Leninist standards and principles, in particular the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, were neglected. Excessive, bureaucratic centralism gained the upper hand in the state apparatus. Unrealistic plans prevented utilization of the potentialities of a socialist, planned economy. Owing to incorrect policies and methods, the working class and other working people began losing confidence in the Party. The main cause of these mistakes and shortcomings was the spread of dogmatism and the personality cult. In October 1956 home and foreign reactionaries, taking advantage of sectarian mistakes and dogmatic distortions in the political sphere and backed by revisionist betrayal, mounted a counter-revolutionary attack on working-class power and people's democracy.

But Hungary's Communists – loyal adherents of people's rule and staunch supporters of socialism – and the masses led by the new revolutionary worker-peasant government and the Party's provisional Central Committee defeated the counter-revolutionaries with the Soviet Union's internationalist aid and made it possible to go on building socialism.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party evolved its new policy line in a hard struggle against counter revolutionaries. The Communists overcame the remnants of the counter-revolution, began rectifying the mistakes in socialist reconstruction and thereby made it clear to all that the Hungarian people's socialist gains were inviolable. Socialist legality and constitutional order were restored in our workers' state. As a result, confidence in the Party and in the socialist system grew, links between the Party and the masses became closer and the Hungarian People's Republic gained in prestige.

The principal lesson of that period is that the most effective way to counteract political distortions is to turn to the foundations of

Leninism. The HSWP restored its Leninist standards, specifically the principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism. Mutual confidence and fruitful everyday contacts were re-established between the Party and the working people.

The HSWP has always approached key ideological, political, economic and cultural issues from a Leninist standpoint. It has always maintained that to solve any problem requires a specific analysis of the specific situation. It declared war on two fronts: against dogmatism, sectarianism and 'leftism,' and against revisionism, rightist views, the reactionary class enemy and counter-revolutionary elements. In fighting against the counter-revolution, the Party first defeated the rightists, delivered the main blow to revisionism, to the class enemy. At the same time it dissociated itself from dogmatic, sectarian 'leftist' elements and their methods.

Speaking of these lessons on the Party's 50th anniversary, Janos Kadar said: 'We regard it as an important conclusion of our Party that one cannot combat a dogmatic, sectarian deviation from right-wing, revisionist positions any more than one can counteract revisionist trends from pseudo-leftist, sectarian positions. Our experience tells us that only in line with Marxist-Leninist principles can a sucnessful struggle be carried on in either direction – against right- and "Left"-wing deviations alike.'

The preservation of people's power, the country's rapid political and economic consolidation, the increased leading role of the working class and the Party and the reinforcement of the worker-peasant alliance were the first major results of the policy pursued from 1956 on. They made it possible to speed socialist construction and achieve, in particular, another great revolutionary goal of the Party, the socialist reorganization of agriculture, which was completed in the main by the early 1960s. Our agricultural producer cooperatives today have 964,000 members. The major cooperatives account for 72 per cent and the state farms for 15 per cent of farm output.

The peasants trusted the Party's policy and saw that the Party, in turn, trusted them. This was a decisive condition for success. Thousands of Communists working in factories and offices helped farmers in organizing and launching cooperatives. The cooperatives were set up in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary membership, and the members themselves had the decisive say in choosing local managerial and executive personnel. The far-reaching restructuring involved in collectivization did not affect production; on the contrary, very soon output began to increase.

With the reconstruction of agriculture the foundations of socialism were laid and socialist relations of production prevailed in the national economy.

Today our socialist state, the Hungarian People's Republic, can take legitimate pride in its gains, which have changed it beyond recognition. Before the war Hungary was one of Europe's more backward countries. Today it is a medium-developed industrial-agrarian nation and will within a definite time achieve the level of economically developed countries. Industrial output is ten times the 1938 level. New communities have mushroomed. Dunaujvaros, Leninvaros, Kazincbarcika, Komlo, Oroszlany, Varpalota and Ajka are citadels of socialist industry. Towns and factories are rising where impoverished homesteads had stood only 20 or 25 years ago. Socialist industrialization has boosted the share of machine-building in industrial output to 27 per cent, and it plays an important part in our foreign trade. New industries have appeared. Our buses, pharmaceuticals, communications systems and vacuum machinery enjoy worldwide fame and demand. The Ikarus bus factory is the largest in Europe. Hungary is among the world's top six in pharmaceuticals, and in the top three in their export.

Fixed assets in 1973 were 2.5 times the 1950 level. In 1974 alone, 120,000 million forints were invested in capital construction. With considerably less areas and half the people, agriculture produces half as much again as prior to 1945. Chemical fertilizers and up-to-date machinery have sharply boosted labor productivity in farming. Industrial methods are being introduced with marked effect in animal husbandry.

The national income has increased almost fivefold over the prewar level, and the average annual growth rate is several times higher than between the wars. The socialist sector accounts for more than 98 per cent of the national income. More than five million persons – half the population – are engaged in socially useful labor, 58 per cent of them workers, 15 per cent cooperative farmers, and 24 per cent intellectuals.

In these 30 years a real revolution has taken place in the cultural sphere. One of the greatest gains of the popular-democratic regime was the institution of the eight-year primary (junior high) school. Last year 131,000 boys and girls, virtually 100 per cent of their age group, finished the eighth form (in 1938, only 34,000 children completed six years). There are several times more institutes of higher learning than before the war, with 40 per cent of the student body children of workers and peasants – up from 3.5 per cent in Horthy's Hungary. The changed societal relations made possible the consistent democratization of culture and liquidation of the cultural monopoly of the former ruling classes.

Our people enjoy higher cultural standards, eat better and dress more attractively than ever before. In the three decades of people's

power the consumed portion of the national income has trebled. As a result real earnings of workers and employees more than doubled between 1950 and 1973, and those of all working people increased even more. In 1974, real wages increased 4.5 per cent and real incomes about 5.5 per cent. Special consideration is given to the living and working conditions of the working class. Following a decision of the HSWP Central Committee passed in November 1972, wages of workers in state industry and construction were increased. Earlier, the Ninth Party Congress had passed a decision aimed at bridging the gap between worker and farmer incomes, and this was achieved by the end of the 1960s.

New trends are shaping in the structure of consumption. The last 15 years have seen a rise in spending on durables. The conditions of life have changed radically. In 1938 there were 12 doctors per 10,000 of the population, now there are 25. Hungary has less people per doctor than such countries as Austria, the United States, Belgium or Great Britain. Since liberation, about 1.5 million families have moved into new flats; in fact, 40 per cent of the nation's housing was built in these 30 years. In 1960, the Party unveiled its 15-year housing program which provided for one million new flats by the end of 1975. More than 900,000 have been built to date.

The unity of Hungarian society solidified as the foundations of socialism took deeper root. All working people have a common stake in building the socialist motherland and upholding peace. Workers, farmers and intellectuals work together for the advance of socialism. Communists and non-members, believers and atheists contribute to common goals. One of our revolution's major gains is socialist national unity embracing all the main classes and sections of the society. Our Constitution declares with full justification: the Hungarian People's Republic is a socialist state.

The perfection of socialist statehood and democracy is a means of strengthening the popular government. Between 1969 and 1972 such important questions were taken up and resolved as the development of government legislative activities and functions; enhancement of the political role and economic activities of local government; further development of the judiciary; raising the effectiveness of government. The State Assembly has stepped up legislative activity and its functions of constitutional control over the government. Changes in the Electoral Law have expanded the democratic character of the working-class power. A new law on local government gave greater independence to the respective representative bodies, which are at the same time the promoters of central governmental authority.

The strengthening of socialist democracy, HSWP Central Committee resolutions stress, serves, in the first place, to enhance the leading

role of the working class, with special emphasis on the workers of large industrial enterprises. We regard civil rights as an important aspect of socialist democracy. Lately, under the guidance of Party branches, factory democracy is promoted with special vigor.

Our development over the past three decades is inseparable from the devoted efforts of our Communists and the HSWP's Marxist-Leninist policies. In formulating and promoting its policies, the HSWP has always been guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, its own experience and that of fraternal parties, and careful analyses of the current situation. It sees application of the general laws of socialism, with due account for national conditions, as essential for building socialist society. The general principles of socialist construction, the HSWP also holds, should be applied with due consideration for national forms and possibilities. Our Party strives to blend national and international interests, holding that national interests, real or false, should not be invoked to the detriment of international interests. In the final analysis, violation of the common interests of the socialist community inevitably harms national interests. This policy has been consistently put into effect ever since the HSWP became the organizer and leader of our people's struggle, and loyalty to that policy for almost two decades finds confirmation in social practice.

The HSWP is leading our people along the road of socialism. In preparing for its 11th Congress (March 1975), Communists thoroughly analyzed the work done since the 10th Congress and extensively discussed new tasks. The main prerequisite of continued socialist development is consolidation of public ownership of the means of production in the name of better utilization of the productive forces. This will continue in future to require, in the first place, the strengthening of socialist state and cooperative property, while the growth of personal property should satisfy people's needs and help promote the socialist way of life.

We shall continue to strengthen democracy in all spheres of public life. Our popular government is strong by virtue of the help and support it gets from the masses. We attach great importance to drawing as many people as possible into the preparation, adoption and implementation of important decisions of state.

The main objective of our economic activities in the coming period will be to raise the effectiveness of social production at a higher rate than ever. In the fifth five-year plan (1976-1980) we propose to increase the national income by about 30 per cent, industrial output by 33-35 per cent, and farm production by 16-18 per cent. The growth in national income is to be achieved mainly through increased labor productivity. We are striving to put the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to work as fast as possible, combining

them with the advantages of the socialist system. The basis for this is socialist planning and the development of our system of economic management, which increasingly dovetail economic growth with current and long-term objectives.

Real incomes are expected to increase by 23-25 per cent, and this provides for a proportional growth of the main classes and strata, the working class and farmers, in the first place. The principle of equal pay for equal work will be promoted even more consistently. In the ideological sphere, we shall use the political unity of the society to promote the socialist consciousness of the masses, while opposing views alien to socialism.

While preparing the documents for the 11th Congress, the Party also drew up a development program spanning the next 15 or 20 years, since the tasks set forth in the 1948 program statement have been carried out. Our society is advancing on a firm socialist basis. Forging ahead along this road, we are strengthening the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. Socialist property relations are developing, creating opportunities for greater growth of the productive forces. The advantages of socialist planned economy and cooperation between socialist states are ever more apparent. All this will be the basis for creating the material and technical base of communism and a substantial rise in the standard of living. Grown public consciousness will assure that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism become dominant in the society. In carrying out all these tasks our country will make a major step toward developed socialism.

Hungary's foreign policy is aimed at creating the most favorable international conditions for promoting these constructive objectives. We see the main guarantee of success in the cohesion and joint action of the socialist countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We are strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and participating actively in the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Socialist economic integration is an important factor in our progress, and we are working to accelerate and promote it.

Our foreign policy serves both national and international interests, contributing to the success of the socialist countries' peace policy and implementation of the Peace Program proclaimed at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Thereby we seek to contribute to the struggle of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and world progressive forces to expand the zones of détente, consolidate it and make it irreversible.

The HSWP works continuously to strengthen the unity of Communist and Workers' parties, knowing that this is in the best interests of success in the international class struggle. At bilateral and multi-

lateral meetings we regularly exchange experience with fraternal parties and coordinate our activities with them in keeping with new requirements and tasks. We consider the conferences held by fraternal parties in different parts of the world to be an important means of promoting the communist movement's unity. On this principled basis our Party supports the conference of fraternal European parties and actively endorses the convening of a new international conference of all Communist and Workers' parties.

Greater cohesion of the communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces is inseparable from principled struggle against right- and 'left'-wing opportunism. We must struggle ceaselessly for the purity of our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory. We denounce the Maoist leadership's views and political practices, which distort the real content of the international class struggle and its objectives and harm the socialist community, the international communist and workers' movement and the anti-imperialist forces.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party proceeds in all its work from the stand that the country's socialist advance is part of a natural world-historic process leading all mankind to a communist society. Following the road of Lenin, the working class and the people as a whole promote the building of socialism, communism and general human progress, from which our people's destiny and progress toward a bright, happy future are inseparable.

Neo-fascism in Italy

Michele Rossi,
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Editorial Board

Thirty years ago the peoples of Europe and all the world joyously welcomed the ending of the war. The feeling that was uppermost amid the unspeakable suffering and incalculable destruction was that the world was rid of fascism once and for all, ending oppression, persecution, racism, death camps and barbarian crimes against humanity. The banner of freedom flew over the Reichstag, hoisted by soldiers of the heroic Red Army that had made the greatest contribution to the victory, destroying fascism in its own den. It was the army of the

Soviet peoples who had borne the main burden of the war and paid for it with 20 million lives. The struggle of the Soviet people and their army was an example for all anti-fascists and patriots in other European lands who had risen with arms in hand to throw off the fascist and nazi yoke.

But now, 30 years after that historic victory that changed the shape of the world, new references are heard about a fascist danger. In the past five years, Italy has been the scene of countless criminal and terrorist acts by neo-fascist organizations and groups.[1] The scale on which Italian neo-fascism operates has earned it a leading place among groups and organizations active in other West European countries and affiliated to the 'neo-fascist European center.' The reasons are probably traceable to the fact that today's Italy is one of European capitalism's weakest links where the democratic and working-class forces display dependable unity. Nonetheless, there is every reason to ask: is Italy in danger of a reactionary fascist-type changeover, and if so how serious is it? What reasons and what forces are behind the events leading in this direction? What methods are to be used against fascism to defeat or root it out?

The problem is aggravated by the fact that the present crisis, which grips the entire capitalist world, is especially dramatic in our country, because the economic crisis intertwines with a serious and long political, social and moral crisis. The intensity of the factors that brought on the economic crisis of capitalism is augmented by the weak and historically backward economic structure and the collapse of the policy of the ruling classes. The inflation, whose rate has already reached 24 per cent, is still spiralling. It is difficult to dampen it even with the complex and contradictory maneuvers employed by the capitalist world, which is working for the predominant interests of U.S. imperialism. A production decline has begun, affecting employment. Governing becomes more than difficult in such conditions if its aim is to shift the burden of the crisis on to the working people. Labor is determined to resist, but the big monopolies, too, want to avoid paying the price, though it was their greed and ineptitude that made our country more vulnerable than others. When the structure and organization of a state show their inability to resolve the agglomeration of internal and external problems by traditional methods in the capitalist framework, the idea of an alternative begins to gain ground. The most backward and reactionary section of the bourgeoisie seeks a way out of the difficulties through action 'from positions of strength,' through some kind of authoritarian regime.

To impose this solution, use is being made of the Italian Social Movement (ISM), a neo-fascist party, as one (but certainly not the only one) of the instruments. Since its foundation in 1946 and until

1969 this party had two main wings – the 'moderate,' based largely in the South and striving to become the 'spare wheel' of the Demochristians' centrist policy, and the 'hard core,' consisting mainly of the survivors of the Republic of Salo,[2] 'theorists' of the big stick. Placing himself at the head of the party, Almirante posed as the mediator between these two currents. He managed to win back the extremist groups that had split away from the ISM and were engaged in activities that amounted to outright provocations, banditry, and preparations for a military putsch.

After it merged with the monarchist party in 1972 during preparations for the parliamentary elections, the ISM changed its name. At its latest congress in 1973, the ISM-National Right Forces (this is the party's new name) announced that it had 4,335 branches with nearly 400,000 members. What is its social structure? Thirty-five per cent are employees and officials of governmental, semi-governmental and local institutions, 27.7 per cent shopkeepers and artisans, 10 per cent farmers, and as many workers. Though nothing is said of the remainder, it is safe to assume that they are professionals, businessmen and employers, students and southern unemployed.

The social composition and influence of the ISM conforms with the geographical distribution of its forces, concentrated mainly in the South, and particularly in cities where the social differentiation and unemployment among the intelligentsia are the most acute, serving as fertile soil for neo-fascist demagogy. 'These cities,' writes *Rinascita*, the ICP weekly, 'have grown out of all proportion as the result of real estate speculation. The so-called tertiary sphere (commerce, communications, transport, administration, and the like. – *Ed.*) comprises their sole economic foundation. Their industries are concentrated exclusively in the hands of the hangers-on of the ruling Demochristians or other conservative groups. These cities are tumors grown out of all proportion in a matter of several years through the mass influx of the parasitical petty bourgeoisie living off the land rent and associated with local authorities, mainly Demochristians, and of lumpen-proletarians who also want to become beneficiaries of the ruling party.'[3]

A few more facts and figures about the situation in the South: apart from several large industrial complexes, the South accounts for a mere 13.5 per cent of the country's manufacturing industry; the share of the so-called tertiary sphere and revenue from utility services comprise 62 per cent of the total income in the province of Naples, 56.3 per cent in Reggio-Calabria, 58.4 per cent in Catania, 60.3 per cent in Palermo, and 58.8 per cent in Messina.[4] Considering that the workers' total wage packet in the South is much lower than that of other employees plus pensions and benefits, the connection between

the situation in this part of the country and the mounting activity of the fascists, the danger created by Demochristian government, which relies for support on hangers-on and parasitical elements, is all too clear. It creates a nutritive medium that aggravates the fascist threat.

This does not mean that in the South neo-fascism grows spontaneously. Those who pull the strings are in Milan and Turin. And they are no different from those who spawned fascism in 1920-22. But though neo-fascism has found a favorable base among the petty bourgeoisie in the southern regions and though its potential should not be underestimated, it is still far from able to influence the majority of the population of the South. In elections there, neo-fascists get no more than 13.7 per cent of the votes, while their countrywide average is 8.6 per cent.

Every fascist attempt to penetrate the North has so far encountered determined resistance, even by the majority of the petty bourgeoisie, its mass base in the past. This is due to a different economic and social structure in this part of the country with its enduring political traditions. The recent memory of Resistance and the liberation struggle against fascism is still alive. The North has a powerful working-class movement, its trade unions, the Communist and Socialist parties, and a strong array of democratic and anti-fascist organizations.

This being so, reaction sees only one way out – the way of force, the way known as 'strategy of tensions,'[5] tragically confirmed in the 'hot autumn' of 1969 by the bloody events in Milan, which sparked an endless succession of fascist acts of violence. The time was propitious, because millions of working people had begun a struggle, an unprecedented wave of strikes for renewal of labor agreements rolling across the country. The social-political struggle for radical economic and social reconstruction had intensified. This was the setting in which the neo-fascists performed their criminal action, which, they mistakenly assumed, was to have had the same impact (with allowances for the Italian dimensions) as the Reichstag arson of 1933. The attempt failed due to the immediate rebuff, the high sense of responsibility and political intuition of the working class, which would not be diverted from the struggle for its aims until the victorious finish, placing in question the authoritarian regime of big capital and the system of labor in the enterprises. Against the background of a reactionary counter-offensive and the sharpening of the class struggle, fascist subversive activity gained in scale. Responding to the countrywide demand of curbing the fascists, of putting them on trial, punishing them and liquidating their organizations, the leading governing Christian-Democratic Party produced the theory of 'two extremisms,' equating the extreme Rights and the extreme Lefts. This confused the public and fostered passivity among the authorities,

engendering sentiments of complicity and tolerance in such state institutions as the police, judiciary and army, and thereby actually encouraging the fascists. That is why, for much too long a time they were able to have their organizations, to unfold their activity, to obtain arms and money, maintain para-military field camps, engineer crimes, commit murders and plot coups d'état.[6]

All these facts, long since known to the public through the efforts of the Communist Party, are confirmed by material and other evidence, by undeniable proofs. Only those who were supposed to deal with these cases in the line of duty paid no attention. But strong public pressure in all parts of the country finally compelled them to acknowledge the facts. The initiative of Communists, mobilization of all democratic forces, united anti-fascist committees at national and local levels, and active involvement of the regional and communal councils[7] – all this inspired courage among the democratic forces within the government apparatus, spurring them to action. Despite a thousand difficulties, civic-minded judges launched investigations that yielded the first inklings of the truth, showing the extent of the fascist danger, the complicity and abetment, and the spider web of conspiracies on the national and international scale.[8]

The intensive investigation of the Milan case and the abortive coup d'état by the 'Rose of the Winds' organization gained widespread publicity. The failure of the coup led to the arrest of General Miceli, former head of the Information Defense Service (IDS).

The investigation revealed the two faces of the plot, engineered jointly by the legal Italian Social Movement (pin-striped suits and good manners) with illegal terrorist societies. The investigation also showed that struggle against fascist subversion was linked with the problem of renewing the state structure and ousting the Christian-Democratic Party from the system of power, because its leaders encouraged certain sections of the army, police and judiciary to make common cause with the fascists and perform functions worlds removed from their duty of protecting the democratic institutions. This laid special emphasis on the 'demand to renew and align with the letter and spirit of the Constitution the entire complex of legal norms and procedures, to put in order the administration of state affairs, the army, security services, and police.'[9]

The Italian Communist Party is doing what it can in this respect. A colloquium in Rome, 'The Military Institutions and Consutitutional Order,' was held on its initiative under the auspices of the Research Center of State Reforms, in February 1974. The colloquium discussed democratic reform of the military establishment, revising the old regulations and laws, ending old customs and prejudices, bringing the armed forces in line with the country's democratic reality, and

eliminating the artificially-created abyss between army and people. The main principles of the reform were aired at the colloquium.[10] A similar discussion is planned soon concerning the vitally-needed police reform. The struggle for reforming the judiciary and criminal procedure, waged by a broad front of popular and political forces, continues. The Communists have become more active among the middle strata. There was a conference, 'Small and Medium Industry in Face of the Crisis,' under the joint auspices of the Research Center of Economic Policy and the Gramsci Institute in November 1974. In Lombardy, the ICP regional committee has launched a political and economic journal, *New Orientation*, aimed at extending the the study and discussion of the problems of small industry. A national conference on tourism was held by the ICP last June in Grosseto to discuss the economic difficulties and reorientation of nearly 30,000 small and medium private enterprises.

In parliament, the ICP has advanced bills benefiting the middle strata, first of all for credits and stimulation of their businesses. In regional councils headed by Communists (Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria) these proposals have been put into effect, encouraging arts and crafts, trade, and combating the crisis.

This tends to extend and solidify the alliance of the working class and middle strata in the fight against fascism and monopoly. And it is quite safe to say that the failures of the foes of democracy and the successes of the democratic forces are traceable 'first and foremost to the struggle of the working class and to its sense of responsibility for the country, and also to the democratic and anti-fascist sentiment among a large section of the middle strata.'[11] Italy's working class had paid much too high a price for its isolation in 1920-22 to repeat the same mistake. Yet precisely this is what the ultra-leftist groups are achieving, consciously or not, when objectively playing into the hands of those whom they are supposed to oppose.

The divorce referendum (May 1974) was much more than a mere setback for the Italiam Social Movement. It represented the failure of its plans of alliance with the more conservative and reactionary section of the Christian-Democratic Party, aiming at a broad coalition of rightist forces in the struggle for power. More indicative still was the decline of ISM and CDP votes in the regional elections in Sardinia (June 1974), highlighted by Communist victories.

To cultivate the people's and mainly the youth's anti-fascist outlook we must make every possible use of all forms of propaganda – written and oral, the wealth of journalistic and historical material about fascism, and the opportunities offered by the mass communication media. Special mention should be made in this context of the Association of Democratic Publishers, encompassing many large na-

tional publishing houses, formed by the regional council of Emilia-Romagna. It regards book-publishing as a weapon in promoting culture, democratic and anti-fascist principles, and political and social revival.

In the present complicated situation, with alarm and confusion reigning among the middle strata and the dangers generated by the crisis threatening some sections of the working class, ideological and cultural work has gained particular significance.

'Today,' the ICP has pointed out, 'the basis of broad ideological and cultural struggle means consolidation of a new and positive approach to the problems of development and progress treated in all their significance both on a national and world scale; we must expose all mystifications connected with the present crisis, combat the sentiments of confusion, disastrous fatalism, and the irresponsible pretense of a "catastrophic crisis".'[12] The one and only foundation of ideological and cultural education in the general school 'is anti-fascism.... The main thing is to bring up the youth in the spirit of rejecting militarism and racism, to inject it with the ideals of the equality of peoples and international solidarity, to show it the role of labor in the life of society ... Given this correct and broad approach, state-run schools can become the basis for unity open to the free struggle of all democratic tendencies, whether secular or Catholic, Marxist or non-Marxist.'[13]

It is gratifying to note that the line of the Communist Party paid off in the February elections to the school and university councils at all levels, in which more than 20 million pupils, students, parents, teachers and other members of school staffs took part. And the list of democratic and anti-fascist candidates won the majority of votes nearly everywhere, while the candidates of the right and of the fascists found themselves isolated, and suffered defeat.

For all of five years the masses have been in a state of constant alert, watching the designs of the fascists, whose plans have so far suffered failure after failure. We succeeded in preventing a drift to the right, but, on the other hand, there have been no visible changes in either the economic or social spheres, the political field or the government. In other words, there have been no such changes as would safeguard the country from the fascist danger. This means that fascism can be contained and beaten on the political plane, but that more radical changes in the political orientation, a radical change in the economic and social structures, are necessary to root it out completely. For us, the Communists of Italy, fascism is 'not only a phenomenon plainly and simply associated with the capitalist system as such; it is something deeper, conditioned by the peculiar features of Italy's

ruling capitalist classes, their system of social and political alliances, their methods of exercising political power.'[14]

This is why our Party has always been aware that the fascist danger can reappear. Palmiro Togliatti warned against the possible revival of fascism as far back as 1946. And in 1949 he wrote: 'Our aim is a profound reform of the country's economic and social structures. Either we succeed in it or, after clashes over secondary issues and the consequent embitterment, we shall find ourselves in a situation like the one that bred fascist tyranny after the first war.'[15]

The facts confirm the effectiveness of our strategy of reforms, now the central question in Italy's political reality. This strategy is aimed at rooting out fascism forever, and building the economic and social pillars of democracy that would open the way to new and more significant advances. However, the forces opposed to this are not confined to the extreme right, neo-fascist wing. They are also and above all present in the 'adventure party,' that is, 'in the complex of forces which comprise the present government majority and, in particular, some of the sections of the Christian-Democratic and Social-Democratic parties, including their international ties and external ramifications.'[16]

The main objective, therefore, is to defeat these forces. At home and in foreign policy there is a mounting struggle to assure the country's independence and safeguard it against outside interference. It is quite clear that the threads of the fascist conspiracy stretch to other countries. The Italian fascists have lost two important bases of support – Portugal and Greece. But there is still U.S. imperialism with its continuous interference, its secret agents and services operating under the umbrella of multinational companies and the entire U.S. empire. The weekly *Panorama* asked: 'Does the Information Defense Service serve national security or is it under CIA control and contaminated with putschist elements?' The same journal maintains that General Miceli's main trump are the U.S. fears that to protect himself he might betray 'the secrets of NATO and the Western counter-espionage system.' This is the reason why U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger is said to have advised Moro during his latest visit to Rome 'to deal cautiously with the general.'[17] Still more significant is Kissinger's statement, as reported by the *New York Times*, to the U.S. Congressional committee investigating CIA activity. You reproach us with CIA activity in Chile, he said, but wouldn't your reproaches be still graver if we did nothing to prevent the Communists from taking power in Italy or other countries in Western Europe?

To those who nurse the idea of a coup d'état against the republic, whether in Italy or abroad, we repeat our warning: 'We represent the party that had been the main initiator and organizer of the victorious

partisan struggle. We represent the party that has always known how to enter the battle, using all its strength and fighting capacity whenever freedom and democracy had to be safeguarded. Ranged by our side are strong forces of working people, the youth, the citizenry, other parties and organizations, which, like ourselves, are determined to use all necessary means in repulsing the designs of reaction and to continue the struggle to the end. To assume that the power of usurpers and reactionaries can assure some kind of order by strangling freedom in a country like Italy, is a total miscalculation, because it would lead to unimaginable chaos and paralyze the activity of the state, economic and industrial life. To be sure, past experience shows that attempts to subvert the constitutional regime can take different forms – from the stormiest and brutal to those disguised by a mask of legality. But those who expect to achieve their aims under such a mask would do better to abandon their illusions. The resistance of the people will in all cases be powerful and devastating, although its forms may be different, depending on the character of the anti-democratic actions.'[18]

The Italian Communists did not make this warning because of a preference for sharp confrontations. They have always stood, and still stand, for a way that would not transcend the framework of democracy. All forces which had participated in the Resistance and the liberation struggle against fascism have worked hard to formalize this principle in the Constitution of the Republic, Marking the 30th anniversary of the defeat of fascism we must remember that all the anti-fascist forces and basic currents in our country – Communists, Socialists and Catholics – must remain loyal to this principle of the Constitution sealed with the blood of so many martyrs.

1. Take the crime at the Agricultural Bank in Milan in December 1969 (16 dead, 88 wounded) or the bloody provocation in May 1974 during the anti-fascist meeting in Brescia where eight people were killed and 90 wounded by a bomb planted by neo-fascists. Two months later a bomb exploded in the Rome-Munich express, with 12 passengers dying and dozens suffering burns and other injuries in the ensuing fire.

'Black and White,' a documentary film, by director Paolo Pietrangeli and journalist Paolo Gambescia, produced by Unitelefilm shows, among other things, that in the past three years the fascists attempted or committed a crime every two days in Milan alone. In Rome, 1,500 fascist offenses against law and order have been registered since 1969.

2. Republic of Salo – the puppet fascist republic formed in September 1943 in the nazi-occupied part of Italy on Mussolini's escape from under arrest. – *Ed.*

3. *Rinascita*, No. 3, Jan. 19, 1973, p. 9.

4. *Ibidem.*

5. For details see *WMR*, December 1974.

6. The latest attempts were in December 1970 and in January and August 1974.

7. The united anti-fascist committees consist of Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Demochristians, Republicans, trade unionists, members of partisan associations and veterans of the Resistance, and many other mass democratic organizations. They held a national rally in Brescia on June 27-28, 1974. A second national conference to coordinate action against fascism was held by the regional councils on December 16-17, 1974, in Reggio Calabria.

8. The list of fascist organizations active in Italy includes *Ordine Nuovo* (New Order), founded by Pino Rauti, now deputy of the ISM and suspected of complicity in the Milan slaughter; after the decree on dissolution it was reorganized as *Ordine Nero* (Black Order); it is responsible for many criminal acts. *Avanguardia Nazionale* (National Vanguard). *Fronte Nazionale* (National Front), founded by Putschist and cutthroat Valerio Borghese, who had been in nazi employ as the commander of the notorious 10th Mas Flotilla; he sought refuge in Spain, where he died last August. *Squadre d'Azione Mussolini* (Mussolini Action Units), active mainly in Milan and the capital. *La Fenice* (Phoenix), a subversive group connected with the ISM, for which it campaigns in elections, and from which it gets funds and directives, as revealed in the investigation of the attack on the Turin-Rome express. *La Rosa Dei Venti* (Rose of the Winds), one of the strongest organizations, discovered at the end of 1973; it is connected with top army officers, industrialists and the IDS. *Anno Zero* (Zero Year), the object of a public investigation in Turin, proving its connection with Edgardo Sogno, former ambassador and leader of the Liberal Party. *Giustizieri d'Italia* (Executioners of Italy), specializing in assassinations and intimidation of judges, trade unionists and cultural personalities. *Movimento d'Azione Rivoluzionaria* (Revolutionary Action Movement), led by Carlo Fumagalli, charged four years ago with a number of assassination attempts in Valtellina, but released; he is the organizer and leader of armed gangs and paramilitary camps, and was the moving spirit of a putsch planned on May 9, 1974; he is now in detention. *Fronte Della Gioventu' e Giovane Italia* (Youth Front and Young Italy), an offspring of the ISM, with which it forms the 'silent majority' serving as a respectable signboard for Almirante.

9. *Rinascita*, N. 50-51, Dec. 27, 1974.

10. 'Les communistes italiens,' Bulletin pour l'Etranger, publié par le PCI, No. 2, March-April 1974, p. 5.

11. *Rinascita*, No. 50-51, Dec. 27, 1974, p. 8.

12. *L'Unita*, Jan. 14, 1975.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. *Rinascita*, No. 42, Oct. 27, 1972, p. 1.

16. *Rinascita*, No. 7, Feb. 12, 1971, p. 3.

17. *Panorama*, No. 457, Jan. 23, 1975.

18. *L'Unita*, Dec. 11, 1974.

Opportunities for peace must not be lost

Gordon Schaffer
Chairman of British Committee for European Cooperation and Security, holder of the International Lenin Peace Prize

As the economic crisis in Britain deepens, with unemployment mounting and inflation hitting the living standards of wide sections of the working people, many disturbing parallels with the situation in the Weimar Republic before the nazis seized power come into the minds of people of older generations. The trade unions move into action to defend the living standards of their members and they come under attack by the monopoly interests, who more and more dominate the economy, and their attacks are echoed by the mass media. In the last few months we have seen in Britain ex-generals organizing private armed forces 'to defend law and order' during the strikes which they anticipate in 1975.* An organization of the so-called middle class has been formed. Racial hatred, mainly against our colored citizens, is being fomented. These developments can be seen in other capitalist countries as well.

The peoples of older generations recall how Hitler's first step to power came when he addressed the industrialists at Dusseldorf, telling them he was their protection against communism and their bastion against Bolshevism, and how they put a levy on coal to pay the nazis' election expenses. The nazi storm troopers formed a private army ready to take over after the deliberate provocation of the Reichstag fire. Anti-semitism was the vilest weapon in the nazi armoury.

Fascism is not a matter of a Mussolini or a Hitler, of black shirts or brown shirts. It is the method used by the monopolies to maintain their power and privilege, to intensify their exploitation, by destroy-

*Col. David Stirling and Gen. Walter Walker, who organized the Great Britain-75 and Unison groups respectively, declared they would be ready to take over essential services if the country were to be crippled by a general strike. However, Defense Secretary Roy Mason, Labour, said these extreme fascist factions were trying to overthrow the government. – *Ed.*

ing democracy, above all the organizations of the working class. It is an instrument of capitalism and it can be a threat in any capitalist country.

Hitler's destruction of the working class organizations in prewar Germany was welcomed by the capitalists of other countries. They regarded him as *their* bulwark against Bolshevism. That was why they aided the hand-over of Republican Spain to fascism and betrayed Czechoslovakia at Munich. But the people began to understand the evil of fascism. Their resistance was symbolized by the International Brigade which came to the aid of the Spanish Republic. And when war came, it was turned into an anti-fascist war, and the British people merged their struggle with the Red Army and the resistance fighters in the countries under nazi occupation.

That was why the Western powers at Potsdam could do no other than accept an anti-fascist peace, designed to eliminate in Germany not only the influence of all those who had shared in the crimes of the nazis, but to end the causes of fascism, the cartels, the great landowners, the financiers. That meant changing the social system. This was carried out by the German people, with the anti-fascists in the lead, in the Soviet Zone, now the German Democratic Republic. The pledges of Potsdam were betrayed by the West. The unilateral currency reform, carried out without warning by the USA in 1948, completed the division. Two German states emerged, one building socialism and the other a capitalist country sustained in the early stages by vast U.S. injections of capital, rearmed by the West and incorporated in the NATO alliance.

Thus Europe was divided, and the Warsaw pact inevitably was created to protect the socialist countries. But from its foundation, the Warsaw powers have always made clear that their aim was not a divided continent, but a continent accepting peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. Consistently through the years the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries proposed measures to end the tensions in Europe, and at a meeting of the socialist countries in 1970, concrete proposals were made for a conference of all European states, together with the U.S. and Canada.

Peace fighters in the Western countries, including Britain saw this declaration as the basis for a renewed effort to break down the barriers. On the initiative of a broadly based group of Belgian peace workers, the International Committee for European Cooperation and Security was created and national committees were formed in many European countries. I was elected chairman of our British Committee, which from the outset had the support of many of our most important trade unions, the Communist Party, of many Labour MPs, including members of the Labour Party Executive, of businessmen,

religious leaders and virtually all the many peace organizations.

Clearly, there could be no real advance toward European détente until the postwar frontiers were finally and fully accepted and the full sovereign status of the German Democratic Republic recognized. When these first objectives were achieved, and the Western powers forced to accept the realities of the European situation, the way was open for a further advance. At long last the conference on security and cooperation met in Helsinki, and a parallel meeting was called to consider mutual force reductions by representatives of the NATO and Warsaw powers.

Our British committee welcomed the initial progress made at the session in Helsinki of the conference of European states and it has consistently pressed on the British governments – both Conservative and Labour – that a British initiative to secure a breakthrough to peace and disarmament was needed. In a memorandum to Foreign Secretary Callaghan the committee wrote:

'We reject the view that permanent peace can be based on a balance of nuclear terror, or indeed on any balance of opposing military alliances .... In our submission, agreements on cooperation between all states of Europe, if sincerely concluded, must lead to an easing of tension, with subsequent reduction in armaments and an end to strategies based on the threat of nuclear weapons .... Progress in Europe would be a major contribution to settlement of other world problems and to cooperation with the developing countries.'

This broad statement of our policy, based on reality, is supported by L.I. Brezhnev in his speech to the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, 1973, when he warned, 'You cannot have a lasting, settled peace when there are powder kegs beneath the foundation that can destroy the whole planet. The arms race must be stopped.'

One of our tasks is to make public opinion aware of this danger. There are many who have accepted the 'balance of terror' and are lulled into a false sense of security. The reality is that official British statements have confirmed that there are more than 7,000 'tactical' nuclear weapons spread across the NATO bases in Europe. Many of them are bigger than the bomb used at Hiroshima. I have been to Hiroshima and learned about the horror of that first bomb from those who were there. I talked, 19 years after, to victims still suffering from the effects of radioactivity.

The Labour government, in its first statement of policy, said that it regarded NATO 'as an instrument of détente, as well as defense.' This has been echoed by other NATO leaders. Unfortunately, the facts prove otherwise. The Secretary General of NATO, Luns, loses no opportunity to call for more armaments, U.S. Secretary of De-

fense, Schlesinger, makes the demand that the European NATO countries increase their arms expenditure. These demands are accompanied by talk of the growing strength of the Warsaw Pact countries, despite the fact that the Soviet Union has unilaterally reduced the proportion of its budget spent on arms. Few people believe that the countries of Western Europe are threatened by the socialist states. The Soviet Union and its allies have repeatedly supported plans to establish nuclear free zones in all danger areas of the world. The demand for a ban on all nuclear weapons was made on Soviet initiative by the UN Assembly which also adopted a Soviet resolution calling for a world disarmament conference. These demands are wholeheartedly supported by the socialist and the newly independent states, as well as the non-aligned countries. It is the NATO powers and other reactionary forces which are withholding support.

The NATO alliance is emerging as an instrument to prevent social change. The evidence piles up day by day. Typical was a recent despatch by the BBC Rome correspondent that NATO leaders are ready to take action should Communists be included in the Italian government. A similar threat was made with regard to Portugal.

If any doubt that plans for interference in the internal affairs of other states are being prepared, let them study what happened in Chile. The facts have been revealed. The CIA carried through a concerted plan to destroy the lawfully elected government, to murder Allende and democrats and to place in power the fascist gangsters now pillaging the Chilean people. These revolutions have laid bare the links of the CIA with transnational companies, like the ITT and the international financial oligarchies. These sinister forces manipulate governments. As in the past, they are instruments of fascism and reaction.

The arms manufacturers, who we know from the documentary evidence provided before the war by the U.S. Nye Commission, sabotaged all the prewar efforts to carry through disarmament, are just as active today. On the very day that the all-European state conference reopened in Geneva, British newspapers discussed, not the opportunity to reduce the burden of armaments, but who would secure – the USA or France – the contract for supplying the next generation of fighter aircraft to NATO member countries – a contract worth hundreds of millions of pounds. Arms manufacturers and the other monopolies linked with the arms trade, will use every weapon, including the newspapers they control, to resist any progress to détente.

We have to expose the role of the arms manufacturers, but we also have to understand that many British workers, and workers in other

capitalist countries are employed in arms production and, particularly in the present economic situation, are afraid of losing their jobs. We have to convince them that the people will benefit from disarmament, that the economic problems can only be solved if the wasteful expenditure on arms is ended, that the choice is between guns and butter.

What is the role of the peace movement in this struggle? First we have to understand that, in the British situation, the main objective must be to impose the people's demand for peace so strongly that the government is compelled to take action. That is why the changes of policy by the trade unions is of paramount importance.

In the immediate postwar situation, the majority of the trade unions were in the hands of extreme right-wing leaders. It was Deakin of the British transport workers union who helped to organize the splitting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the evidence is clear that the reactionaries had to divide the working class before they could divide Germany and Europe.

In the last few years, the situation has changed. The two biggest unions, the Transport and General Workers (T&GW) and the metalworkers (AEUW), formerly bastions of the right wing, are now led by progressives. The same is true of other unions. Thus we now have a situation when both the TUC and the Labour Party have adopted policies of peace. They have called for far-reaching cuts in arms expenditure, for an end to Britain's nuclear policy and for the removal of U.S. nuclear bases. They have called for British initiatives in the areas of security and cooperation. The Labour Executive has removed the former bans on peace organizations and those working for friendship with the socialist countries.

We find that there is still a majority backing the old right-wing policies among the Labour MPs. This explains the present division in the parliamentary Labour Party and the revolt of 50 Labour MPs against the refusal of the Labour government to carry out the cuts in armaments demanded by the Party conference and by the Executive of the Party.

This change has meant that the various peace organizations are now receiving considerable support from the trade unions. Our Committee for European Cooperation and Security was formed when this swing to the Left was taking place and thus, from the start, we had trade union support. In the last few years, the National Peace Council, formed before the First World War and formerly largely backed by pacifist and religious peace organizations, has taken a much more realistic attitude and has won support from major trade unions with millions of members.

Labour Action for Peace, which organizes Labour Party members behind the demand for fulfilment of the Party's peace policy is

particularly active, organizing delegations to ministers and pressure on MPs. The struggle for peace cannot be separated from the struggle for liberation of the peoples still under colonial or neo-colonialist exploitation. The Movement for Colonial Freedom waged this struggle in the years when Britain was the leading colonial power. Today, under the title Liberation, it continues the fight. Then we have organizations for specific objectives. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which pioneered the Easter peace marches is active. We have the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, the Chilean Solidarity Committee, and a recently formed committee to secure justice for the people of Cyprus. Women's organizations – notably the old established Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – are linking 1975, International Women's Year, with the peace struggle.

All these bodies took part in and were inspired by the Moscow Peace Congress, and to retain this inspiration we have formed the All-Britain Liaison Group to coordinate their activities. In February in London it held a national peace conference. This will link with the plans by the World Peace Council for a campaign in all continents behind the demand for the world disarmament conference planned by the United Nations.

Our Committee for European Security called a conference of European NATO country representatives in London in November 1974. We realized that all the initiatives at the European conferences have, so far, come mainly from the socialist countries. We felt that the peoples in Western Europe must act now.

The conference was attended by representatives from most of the NATO countries. A most encouraging aspect was the representation from Greece and Portugal and the assurance from delegates from both these countries that their peoples were now determined to be in the forefront of the struggle for peace and for the achievement of détente and cooperation. The British delegates included leaders of many of the trade unions and a broad and influential representation from all progressive forces.

The chairman of the opening session, Mr. Frank Allaun, MP, member of the Labour Party Executive, stressed the link between the struggle for peace and to protect living standards. Education, health, social service, he said, will all be sacrificed if the vast expenditure on arms continues.

The resolution, unanimously adopted by the conference, says that 'The improved situation in Europe provides opportunities that must not be lost for far-reaching measures of disarmament and for a system of cooperation and security ensuring close and continuing contacts in all fields between the countries in the west and east of our continents. Essential steps must be the establishment of nuclear-free zones in

various regions of Europe, leading to a complete ban on nuclear weapons and the evacuation of all foreign bases. Arms production entailing waste of money, highly skilled manpower and vital raw materials is a burden on all countries and a major contributing cause to the economic crises in the Western countries.'

We have made substantial progress toward peace and cooperation. The prospects for a summit meeting of heads of state at Helsinki in 1975 are good. But the dangers, internationally and nationally, are great and the enemies of peace and détente are active. The peoples want peace, and they will gain victory which answers the need of all mankind. Observing the 30th anniversary of the defeat of German fascism, the peace-loving people all over the world are determined to prevent a new world war and use the opportunities for peace.

Imperialism's 'powder kegs'

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties called on the peoples to intensify the struggle against all forms of militarism, especially the military-industrial complex of the United States and other imperialist powers.

In the capitalist countries militarism is opposed by strong anti-war forces at the head of which stand the Communist and Workers' parties. In recent years, the anti-militarist front has expanded visibly. New sections of capitalist society are joining the battle against the aggressive plans of the military establishment, which consumes resources required to resolve pressing economic and social problems. The militarists are compelled to retreat, maneuver, and sometimes even to hide behind a smokescreen of peace-making. Though all of 30 years have passed since the war they have no intention of giving ground.

In many capitalist countries the growth of state-monopoly capitalism is pervasively accompanied by a growth of militarism. The imperialist war machine, directed primarily against the socialist states, is designed to preserve and strengthen the exploiting system, deter anti-monopoly action by the working class and other democratic forces, and suppress national-liberation movements. Governments of NATO countries have been emphasizing war preparations ever since that aggressive bloc was formed.

The size and quality of the armed forces of the imperialist countries vary. The United States, Britain and France have nuclear weapons and strategic-purpose troops. Lacking a nuclear potential, the other capitalist countries continuously renew and improve their conventional arsenals.

The dangerous thing about the militarization of politics is the military establishment's striving to extend its influence to the civilian government agencies. The U.S. Defense Department, for example, has more than 500 'liaison' officers in the federal executive bodies and in Congress.[1] Evidence came to light last year that the military establishment spied on the White House in 1971-72 with the knowledge of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In February 1974, *Le Drapeau Rouge* published extracts from a secret Belgian army operational plan against 'subversive communist activity,' with instructions to orientate the armed forces on maintaining public order, with defense against an external enemy as a merely secondary guideline.

Paramilitary units and organizations are an important pillar of militarism. In some countries they are part of the armed forces, in others independent. Their purpose is to prevent eruptions of popular discontent and workers' actions.

In the United States, the National Guard of 469,000 men and officers is the core of the paramilitary force. Its headquarters has close ties with the Pentagon. In peacetime, its units are stationed in all the states of the Union under the command of their respective governors. Following the Black risings across the United States in 1967-68, the National Guard has been specially trained for 'anti-insurgency' operations. In Britain, a similar function is assigned to the volunteer territorial and army reserve of 56,400 men. The paramilitary force in the FRG consists of the 64,000 members of the Territorial Forces, 22,282 soldiers of the border police, and 17,500 agents of the internal security force. The nazi past is glorified among the border police, where known revenge-seekers hold high posts. In Italy, there are the paramilitary carabinieri (80,000), augmented by a security force of 30,000 men. The corps of 65,000 gendarmes in France is 'assisted' by 85,000 army reservists and 15,000 members of the security force. The Spanish gendarmerie (65,000) is commanded by regular army officers.

Reservists and veterans of imperialist and colonial wars are highly prominent in the militarization process. They are a medium of militarist views and anti-communist ideas. The United States has 29 million war veterans, who come under a special Federal administration second only to the Defense Department for number of employees (197,000). The FRG has 1,800,000 reservists, most of whom served in the Bundeswehr in the 50s and early 60s, when revenge-seeking ideas held sway. Many of them teach in schools and universities, condition-

NATO countries' military expenditures (in 1973 prices)

	Currency	1949	1954	1967	1969	1971	1973
Belgium	B.fr. (mln)	8,273	20,707	30,396	33,892	39,670	49,075
Canada	Can. $ (mln)	372	1,771	1,965	1,899	2,132	2,391
Denmark	Dan. krone (mln)	360	885	2,249	2,640	3,195	3,711
France	Fr. fr. (mln)	4,787	11,710	28,912	31,700	35,000	41,460
FRG	DM (mln)	—	6,287	21,408	21,577	25,450	31,597
Greece	drahmas (mln)	1,630	3,428	9,390	12,762	15,480	19,478
Italy	It. lire (.000 mln)	301	543	1,359	1,412	1,852	2,385
Luxembourg	Lux. francs (mln)	112	565	413	391	442	575
Holland	Gulden (mln)	680	1,583	3,200	3,682	4,466	5,651
Norway	Nor. krone (mln)	370	1,141	2,097	2,502	3,022	3,621
Portugal	escudos (mln)	1,419	2,100	9,575	10,779	14,699	—
Turkey	Turk. lire (mln)	556	934	4,596	5,395	8,487	12,483
Britain	£ (mln)	779	1,569	2,276	2,303	2,800	3,481
USA	$(mln)	13,503	42,786	75,448	81,443	74,862	78,462[1]
NATO	$(mln)	18,713	56,314	100,190	106,392	104,981	120,827

Source: *NATO Review*, No. 6, 1973

1. For the 1974/75 fiscal year the U.S. Defense Department has been allocated 82,000 million dollars. By comparison the military spending of a number of other NATO countries (computed in U.S. dollars) was 11,000 million FRG, 8,500 million Britain, 8,500 million France, 4,000 million Italy, and 1,000 million Turkey (*NATO Review*, No. 4, 1974).

Armed forces and arms (1972)

	Armed forces				Weapons		
	Overall strength	of which					
		Army	Air force	Navy	Warplanes[1]	Ships	Tanks[2]
USA	2,738,000	1,107,000	757,000	623,000	4,759[3]	1,210	—
FRG	500,000	327,000	104,000	36,000	2,540	321	3,300
Britain	370,000	176,000	110,000	83,000	1,569	452	1,000
France	570,000[4]	329,000	104,000	68,500	3,581	367	1,375
Italy	490,000	295,000	70,000	45,000	1,707	285	1,000
Canada	85,000	33,000	37,000	15,000	642	64	400
Belgium	110,000	71,500	20,000	5,000	454	47	—
Holland	120,000	76,000	21,500	19,000	714	132	1,005
Spain	366,000	220,000	33,500	47,500	862	166	—
Japan	270,500	179,000	41,700	38,300	1,295	295	1,000
Australia	80,500	40,000	22,700	17,800	727	78	200

Source: *The Almanac of World Military Power*. Second Edition. London 1972.

1. Entire air force of the given country, excepting the USA.
2. Omissions in this column are due to lack of data.
3. In addition there are some 25,000 planes attached to the armed forces performing auxiliary functions.
4. 1973. *Le Monde*, April 25, 1974.

ing the youth in a militarist spirit. There are more than 600,000 reservists in Belgium, 350,000 in Holland, 160,000 in Norway, etc.

Corporations manufacturing arms, equipment and ammunition, or servicing the armed forces, occupy a conspicuous place in the structure of the military-industrial complexes.

The biggest of the U.S. war-industrial concerns have Pentagon-guaranteed orders for the production of 116 weapons systems worth at least $153 billion.[2] They have already received approximately half of this sum. The new Trident submarine is in the development stage. Industry will get $1.3 billion for each such submarine. And the new B-1 bomber will yield the war-industrial concerns a profit of $11 billion.[3]

In 1972 British corporations filling war orders netted the following profits: Vickers £13.1 million, the Hawker-Siddeley group 47 million, EMI 42.1 million, Plessy 44.1 million, Joseph Lukas 38.1 million, General Electric 161 million, etc.[4] In 1973 military orders yielded a profit of half a billion pounds sterling to British aviation concerns.

Among the leading war-industrial monopolies in West Germany are Messerschmitt-Belkow-Blohm, Rheinmetall, Dornier, Diehl, FFV-Focker, Flick, and Thyssen. A 30-50 per cent profit on capital invested in the manufacture of military technology is not infrequent for them.

It is part of the war-industrial business for the corporation filling government orders to hike the cost of armaments while they are still in the manufacturing stage. This yields fabulous additional profits. The new multi-purpose warplane 'promised' to the British government at £1.5 million a piece, is now, though still unfinished, valued at £9 million.[5] The lack of control may be traced to the benign attitude of the legislative and executive bodies, resulting in much undisguised corruption.

The multinational monopolies have a special stake in intensifying the arms race. Filling orders for NATO headquarters, multinational and national corporations have joint development and manufacturing schemes for planes, helicopters, tanks, guns, and firearms. The North Atlantic Pact command coordinates military aid to smaller members of the bloc, and to many of the developing countries. In the 20 years from 1950 to 1970, U.S. military aid to other countries totalled $34.3 billion, and British aid in ten years over $1 billion.

Despite internal strains, the imperialist military blocs, NATO, SEATO, CENTO and ANZUS hold regular joint air, sea and ground maneuvers. Overseas military bases of the bigger powers are continuously modernized. Though the United States has somewhat reduced the number of its bases and personnel abroad, they are still conspicuous in the expansionist designs of the more bellicose Penta-

gon quarters. U.S. troops are stationed in 27 countries at 429 major and 2,297 lesser bases, with an aggregate area of 10,000 sq. km. A good idea of these outposts is given in a *U.S. News and World Report* map.[6]

The monopoly-controlled mass media are aiders and abettors of militarism. The Springer newspaper chain has a sinister reputation in the FRG, and *U.S. News and World Report* is known as a Pentagon mouthpiece. The National Broadcasting Company ranks among the leading American advocates of the arms race. Roy Thomson's newspaper empire has close ties with the British military-industrial complex.

The appeal of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties to step up action against militarism is as valid as ever. Reactionaries are trying to block the positive changes in the world, to slow down and reverse the process of détente. Struggle against militarism is still one of the central objectives of the world communist movement, of all democratic forces.

This survey is based on facts and figures from year books, monographs and periodicals published in capitalist countries.

1. *Time*, January 28, 1974.
2. *Congressional Record*, S. 13521, July 16, 1973.
3. *Time*, February 11, 1974.
4. *Sanity*, April 1974.
5. *Morning Star*, April 6, 1974.
6. *U.S. News and World Report*, Jan. 1, 1973.

New features of the capitalist crisis

One of the problems which Communists are discussing on the eve of the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties is the current capitalist crisis and its impact on international relations and the class struggle in capitalist countries. This is understandable, for Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism and its manifestations in various countries is highly important for evolving the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle at this stage.

The main contradiction of contemporary capitalism and its manifestations in the course of the present crisis was analyzed by Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria, in an article published in *WMR*, February 1975. The discussion begun by Franz Muhri is continued in this issue by Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, and Victor Perlo, an American economist, who probe into the evolution of deepening crisis phenomena in the citadels of contemporary imperialism, West Germany and the United States.

MOUNTING SOCIAL CONFLICTS IN THE FRG

Herbert Mies
Chairman, German Communist Party

The days when apologists for the state-monopoly system cited the Federal Republic of Germany as a model of crisis-free development ended in 1974. In the FRG, social antagonisms and conflicts are on the rise and the general crisis of capitalism is worsening as in other capitalist countries.

Bourgeois politicians and futurologists, once very optimistic, dread the future. Government offices, the headquarters of parties backing the capitalist system, research centers and the mass media are looking for a new 'anti-crisis strategy' that would help to preserve and reinforce a social system dominated by big capital.

To the German Communist Party as to other Communist and Workers' parties, the growing general crisis of capitalism means primarily a new period of struggle for the people's interests. It is our pressing duty to show the people a way out of the crisis and reveal to them the new possibilities of struggle for social progress which are emerging as headway is made toward lasting peace.

To evolve a realistic action program in today's changed conditions, the GCP must make an accurate analysis of current political and economic processes. Our Party does much, now as in the past, to study the new features of the general crisis of capitalism in the FRG, especially because West German big capital is using its economic power to step up its drive for expansion and leadership in Western Europe.

Analysis of certain development trends of West German imperialism is particularly useful at the threshold of the 30th anniversary of liberation from Hitler fascism. The defeat of nazi Germany and the emergence of the socialist world system was a historic setback for imperialism, above all German imperialism. The war substantially reduced the economic potential of German imperialism, which also lost its military power for a decade and forfeited some of its territory, as well as important markets and investment spheres. However, a still more telling blow to it was the rise of the German Democratic Republic, first as an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist and then a socialist state. The appearance on German soil of two states with different social and political systems was a reflection of the worldwide contradiction between imperialism and socialism.

Nevertheless, the German imperialists tried again to turn back the wheel of history as they had done after their defeat in World War I. And as they were plainly not strong enough to go it alone, they allied themselves with the imperialists of other countries, hoping to 'roll back' world socialism and, above all, to eliminate the GDR. But even this powerful imperialist alliance could not venture a new armed aggression because it could not hope for success in the given world situation. Meanwhile, the alignment of world forces continued to change to the detriment of imperialism due to the rapid economic progress and growing might of the socialist community, the disintegration of the colonial system and the exacerbation of contradictions between labor and capital in capitalist countries. Consequently, the West German imperialists' chances of revising the more serious results of recent historical events were reduced.

Hard pressed by these circumstances, influential circles among the West German ruling classes switched, if somewhat belatedly, to a strategy of adaptation by taking a more realistic stand on foreign policy matters. True, nothing had changed in the nature of West

German imperialism. But the rulers of the FRG, realizing that the cold war had reached a dead end, had to accept the constructive foreign policy proposals of socialist countries, primarily of the Soviet Union. Treaties were signed with the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Along with other factors, it is due to these treaties that the principle of peaceful coexistence exercises an increasingly determining influence on international relations.

Now that the general crisis of capitalism has entered a new phase, a notable section of the West German big bourgeoisie prefers, if not without hesitation, a foreign policy of adaptation, a more realistic approach to relations with socialist countries. The bourgeoisie has to reckon with the fact that the foundations of the imperialist economic system are undermined by an arms race beyond the possibilities of the FRG. The strategy of adaptation is also prompted by the foreign trade interests of the bourgeoisie and a desire to win more favorable positions in the contest with the socialist system.

Along with this, a different foreign policy concept has been shaping lately. The more aggressive and reactionary forces of monopoly capital refuse to reconcile themselves to the changed alignment of forces. They hope that by building up tensions they can stem internal crisis-like upheavals and prevent socialism's positive influence on the FRG.

These two groups are locked in struggle. The increased activity of reactionary forces that would like to impose on our country a foreign policy endangering peace calls for vigilance toward West German imperialism. Accordingly, our Party, which strives to show the people the way out of the crisis, stresses the need to link the struggle for their social and democratic rights still more closely with the effort to make détente irreversible and ensure that political détente is followed by military détente, that the way is paved for disarmament and normalization is actively continued of relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries.

West German imperialism owes its strength chiefly to its economy. A highly developed production potential and vast reserves of gold and foreign exchange have made the FRG the economically strongest country of capitalist Europe. Its international political leverage is due in large measure to economic factors. A relatively steady trend of economic development was, until recently, the most important foundation of the political stability of the power of monopoly capital. The West German big bourgeoisie was in a far more favorable situation in this respect than the bourgeoisie of other imperialist countries. Growing economic crisis phenomena confront the ruling classes of the FRG with formidable problems that are not only economic.

The present economic situation is dangerous, first of all, because

this time diverse crisis phenomena are emerging simultaneously in most capitalist countries. Increased exports as a remedy against crisis can only be used on a limited scale because all the countries hit by the crisis seek access to a shrunken world capitalist market. Furthermore, the boom periods tend to be shorter. In the FRG, the relatively high growth rate of the gross national product – from 5.8 to 8.2 per cent – after the 1966-67 slump lasted for only three years. In 1971 and 1972 it dropped to 3 and 3.4 per cent respectively. The subsequent boom lasted for only one year – in 1973 the increase was 5.3 per cent and in 1974 it dropped to 0.4 per cent. Investments in 1974 fell off by 2.5 per cent.

Characteristically, increasing inflationary devaluation of currency has become a concomitant of economic development, especially in slump periods. During the 1929-33 economic crisis the cost of living index in Germany dropped by more than 23 per cent. In 1967, when there was a slump, the cost of living rose by 1.7 per cent, though wholesale prices dropped 0.9 per cent. From September 1973 to September 1974, prices in the FRG grew by 7.3 and 14.2 per cent respectively.

It follows that inflation aggravates the consequences of the slower growth rate. Wage and salary earners are, of course, hit hardest by the current crisis. Layoffs or short-time working robs them of their jobs or of part of their incomes. In January 1975 there were 1,154,000 unemployed and another 900,000 workers on short time. The jobless added up to 5.1 per cent of the workforce, a proportion unprecedented since 1958. As for those on short time, their number is the highest in West German history. Even borgeois economists consider that complete or partial unemployment is bound to grow.

The situation in West German economy varies greatly from one industry to another. Steel and chemicals, as well as some branches of electrical and mechanical engineering, continue to expand by exporting more. But production is declining in most consumer goods industries, in construction and the automobile industry. So is retail trade. The decline is due to the people's limited purchasing capacity and in some industries production cuts are due to a structural crisis. They affect primarily consumer goods, in particular footwear and clothing, whose output in 1973-74 dropped by roughly 10 per cent, with more factories closed down than in any other industry. The situation is made worse by the fact that the shoe and garment industries are concentrated where there are hardly any other industries. These areas suffer from industrial 'droughts' which cause protracted unemployment. The problem can only be solved by setting up new industries, which requires investments.

A serious crisis is in the offing in house-building. In the first half of

1974, the man-hours in this branch diminished by 21.5 per cent. Yet there are 350,000 vacant flats in the country because those who need them cannot afford to pay the rent (about one million families live in substandard or slum dwellings).

The structural crisis is at its worst in the automobile industry, where the imbalances affecting the whole economy are surfacing. In the FRG a private car, that symbol of prosperity and prestige under capitalism, was for a long time an appreciable stimulus for economic development. Production capacities were expanded beyond proportion, regardless of the state of the infrastructure, the exigencies of environmental protection or the energy potential. Petrol has become more expensive, the network of roads has turned out to be inadequate as have parking facilities, the harmful effect of heavy motor traffic on the environment has been fully revealed and, most important of all, the working people's real incomes have stopped increasing. As a result, car production has nose-dived – it fell off by 21 per cent in the first 10 months of 1974. Yet this West German industry accounts for at least 5 per cent of all jobs.

All this shows the inability of present-day capitalism and its state-monopoly system of regulation to assure stable and balanced economic development. The parasitical character and decay of imperialism are a fact. Although demand for consumer goods and housing is mounting as in the past and although there are adequate production capacities, output is decreasing, needs which can be met are not met and hundreds of thousands find themselves out of work.

The energy crisis, an important component of the growing general crisis of capitalism, has some distinctive features in the FRG. As late as the mid-50s our country was sufficiently independent as a consumer of energy. Use of its own vast deposits of coal enabled it in 1956 to keep the share of imports in the total volume of the primary sources of consumed energy at 1.7 per cent, but in 1972 this percentage was as high as 54.1. Moreover, coal output went down in the same period from 153 million to 103 million tons while imports of crude and partly refined oil rose from 10 million to 125 million tons.

This policy helped the big concerns to make colossal profits when oil was relatively cheap. Today, however, so considerable a reduction of coal output and the economy's almost complete dependence on multinational oil monopolies have a most adverse overall effect. Disregard of the nation's own energy resources in the interests of a handful of monopolies is now telling on the capitalist system itself.

The energy crisis has confronted the capitalist world with difficult problems. First of all, there is the problem of supplying energy to keep the economy going. Besides, the foreign trade of oil-importing countries is less profitable. In 1960-72 the prices of import items rose

in the FRG by only 0.5 per cent and those of exported goods by 19.5 per cent. From 1972 to September 1974 the growth of import prices was 46.6 per cent and that of export prices, 27.8 per cent. This is a result of the growing prices of raw materials and fuels that has been in evidence ever since 1973. It is a heavy blow to West German imperialism. Through changes in oil prices alone, the FRG annually loses at least 14,000m. marks, earlier used to bolster the positions of imperialism at home and abroad.

All this notwithstanding, the FRG was able to improve its balance of trade and payments by increasing exports. In the first three quarters of 1974 its active balance of trade rose to 36,900m. marks compared with 32,800m. in 1973 and the active payments balance rose from 7,200m. to 17,100m. marks. West Germany is in a comparatively favorable situation also because it has a foreign exchange reserve of 130,000m. marks (at the current market price of gold) which could help it to meet its balance of trade deficit for a long time to come.

As regards other developed capitalist countries, many of them have a serious trade and payments balance deficit and their foreign exchange reserves are dwindling. In the first three quarters of 1974 the balance of payments of Britain, for example showed a deficit of 19,500m. West German marks and Italy's trade deficit stood at 22,600m. marks. This imbalance cannot be allowed to remain for long. The capitalist countries will have to find a way of removing these enormous discrepancies or to use trade curbs. Either prospect is very dangerous to the FRG since exports are, in view of the limited home market, a highly important source of economic growth. Indeed, exports make up one-fourth of West Germany's industrial turnover. With exports reduced, a decisive pillar of the domestic economic situation would be knocked out.

This shows why the monetary crisis, which has seriously undermined West Germany's economic stability, is so dangerous. The renunciation of a fixed exchange rate, uneven increases in the price of gold and growing inflationary devaluation of currency complicate world trade and the international movement of capital.

All this is not to say that we have only to wait for the automatic collapse of capitalism. In the FRG, for example, capitalism still has appreciable potentialities. However, the present economic situation suggests something more serious than an ordinary slump. Quite definitely, we are in the presence of an unprecedented deepening of the crisis. In other words, there is a crisis of the economic basis of capitalism, which also affects the FRG. And this crisis naturally impinges very strongly on every sphere of home and foreign policy.

Relations between imperialist countries are becoming more complicated. Inflation, monetary troubles and difficulties in energy supply

raise obstacles to continued international capitalist integration in Western Europe. This means indefinite delay in the attainment of a foreign policy objective of great importance to West German imperialism.

The crisis has also spread to relations between imperialist and developing countries based on neo-colonialist policies. This came out during the 1973 'oil crisis' and the subsequent evolution of international trade. Owing to raw material and fuel price increases, the imperialist countries lost enormous neo-colonial superprofits, so that their ability to maneuver financially was considerably reduced.

In home policy, the crisis manifests itself above all in mounting economic and political pressure on the working class and its organizations by monopoly capital and its parties and government. The purpose of this pressure is to curtail social and democratic rights, 'pull up' the workers and their unions, prevent a swing to the left and back the forces that would like to shift political activity and public life further to the right. This is why the struggle against attempts to put the burden of the crisis on the working people, for the immediate adoption of protective measures against the consequences of inflationary price growth and the threat of unemployment, merges with the democratic, anti-monopoly struggle to preserve and extend democratic rights, to pave the way for socialism. This is very important to the GCP at this stage.

The limitations of the capitalist system have seldom been as manifest as they are now. Until recently, the ideologists and propagandists of capitalism extolled the 'welfare state' and 'affluent society,' but today they talk mostly about 'austerity.' Until recently, they insisted on the need to speed economic growth in competing with the socialist system, but today they make a virtue of necessity by representing 'zero growth' as not only something inevitable but a cherished goal. The working people are told to tighten their belts. And as the mass media are fully controlled by big capital, the call to 'consume less' meets with a certain response among the masses.

Nevertheless, to praise stagnation and publicize restrictions, however subtly, is poor advertisement for capitalism, which is losing its appeal for the working man. As a result, one of the strongest ideological pillars of the existing system is tottering. So is anti-communism, another pillar of imperialist ideology. Anti-communism, which during the cold war shaped the thinking of many, especially in the FRG, is defeated again and again both at home and abroad, in spite of recurrent attempts to revive it. This is undoubtedly a result of détente and growing cooperation with socialist countries. West Germany's working people have more and more opportunities to acquaint themselves at first hand with life in the GDR, Soviet Union and other socialist

countries and to satisfy themselves that socialism, unlike capitalism, never experiences economic crises. The activity of the GCP, for its part, helps them in this.

Political and ideological struggles are gaining mementum in the new phase of the general crisis of capitalism. The working people, who are dissatisfied with their economic condition, are doing some rethinking as they search for new ways. This search is going on in various directions. Many workers and intellectuals show readiness to fight for their interests as they discard their illusions about the potentialities of capitalism. However, faith in the Social Democrats and their 'policy of reform' is still very strong. It detracts from the militancy of these segments of the population and, of course, there can be no question of their 'swinging automatically to the left.'

Under the impact of increased nationalist and anti-communist propaganda and social demagogy by the CDU/CSU, part of the population is drifting to the right. The greater number of votes cast for the main parties of West German big capital in the latest Landtag elections was a warning against the danger from the right.

It would be wrong, however, to regard the results of these elections as an indication that the rightists have won the upper hand and that the working people will meekly shoulder the burden of the crisis. Indeed, the class struggle is on the rise in our country as well, if to a lesser degree than in other major capitalist countries. This is seen, first of all, in the growing number of strikes. The point is not only that their annual average number more than doubled in 1966-74 over 1959-65 period. Another important fact is that once passive contingents of the working class have joined in struggle and that the range of demands has widened.

Conflicts have spread to diverse spheres. Students take more and more frequent action for both better social conditions and radical educational reforms. The infrastructure, especially environmental protection, has become another field of intensified class battles. The population joins in struggle by setting up so-called civic initiative groups to campaign against water and air pollution, the construction of atomic power stations in densely populated areas, and so on.

To be sure, there is no escaping the fact that under the impact of a deteriorating economic situation some working people give in to fear of the future and the working class tends occasionally to yield to capitalist and government pressure. Manufacturers' associations, bourgeois parties, the right-wing SDP leadership and the government skilfully exploit the workers' fear of losing their jobs to make them toe the line. Moreover, influential trade union leaders who have set their sights on social partnership do hardly anything to counter this pressure.

Even so, the forecasts of so typical a spokesman of the West German big bourgeoisie as Ralf Dahrendorf, a sociologist and former commissioner of the Common Market, who believes that 'social conflicts will become far more serious than they have been over the past 25 years,' are perfectly realistic. 'In the next decade,' Dahrendorf writes, 'we will have strikes that will be hard to cope with. Social conflicts are multiplying and will become worse because the possibilities of settling them are diminishing. It will always be a question of the whole and not of compromises on particular issues.'

This vision, which bodes no good for the imperialist system, is based on an economic estimation shared by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. 'Strictly speaking,' Schmidt said when he was Minister of Finance, 'the problem is to increase the investment quota and at the same time to moderate the consumers' expectations. How are we to tell the consumers that for the time being their share of the pie will be smaller and not bigger?'

These statements give an idea of the main problem of West Germany's economic and overall home policy, a problem which exists already and is bound to become more acute. Meeting the working people's fairly high consumer requirements is an important factor in maintaining the internal political stability of the imperialist system. Yet West German imperialism lacks sufficient material resources to assure the continuity of its economic policy. This holds the promise of numerous social and political conflicts. Our Party must take account of this prospect in time.

It has been said that West German imperialism has much less room for financial maneuver today whereas it must spend more. Authoritative experts believe that the power industry alone requires an extra 40,000-45,000m. marks annually (in 1973 prices). Growing financial difficulties due to an increasing budget deficit and a mounting national debt tend to aggravate the situation. It is estimated that West Germany's budget deficit will stand at 28,000m. marks in 1974 and 53,000m. marks in 1975, with the national debt in 1975 exceeding 250,000m. marks.

Evidently, if unproductive spending on armaments continues, the only way to meet the increasing need of investment in the infrastructure will be to cut the people's real incomes. An alternative solution would mean thoroughly revising the military policy and joining step by step in the process of détente, curbing the power of monopolies, multinational ones included, renouncing all pressure on the working people and democratic forces, and recognizing the people's right to share in the wealth created as a result of the growing productivity of social labor, and the necessity for far-reaching anti-monopoly, democratic changes.

Which of these roads the FRG will take is not clear. But all political forces have joined in a struggle of growing intensity. Its outcome will in the long run depend on who wins the hearts and minds of the working class.

The Communists have a special responsibility in this struggle. They are well aware of the difference between a government led by the Social Democrats and a government that would be led by the CDU/CSU. There is no doubt, however, that the right-wing SDP leadership's pro-capitalist economic policy and numerous concessions to anti-communism are responsible in substantial measure for the drift of part of the working class to the right. These leaders retreat under the pressure of the more aggressive forces of big capital and their parties, the CDU/CSU. They attribute West Germany's economic troubles to the crisis of the world economy, as well as to action by the workers, who are accused of making endless demands. If we are effectively to counter their disastrous policy, we must strengthen the GCP and extend its influence among the masses. This is an important prerequisite if a trend toward unity of action, not anti-communism, and toward renouncing the indefensible policy of class collaboration is also to prevail among the West German working class, primarily among Social-Democratic workers. More than once in German history, this policy has paved the way to power for extreme reactionaries and prevented a radical change in the alignment of forces in favor of the working class and its allies.

The GCP, realizing its responsibility to the working people of its country and its internationalist duty to the communist and working-class movement, sees the need to draw the right conclusions from today's changed situation. In the new phase of the general crisis of capitalism, it is determined to be a force operating constructively in the working people's interests. Fighting for pressing social and democratic demands, it strives to show the way to anti-monopoly democracy and socialism. The GCP aims to serve working-class unity of action and the alliance of all anti-monopoly, democratic forces. By proceeding in this way, we can stem the growing pressure on our Party, contribute to the defeat of West German reaction and help the working class to pave the way for social progress.

U.S. DECLINE AND FIGHT FOR LIVING STANDARDS

Victor Perlo
American economist

The United States is afflicted by a severe complex of economic crises – a crisis of overproduction, a crisis of inflation, and a crisis of the international economic position of U.S. imperialism.

The crisis of overproduction is by far the worst since the Great Crisis of the 1930s. The other crises are new phenomena. The U.S. ruling class has succeeded so far in throwing the entire weight of this complex of crises onto the working class and the Black and other oppressed peoples, inflicting a serious blow to the mass standard of living. It has increased the contrast between wealth and poverty, between conspicuous luxury of the few and suffering of the tens of millions. Organized resistance of the working people is emerging, and the social struggle around crisis issues is destined to become the prime domestic feature of political life.

The economic crises coincide with and are part of a new, profoundly deeper stage of the general crisis of capitalism. This new stage is marked, among other features, by a major advance of key developing countries toward taking over control and ownership of their raw material resources, and to assure adequate prices for them in world trade. This strikes a body blow at the neo-colonialist structure of modern imperialism, undermines the dominance of U.S.-owned multinational corporations in oil, bauxite, iron ore, and other materials.

The outbreak of a crisis of overproduction in 1974 was foreshadowed by the failure of U.S. capitalism to resolve the specific contradictions underlying the previous crisis of 1970-71, and the sharpening of these contradictions during the following years. The course of the cycle was complicated, but not essentially changed, by the October 1973 war. Oil nationalization, and increased oil prices (arising mainly from the operations of the big oil monopolies) created serious problems for the U.S. economy. Data of the crises of overproduction and inflation through December 1973 are shown in Table 1 (all figures except consumer price index seasonally adjusted).

The downturn in production was slight and uneven during most of 1974. The acute phase of the crisis of overproduction hit in the fourth quarter, when most of the decline in output and increase in unemployment was concentrated. This acute phase is continuing into 1975. The First National City Bank writes in the January 1975 issue of the *Monthly Economic Letter* that 'further decline is so strongly pro-

Table 1

Item & Unit	Peak period or Dec. 1973	Dec. 1974	Per cent change
Gross national product, annual rate, billions of 1958 dollars	845.7 (4th quarter)	803.7 (4th quarter)	−5.0
Industrial production, 1967 = 100	127.5 (Nov. 1973)	118.2	−7.3
New private housing starts, annual rate, thousands	2,540 (Feb. 1972)	868	−65.8
Spendable weekly earnings, non-farm workers, 3 dependents, 1967 dollars	97.50 (Oct. 1972)	89.16	−8.6
Unemployment (thousands)	4,364	6,535	+49.7
Consumer price index, 1967 = 100	138.5 (Dec. 1973)	155.4	+12.2

Source: Survey of Current Business, Dec. 1974, and Business Statistics, 1973 Biennial Edition, (U.S. Dept. of Commerce). Press releases of U.S. Commerce and Labor Departments and Board of Governors of Federal Reserve System.

grammed into the economy as a result of events of 1974' that no expected policy measures can prevent it.

Special features of the crisis

Totally new features of this crisis of overproduction include:

1. Inflation has not only continued, but accelerated during the downward phase of production. The 12.2 per cent rise in consumer prices during 1974 was considerably feaster than the 8.8 per cent rise during 1973. This inhibits and distorts the decline of capital values tied up in stocks of goods, which is a necessary condition for any normal cyclical revival.

2. The crisis is synchronized throughout the industrialized capitalist countries to an unprecedented degree. This is in marked contrast to previous cycles since World War II, which were characterized by booms in some countries alongside of crises in others. Not only is this crisis common to all the major capitalist countries, but the acute phase of the crisis erupted in the fourth quarter of 1974 everywhere. The extreme internationalization of capital, the rapid and massive movements of tens of billions of dollars from country to country, the big increase in the relative weight of international trade, the proliferation of financial and economic bodies of international state-monopoly capitalism – all these features are finally having their maximum negative impact on capitalist world economy as a whole in this simultaneous, reinforcing, complex of world economic crises.

3. As a result of the decisive actions of the OPEC countries, and similar moves by some other developing countries, the terms of trade have turned sharply against U.S. and other imperialist centers during the crisis of overproduction. This reverses the customary cyclical trend, whereby the monopolies set the stage for a new revival partly by driving down the prices of raw materials imported from developing countries.

4. There is a loss of confidence in the Keynesian and neo-Keynesian methods of state regulation of the economy, which were developed after World War II, and a recognition of the general bankruptcy of the bourgeois economists, who were completely wrong in projecting the economic trends of the past two years. The simplistic and cynical 'trade-offs' between inflation and unemployment no longer work. Instead of offering working people a 'choice' between higher prices and higher unemployment, all the bourgeoisie can offer is more of both.

Other features, carried over from earlier cycles, have become more serious. The financial contradictions which played a significant role in the 1970-71 crisis were never really resolved. Interest rates soared to still higher levels in 1974, and the shortage of liquid assets of corporations became even more extreme than during the previous crisis. A multibillion dollar bank, the Franklin National, failed. The largest power company, Consolidated Edison, and such prominent firms as Lockheed and Pan American World Airways were kept from collapse only through various kinds of government bail-outs. Bankruptcies among smaller firms were very high, and bank losses through bad loans reached proportions not seen since the 1930s. Hundred of millions were lost in the financial failure of a score of New York's skyscrapers. Stock exchange prices declined nearly 50 per cent from their peak to a low point reached late in 1974.

The decline in the relative position of the U.S. in world trade and

production continued, as did the value of the U.S. dollar. The movement to switch from the U.S. dollar to other currencies, and the appreciation of the price and strategic importance of gold gathered momentum.

The socialist community of CMEA members, thanks to socialist planning and mutual aid, moved steadily forward economically, largely immune to the complex of crises afflicting the capitalist world. The capitalist crises have greatly speeded up the shift in the balance of economic power from capitalism to socialism. The gains of the USSR in competitition with the USA became especially large, considering the high level of production and living standards already achieved by the USSR.

Monopoly assault on living standards

The economic crises brought about a general decline in mass living standards, a qualitative worsening of conditions. The nine per cent decline in real wages of employed workers over the past two years is unprecedented in U.S. history, except for the very worst years of the great crises of the early 1930s. The monopolies, as part of the process of accelerating inflation, imposed contrived shortages in gasoline and heating oil in the winter of 1973-74, in sugar and natural gas a year later. And now the Ford Administration is striving to put over a permanent tight supply situation of all energy products for mass consumption, as part of the campaign to add tens of billions more to the profits of the oil, coal, and electricity companies.

The crisis dealt more severe blows to U.S. workers than to those of most industrialized capitalist countries, owing to the capitulatory policies of the principal U.S. trade union leaders and the lack of a mass political organization of workers. U.S. workers were less able, therefore, to win wage increases offsetting inflation. They were less able to inhibit company layoffs, and won relatively less in compensation for those laid off. They were unable to prevent lowering of government standards of relief for the unemployed and the poor. Government monetary relief, food, and other forms of assistance were slashed, not in total dollars spent, but in the real assistance provided relative to requirements, and through rising prices.

Thus the crisis brought severe suffering to tens of millions. Hunger became a common phenomenon, not only in such traditional areas of malnutrition as the rural south, but in major northern cities. Electric lighting was cut off for hundreds of thousands of families unable to pay their bills, which increased on the average by 50 per cent or more in important sections. Many families were deprived of heating fuel, and some poor people literally froze to death or died of cold-induced illnesses.

The crisis fell with hammer-blow impact on the Black people. The racist policies of former President Nixon encouraged the capitalists and bankers to intensify economic discrimination against the Blacks, even before the outbreak of the latest crisis. The ratio of Black to white family income declined from 61.3 per cent in 1970 to 57.7 per cent in 1973.[1] Because of the larger size of Black families and the higher prices Blacks have to pay at times, this means that by 1973 the real per capita income of Blacks was about 45 per cent of that of whites.

President Ford underlined his continuation of Nixon's racist policies by refusing to intervene against or denounce the mobs which conducted prolonged pogrom-like attacks on the Black schoolchildren of Boston. Court decisions calling for an end to discrimination against Blacks in various industries, which followed the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, were not seriously enforced. Some key trade union leaderships effectively collaborated with employers in carrying out racist policies.

Under these conditions the capitalists were able without restraint to apply their 'last to be hired, first to be fired' divide and rule technique against the Black workers in this crisis, using seniority systems which make no allowance for the past discrimination against Blacks. In cases where one-quarter or one-half of a plant's workers were laid off, three-quarters or nine-tenths of the Black workers were laid off. The main income base of entire Black communities was decimated.

During 1974, while the rate of unemployment among white workers increased two percentage points, that among Black and other workers increased 4.2 percentage points, reaching 12.8 per cent or double the rate for white workers. This means a rate of about 13.3 per cent for Black workers alone. The unemployment rate for 'Black and other' young people aged 16 to 19 increased from 28.7 per cent in December 1973 to 37.8 per cent in December 1974.[2]

The acceleration of inflation in 1974 reflected in large part the strengthening of monopoly domination to the point where earlier limitations on price gouging became inoperative. Never before were the price margins between farmers and consumers increased so rapidly. Never before were the monopolies manufacturing consumer goods so crude and cynical in raising prices while cutting production and employment. Never before were regulatory commissions so 'generous' in granting utility rate increases. Over the course of the year prices of industrial raw materials declined 17 per cent [3] while manufacturing and retail profit margins widened beyond all previous dimensions.

Thus the unusual situation developed wherein corporate profits increased rapidly along with declining production. Profits before taxes

went up 28 per cent from an annual rate of $122.7 billion in the fourth quarter of 1973 to $157.0 billion in the third quarter of 1974.[4]

The acute phase of crisis downturn late in 1974 finally caused some decline in corporate profits. Because of the extremely uneven distribution of profits among particular corporations and lines of business, and the increasing share of surplus value taken by interest payments, a big wave of bankruptcies, forced mergers and permanent closing of factories and shops seemed inevitable for 1975. To counter pressure on profit rates, employers speeded up workers mercilessly and in most cases workers, afraid of losing their jobs and without sufficient organized trade union support, did not resist. This in turn increased the number of layoffs and the level of unemployment. In the first week of January 1975 alone, 970,000 workers filed initial claims for unemployment insurance, an all-time record. At that rate, more than half the workers in the country would become unemployed in the course of a year. Layoffs began to spread to municipal governments lacking sufficient revenues to pay all their employees. Should this become general it would have a specially complicating effect, inasmuch as historically, the steady rise in the size of the government bureaucracy, while increasing the tax burden on the working people, simultaneously provided a certain cushion to mass consuming power in time of economic crisis.

Government policies

State-monopoly policies for dealing with the complex of crises have vacillated wildly and with more than the usual degree of conflict within the ruling class over specifics. As late as October 1974 President Ford adhered to the policy of giving priority to 'fighting inflation' by cutting federal welfare programs, restricting credit, etc. He refused to concede the existence of a 'recession,' not to speak of taking any measures to moderate or reverse it. However, as the crisis entered its acute phase, the emphasis changed rapidly to giving priority to 'fighting recession.' However, the real 'fight' was neither against inflation nor recession, but against the working class and oppressed sections of the people, for monopoly capital, in an environment of inflation and recession, varying tactics with the shifting pressures of different crisis symptoms.

Further, following intense discussions within top monopoly circles, policy crystallized around dealing primarily neither with inflation nor overproduction, but with the third crisis, the crisis of the international economic position of U.S. imperialism, the crisis of neo-colonialism, or as it is called in the distorted imperialist version, the 'energy crisis.' The main part of the President's 1975 State of the Union Message was devoted to his 'energy program.' The *New York Times* observed that

'foreign policy, perhaps more than economics, played a major role in determining not only basic elements of the program but also the tone of urgency with which Mr. Ford is pressing it ... the Secretary of State exerted a dominant influence on the overall shape of the program as well as some of the specifics ...'[5]

Following the line of the most reactionary, aggressive circles of the financial oligarchy, the Ford Administration built up its economic program around the policy of confrontation with the oil-exporting countries, and especially against the Arab countries. U.S. imperialism sees in the nationalization of oil, and the trend toward taking control of its processing and distribution by the producing countries, and within consuming countries by these countries themselves, a long-run threat to the gigantic profits of the U.S. oil monopolies, and ultimately to those of the entire overseas empire of U.S.-owned multinationals, with their $300 billion of annual sales.

By confronting the oil-exporting countries, U.S. imperialism aims to turn back a front most dangerous to it of the world's national liberation movement. By specifying the Arabs as the main 'enemies,' U.S. imperialism aims to gain support for the expansionist wars of Israel. The most vigorous advocates of this foreign-policy emphasis within the United States are the powerful pro-Zionist sections of monopoly capital. Their representatives, next to those of the Rockefeller interests, occupy the key places in the Ford Administration.

On the military side, this policy includes the brazen threats of Ford and Kissinger to invade the oil-producing countries in order to capture the oil for U.S. imperialism, and the more urgent striving for bases in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. On the political side, it includes intensified, if futile, attempts to form a united front of imperialist powers against the oil-producing countries, to end the isolation of U.S. imperialism in its neo-colonialist offensive.

Economic policies are geared to the military perspective with a record peacetime increase in the military budget – expected to amount to $16 billion more in fiscal 1976 than the fiscal 1975 authorization budget – and a monstrous campaign for the sale of U.S. weapons to NATO countries and selected Middle Eastern countries.

The main economic effort is 'Project Independence,' to gradually reduce oil imports while spurring development of domestic energy sources. To accomplish this, the ruling class claims that the people must sacrifice as if to meet a real threat to the country's independence, while the oil and other monopolies must be granted tens of billions of the most enormous giveaways, as 'incentives' to increase the domestic supply of energy. Specifically, the President wishes to impose large taxes on imports and domestic production of oil, and to remove all limits on prices of oil and natural gas, while turning over

government lands and the continental shelf to the oil and coal monopolies for intensified exploitation. Unless supplemented by direct limitations on imports, which Ford says he opposes, there is nothing in this plan to stimulate switching from overseas to domestic sources of petroleum. But it certainly is effective at imposing sacrifices for the sake of monopoly profits. Experts of the library of Congress calculate that it will increase the cost of living of consumers by $50 billion per year. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, correctly denounced it, and the whole 'energy crisis' as 'the biggest monopoly rip-off in history.'[6] The Democratic Party majority in Congress opposes some specifics, while agreeing with Ford's fundamental objectives, and taking an even more belligerent stance toward the Arab oil-exporting countries. The same applies to George Meany, the rabidly chauvinist head of the AFL-CIO.

Ford's only gesture to counter the slashing of mass incomes in the crisis is a proposed reduction of $16 billion in individual income taxes, a substantial part of which would go to the upper income brackets. This is much less than his proposed increases in energy prices would cost the population. And at the same time he flatly opposes any government programs to provide jobs for the unemployed, or to provide relief for the poor, the elderly, and all those suffering from unemployment and inflation. On the contrary, he is cutting down existing programs and urging Congress to legislate further cuts. At the same time, he proposes large tax cuts for the big corporations. The combined effect of tax cuts, giveaways to big business and the increase in military spending will, in the Administration's own estimate, lead to an incredible budget deficit of $50 billion in the coming fiscal year.

Taken as a whole, the Administration's program will tend to intensify inflation and deepen the depression. Whether it will later stimulate a revival based on a higher rate of profit and more investment, in the face of a still weaker mass consumption base, is problematical.[7]

People's struggles

Mass struggles against the harmful effects of the crisis are developing. A broad National Coalition Against Inflation and Unemployment organized mass demonstrations in 40 cities in November 1974, calling for the rolling back of prices to the 1970 level and government provision of jobs for all unemployed. Gaining additional support, this coalition conducted a mass campaign to gather signatures on petitions for these demands, while preparing a major Washington demonstration in April. Meanwhile, ever-larger contingents of the working people descended on Washington to demand relief from the crises.

Prominent among these were demonstrations organized by the Distributive Workers, the United Automobile Workers, and other unions, by PUSH and other organizations of the Black people, by peace coalitions demanding an end to intervention in Vietnam and the transferring of military funds to the people's needs.

Agitation for action was developing among workers forced to stand on long lines awaiting unemployment insurance registration and payments. Rank and file groups in the unions and progressive leaders organized local actions. Sections of the labor movement, Black liberation movement, and several score members of Congress rallied around the Hawkins Bill, known as the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act of 1976.

The Communist Party issued the following main slogans for struggle:

– reduce all non-farm prices 20 per cent across the board;
– provide ample food for all people;
– employ all wanting jobs at union wages to provide public housing, medical care, education and food – everything that tens of millions are now deprived of;
– equalize employment and incomes of Black and other oppressed people promptly;
– end all taxes on families with incomes under $25,000;
– end subsidies and tax loopholes for the rich and the monopolies;
– drastically slash the military budget;
– nationalize the energy industries under democratic control;
– end trade and financial discrimination against the USSR and all socialist and developing countries, unconditionally.

Included with the economic demands were a series of anti-imperialist peace demands, concerning the Middle East, Vietnam, and the fight for disarmament.

Perspective

There is ample basis for the gloomy forecasts concerning the U.S. economy. Bourgeois economists, including government spokesmen, become steadily more pessimistic. *Fortune* predicts 'another half dozen points' drop in the industrial production index in the first half of 1975 before 'hitting bottom' around the middle of the year.[8] Peak unemployment estimates are in the 8 to 10 per cent range. *Business Week* refers to this as 'the worst and longest recession in a quarter of a century' and describes its acute phase as a 'sickening slide.' It states: 'there is virtually no expectation that the plunge will end until the second half of this year at the earliest,' and any recovery then could be 'feeble, totally inadequate to start the unemployment rate moving down again.'[9]

Recovery in future years is expected to be slow and incomplete. According to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, high unemployment 'seems destined to dominate the remainder of the decade.'[10]

At the beginning of 1975 production declines were just starting to hit the capital goods industries, and basic steel and chemical industries. Major declines in these industries in 1975 will more than balance any possible recovery in consumer goods industries, when the reduction in overstocked inventories creates the basis for a moderate revival in output.

The most reactionary circles in the United States, trying to revive cold war anti-Soviet tactics, have wrecked the 1972 economic agreements with the USSR, placed special barriers against trade with Czechoslovakia, and taken other legislative and administrative measures to hamper trade with socialist countries. While shrilling war threats against a possible oil embargo, U.S. imperialism maintains its 14-year-old embargo on Cuba, and embargoes on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This policy is causing U.S. capitalists to lose out to West European and Japanese rivals in the most rapidly growing world market, that of the socialist countries. Similarly, because of official hostility, U.S. capitalists are getting much less than they might of the tens of billions of business emerging with the ambitious economic development programs of the petroleum-exporting countries.

The only prospective growth industry in the United States in 1975 is munitions, but the increase in employment there cannot counterbalance more than one-tenth of the expected increase in unemployment in the civilian economy. The policies of U.S. imperialism are further weakening the dollar and increasing its effective devaluation in relation to other leading world currencies.

In the event of another round of war, especially if U.S. armed forces are in any way directly involved, economic developments will be governed by factors more powerful than those of the peacetime economic cycle. Aside from that serious possibility, the perspective of a prolonged low-level depression following the acute phase of economic crisis must be faced. Indeed, considering the financial tensions and the new acute phase of the dollar crisis, it may be that after levelling off sometime in 1975, production will sink into a new round of decline before the ultimate bottom of this cycle is reached.

The course of future events will be determined by the interaction of economics and politics, and not least by the organization and correctness of direction of the mass struggles which are bound to develop in the period ahead.

Certainly, this cyclical crisis and the ensuing depression will come

to an end, and a new period of revival and boom will follow. But the slowing down of the long-term economic growth rate which was apparent in the last cycle will become more pronounced, along with the rising long-time trend of unemployment. The loss of position of U.S. imperialism in foreign trade will continue, and the investment positions of the multinationals will continue to be undermined. Just as Ford and Kissinger are renewing the cold war boast of U.S. 'world leadership,' the remnants of that leadership will be further dissipated, and the other capitalist countries will move more rapidly toward independent economic and other foreign policies, toward reducing the world role of the dollar and of U.S. finance capital.

These economic features of the general crisis of capitalism cannot be solved under this system of exploitation and racism. Socialism, more urgently than ever, is needed to create a healthy people's economy in the United States. Meanwhile, the working people can protect themselves from the most harmful effects of the economic crises and force significant concessions from the capitalists by mass struggle along the lines of the program of the Communist Party, especially, and also the programs of other progressively oriented labor and people's organizations and movements.

1. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 'Current Population Reports,' p. 60, No. 93, Table 1, p. 4; No. 46, Table 7, p. 17.
2. U.S. Dept. of Labor, Release 'The Employment Situation,' Dec. 1974, Table A-1.
3. *Business Week.* Jan, 20, 1975, p. 2.
4. 'Survey of Current Business,' Dec. 1974, Table 6, p. 13.
5. *New York Times,* Jan. 26, 1975.
6. *Daily World,* Jan. 23, 1975.
7. While welcoming the class aspect of Ford's program, the bourgeoisie recognizes its internal contradictions, and each section sees specific disadvantages to it. Financial writer John Gerrity comments: 'Is not the President aware of the fact that virtually every segment of the country and every sector of the economy, save possibly only the oil and gas industries, object strenuously to his tax and tariff schemes? . . . Higher tariffs and excises on oil and gas will be passed on to household and industrial consumers in the form of much higher prices, thereby feeding the fires of inflation . . . . As the hostilities between himself and Congress deepen and stretch into other areas, notably his desire to extend more aid to South Vietnam while advocating a cutback in food stamp and welfare programs, he is bargaining for a one-way ticket to political oblivion.' (*Money Manager,* Jan. 27, 1975, pp. 1, 57).
8. *Fortune,* Jan. 1975, p. 9.
9. *Business Week,* Feb. 3, 1975, p. 66.
10. *Wall Street Journal,* Jan. 29, 1975.

Leninism on consolidating the victory of the revolution

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Even before it is resolved in hard-fought political battles, the question of power – the crucial question of revolution – has always attracted the theoretical thought of Marxist-Leninists. Their starting point is Lenin's scientifically-grounded and time-tested theory of socialist revolution, in particular its propositions concerning the general conditions for the maturing of revolution, the emergence of a revolutionary situation and its use by the proletariat to win state power. However, our social-science literature does not, in my view, always devote proper attention to Lenin's contribution to the theory of consolidating victory, to the problems of the revolution's 'second day.' Yet this is a crucial, and relatively independent, component of the theory of socialist revolution. For in this period the Communist Party takes on a new quality, that of the ruling party which, in close cooperation with other revolutionary and democratic forces, is responsible for the affairs of society. For the masses this is the most effective test of the Party's theory on the substance and mechanism of socialist power, and also, of course, of the statements and pledges made by the Party before it came to power.

It need hardly be said that it is impossible in a magazine article to analyze all facets of the problem. We shall therefore deal only with a few cardinal questions concerning the consolidation of victory in the first days and months (possibly years) after the seizure of power. And we propose to examine this through the prism of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin, whose 105th birth anniversary is now being celebrated by the whole of progressive mankind. This approach is logical inasmuch as Lenin's Party was the first in history to accomplish the passage from bourgeois-democratic to socialist revolution, a problem now facing the parties in many countries. The Bolsheviks were the first not only to bring the working class to power (in this respect the October Revolution was preceded by the Paris Commune) but also securely to maintain power. This poses the following three questions – among many others – without a clear solu-

tion of which the 'second day' prospects of the revolution will at best remain obscure.

First: If the proletariat needs the support of the majority of the people[1] for the victory of the revolution and for maintaining state power, how is this majority formed, and when can one say that it has taken definite shape?

Second: Can the proletarian revolution maintain and extend its gains without support from socialist revolutions in other countries?

Third: How to prevent restoration of the old capitalist order, considering that, on the one hand, the exploiters continue for a long time to retain a number of important practical advantages compared with the proletariat (Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 28, p. 253), and, on the other, that small commodity production will for a long time after the revolution make itself felt in every country (and actually dominate in some), and, as Lenin said, will every hour, every minute, breed capitalism?

Revolutionary majority – a political concept

Lenin was firmly convinced that the Party had the support of the majority of the people not only for the revolution, but also for the maintenance of state power, when the elections in Petrograd (August 1917) increased its share of the vote from 20 to 33 per cent and the elections to the Moscow district Dumas (September) from 11 to about 50 per cent. In analyzing the situation as it took shape toward the autumn of 1917, Lenin took full account of these data as indicating a change in the political mood of the masses in favor of the Bolsheviks.

But these figures were not the only basis for the conclusion that there was a majority prepared to support the revolution and consolidate its gains. Reports from the battle fronts showed that Bolshevik ideas were winning increasing support among the troops. Most of the peasant Soviets throughout Russia had pronounced against the government coalition with the bourgeois parties imposed by the SR's and Mensheviks, which meant that on this issue the peasants took the same attitude as the Bolsheviks. A peasant rising had developed in Central Russia, which meant that the revolution was being supported not only by declarations or votes, but also by action. All this went into Lenin's appraisal of the situation, into the concept of a revolutionary majority, a political rather than mathematical concept.

Lenin criticized the views of those who 'without taking the least account of the real circumstances of the revolution,' refused to acknowledge the emergence of a revolutionary majority until there was 'an advance guarantee that throughout the whole country the Bolshevik Party had received exactly one-half of the votes plus one.' Lenin's reply was that 'history has never given such a guarantee, and

is quite unable to give it in any revolution' (Vol. 26, p. 196). An in general, considering the way things are done in a society ruled by capital, is the ballot box the best and most reliable instrument for determining the genuine will of the majority? And can one believe – as did the Second International reformist leaders – that the bourgeoisie will allow use of its democratic procedures when they no longer serve its purpose?

When necessary, Lenin's Party did not reject the most active participation in election campaigns, always carefully analyzing their results and implications. But it was fully aware that even the most active election campaign would not produce the reliable, stable revolutionary majority that comes with the working-class offensive for the capture and maintenance of power. That was confirmed by the march of events in 1917. The revolutionary forces began to grow especially rapidly following the Sixth Party Congress, at the end of July and beginning of August 1917, when the Bolsheviks called on the proletariat, the peasantry, the army, all the oppressed, to rally in the assault on capitalism. The Congress resolutions, backed by energetic organizational and political work, greatly magnified the response to revolutionary agitation, sharply increased Bolshevik support and Party membership.[2]

On the very eve of the October Revolution there were many who accused Lenin and the Bolsheviks of 'voluntarism,' alleging that they were acting against the will of the popular majority. Things even reached a point when the reactionaries and compromisers were 'inviting the Bolsheviks to take power' in the hope that, once at the helm, the worker-peasant government would not enjoy sufficient popular support and would quickly collapse. That would mean not simply re-establishing the status quo, but the triumph of reaction in its most extreme manifestations.[3] (Incidentally, this ploy has been used since then by the bourgeoisie of other countries).

The Bolsheviks decided on the armed rising only when they had clearly established that the majority (in the political understanding of the term) was on their side. And it was this revolutionary majority that assured the success of the October Revolution and the maintenance of Soviet power in those early critical months when it was attacked by all the forces of Russian and international reaction.

Toward the end of 1919, returning to the question of what had determined the Bolshevik victory, Lenin emphasized anew the support of the vast majority of the workers, and of nearly half of the army, the overwhelming support in the capitals and nearby army units. But he added that this alone 'could have ensured only a very short-lived and unstable victory' (Vol. 30, p. 262). Why? To answer that question we must go back to the fundamentals of Lenin's concep-

tion of the guarantees against restoration of bourgeois rule.

In 1906, in elaborating his views on the conditions needed to retain the revolutionary gains, Lenin spoke of relative and absolute guarantees against restoration. The relative guarantees were the political conditions that would not rule out the possibility of restoration, but would merely make it less probable and hamper restoration (Vol. 10, p. 333). Such a guarantee, Lenin said in his polemics with the Mensheviks during the first Russian revolution, would come not from a deal with the reactionaries, but by consistently carrying the revolution to completion.

But the popular revolution, as the prelude to socialist revolution, needed more than that. It needed an absolute guarantee of its political victory. The solution of this problem Lenin closely related to the social and economic structure of society, primarily the status and conduct of the small commodity producer. He wrote at the time of the first Russian revolution: 'After the complete victory of the democratic revolution the small proprietor will inevitably turn against the proletariat; and the sooner the common enemies of the proletariat and of the small proprietors, such as the capitalists, the landlords, the financial bourgeoisie, and so forth are overthrown, the sooner will this happen' (Vol. 10, p. 280). It would therefore be wrong to expect the automatic and stable support of the petty-bourgeois mass – consequently a full guarantee against restoration – in the event of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into socialist revolution. Hence, while stressing the need to win over, or at least neutralize, the small producers, Lenin drew this conclusion regarding the prospects of the revolution, and the factors that would make its gains irreversible: 'To be able to prevent restoration, the Russian revolution will need non-Russian *reserves,* will need outside assistance' (Vol. 10, p. 335).

Consequently, Lenin considered support of the international working class, or in a broader sense, favorable international conditions, a major factor in securing and developing the gains of the democratic revolution and ensuring its growing-over into socialist revolution.

Thus, from the very outset Lenin singled out two aspects of the problem, internal and international, which we now propose to examine in greater detail. Naturally, with a new situation developing in Russia and beyond it, with the growth of the revolutionary movement, Lenin more precisely formulated his concept of guarantees. In the years preceding the October revolution, the second aspect was brought to the fore. Why?

USE or socialism in one country?

The abbreviation USE will probably surprise the reader. It stands for

United States of Europe, an idea that never became a reality. Lenin said that, under capitalism, the idea was either utopian or reactionary. Today it is, in a certain sense, both utopian (considering the inextricable and mounting contradictions between the EEC partners) and dangerously reactionary (inasmuch as the West European bourgeoisie, despite the differences, is trying hard to build up economic, military and political unity to defend its class interests).

The USE idea merits our attention not only because at a complex stage of history, the 1914 war crisis in Europe, it was closely linked with the affirmative answer to a question of fundamental importance for the theory and practice of socialist revolution – could socialism triumph in one single country?[4] It merits our attention also because of the present-day bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories about a 'united,' 'unified,' 'democratic' Western Europe (based on the Common Market). Lastly, it has to be said that, even today, the question of where and when the next breach of the capitalist system will take place, whether in one country (as was the case, for instance, in Russia in 1917, and in Cuba in the late 1950s) or whether a whole group of countries will more or less simultaneously take the socialist path (as was the case immediately after World War II) – this question holds a prominent place in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

In its most general form, the USE slogan was expressive of the direct democratic aspirations of European public opinion. And because the slogan proved so attractive to progressive and anti-war elements, it was for a short time accepted also by the Bolsheviks. The manifesto, *The War and Russian Social-Democracy,* drafted by Lenin in the autumn of 1914, said that the slogan should become 'the immediate political slogan of Europe's Social Democrats' (Vol. 21, p. 33). The idea, consequently, was of an *immediate* aim corresponding to some demands of the bourgeois-democratic revolution (overthrow of monarchical regimes).

But it soon transpired that even this limited demand of a general democratic character, unless it is stipulated that it would be achieved through joint international action, could give rise to the misconception that every national revolution must of needs fully depend on revolution in other countries. That is why Lenin was obliged repeatedly to return to the problem. It is comprehensively discussed in two of his outstanding works, 'On the Slogan for a United States of Europe' and 'The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution.'

Replying to those who criticized the USE idea on the grounds that it obscured the slogan of socialist revolution, Lenin emphasized that, precisely in this sense, the appeal for a United States of Europe, if accompanied by the revolutionary overthrow of the monarchies, is quite invulnerable. 'Political changes of a truly democratic nature,

and especially political revolutions, can under no circumstances whatsoever either obscure or weaken the slogan of a socialist revolution' (Vol. 21, p. 339). Nonetheless, Lenin was vehemently opposed to the USE idea. Why? Because, apart from purely political considerations, there was the economic aspect: a democratized European 'United States' would have a capitalist basis. And retention of that basis was the guarantee – whatever the achievements in political democracy – that the USE would become a bulwark of reaction, would lead to agreement of European capitalists 'for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe' (Vol. 21, p. 341). Such was the first fundamental fallacy of the USE idea.

The other was that, even the idea of a United States of the world (and not merely of Europe), which, generally speaking, is closer to the communist ideal of international unity of free nations, could 'be wrongly interpreted to mean that the victory of socialism in a single country is impossible' (Vol. 21, p. 342).

Lenin's conclusion that socialism could triumph in one country alone followed from the law he discovered of intensified unequal economic and political development under imperialism. Lenin's solution of the problem was, without exaggeration, a veritable revolution in the understanding of the revolutionary potentialities of the working people in the age of imperialism. He gave the proletariat of all countries scientifically substantiated confidence that the struggle against their 'own' bourgeoisie could culminate in victory, and that the workers were strong enough to consolidate their victory. It unleashed revolutionary energy and initiative, freed them from the fetters of a one-sided, undialectical and consequently false understanding of internationalism.

For the Bolsheviks, the most consistent of internationalists, this was a scientific guide to concentrating all efforts on developing the revolutionary movement within Russia. Among the factors that determined Lenin's timing of the October rising, the concrete international situation in the fall of 1917 was doubtlessly of considerable importance. There was a worldwide revolutionary upsurge and this favored the rising. But there was no really powerful and mass revolution either in Germany or in any of the other imperialist powers that could divert all the forces of the bourgeoisie. More, it was from these countries that the Russian proletariat could expect armed intervention. That danger was exploited by supporters of the 'wait and see' tactic in the Party's Central Committee or, in more simple terms, by the strike-breakers of the revolution. They camouflaged their cowardice by arguments which, to all practical purposes, amounted to opportunist pseudo-internationalism. If we are crushed, 'we will be more likely to damage the cause of a socialist revolution in the West'

(Vol. 26, p. 204). When the uprising of the proletariat in other countries comes, we will be able to support it, better promote the cause of world revolution, and triumph in Russia itself. In short, the opportunists argued that even if the Russian proletariat were to capture power, it could only hold on to it if there were a victorious revolution in the West.

Refuting these views, Lenin showed that the tactic of waiting interminably has nothing to do with proletarian internationalism. But while it is true that even after October 1917 Lenin hoped for a general European revolutionary explosion, to infer from this that Lenin made the revolution in Russia and the ultimate fate of Soviet power conditional on a social revolution in Europe means distorting history and Lenin's explicit statements (see Vol. 28, p. 288). It is not the world revolution that should be regarded as a condition for and prerequisite of the successful development of a national revolution, but, on the contrary, the ability to consolidate one's revolutionary gains and raise them to a new plane should be seen, first of all, as a real advance of the world revolution. For, as Lenin stressed long before October 1917, 'after expropriating the capitalists and organizing its own socialist production, the victorious proletariat . . . will rise *against* the rest of the world – the capitalist world – attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries' (Vol. 21, p. 342). This thesis also contains the premises for the concept that the working class can consolidate its victory in a situation in which, for a time, it finds itself in a hostile capitalist encirclement.

Needless to say, the question of the relationship between national and international conditions for consolidating the victory of the revolution acquired a new content with the consolidation of the Soviet Union and the formation of the socialist world system. The combined strength of the socialist community today is a powerful factor largely limiting the possibilities of foreign, imperialist interference in national revolutionary processes; it has a salutary impact on the international situation, which has now taken a turn toward détente.

In the light of the experience of all revolutions of this century, both the victorious and the defeated, it is particularly clear now that from the moment it is established, no revolutionary power may, without risking its own failure, choose a foreign policy other than that of steadily promoting close cooperation with the international revolutionary working class in general and the workers' states in particular. This is all the more important, because even in our day imperialism has by no means shed its aggressive nature and because the danger of fascism and neo-fascism persists in a number of countries. Reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces still contrive to deliver telling blows to this or that revolutionary contingent. In these conditions, the

growing solidarity of the international working class and closer unity of the Communist movement are making the revolutionary struggle of each national contingent of the working class and each brother party much more effective.

However, the substantial changes which have taken place in the world do not mean that now external and not internal factors play the main part in consolidating the victory of the revolution. Such a conclusion would tend to demobilize national revolutionary forces. It runs counter to both Lenin's doctrine of the decisive role of the Party's home policy in eliminating the danger of a bourgeois comeback and to the time-tested experience, primarily that of Russia's revolutionary working class, which, though surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, found a reliable guarantee for its victory in a solid alliance with the working peasantry and the democratic majority of the people and in winning their active support for socialist change.

Internal safeguards against restoration

An immediate concern of the Party and Lenin when they were only just preparing for the October rising was to develop a specific program for consolidating victory in the event of the working class winning power. The timing of the decisive battle for power was influenced by all the objective and subjective factors of the revolutionary situation and by the Party's own preparedness to lead the revolution and head a revolutionary government. There was, furthermore, the fact that by then the Party had fully ascertained, in regard to all fundamental aspects and numerous details, the conditions for consolidating victory without outside help and carefully worked out an action plan.[5]

The political and constitutional foundations of the new society were immediately introduced by Soviet power, which, as we know, was a form of proletarian dictatorship created by the working people of Russia. Its very establishment and existence provided the political conditions, which, as Lenin said, impeded restoration, made it less probable, and served as a relative guarantee of the victory of the revolution. And the multifold activity of the proletarian dictatorship in the period of consolidating the revolutionary gains was designed to shape their full and absolute guarantee against bourgeois restoration.

The dictatorship of the proletariat assumed control as the bourgeois state machinery was being demolished. Many departments of the overthrown system were abolished, but many administrative agencies were preserved, reorganized and given a new class content. We stress this because even today there are those who claim that Lenin and the Bolsheviks tended to destroy everything and to set out afterwards to build from scratch. That is a naive notion. Lenin knew very well that

revolutions cannot be accomplished in that way. '... We shall not invent the organizational form of the work,' he wrote before October 1917, 'but take it ready-made from capitalism – we shall take over the banks, syndicates, the best factories, experimental stations, academies, and so forth...' (Vol. 26, p. 110). After October 1917 Lenin fought and won a hard battle against the 'left-wing Communists,' who rejected his advice to 'learn socialism from the organizers of the trusts' (Vol. 27, p. 350). Not only the banks, but the machinery of state capitalist amalgamations ('the trusts') were preserved as far as possible, to be democratically reorganized and put in the working people's service. What was destroyed was primarily the police, courts and other repressive agencies of the former state.

As the state machinery based on exploitation was being torn down, the new, Soviet government apparatus lost no time in taking over. The assumption of all power by the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies, which combined executive and legislative functions, provided every opportunity to bridge the gap (which proved disastrous to numerous revolutions) that arises inevitably between the revolutionary government and the old state apparatus, which blocks the execution of government decisions and raising artificial obstacles.

Faced with counter-revolutionary subversion, sabotage, armed resistance and terror immediately after the revolution, the Soviet state took energetic steps to safeguard the working people's political gains, reinforced the Red Guards, set up the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission, an organ of revolutionary force against the enemies of people's rule and adopted initial measures to demobilize the old army and form a new, socialist one. Lenin maintained that the people's revolution could not triumph or consolidate its victory without an army backing the working people. These measures helped to repulse the reactionaries' early armed attacks, so that the October 1917 victory of the working class was not reduced to the provisional 'Petrograd Commune' but marked the beginning of the triumphal advance of Soviet power.

In the same short period, initial yet fundamentally important steps were taken to reorganize the economy, which Lenin regarded as the main task of the new state.[6] In carrying out these measures, the Party considered that it was particularly important to introduce working-class control over production as a transitional measure preceding its complete reorganization on socialist principles. At the same time, economic management agencies were set up throughout the country (the Supreme Council of National Economy and regional economic councils). The taking over of the State Bank, the beginning of nationalization of private banks and major enterprises of the key

industries, as well as of the railways and the merchant marine, and the reorganization of food supply enabled the Soviet state to assume control of the economy.

Major social and economic changes do not produce tangible results until after a time, even if carried out without delay. Yet the experience of the October Revolution (and subsequent revolutions in other countries) shows that to consolidate its victory, the revolution must bring an immediate and substantial gain. Lenin pointed out that the socialist revolution must bring about 'an actual improvement in the condition of the workers, farm laborers and small peasants' (Vol. 29, p. 326). This is not a passing maneuver but a first, consciously organized manifestation of the objective social and economic laws which fully determine the future development of the new society. But the matter has another important aspect – the need to realize that the potentialities of revolutionary power are objectively limited, especially in the early period.

It follows that in approaching the problem of tangibly meeting the requirements of the working class and the people as a whole in the period immediately after the revolution one must take into account the unity and, on the other hand, the dialectical antithesis of the two trends brought about by the revolution: the trend toward meeting the people's demands, desires and aspirations as fully and rapidly as possible, and the trend toward organizing and carrying on constructive effort that requires the use of all material resources and hence may lead to privations and self-imposed restrictions in the sphere of consumption given definite conditions, specifically as a result of counter-revolutionary activity.

There is indisputable historical evidence that after the state had promptly taken steps to consolidate the October victory, Lenin's Party neither regarded nor could regard the new state as fully established. The country had yet to create conditions 'in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise' (Vol. 27, p. 245). Even in 1921, when the New Economic Policy was introduced, the problem of 'who will win' was still central to the revolution.

The final solution of this key problem in favor of the new state depended on all the intermediate, petty-bourgeois population groups, the 'middle strata,' siding with the revolutionary working class. In the case of Russia, this meant primarily the peasantry. Immediately before the October period, Lenin emphasized the need to wrest the peasants from bourgeois influence. 'This is the sole guarantee of salvation for the revolution,' he wrote (Vol. 25, p. 364).

The very first legislative acts of the Soviet state created a situation in which 'the peasantry as a whole . . . were the first to gain . . . gained

most, and gained immediately from the dictatorship of the proletariat . . .' (Vol. 30, p. 112).

There was no ignoring petty-bourgeois illusions of parliamentarianism and, to dispel them, the Bolsheviks held elections to the Constituent Assembly (which the bourgeois Provisional Government had put off again and again) with the result that the body exposed itself as a bastion of counter-revolution. In dealing with the problem of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty there was no discounting, among other factors, the likelihood of a situation in which 'the peasant army, which is exhausted to the limit by the war, will after the very first defeats – and very likely within a matter of weeks, and not of months – overthrow the socialist workers' government' (Vol. 26, p. 448). In tolerating capitalist elements within the framework of the New Economic Policy, the state remembered that 'without it the peasants could not exist and continue with their husbandry' (Vol. 33, p. 313).

Accordingly, even when abrupt turns were necessary, the Bolsheviks proceeded from the key provision of Lenin's program of consolidating the revolution that unless the revolutionary working class won over the peasant and, in general, the 'intermediate,' petty-bourgeois masses there could be no absolute guarantee against a capitalist comeback. This is why the Party campaigned most actively to win the peasants, who formed the bulk of Russia's population at the time, as well as the urban middle strata.

It was no easy campaign, for the peasants by no means followed the Bolsheviks at once, nor did they turn away immediately from the SRs, the party of small rural proprietors. Nevertheless, turn away they did – not at all because the SRs had become victims of 'Bolshevik violence' but because they took action against the working people's interests by setting out to abolish the political power of the working class. The same lot befell – for the same reason – the Mensheviks, another petty-bourgeois, chiefly 'urban,' party.

The following fact is relevant in this connection. At a time when the revolution had won politically and when the Bolsheviks had proved capable of shouldering the 'burden of power,' the Russian bourgeoisie called on the conciliating petty-bourgeois parties for support, seeing them as its last hope for restoration (see Vol. 32, p. 418). In social class terms, this meant appealing to the small commodity producers, that is, in the final analysis, to the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie at large. Nothing came of it, however. The Bolshevik Party's principled, carefully planned policy and the far-reaching social and economic changes effected by it served as powerful factors in prevailing on the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie to side firmly and definitively with Soviet power. As a result, the bourgeoisie proved unable to exploit the practical advantages which it retains in the early period

after the socialist revolution. This also provided reliable prerequisites of an absolute guarantee of the victory of the working class, which, in the final count, creates social and economic conditions precluding a revival of that elemental force, private capitalism, with its social mentality and political behavior.[7]

What conclusions may be drawn? One of them is, evidently, that the Bolsheviks' experience confirms the immense importance of the period of the socialist revolution immediately following the assumption of power by the working class. In dividing the Russian revolutionary movement into periods from the Narodism of the 1870s on, Lenin stressed that the 1917-21 period was richer in content than the previous 40 years (see Vol. 32, p. 431). To consolidate the victory of the working class is an indispensable stage in the progress of the revolution, a stage making it necessary for the Party to devise and carry out a set of special measures intended, first of all, to eliminate in the country political, social and economic conditions posing the threat of a bourgeois comeback.

Another conclusion bears on the relationship between national and international conditions for consolidating the victory of the revolution. Russia's experience confirmed the great importance of international proletarian solidarity to upholding the gains of the socialist state. However, the decisive factor in consolidating the October victory was the heroic struggle of the country's own working class and other working people and the vital stake they had in preserving the new system. Looking back on the history of this century, we see that in many cases when revolutionary action by the working people was cut short by restoration of bourgeois rule, this was due not only to interference from without – which, of course, did take place – but also and more often to the lack of internal forces capable of holding out against home and foreign reaction.

Lastly, by way of drawing a third conclusion, the vast importance of careful and comprehensive advance preparations by the revolutionary party for activity needed to consolidate the working people's rule should be re-emphasized. For the question of the ways and means of safeguarding revolutionary gains against a bourgeois comeback bears on the future of any revolution and, more important still, on the future of the socialist transformation of the world. The point is, therefore, that tremendous responsibility for the destiny of the revolutionary movement devolves on the party leading the movement precisely when it appears to have attained its goal. The social revolution of the working class begins with the assumption of power but does not end with it. It was the Bolsheviks' full awareness of this and their ability to implement their program for consolidating the gains of the revolution that made the Great October Revolution the first pro-

letarian revolution in history which succeeded in defending itself and in paving the way for building socialism in the Soviet Union.

1. This problem is here analyzed only from the standpoint of consolidating the gains of the revolution. In their broader aspect, the problems of winning over to the October Revolution the broad masses and of creating for this purpose a united bloc of all Left and democratic parties and forces, are examined by the author in his article, 'The October Revolution and the United Front Issue,' in *WMR*, October 1973.

2. Of the 350,000 Party members at the time of the October rising, 100,000 had joined the Party after its Sixth Congress.

3. There was this, for instance, in the paper of the Kadets, the leading bourgeois party: 'The best way of getting rid of Bolshevism for many years to come, of destroying it, is to put the destinies of the country in the hands of its leaders' (Rech, Sept. 16, 1917).

4. Some of the arguments in favor of that conclusion were set out by Lenin in his theory of bourgeois-democratic growing over into socialist revolution, enunciated during the first Russian revolution.

5. Particularly important in this respect were Lenin's pre-October writings, such as *The State and Revolution, The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It, The Tasks of the Revolution, Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* and *Revision of the Party Program*. This refutes the untenable contentions of the Bolsheviks' past and present opponents alleging that the Bolsheviks were 'unprepared' for practical activity after the victory of the revolution and that the revolution had 'taken them by surprise.' This was the line of reasoning followed by N. Sukhanov, a Menshevik. 'The Bolsheviks did not know,' he wrote, 'what they were to do with their victory or with the state they had won' (N. Sukhanov, *Zapiski o revolyutsii* (Notes on the Revolution), Berlin, Petersburg and Moscow, 1922. Book 7, p. 59).

6. In our time, too, a revolution, if carried on consistently, reaches through the very logic of the class struggle a point where far-reaching social and economic changes become a prerequisite of preserving political gains. The assumption of power by the working class and progressive forces creates an objective contradiction between the political regime and the big bourgeoisie's economic might, the mainstay of reaction. Experience has shown that this applies to both socialist and democratic anti-monopoly revolutions. Such a situation existed, for instance, in Chile. The latest case in point is the alignment of internal forces in Portugal after the democratization process which began in April 1974, with political power passing to the democratic forces while economic power is still in the hands of monopolies and big landed proprietors.

7. Incidentally, this is why it would be very wrong either to identify the special measures to consolidate the political victory of the revolution and the aims of socialist construction proper, or to dissociate them metaphysically.

The Party begins with its basic unit, the nucleus

Milton Rene Paredes
Central Committee member,
Communist Party of Honduras

After long years of clandestinity the Communist Party of Honduras is now working openly, but the freedom it enjoys is very relative. Unlike its predecessors, the present military government, which took over in September 1972, is not persecuting the Party, but neither has it legalized it. We can work openly only because the Party's influence has grown with the upsurge of the revolutionary and democratic movement. But we are still subjected to restrictions and discrimination: Party members are sacked, expelled from the trade unions, victimized, black-listed, doomed to unemployment. And while on the national scale there is still a measure of factual legality, at regional and local level the Party is often forced to work underground. This means that we have to combine legal with illegal forms of work and our basic units, the nuclei, must adapt to concrete conditions and show maximum initiative.

The transition from underground work, with its secrecy and to a certain extent isolation, to mass work in the open is always difficult, especially in a country like ours. Many comrades cannot get away from the thought: for how long? This leads to sectarian and opportunist sentiments. But we know that the success of the struggle depends on our ability to unite with the masses, win their support and become the vanguard of the working class and the people. And whatever the conditions in which we have to work, the revolution can triumph only if there is a broad and organized movement. That, in turn, depends on our work among the masses. That is the answer to the question: for how long?

The new conditions raise such questions as the role of the proletarian revolutionary party, the principles guiding its mass work and organization, how it should effectuate its vanguard role. If the Com-

This and the article by Betty Matthews continue our discussion on 'The Marxist Leninist Party of Our Time.' For earlier articles see *WMR* for February, April, June, July, September, October, November and December 1974 and February 1975.

munist Party is to give leadership to the people, it must be an organized, politically and ideologically mature, united and influential force. It must be able to unite the working people not only to uphold their gains and resist reactionary onslaughts, but also to impose the people's will on a bourgeois-reformist government, compelling it to carry out its promises. We want our Party to become the rallying point for the many left-radical and revolutionary-democratic trends and groups, a beacon for all the anti-imperialist and patriotic forces in the country. Such is the task before us.

The problems discussed in our journal are closely relevant to Honduras. We are especially interested in the work of the basic units, the nuclei, which are the very foundation of the Party.

The Party is not merely the sum total of individuals, be they ever so talented. It is the sum total of organizations, its mind is a collective mind, its actions the result of collective effort. In this sense we can say that the Party begins with the nucleus. For in the nucleus are concentrated all the main characteristics of the Party; in its work are reflected all the main problems. The nucleus is on the front line of the revolutionary struggle, and its activity and organization determine the Party's fighting ability. The nucleus is in close contact with the masses and it is by its activity that the masses judge the Party. The demands made on the Party as a whole fully apply to its organizations at all levels, first and foremost to its nuclei. The Party can have a correct policy and a splendid program, but if the nuclei are not prepared to carry them out, the Party's ideas and slogans will have no impact on the masses.

We often recall Lenin's thoughts about Party nuclei, especially his demand that every Party member be active in one of its basic units. Also his thoughts on recruitment, a principled attitude to admitting new members, on the discipline and militancy of Party members, each one being responsible for his particular organization and the organization for each of its members.

In celebrating our 20th anniversary last year, we stressed that a Party member must justify that noble title by his workaday efforts in carrying out Party policy.

There is no place in the Party for indecision or lax discipline. Of course, we realize that new Party members learn all this in the course of their work in the nucleus.

The nucleus must be the source of creative revolutionary initiative. It must be more than an element of the Party organism – it must give effective, and not formal, leadership to every manifestation of mass revolutionary activity, guide every forward step in the revolutionary process. It must become the political vanguard of the workers in the factories and on the farms. The nuclei are where the action is and it is

only there, among the masses, that genuine reolutionary unity is forged. That is why the composition of each nucleus, its unity and activity, are so important.

The Communist Party of Honduras has territorial and industrial nuclei. Taking advantage of favorable chages in the political climate our Party has been able to set up nuclei in industry, on the banana plantations, among the peasants (chiefly in peasant unions), intellectuals (journalists, lawyers, etc.), civil servants, in the university and colleges, and also in women's and other organizations. All nuclei are expected to be guided by the Party Constitution, but allowance is made for differences in composition, objective conditions, social, professional and psychological factors. Obviously, a nucleus in a factory and one at a university cannot employ the same forms and methods of work.

We draw our main support from workers in town and country, but we devote most attention to workplace nuclei. That follows from the very nature of our Party and its social composition – industrial, building and agricultural workers make up about 60 per cent of the membership. The Communists are working with resolve and energy for a class trade union policy. We have overcome sectarian errors and our Party nuclei are now consistently working for the unity of the trade union movement. There was a time when we refused to work in the opportunist-led ORIT* unions or in unions that were pliant tools of reactionary leaders. Now we are active in all trade unions and peasant organizations. This has substantially changed the relation of forces within the unions. We are much stronger and enjoy support in the biggest organizations. The activity of our nuclei in the unions has been especially intensive in the past three years. Thus, the Party is in the leadership of approximately half the organizations of the big North Coast Federation of Workers' Unions and is especially strong at local branch levels. The same applies to the Central Federation of Unions of Freee Workers made up chiefly of industrial workers and civil servants.

A large part of agricultural workers are employed on the foreign-owned banana plantations, where they are subjected to double exploitation. In addition to the regular police there is the company police to harass and persecute worker organizations. The reactionary leaders of the banana workers' union, the country's biggest, do everything they can to impede Communist activity and often denounce Communists to the police. In this situation our Party nuclei have to be especially cautious, for membership in the Communist Party means immediate dismissal and expulsion from the union. The plantations

*Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers.

are rather isolated and the regional Party leaders can visit them only twice a month (though the Party Constitution provides for weekly visits). The low level of political development – and the imperialists see to it that it should be low – makes things more difficult still. But nonetheless our influence here is steadily growing and the Party now holds firm positions among workers on the banana plantations.

Following the Second Party Congress (April 1972) we stepped up work in the peasant unions. The agrarian problem dominates life in Honduras. The Party program contains several clauses on the agrarian question, and we are now circulating our comprehensive concept of the question among the peasants. The Party can do this in a more favorable situation, for its influence has increased with the development of the peasant movement. There are now Party branches in villages and in peasant organizations (unions and cooperatives). It should be noted that not so long ago the peasants were strongly influenced by reactionary and conservative parties.

Work among the peasants is conducted chiefly by Party branches in nearby towns. On Sundays they send out comrades to explain the political situation and, more especially, the implications of the National Agrarian Reform Plan. We also frequently despatch Young Communist entertainment teams, which has proved a useful form of propaganda. We take an active part in resolving the day to day problems of rural life: we help build schools, organize meetings and village festivals, press the municipal authorities to improve the water supply, roads, the postal services, etc. All this brings us into contact with the more politically conscious peasants. We get them to read our paper, explain our program, invite them to attend political classes in the cities. The foundation is thus laid for a village nucleus.

Party influence in ANACH, the biggest peasant organization, has reached a point where Communists have been elected to the executive despite fierce opposition from the reactionaries. We are putting more effort into rural work to counter and frustrate the reactionaries' attempts to exploit peasant political backwardness to further their aims.

Work among the students, who make up about 20 per cent of Party membership, is still another major aspect of Party activity. And our energetic work has paid off, especially considering that the ideological struggle is sharper here than among other sections of the population. Party members must therefore be well prepared politically and theoretically to counter the more subtle arguments of imperialist ideologists and combat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. We expose the real nature of the ultra-leftists, who draw their inspiration from the Trotskyists and Maoists, those enemies of the working class. To their empty phrasemongering Communist students and teachers

contrast concrete deeds. For instance, they sell our paper at factory gates and trade union meetings and produce the streamers and placards for demonstrations. Our student nuclei took the initiative in sending propaganda and aid teams to rural areas. Communist medical students, for instance, are doing much by way of health education, distribute medicines, carry out vaccinations, etc.

The Party-sponsored Federation of Secondary School Students, now in its fifth year, has a membership of more than 40,000. Though political persuasions differ, Communist influence predominates. We had a part in founding the Socialist Stu ts' Front, now the second most influential university organization.

Party nuclei take into account that intellectuals are not accustomed to the discipline that is part of the production process. But the principles of Party discipline must be the same for all, and that is why an individual approach is more important in nuclei composed of intellectuals. We find that it is easier to recruit an intellectual if his knowledge and talents can be applied in Party work, notably propaganda. In this respect, too, we have made very considerable headway: there are Party nuclei in two of the three branches of the National University (and moreover the two biggest, in Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula).

All in all, we have accomplished a good deal. Party nuclei are operating more efficiently and most of them have detailed plans. The Party membership is in closer touch with the people and with mass organizations. Methods and forms of work have improved. The result of all this has been more recruits.

However, we make no attempt to conceal our shortcomings and unsolved problems. On the contrary, we focus attention on them and try to work out solutions.

These are some of the shortcomings. Inadequate contact between Party leadership and basic units, doubtlessly a carry-over from the underground years. The information lag is partly due to objective difficulties, but also to an underestimation of the need for prompt information. A nucleus might regard one or another development from its own, local standpoint, without realizing its importance for the Party as a whole. Take this example: a Party unit might consider new repressive measures in its particular area as nothing out of the ordinary, but to the Central Committee this could be an important element to assessing the overall situation and taking the necessary meaures. On the other hand, the CC might have information about, say, plans for a reactionary coup d'état. Naturally, it must first assess it authenticity and work out a policy. If the news is spread without first establishing its truthfulness there is bound to be panic, disorgani-

zation and disruption of Party activity. An information lag might cost the lives of our comrades.

Efficient communication contributes to the Party's organizational, ideological and political unity. The Party press, notably *Vanguardia Revolucionaria*, plays an immense, heroic and irreplaceable role in this respect. But, of course, it cannot by itself solve the problem – there has to be a ramified communication network. Our experience in this respect is modest and we would like to draw on the achievements of fraternal parties.

It cannot be said that we have made optimal use of the new situation in Honduras. In some areas Party growth has been very slow, due primarily to sectarianism and amateurism, underestimation of mass work and reluctance to adopt new methods. For instance, in the past we had to move slowly and cautiously in forming a new nucleus to provide maximum guarantees against police penetration. Now, however, we can hold open discussions with our opponents at public meetings and in the Party press. What is required of basic Party units today is active participation in public life, trade union work, closer contact with the workers, especially on the shop floor, better knowledge of their problems, plus efforts to consolidate ground already won. Not all Party units have proved capable of that. There are nuclei that do not act as political organizers, do not recruit new members, are afraid to come closer to the masses, are incapable of leading the workers in the fight against their employers. Such nuclei retreat into their own shell and, of course, cannot help Party growth. Revitalizing these 'dead' nuclei is a priority task.

But we are not blind to another danger: the drive for more members to the detriment of the Party's combat-worthiness, which is especially dangerous for a Party just out of clandestinity.

Our policy is to combine the widest scope of mass political and ideological work with strict selection of new members. Our nuclei are bigger than in the underground days. We can hold open meeetings and political discussions. This type of activity is producing good results and we are extending it.

There is no factory, no mass organization or trade union which we revolutionaries cannot enter and find allies and supporters. The reformist and petty-bourgeois attitudes of some trade union leaders should not prevent us from discharging our duty to the working people. The influence of reformist, anarchist, Trotskyist and Maoist elements can increase only as a result of sectarianism and failure to understand our revolutionary responsibility to the working class. Communist participation in every aspect of working-class activity – even where the renegades are in control – is the only way to show the masses the fallacy of reactionary and anti-communist theories.

It stands to reason that, with mass recruitment, the quality standards of the membership tend to decline, albeit temporarily, despite strict admission procedures. To prevent that, we are extending and improving ideological work among the new members. The Party's organizational unity is the result of its ideological unity. That is why it is especially necessary to rule out bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological penetration of our ranks. This task falls mainly to the nuclei and their leaders.

Closely linked with this is the problem of training cadres for lower Party units. For the confidence we enjoy among the workers depends upon their energy, resolution, political understanding, their ability to react to changing situations.

Not all nuclei leaders possess these qualities. Some conduct nuclei work haphazardly without plans, hold long, drawn out meetings. Comrades who come after a long day's work begin to avoid these meetings and gradually lapse into passivity. There have been instances of comrades being assigned to work for which they are not prepared. We believe that in training our cadres there has to be a 'division of labor,' so that every Party member is used to the greatest effect.

The problem of founding new nuclei, especially in industry, and of activizing their work faces many parties. While continuing our discussions on general Party initiatives and problems, we should, I think, exchange and generalize experience of Party work at nuclei level. This would be useful in many ways and would make for more effective activity.

Theory throws light on the road of struggle

Betty Matthews
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CP of Great Britain

There are three reasons for the special importance of extending the understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory in Britain and of developing it.

First, the very depth of Britain's economic and political crisis, which is set on a background of weakened British imperialism and of the world crisis of capitalism, is posing even more sharply the question of fundamental analysis and fundamental solutions. There is now widespread recognition that previous 'solutions' by both Tory and Labour governments have proved to be 'non-solutions.' But there is far from clarity about the causes of the crisis and the way out, and protagonists of capitalism are fostering confusions about it.

An illustration of this is the way Tory, right-wing Labour and Liberal politicians propagate ideas on such questions as inflation, which, in essence, divert from causes and try to get the working class to restrict wage demands on the pretense that higher wages are at the root of inflation and bear responsibility for the economic crisis.

In such a situation basic questions about the nature of exploitation under capitalism, the contradictions of the existing system and the reasons why these contradictions have sharpened need to be understood by wider and wider sections of the workers who are in struggle on wages and conditions. At the same time more penetrating analysis of this stage of state monopoly capitalism is called for if the British labor movement is to adopt and fight for policies which begin to challenge the power of monopoly capitalism. The development of the multinational firms on a world scale, the existence of the Common Market, and the growth of state intervention in the economic, political and ideological arenas in Britain are posing not only old problems more intensely but are also raising new questions for Marxist-Leninist analysis, discussion and solution.

The contrast between the manifold expressions of capitalist crisis – inflation, balance of payments, monetary instability – and the economic advances in the socialist world is reinforcing the case for fundamental change from capitalism to socialism and of winning people to struggle for such change.

Second, and arising from Britain's weakened imperialist position and crisis, the historical and economic roots of the influence of social democracy on the labor movement are being undermined. This reformist trend, which was so well analyzed by Marx and Engels when British capitalism was expanding, and by Lenin in its imperialist stage, has no longer the same economic foundation. But it would be a mistake to imagine that reformist influence is withering away by some automatic process. Reformism fights to retain its grip, finding new ways of expressing what is in essence a perpetuation of capitalism. It has to be combated, especially in those ideological areas which are crucial to understanding state power in class society, the necessity for fundamental change in the social system, and the character of the higher system of socialism. The fact that there has been a growth of

militant struggle over the past years, that important advances for the left in the trade-union movement have been achieved, and that wider sections of the working class and the people have been coming into conflict with the policy of monopoly capitalism, provides opportunities for extending political horizons and deepening theoretical understanding.

Third, advancing a strategy for revolutionary change is essential if the working class is to fulfil its leading role, rally all sections opposed to monopoly, and take the path to winning state power. Here, too, Marxist-Leninist theory, and its application to specific conditions, illumines the way, as is illustrated in the program 'The British Road to Socialism.' In considering strategy and tactics there are many relevant problems, some old, some new, all of them in movement. For example, there is the effect of technological change and the increasing role of science in the productive process on class composition and class forces. Also, with the increasing trends toward authoritarianism, the question of the character of the democratic struggle, its significance in defeating extreme reaction and its relationship to the achievement of the socialist revolution assumes very great importance.

Under these conditions, which reinforce the need to develop understanding of Marxism-Leninism and influence its content, let us consider some of the work to effect it in Britain.

Our aim is both to strengthen the theoretical basis of Communists and to extend Marxist understanding, especially in the working-class movement but also in other sections of the population. These are not separate, but interconnected questions, the former influencing the latter and in turn the public discussion on the ideas of Marxism assisting in developing thought and in grappling with new problems. That there are considerable possibilities for doing this, as yet only realized to a limited extent, is illustrated by a number of aspects of this activity.

An introductory course entitled 'About Marxism,' issued at the beginning of 1974, and produced with the aim of serving as an outline for educational discussion and for use by individuals who are interested in finding out about Marxism, has proved extremely popular. Not only has it helped to extend basic education in Communist Party branches – an aspect of educational work in which there has been a long-standing weakness – but it has reached out to many workers and people who are not Communists. For example, there has been a steady sale for it among active trade unionists, including trade union officials and Labour Party councillors, among students in the colleges and universities, and among the public.

The course covers the following themes: Marxism and the de-

velopment of society, the Marxist world outlook, the nature of capitalism and imperialism, the state, class struggle and revolution, socialism as the basis for communism. It is written simply and produced with graphics so that it can appeal to and be understood by a wide range of people.

The deeply entrenched influence of right-wing reformism in the British labor movement has nurtured economist and sectional tendencies, limiting struggle and confining ideas to within the framework of the existing system. Thus it has served as a barrier to both the building of unity of action of the working class and to developing class understanding and revolutionary consciousness.

Over the past few years important changes have begun to take place. Under the impact of the crisis of capitalism, mass class struggles and consistent work to build unity, to strengthen the left forces in the labor movement and to fight for policies which serve working people, there is a developing challenge to right-wing policy and influence. This is reflected in policy and leadership changes in many trade unions and in turn is being expressed in the Labour Party.

Experiences of major industrial struggles, including strikes and nationwide actions against anti-trade union legislation have brought the labor movement into collision with the state. Such conditions provide a foundation for opening up wider political horizons and advancing class and theoretical understanding about the nature of the state, about what is wrong with the present system and about the alternative of socialism. But this opening up of political and theoretical dimensions in the struggle depends on systematic ideological work in the movement.

That is why a feature of Marxist educational activity is the organizing of schools and discussions for trade unionists and leaders of mass movements, which deal with the nature of the capitalist crisis, problems of working-class unity, the role and necessity of the Communist Party in the struggle for socialism. Such schools are invaluable in strengthening the all-round leadership of the movement in combating narrowness and sectionalism and in giving political perspective.

Today the age-old oppression of women is being challenged in a more public and comprehensive way than in the past. Not only are the demands of the women's movement far reaching, embracing equality in pay and conditions, education, social provisions, including nurseries, legal rights, but there is a ferment of discussion, especially among women who are associated with the women's liberation movement.

In various forms of discussions questions are being raised which challenge the structures of capitalism and class society. This questioning is extremely important because it can lead many to take the

path to the socialist revolution. Marxists have a very important contribution to make to the debates and discussions in the women's movement, which is not homogeneous but consists of diverse trends. Among the most popular and best attended schools which the Communist Party organizes are those for women. Some of the most encouraging aspects of these are the vigorous and controversial character of the discussions and the way many young women are participating.

One of the most significant developments of recent years is the growth of interest in Marxism in the colleges and universities. This, too, needs to be seen against the background of the impact of monopoly capitalism on the lives of the people including the content of education and the social destination of students, and the various expressions of mass actions by students on grants, academic questions, international issues and democratic rights.

A highlight in the discussion of Marxist theory is the annual Communist University. Starting six years ago on a relatively limited basis it has mushroomed and in 1974 between 600 and 700 students from all parts of Britain enrolled for it. Taking place in the summer vacation, it provides an opportunity to take both specialist and general courses. In 1974, there were special courses in history, literature, law, philosophy, sociology, science and technology, economics, architecture and planning, art and design, psychology. There was an introductory course on Marxism and general courses on political economy, Marxist philosophy, revolutionary strategy and tactics, the state and class struggle, women, liberation and socialism. The aim is to expand it further in 1975, numerically, in the number of courses and to develop its content. Its role in developing the Marxist critique of orthodox treatment of social science, in advancing Marxist theory itself, and in winning students for social change is now widely recognized.

As part of its contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle and to the strengthening of internationalism, the Communist Party has for many years provided facilities for the study of Marxism-Leninism by workers and students from former colonial countries who have been studying or living for a period in Britain. More recently a new form of international association in the educational work has been opened up, through holding summer schools in other countries. The first was held in France with the cooperation of the French Communist Party, and in 1974 in Italy with the cooperation of the Italian Communist Party. Such schools make it possible to discuss a number of theoretical questions in the light of the conditions of each of the countries.

Strengthening theoretical understanding about the role of the Communist Party is of crucial importance in Britain, both because of

the historical influence of social democracy and because of the need for the Communist Party and Young Communist League to take the path toward becoming mass organizations. That is why a systematic feature of the educational work is treatment of the theoretical and organizational basis of the Communist Party and its strategy for the socialist revolution. Such schools help to train more cadres, which are so essential to advancing the work, membership and influence of the Party and building up branches.

The study of political economy, of historical and dialectical materialism, of theory of the state, the nature of socialism and of the role and strategy of the Communist Party, provide a foundation for educational work. But it is not enough to define central theoretical questions. There is an important relationship between content and methods. If people are to be helped to think dialectically about problems it is most important to consider and adopt methods which assist this. Cut and dried presentation, the repetition of phrases, conveying the idea that there is a neat and established answer to everything, is the antithesis of the approach that the founders of Marxism had and the antithesis of the way Lenin followed on. While subjects vary in the treatment needed, it is important to encourage presentation which poses problems, helps to approach them and to stimulate discussion rather than long lectures in which students are 'being told.'

While there have been some developments in the educational work of the Communist Party they are still on too small a scale and do not measure up to the possibilities or the opportunities. But there are many illustrations of the increasing awareness of its importance and value.

Topic of the day: the peasantry

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The Communist parties of capitalist countries of Europe will meet in Paris in May to discuss agricultural problems. On the agenda are the crisis in capitalist Europe and the condition of the farmers, the objectives of farmer struggles, the worker-peasant alliance in the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism, the role of Communist parties and their cooperation.

These are obviously topical problems. The fight against monopoly is spreading to more and more social strata as the capitalist crisis worsens. An indication of this is the action which the hardships of millions of rural working people plus the overall deterioration of the economic situation in Western Europe have precipitated in most capitalist countries of Europe.

Goods indispensable to the farmers, such as farm machinery, fuels or fertilizers, are more expensive than ever before. At the same time big business holds down the purchase prices of farm produce, which is sold to consumers at higher and higher prices. This means that the farmers run into more debts and tighten their belts still more or even that their ruined farms are auctioned.

The farmers refuse to reconcile themselves to this state of affairs. Their mass actions coincide with the continuous struggles by the working class and other working people against soaring prices, runaway inflation and monopoly abuses.

In the summer and autumn of 1974 we witnessed for several weeks powerful actions by French farmers. The duration and continuous character of these actions, which took the most diverse forms, showed that in France hundreds of thousands of rural working people (90 per cent of whom use no wage labor) are struggling for their very existence. The capitalist crisis affects all farmers, though its impact on different groups may vary.

Whatever illusions the President's election promises had created were soon dispelled by grim realities. Modernization of the production means used in farming and rapid chemicalization have numerous economic consequences. Farming depends on the market more than ever, with the result that every farm, whether small, medium-sized or big, is hit to one extent or another by inflation, the growing prices of manufactured goods and the mounting cost of services.

Farm incomes are declining or at best stable. Nowadays the prices of farm products are fixed for the whole year at the beginning of each harvesting. This is done in Brussels by ministers of the Common Market Nine. As long as prices were relatively stable, this method met no serious objection but now, with increasing inflation and ever higher prices for products sold to farmers, the latter's economic and financial condition is worsening so fast as to imperil the very existence of their farms. Besides, the EEC fixes farm prices without regard to the economic factors which affect the cost of farm output.* These prices are primarily a political compromise among the Common Market countries, whose representatives in the EEC express the interests of big capital and strive therefore to set minimum purchase prices for agricultural products in order, among other things, to counteract working-class demands for higher wages. Common Market members fix the prices of grain, oil-bearing crops, sugar beet and rice. The prices of all other farm products depend entirely on the market. Livestock farmers, for example, have for a long time suffered from continuous price cuts, and recent months have seen a decline in wine prices.

One of the effects of modernizing agriculture and of its growing dependence on the market is the widespread use of bank credits. Rising interest rates and the reduction of government credits seriously affect agriculture, whose cash reserves, already insignificant, are steadily diminishing. The farmers' income clearly falls short of their expenditures. It is hard for them to repay credits for the purchase of equipment and even short-term loans, all the more since the cost of equipment is growing fast. This is why they demand lower-interest credits and that they should be available to most farmers, including small ones. Lastly, inflation and growing demand led to a 15 per cent rise in land prices in 1973. Heads of big families striving to expand their holdings, as well young people wishing to settle in the countryside, find it difficult to buy land, for credit is tight and the terms are exorbitant. Only the rich have the money to buy land as an investment against monetary upheavals.

*In 1964-74, the price of produce marketed by farmers went up by 30 per cent whereas production costs rose by 58.3 per cent. –*Ed.*

In 1973 the increase in the prices of industrial products needed in farming was offset by higher agricultural production and a certain levelling of prices. Last year, however, the farmers' purchasing capacity dropped by 15 per cent, according to estimates by well-informed economic agencies. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the average figure does not reflect differences either between agricultural areas or in the character of production or the structure of farms.

No amount of intensive labor and no increase in productivity can make up for so great a reduction of incomes in agriculture, which means a considerable deterioration of the farmers' living standards and working conditions. The fall-off in incomes also results in a drastic devaluation of agricultural capital, which yields no profit nor is renewed in a normal manner. This accounts largely for the fact that, contrary to forecasts made by bourgeois experts in the 1960s, large-scale capitalist production in French farming showed no marked growth. Indeed, there are now fewer agricultural workers and fewer farmers employing wage labor.

In these conditions it is only family farms that can continue production and will be able to do so for at least as long as the family can maintain itself and renew the capital it invests in the farm. These conditions are entirely unacceptable to a capitalist, because he must be assured at least the average rate of profit. In Common Market countries it is family farms that supply the cheapest produce.

The agrarian policy of French capitalism is not directed against the farmers alone – it is in effect anti-national, because it endangers the country's ability to meet its food requirements. However, this policy is typical of the Common Market as a whole and results in numerous farms going out of existence, in young people leaving the countryside, and hence in a further 'aging' of the active rural population and in the decline of whole areas.

Of course, the shortage of agricultural staples on the markets of other countries and the resulting price increases may lead, unless the situation changes, to wider use of modern capitalist forms of land tenure. But before this happens the cost of living will go up appreciably. All the consequences of the wider operation of the law of capitalist profit are bound to tell. Anarchy in production will increase, disrupting markets still more. Natural land fertility will be exploited to a greater extent and this leads, as we know from the U.S. example, to substantial land areas becoming uncultivatable. In France, where the cultivated land area is limited, this may have even worse consequences.

The agrarian crisis is inseparable from the main social and economic problems of France. It is becoming essential for the farmers to fight for prices that will keep pace with production costs and

mounting inflation. This inevitably implies curbs on monopoly profits derived from agricultural labor, although the farmers do not always realize it. However, they come up objectively against the big industrial and financial monopolies, which control the state. They also come up against Common Market agencies dominated by the same economic and political forces.

The Communists had foreseen that the establishment of a supranational machinery would, apart from curtailing national sovereignty, also inevitably injure the farmers' interests. The government and those behind it tried to justify the involvement of France and its agriculture in the Common Market system, saying that French farm output would thereby gain access to a vast market free from tariff barriers. There is no question that membership of the EEC helped to win larger markets for certain surplus products. But now the farmers realize how dearly they paid for this, since they had to give in to monopoly capital on the question of farm prices. It has become patently clear that the Common Market machinery is an instrument of unprecedented plunder of the farmers.

The capitalist world is in a state of general disarray. As late as 1972, farm products sold at very low prices on the world market, but their prices have sky-rocketed since then. Until very recently, the European market had to be safeguarded against American surplus products but now exports are heavily taxed to prevent the outflow of the EEC countries' own output to the world capitalist market, where shortages are felt.

The disruption of the home and foreign market hampers the growth of agricultural production. Yet new blows aimed at the farmers, in particular the French farmers, are being planned on the pretext of readjusting the agricultural Common Market.

The situation in respect to food stocks in the capitalist world confirms the American criticism of the Common Market, specifically the plans of Mansholt, Uri, Vedel and some other economists aimed at eliminating the bulk of family farms.*

The contention that agricultural prices are too high is voiced again and again. It was repeated after the appearance of the Common Market's draft agrarian reform, set out in a report by West Germany's Minister of Economics. It will evidently not be long before a new attack is launched on the farmers, first of all by the ruling quarters of West Germany and Britain, which still try, in spite of the changed situation on the world food market, to pave the way for greater penetration of American farm products into Western Europe.

*In France, the Vedel Commission proposed reducing the number of farms from today's 1,600,000 to 250,000 by 1985. –*Ed.*

There is complete confusion. While some use the bogey of world-wide famine, others are searching for ways of maintaining pressure on farm prices in the interests of monopoly. All this goes to show that anarchy in production and on the market is, in the final analysis, a result of capitalist social and economic relations. These relations are now called into question in France and the capitalist world at large.

The universal character of crisis phenomena paves the way for the farmers' participation in the anti-monopoly alignment. The political situation in rural areas is changing. True, most farmers voted for the big bourgeoisie's candidate during the presidential elections last May. But this result was achieved through repeated promises of numerous 'peaceable changes.' As for the changes proposed in the Common Program of the Left, it was alleged that they would only breed economic chaos, shake the structures of society and disrupt the farmers' established way of life.

However, the erosion of the big bourgeoisie's social mainstay in the countryside goes on, high-pitched propaganda campaigns notwithstanding. Unquestionably, some of the extra million votes polled by the left in the March 1973 parliamentary election and of the almost three million votes won additionally in the presidential elections last May were cast by farmers. Many farmer voters sided with the left and its Common Program, which, if successful, would bring Communist ministers into the government. This fact should not be underestimated. It means that political and ideological barriers are no longer insurmountable. Many farmers are joining the left because they are witnessing a policy which not only tends seriously to lower the farmer family's standard of life but imperils the farm.

This is not to say that the bourgeoisie no longer has substantial political support among the farmers. It is still skillful enough at setting diverse sections of the people against one another and at putting on them all the blame for the present state of affairs. The President sparked off an anti-popular campaign by saying 'We are all responsible for the inflation,' meaning the workers, who defend their standard of life, and the farmers, who strive to regain their purchasing capacity.

The Communists consider that farm prices in keeping with production costs can be guaranteed without detriment to the people's interests. This demand of the farmers is perfectly legitimate and accords with the national interest. To meet it is an important condition for satisfying the country's demand for farm products and a requisite of having an adequate work force in agriculture.

The purpose of guaranteed prices is to restore and then raise the peasants' purchasing power – either by reducing the cost of the means of production or by raising farm prices. The former method is prefer-

able because it can raise the farmers' purchasing capacity without affecting the cost of living. As for consumer prices, they can be curbed by cutting expenses piling up before the produce reaches the consumer, in particular taxes and the profits of the big companies processing and selling food products. The system of guaranteeing minimum farm prices proposed by the Communists would make it possible to gear production to domestic demand and exports, which should not be restricted to the EEC.

All this means that the interests of the farmers and other social strata do not conflict but coincide. It shows that France must discard its present economic and financial policy without delay in favor of the policy proposed by the Common Program of the Left.

The fact that the democratic changes envisaged by the Common Program are presented as the only constructive solution in view of the current crisis does not imply that nothing can be obtained from the present regime. To the farmers' demand for a revision of purchase prices, the government replies that it cannot do so because the price level depends on decisions made in Brussels. But doesn't France take part in making those decisions and is it not therefore responsible for them? Ten years ago the government of the time refused to meet certain demands of its partners. Yet the agricultural Common Market did not die because it could not exist without France. It follows that there must be a desire to uphold the interests of France and not those of big capital.

The French Communist Party backs the rural working people's demands and struggles. Communist MPs have submitted an emergency plan to offset the immediate effects of the crisis on French farming. The Party, its active members and its representatives in parliament and other bodies come out in defense of the farmers so as to help them in wresting as many concessions as possible from the big monopoly bourgeoisie's government.* At the same time the Communists make it clear that the bourgeoisie will always try to retrieve – partly or fully – what it had to give up under the people's pressure. Hence, a real solution as far as the farmers and other sections of the people are concerned can only be brought about through the economic, political and social changes proposed by the Common Program of the Left.

The agrarian program of the FCP is inseparable from a general democratic program for nationalizing the biggest industrial and bank-

*This position has earned the FCP greater prestige in the countryside, as is seen, among other things, in the success of *La Terre*, a newspaper published by the Party for the farmers, and in the farmers' voting for Communist candidates in the March 1973 parliamentary election. In several agricultural departments the Communists won 30 to 40 per cent of the votes, the Party's nationwide total averaging 21.3 per cent.

ing monopolies. The specific objectives that can be achieved at this stage are listed in the program as follows: 'incorporating agriculture in a democratic plan for the development of the national economy, making maximum use of potentialities and gearing production to the aim of bringing demand and supply closer together; organizing farm markets and promoting up-to-date cooperative forms of bringing in, storing and processing output; increasing trade with all countries and limiting imports in strict accordance with the requirements of the home market; extending special aid to areas with an unfavorable climate . . . ; increasing credits for land management, the purchase of equipment, road and house building, water supply, irrigation, reclamation, and so on.'

The Communists' agrarian program is intended to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and bring about a democratic regime as a stage on the road to a socialist France.

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political panorama

Against the dictatorship

Julio Gonzalez,
member of the leadership,
CP of Uruguay

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WILL HELP BREAK THE CHAINS OF IMPERIALIST OPPRESSION

For two years now Uruguay has been governed by a reactionary, fascist dictatorship. Meanwhile, the 150th anniversary of liberation from colonial rule (August 25) is drawing closer. And though this article is not intended to assess that historical event or the years since, the occasion can help gain a better understanding of the present-day realities. National independence and sovereignty have been betrayed. The national wealth is being sold off retail and wholesale. Democratic freedoms have been suppressed. Elementary human rights have been trampled underfoot. The economy is in a shambles. The people, especially the poorer sections, are doomed to poverty. And all this in a country which, despite its dependent position, had under bourgeois-liberal governments been called the 'Switzerland of America' or the 'Athens of the La Plata.' We say this not to idealize the capitalist system, deformed as it is by semi-feudal survivals and imperialist penetration, factors which have always retarded national development. But today they have caused a sharp aggravation of all the contradictions of Uruguayan society, for the political and economic controls of national life are now directly in the hands of the oligarchy and reactionary latifundists, who take their cue from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other tools, of U.S. monopoly domination.

A better idea of the true complexity of the situation can be gained from a general outline of the main Communist objectives of the last few years, which were supported by broad sections of the people. The first was the promotion of the political and trade-union unity of the working class, which holds a vanguard role to play in the revolutionary process. A single trade union center was set up. Walk-

outs, general strikes, sit-in strikes and other major actions in support of urgent demands aimed at resolving fundamental issues took place in rapid succession and on a mounting scale (especially after 1968). The second objective was the creation of a Left coalition. It was facilitated by preceding events and the appearance of favorable conditions for work among political parties, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic circles, and was brought to fruition with the formation of the Broad Front under General Liber Seregni, an alliance of the proletariat and other Left forces, mainly from among the middle sections of the population. Its platform was that of an advanced national-liberation, national-democratic revolution. The third objective was the all-round development of the CPU into a real national political force. The extent to which it was achieved is indicated by many facts prior to and since the establishment of the dictatorship.

Now a few words about the movement of military men who had publicly declared their unwillingness to 'act as the mailed fist of economic and political interests.' It began in February 1973, and some of its platform provisions coincided with those of the working-class and popular movement, being in a sense directed against President Bordaberry. The trade-union center, the unions affiliated with it, the Broad Front and our Party sought to influence events, find a principled basis for collaborating with the patriotic military and promote new conditions for expanding the anti-imperialist struggle. Since that moment and right up to the coup d'état, a fierce struggle for influence in the army went on between imperialism and the internal forces of the rights, on the one hand, and the democratic forces, on the other. We failed, and this made it possible for the putschists to impose their will.

It follows that the purpose of the coup of June 27, 1973 was not only to step up repression and make the working people bear the whole burden of the far-reaching structural crisis that engulfed Uruguay (like all of Latin America, with the exception of Cuba), but also to halt the liberation movement advancing in conditions of a serious and bitter class struggle.

The working people's immediate reaction to the coup, the possibility of which our Party had foreseen for some time, was a general strike, in which many factories were taken over (despite police resistance), and other actions which paralyzed the country for 15 days. During the strike the struggle continued for the polarization of various trends within the armed forces. Having failed to overthrow the dictatorship, the labor movement retreated in organized fashion, and today it remains at the hub of the popular struggle. The strike did not develop into an uprising. The masses, whose mood was generally

favorable, remained passive, and the vanguard – the working class – could not take resolute action alone.[1]

In the new conditions our Party reaffirms the main directions of its activity: working-class unity and organization aimed at making the workers the main fighting force; strengthening of the alliance of the proletariat with the middle sections, extending it to rural communities; broad political unity against the dictatorship; continued search for ways of cementing all democratic military and civilian forces; strengthening of the CPU and Young Communist League; development of new propaganda means so that Communists could continue to be the real leader of the working class, the main detachment of the nation's democratic forces.

The dictatorship is suffering severe reverses. It had hoped to replace the university administration by decreeing compulsory elections, but the students, teachers and university graduates blackballed the government candidates. The dictatorship virtually occupied the universities in an effort to deprive them of their autonomous status. A fascist-type statute was issued for the trade unions.[2] It called for a 'renovation' of the trade-union leadership through compulsory elections from which persons under 18 would be excluded. At first, the trade union leadership opposed the decree, then agreed to hold elections, provided the unions took a direct part in preparing them. More than 100,000 workers were covered by a membership re-registration drive. After its experience with the universities, the dictatorship did not insist on the elections, anticipating the inevitable defeat of its agents.

A characteristic feature of the dictatorship is the trend toward fascistization of the state. There are even plans of constitutional reform to bolster the dictatorship's legal facade. Another feature is its extreme weakness. Far from gaining in strength, the dictatorship is steadily losing what small measure of support it had had. One of the reasons is the resounding failure of the plans prompted by the IMF. The economy and finances are in a shambles. The dictatorship is completely isolated, with no support from any political party. It is actively opposed by the working class, progressive intellectuals, students and professionals and lacks broad support in the countryside, traditional bulwark of reaction. Even big owners oppose dictatorship policies infringing their interests. Add to this the opposition of the Catholic and Protestant Churches. At the same time, contradictions within the armed forces are deepening. A military-political crisis can be expected to erupt as a result of a clash between national-democratic elements in the army and the right-wing fascist generals on which the dictatorship relies.

The IMF dictate has brought the country to the brink of catas-

trophe. The foreign debt has reached $1,000,000,000. The country is insolvent. The balance of trade deficit in 1974 was $117,000,000 (with exports totalling only $363,000,000).[3] The budget deficit is enormous.[4] Since Bordaberry came to power the exchange rate of the Uruguayan peso soared from 250 to 2,300 to the dollar (by mid-February, 1975), and new and greater devaluations are in the offing. The working people's purchasing power is at least half the 1968 level.[5] Agriculture, industry and trade are stagnating, with all the dramatic consequences for small and medium producers, industrialists and shopkeepers.[6]

One of the consequences of this is mass unemployment, especially in industry and trade.[7] Over the last few years approximately one-fifth of the population has left Uruguay, driven by hunger and the absence of any prospects of finding employment. These are mainly young people, technicians, university graduates, scientists, skilled workers, and their families. The country is being depopulated, the population is growing older, the disease and death rates are climbing. The blame for this rests squarely with the dictatorship. It is much easier to let a country run down than to achieve national renascence.

Despite repressions, the mass struggle is characterized by firmness and continuity. It has not halted since the time of the general strike, it could not be quenched by mass lockouts, jail for thousands, torture and murder for many. Various forms of struggle are employed, from the relatively simple to the most dangerous and impressive, such as the power shut-off last October 29,[8] strikes at factories and shops, sit-ins, and mass meetings in front of ministries and other organizations.[9] A general political strike, for which hundreds of factories have declared since a CNT call was issued last November is still on the order of the day.

The voices of the CPU and CNT can be heard in their publications, mainly clandestine mimeographed weeklies like the *Carta Semanal* and *CNT*. The CPU's theoretical organ *Ensayos* continues the traditions of the journal *Estudios*. Even the walls of the capital protest and accuse the dictatorship in inscriptions and leaflets continuously appearing on them. Maximum use is made of openings such as university elections. But practically all progressive activity is underground. That is how the trade union leadership and factory committees function, that is how meetings of workers, students and teachers are held, that is how local committees of the Broad Front meet. In spite of the dictatorship, these forces are active, enriching their struggle with new forms. Hundreds of CPU organizations hold meetings to discuss their problems. Campaigns and drives are launched for specific anti-dictatorship objectives, for example, for the freedom of General Seregni and Rodney Arismendi and, currently, of CPU leaders Jaime

Perez and Eduardo Viera, and other political prisoners. Despite a vast concentration of armed forces, May Day of 1974 was celebrated with four major demonstrations in densely populated districts of the capital. Several mass actions were held in September to mark the CPU anniversary, displaying red banners bearing the hammer and sickle and with millions of leaflets scattered in the streets.

Last September 11, organized actions were dedicated to Chile, Salvador Allende and Luis Corvalan. There were also a number of local strikes. Several activities on November 7 were devoted to the October Revolution. Throughout the year students held strikes, prisoners went on hunger strike, etc. Student action merges with the working-class struggle. Following the total defeat of government candidates in the university elections, such action forced the resignation of the fascist minister and government-appointed rector of the university Narancio.[10]

Characteristic of the expanding struggle is the broad participation of women and youth.[11] Together with the old and tested veterans they are an active force. And alongside them are the other participants in the Broad Front, the democratic opposition as a whole, the battle-tempered YCL, students movement and young trade unionists.[12]

Thanks to international solidarity, in the first place of the USSR, other countries of the socialist community, the CPSU and the world communist movement, our popular struggle was crowned with winning freedom for General Seregni, his friend and member of the Broad Front leadership, Colonel Carlos Zufriategui, and CPU First Secretary Rodney Arismendi. But many still remain in jail, like one of the leaders of the Broad Front General Victor Licandro (since July 9, 1973). Other victims of the persecution of culture are the jailed dean of the Engineering Department Julio Ricaldoni, rector of the Teachers' College Maria Elena Viera de Aguerre, sculptor Armando Gonzalez, and former secretary of the University Students' Federation Horacio Bazzano. The campaign for the freedom of these and other fighters continues. That is why we need international solidarity as much as ever.

The people increasingly realize that the only way out of the crisis is to overthrow the dictatorship, which would make at least a minimum of realistic solutions possible. By now even sections of the big bourgeoisie have come to realize that positive change is impossible if the shackles of imperialist oppression are not broken, if ties with the socialist countries are not expanded. The dictatorship, finding itself at a crossroads, seeks to preserve the present structures by increasingly surrendering to the North Americans. Its leaders maintain that the 'solution' to all problems lies in attracting capital from imperialist countries, that is, even greater colonization on the 'Brazilian model'

and total fascistization of the state. The dictatorship's vicious anti-communist campaign has boomeranged and discredited its initiators in the eyes of the people.

In these circumstances the progressive, anti-dictatorship forces, the CPU, CNT, Broad Front and other democratic circles are working to rally around a minimum program all patriots, military as well as civilian, who advocate the overthrow of the dictatorship and establishment of a provisional government to put this program into effect. The issue is unity of all prepared to fight (for various reasons and to various degrees) for democratic freedoms, trade union rights, economic and social measures in keeping with the vital requirements of wage and salary earners, the petty bourgeoisie and all people, for national sovereignty, freedom, prosperity and an independent foreign policy. The overthrow of the dictatorship will remove the main obstacle in the way of the people, realize the experience of the masses and give them the opportunity to see the difference between those who consistently uphold their rights and interests and those who do so casually. The economic dislocation inherited from dictatorship will compel the provisional government to take all necessary measures to make any return to the past impossible. The provisional government's economic and social policies will promote our liberation and patriotic goals. We are fighting for this immediate objective.[13] However, it does not preclude the possiblity of other solutions based on the same principles – unity, the minimum program and broad participation of the masses.

A simple list of the major victories over imperialism in 1973 and 1974 is indicative of the ability of the socialist world system, the working class of the capitalist countries and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have gained freedom or are fighting for it, to guide the political and social development of the world. To be sure, the recent events in Chile, Bolivia and Uruguay entitle one to ask whether the reactionary comebacks there do not indicate that American imperialism's counter-offensive in Latin America will continue? We reply in the negative, provided the imperialist plans are opposed with our own plans. Imperialism may concentrate all its efforts against one nation, counting on the disunity of our forces. Hence, we have the urgent task of coordinating the actions of all peoples of the continent, of all anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces, of the working class united on a single political and trade-union platform, of the peasants and middle strata, especially the intellectuals and students, and of all the Communist Parties of Latin America, so that we could again go over to the offensive. There are many forms of united action, but first and foremost comes solidarity, which in Latin America is not only a manifestation of consistent proletarian

internationalism but is also one of the basic elements of our strategy.

Besides socialist Cuba there is the revolutionary patriotic military government in Peru. For all the differences in conditions in Panama, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Venezuela and other countries, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces are coming out with mounting resolve in defense of national interests. The Cuban revolution marked the beginning of a new stage of the liberation process on our restless continent. The Bordaberries, Banzers and Pinochets are exceptions to the rule. Their emergence is contrary to the world-historic process and the trend in Latin American development.

The struggle on our continent reaffirms the Leninist teaching on the role of the proletariat and its party in the democratic revolution. In the light of the failures of bourgeois-led revolutions, the examples of Cuba and Chile, where the revolutionary processes were, in the final analysis, guided by the working class and its parties, are especially instructive. Despite different methods and levels attained, both revolutionary processes have shown the hegemony of the proletariat to be the main issue. The bloody betrayal of Pinochet and his henchmen, those lackeys of imperialism, does not detract from the historic importance of the Chilean experiment. The revolutionary process headed by the heroic Chilean working class has been temporarily interrupted. President Salvador Allende's noble blood is an ardent appeal for people's struggle.

The symbol of Latin America is its martyrs, not its hangmen, its fighters, not its hired killers. Che Guevara, Allende, the heroes murdered in Guatemala, Haiti and other countries live on in the hearts of the peoples. The peoples of the world will secure the freedom of Luis Corvalan, who embodies the heroic exploit of his people. The men and women languishing in jail and subjected to torture in Chile, Uruguay, other countries of Latin America and the whole world, in countries where terror reigns, know that their brothers will never forsake them. Together we shall win.

1. The reader is aware of the events since the coup. On June 30, 1973, the National Labor Convention (CNT) was banned, and then on December 1, the CPU, YCL, Socialist Party, Federation of University Students and other organizations. The CPU daily *El Popular* was closed down along with other opposition publications. Marxist publications were banned and books and magazines destroyed.
2. Strikes are virtually banned. The police keep lists of trade union members.
3. And this despite the fact that exceptionally high meat and wool prices made for additonal earnings of $31,000,000, pocketed by the oligarchy.
4. About half the budget is used to finance the military-police apparatus, whereas allocations for education dropped from 27 to 18 per cent.
5. According to official data; the cost of living rose 77.5 per cent in 1973, and 107.26 per cent in 1974.

6. Factories are closing, the domestic market is contracting. The dictatorship's policies and the crisis of capitalism have virtually closed down the world's meat markets. As a result, Uruguayan agriculture is suffering from a 'surplus' of cattle threatened with a shortage of pastures and feed.

7. Some 10 per cent of the economically active population is semi-unemployed.

8. According to government reports, 33 per cent of the buildings in Montevideo were left without electricity; a Gallup poll placed the figure at 45 per cent.

9. Not forgetting that both leaders and participants in such demonstrations face arrest and detention.

10. He ordered repressions and dismissals and attempted to impose a police 'democratic faith' on the university. All the dictatorship's attempts to gain a foothold in the higher educational establishments failed in one way or another as a result of the resistance of teachers, students and employees, as well as of contradictions within the dictatorship.

11. They constitute a large percentage of the CPU membership and are extremely active. By 1973, half the CPU membership was under 25 years old, and 66 per cent under 35.

12. In February of this year meetings of workers in the major trade unions and YCL demonstrations were held with the obvious sympathy of the majority of the people.

13. With due account of the difference in conditions, the provisional government is sometimes described as 'like in Portugal.'

The dawn of revolution

Abdel Fattah Ismail
General Secretary, CC
National Front of the People's
Democratic Republic of Yemen

On winning national independence in November 1967, the people of South Yemen set out to build a new state. The forces led by the political organization of the National Front (PONF) pulled down the power structure of the colonialists and sultans and began laying the foundations of revolutionary power.

It was impossible to establish popular democratic power serving the interests of working people other than by clearing out the rightist forces that predominated in the leadership of the PONF and the state's military and civic apparatus. Furthermore, we had to get rid of military-bureaucratic methods of government. The 'corrective measures'* of June 22, 1969, ended the rightward drift toward a bureau-

*Transfer of power to the progressive left wing of the PONF. – *Ed.*

cratic state with neo-colonialist overtones. The victory of the progressive current in the PONF paved the way to people's democratic power representing the interests of the popular masses – the workers and their allies, the peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie, soldiers, and other sections. The present power structure is transitional. It conforms with the class structure of our society and with the country's political, economic and social tasks.

In the stage of the national-democratic revolution, and in future as well, the right to political power is constitutionally vested in the working people. Our system is centered on assuring progress, prosperity and freedom. In the present stage, the PONF stresses, it is particularly important to strengthen the role of the Yemeni working class, the class historically ordained to direct society and its material and spiritual transformation.

The trenchant feature in Democratic Yemen is that the principles of collectivism and democratic centralism are at the root of all political, executive and legislative power.

Collective leadership plays a prominent part in consolidating and developing the system of people's democracy at various levels – the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the National Front, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers and the Supreme People's Council.

The present system, the PONF holds, assures correct policy in class relations and the ideological sphere. The National Front exercises political leadership of the masses on the basis of scientific socialism, which is at the center of our system whose class principles are defined in the Constitution and the program of the national-democratic revolution.

The working people exercise their will through the Supreme People's Council, composed of politically-conscious citizens faithful to the revolution and representing the laboring masses.

In the subsequent stages we shall begin forming local people's councils in the provinces, which will extend the base of people's democracy and assure more effective participation of working people in building the new life.

Tremendous efforts are being made to place the state, its power, its different organs, in the service of all working people, to make them an instrument of revolutionary change and progress. Among measures with a positive impact on the future of people's democratic power is the purge of the military and civic apparatus, from which bureaucratic and opportunistic elements have been swept out. In the army, too, the rightist leadership was expelled and the command turned over to cadres that had grown up during the armed struggle against colonialism.

New mass organizations have come into being to mobilize our society to defend and consolidate the revolution.

The national-democratic government has set a non-capitalist course. The PONF has done its utmost to build a power structure directed against imperialism and reaction, and giving priority to defense of sovereignty, national independence and the interests of the masses.

As we see it, there is no middle way between capitalist and non-capitalist development leading to socialism. An acute struggle is taking place between socialism and capitalism in the modern world. And the young independent states face the alternative of either following the capitalist way leading to neo-colonialism, or the non-capitalist, which guarantees national independence, social progress and high rates of economic growth in the interests of the people.

Among the factors assuring progress along the non-capitalist way is the existence of the socialist camp, which plays an outstanding internationalist role in supporting the newly-independent states, and provides them with extensive aid on the basis of fraternity, solidarity, and mutual advantage.

Economic and technical cooperation with the socialist countries is of the utmost significance for countries following the non-capitalist way. It prevents them from falling into the political and economic toils of capitalism.

Democratic Yemen has announced its rejection of the capitalist way of development. Following June 22, 1969, we declared our support of the socialist system in the struggle against imperialism. We declared at the Fifth Congress of the PONF in 1972 that we are part of the world revolutionary process, which consists of three main streams. We have ranged ourselves with the socialist system, the determining force in the development of humanity.

We hold that relations with the socialist countries, that decisive force of our age sincere and faithful to the cause of freedom and progress, provide dependable guarantees for the successful growth of the revolutionary process in our republic. We know that the tasks of the national-democratic revolution are unattainable without the support of the socialist countries, without use of their experience, including the experience of those lands that have bypassed the capitalist stage in the transition to socialism. The socialist countries are giving us sincere aid and providing us with their experience in different economic, cultural and educational fields. Many important economic projects were built with their assistance under the three-year plan (1971/72-1973/74). And their aid will increase in the period of the present five-year plan (1974/75-1978/79).

The revolutionary experience of the people of Democratic Yemen

confirms our view that broader economic exchanges and closer technical and commercial ties with the socialist countries are beneficial for the economic development of our state, assuring higher rates of growth than cooperation with the capitalist powers. Certainly, this does not rule out economic relations with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit in the interest of our economic progress.

In the past, our national market was dependent on the international capitalist division of labor. Providing handouts in the shape of ready goods and raw materials, the colonialists turned our economy into a service economy. Many traditional branches of our national economy were compelled to fold. The growth of the productive forces was held up, and the country was flooded with imported goods. The port of Aden became a strategic and economic stronghold of colonial domination. This was done to keep South Yemen under colonial control.

After winning independence and eliminating the right wing in the system of revolutionary power, the National Front nationalized most of the foreign companies, banks and some of the foreign trade under legislation passed in November 1969. This relieved a significant part of our economy from foreign dependence.

The measures against foreign capital and property restrictions imposed on the compradore bourgeoisie enabled us to begin building up public property. As a result, a state sector has come into being in the past several years, and is the main base for future economic development.

The state sector is the result of the popular government's economic policy and will grow on the basis of our economic programs. But we have not ended economic cooperation with the local and foreign bourgeoisie. This is conducted under the provisions of the Investment Law. There are many economic projects built with joint state and private capital. The right of control over these enterprises is retained by the state, which owns at least 51 per cent of the assets.

Economic progress and elimination of economic backwardness are inconceivable without scientific planning. Planning is of the utmost importance in non-capitalist development and assures rising rates of growth.

Previously, there had been no economic planning in our country. Colonial policy doomed the people to poverty and backwardness despite the vast natural resources confirmed by geological prospecting and research.

The three-year plan was our first attempt to introduce scientific planning. Despite our limited investment funds, it proved highly effective. We built many vitally important projects, which have to some extent altered the country's economic situation. The results are satis-

factory: 100 per cent success in agriculture and a good showing in industry. We also succeeded in resolving some of the problems related to education and public health, transport, and unemployment.

Certainly, we have had to contend with difficulties. There were delays in commissioning projects financed by the private sector and foreign investors, who were inclined to treat their commitments lightly. Also, there was a shortage of skilled personnel, engineers and specialists. By and large, the plan invigorated the potential of the state sector and increased employment.

Our newly-acquired experience helped us to draw up a five-year economic development plan. This second plan, which we have already begun, will yield extensive progress and lay the foundation for further economic advance.

To free the working people from economic exploitation, the National Front had to rid them of the overpowering influence of foreign monopolies in urban areas and of the domination of feudal property in the countryside. This was done through the 1970 agrarian reform, which was consonant with the peasants' wish of liberation from feudal oppression, of a radical agrarian solution.

Democratic Yemen benefited from the experience of many countries of the non-capitalist way that encountered setbacks in transforming their agriculture. The biggest flaw in some of these countries was that the agrarian reform was entrusted to the civilian and military apparatus, and neglected the revolutionary potential of the peasants.

To assure the success of our agrarian reform we relied on the participation of peasants in the class and political struggle against their oppressors and exploiters. We avoided using the state apparatus. The National Front prepared the ground for rallying the tillers to expropriate feudal land. First of all, we cultivated the peasant's political consciousness and combated illusions about the sanctity and mystique of feudal property, so that they should have a better idea of their tasks and opportunities.

The first peasant action was in October 1970 in the southern part of the Third Province, which had been considered a feudal stronghold. It was successful, and gave powerful impulse to peasant actions in other provinces. The peasants seized some 135,000 feddans* of land, which was transferred to nearly 30,000 families. But the PONF did not want the land to be fragmentized and did its best to cultivate a spirit of cooperation among the peasants. As a result, by the end of 1973 there were 38 agricultural cooperatives consisting of 26,000 peasants, seven artisan cooperatives, many fishermen's cooperatives, and 40 consumer and service cooperatives. In addition, we set up 28 state farms.

**Feddan* = 0.42 hectare.

The congress of poor peasants in July 1971 and the first cooperative conference in November of the same year charted the perspectives for new rural relationships. And in April 1973 a conference on marketing of agricultural products drew up measures improving the organization of sales, delivering peasants from the toils of usurers, the culprits of profiteering and anarchy.

Naturally, difficulties were unavoidable in assuring profitability, supplies of fertilizers, machines and spare parts. There was a shortage of trained people to direct the cooperatives. Some members of the peasant councils were illiterate, and this impeded the implementation of the agrarian reform law and the setting up of cooperatives. All this was unavoidable in a backward country straining to overcome the consequences of colonial oppression and take the road to socialism.

There were those who did not like our agrarian reform measures. Some thought the peasant actions were an indication of anarchy and irresponsibility, and evidence that the state had allowed the reins of power to slip from its hands. They held that the state should have used its apparatus to implement the law, substituting the central power for legitimate peasant action.

The political organization of the National Front is convinced that the method we used was necessary. The ultimate result of our revolutionary experiment was to stimulate peasant involvement in the revolutionary process. We wiped out feudalism and made its restoration impossible. Though we went about this in a highly specific way, it was a correct way and guaranteed the full participation of peasants in the reconstruction of our agriculture.

In a number of newly-independent states agrarian reforms failed to resolve many of the vital problems. In some cases they resulted in a growth of rich and prosperous peasants and brought no relief to the poor. This was due to the fact that the agrarian reform laws were not radical enough and were implemented without the effective participation of peasants, thus encouraging the development of capitalism in agriculture and depressing the incomes of the poor peasants.

The agrarian reform in Democratic Yemen destroyed feudal ownership and established a new form of property based on cooperation and joint labor. This has paved the way to new production relations in the countryside consonant with the needs of the masses, stimulating growth of the productive forces and pushing up the living standard in Yemeni villages.

The government has taken many revolutionary measures in education and national culture, and in training national personnel. This has benefited large sections of the people formerly denied education and culture. Schools have been opened in all provinces for tens of thousands of school-age boys and girls. There are literacy centers

attended by thousands upon thousands of adults. We hope to end illiteracy within five years. The government attends to the spread of culture among the masses, using special cultural centers, libraries, films, and the like.

The results we have achieved in education and culture are satisfactory, and the success of the revolution in this field is a base for further, still more extensive advances.

We have also registered progress in ideological education. Much effort has been put into spreading the ideas of scientific socialism. The PONF is operating a higher school of social science. Sociology based on scientific socialism is taught in secondary schools. And it is safe to say that socialist ideas have begun to win the minds of Yemeni workers, working people and intellectuals.

Revolutionary reconstruction in the economic and social domains was launched by the PONF with full reliance on the working masses. The country owes its progressive changes to the active political work of the PONF and the revolutionary militancy of workers and working people.

Social relations are changing radically in step with economic and social development. The influence and role of the working class, of the working people, are growing. Of course, the working class is numerically small. Therefore, we hold, one of the present aims of the revolution is to increase the numbers of the working class through industrialization, and to cultivate the spirit of scientific socialism among the workers. This will strengthen their vanguard role.

In the past five years, the PONF has consolidated the ranks of the progressive and democratic forces, uniting them in the bid for revolutionary reconstruction. Considerable progress has been made since June 1969 in tightening the bonds between the PONF and other democratic forces through joint participation in the central bodies of executive power, the Supreme People's Council, and the mass organizations. This is strengthening the ties of the democratic forces and coordinating their revolutionary energy in the work of the PONF.

Systematic dialogue is paving the way for the fusion of the country's progressive forces into a single revolutionary instrument directing the struggle for a new life.

We are gratified to note that the PONF's dialogue with the Democratic Union and People's Vanguard Party has yielded visible results. All sides recognize the importance of their unity to buttress the revolution and assure the fulfilment of its long-term aims. The most essential question of today is the extent to which other contingents of national action want to follow this principle. For the PONF unity of all democratic and progressive forces is a fundamental question. We approach it from the positions of scientific socialism, the interests of

the workers and working people, their stake in social progress. It would be incongruous for a revolutionary democratic force, an exponent of scientific socialism working in the interests of the people, to be disunited. Its natural place of a force sincerely active for unity in the struggle for revolutionary reconstruction is with those who fight on the side of the people. Since reaction is united in opposing the people and trying to crush the revolution, the only possible response is unity of the revolutionary people in repulsing the enemy and consummating their historical mission.

Our revolution is part of the Arab and world national-liberation movement. We are fighting against imperialism, reaction and the conservative elements alongside the other contingents of the Arab liberation movement, the forces of the world revolutionary movement.

The Arab peoples' struggle to liberate overrun territory is lawful and just. But victory in the battle against imperialism and Zionism is impossible without the unity of the progressive and democratic forces, the unity of Arab workers and the laboring masses. We therefore support all efforts to unite the forces of progress and democracy in the Arab countries in a progressive front that would give leadership to the people's struggle against imperialism and Zionism. Unity of the Arab democratic forces in each country, the basis for a united Arab front, will assure the vast potential needed to crush the imperialists and their anti-Arab designs.

We stand together with all Arab peoples, with the Arab people of Palestine in the struggle for its national rights, for independent solutions without outside interference. We are on the side of the national minorities, which have a right to autonomy on the basis of fraternity with the Arab nations and of the drive for Arab unity.

Active solidarity of the Arab national-liberation movement with all Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism is unthinkable without links with the world revolutionary movement, our faithful ally. We condemn those political currents in the Arab liberation movement that try to disrupt Arab solidarity and friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, to isolate the Arab liberation movement from the world revolutionary process, or identify socialist with imperialist countries.

The imperialist powers, first of all the United States, want to extend their political and economic influence throughout the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf, to crush the progressive and democratic forces in a region with one-third of the world's oil reserve. This is the strategic aim of the USA and other imperialist states in the setting of the energy crisis gripping the capitalist world. Revolutio-

nary Yemen is lined up with the vanguard of the forces opposing imperialism in this region.

Imperialists and reactionaries inspire aggressive actions against the people of Yemen, and have imposed a political and economic blockade to suppress our revolution. But our people have proved their ability to defend national independence.

We have had to repulse attacks by imperialism and its agents, the Saudi reactionaries, since the day we won independence. They have mounted military actions on our borders and acts of diversion inside the country. Dozens of camps of mercenaries line our frontiers with Saudi Arabia and Oman, financed and equipped by Saudi reaction. Sultan Qabus bin Said of Oman has incited acts of aggression along our eastern frontiers.

Exposing imperialist and reactionary conspiracies, repulsing aggression, our people have proved in defensive battles that freedom won in a hard and bloody struggle cannot be destroyed. We are deeply conscious of the support of the world's forces of liberation, progress and peace. The solidarity conference in support of Democratic Yemen and the peoples of the Persian Gulf, scheduled in April 1975 in Aden, we hold, will be a significant contribution to the struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction.

The imperialist conspiracies are directed not only against the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, but also against all democratic forces of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf, against the peoples of the northern shore of the Indian Ocean, where the United States is trying to stoke up tensions. The deployment of the U.S. Navy from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea and the military bases in the Indian Ocean are a threat to the sovereignty and security of the peoples.

Yemen is situated on the shore of the Indian Ocean. Therefore, we have a sense of solidarity with other peoples fighting against the U.S. bases and for the withdrawal of the U.S. naval force. We want the Indian Ocean to be a zone of lasting peace.

This is the age of a worldwide confrontation between socialism and capitalism, between the ideology of scientific socialism and bourgeois ideology. It is the age of humanity's transition to socialism. A battle is underway between the socialist camp, the world national-liberation movement and the working class of capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the forces of world imperialism, on the other. And any liberation movement that tries to draw a line of distinction between the three main currents of the world revolutionary process is only complicating the revolutionary development of its own people.

On winning national independence, our revolution did not hesitate

to range itself with the forces shaping the history of our epoch, led by the socialist world.

We stand alongside the socialist countries, the forces of liberation and progress, in the struggle against world imperialism, oppression and exploitation, and against Zionism. We espouse scientific socialism and internationalist solidarity with all contingents of the world revolutionary process.

Naturally, our alliance with the socialist system does not rule out cooperation with capitalist countries. Our relations with them are built on the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect, and non-interference in internal affairs. It is absolutely clear, however, and the facts have confirmed this, that we are on the same side of the barricades with the socialist forces and that we have common aims: national liberation, socialism, and world peace. These aims, which unite revolutionaries of different nations and nationalities, are paving the way to growth and to cooperation with the socialist countries. And we note with deep satisfaction that the dawn of the bright future is rising for our ancient land, because our people have the support of the socialist countries, the world's progressive and democratic forces.

Unprincipled alliance

Editor, *World Marxist Review*

Press reports about China's foreign policy leave one with many questions. In meetings with Strauss and other leading personalities of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, the rulers of this Communist State spoke of the identity of their foreign policy positions. It has also been reported that the recently adopted Constitution proclaims China's desire for peaceful coexistence. But the CDU/CSU leaders represent an entirely different trend in international affairs. How are the two to be reconciled? What is the actual situation and what are China's aims in world affairs?

Leif Andresen, Denmark

Günther Weis, Chairman, Central Party Control Commission, German CP, replies:

Our Danish reader is right in drawing attention to the contradiction between the policy pursued by the present Chinese leadership and some of the provisions of the new Constitution adopted in January.

The Constitution declares that China must 'strive for peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles.' This might create the impression that peaceful coexistence is the official foreign-policy doctrine of the People's Republic of China. More, the Constitution declares that 'in international affairs, we should uphold proletarian internationalism' and 'strengthen our unity with the socialist countries.'

Communists and all Marxist-Leninists in the FRG would welcome and support these foreign-policy principles set out in the new Constitution if they accorded with the actions of the Peking leadership. But the regrettable fact is that repetition of these irrefutable principles, dear to every Marxist-Leninist, does not accord with the aims and actions of the Peking leaders.

That becomes clear enough on closer examination of the new Constitution. Many press commentators note that it has abandoned some of the key principles of the 1954 Constitution on foreign policy (I do not propose to deal with internal policy). For instance, the new Constitution omits the passage: 'In international affairs our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity.' This the Maoists have replaced with the need 'to prepare against war.' This, obviously, is part of their thesis about the 'illusory character of détente.' It need hardly be added that in presenting world war as invevitable, Maoism generates a feeling of fatality, demobilizes public opinion and the peace movement.

Further, the Constitution repeats the wholly false Maoist theory about the sources of the present war danger. It stems, they claim, from the 'imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war' and from the 'hegemonism of the superpowers.' Such statements at the National People's Congress which adopted the Constitution, *L'Humanité* (Jan. 1, 1975) says, can only create 'confusion, by depicting the USSR as a "superpower" along with the USA. That can easily be refuted not only by Communists, but by everyone who has followed the Soviet Union's efforts to prevent a world armed conflict, and especially by the peoples of Indochina and the Middle East for whom Soviet assistance is of such decisive importance in repelling aggression. The danger of armed intervention in these two areas comes from Washington, not from Moscow. But Peking is silent on that score.'

One of the most glaring changes is omission of any mention of Sino-Soviet friendship and legislative formalization of anti-Sovietism, which is elevated to an official political doctrine. This has been noted by newspapers of widely different persuasions. Thus the *London Times* (Jan. 31, 1975) wrote that 'hostility toward the Soviet Union in its existing form is written into the Constitution.'

The inherent contradictions and eclectic character of the new Constitution are there for all to see. For how is one to reconcile open proclamation of anti-Sovietism with professions of proletarian internationalism? And what talk can there be of the present Chinese leaders working in solidarity with the socialist countries if Peking asserts that 'there is no socialist community?'* Evidently these are some of the things that puzzle the Danish reader.

Let us take a closer look at Maoist foreign policy. The gap between slogans and action can be demonstrated by these two examples.

One of them is mentioned in Andresen's letter – the identity of foreign-policy positions of the present Chinese and CDU/CSU leaders. At first sight it might seem strange indeed that the rulers of what the new Constitution describes as a 'socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat' should find a common language with representatives of the most reactionary circles in the FRG. What is behind their factual alliance? But first let us take a look at how the alliance came into being.

The neo-Nazi *Deutsche National-Zeitung* says it was the first to suggest it, the first European paper, it boasts, to call for an alliance between Peking and the FRG Right way back in the early 60s. The CDU/CSU leaders dispute this, claiming that they had been advocating the idea for all of 10 years. CSU Chairman Frans-Josef Strauss wrote in the mid-60s: 'Russo-Chinese contradictions are, politically, an asset rather than a liability for Europe ... Ours and Chinese interests partially and temporarily merge.'*

By the mid-70s, this 'temporary' and 'partial' identity of interests developed into a stable and frequently-coordinated arrangement. After the 1972 visit to Peking by Gerhard Schroeder, a prominent CDU leader, contacts and delegation exchanges became more regular and frequent, making it perfectly clear that the proposal of the FRG Right for joint struggle against peace fully coincided with Peking's foreign-policy aims.

West German capitalist press reaction to the Strauss visit was highly significant. (Incidentally, the visit coincided with adoption of the Constitution by the National People's Congress, which Mao did not attend, preferring to confer with Strauss). Several papers, among them the *Rheinische Post, Deutsche Vokszeitung* and *General-Anzeiger*, commented that it made for a close 'kinship of ideas,' based on common views and appraisals of international issues. And the fact was also noted that Strauss, who holds no official post, was the first

*See Teng Hsiao-ping's speech at the last UN Assembly.

*F.J. Strauss. *Herausforderung und Antwort*. Stuttgart, 1968, pp. 110-111.

German politician to be received by Mao Tse-tung. Inasmuch as Strauss and the Peking leaders 'regard the USSR as enemy number one, they can speak with one voice' (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, Jan. 18). 'The SCU boss was and remains a favorite of the Chinese,' the *Vorwärts* (Jan. 23) emphasized, 'because he can offer everything the Chinese expect of a useful German: firm anti-Moscow convictions.' *Der Spiegel* (Jan. 27) remarked that both Strauss and the Peking leaders see the USSR as an 'expansionist superpower.' By demonstratively supporting Strauss, the Peking leaders re-emphasized their attitude to European détente. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (Jan. 27) interpreted Peking's lavish praise of the CSU chairman as 'clear approval of his criticism of the détente and Eastern policies' of the Schmidt government.

Both Peking and the Right forces in Bonn are worried by the FRG treaties with the USSR, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia and the four-power agreement on West Berlin. Peking wants to see the Western armed forces, including the U.S. contingent, remaining in Central Europe; it wants continuation of the arms drive. Supported by the FRG revenge faction, it is planning political contacts with the Common Market in the hope of using it for its hegemonistic aims.

There is also unanimity on the attitude toward the aggressive NATO bloc. CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl has said: 'The fact that the Chinese government considers NATO the main precondition for pursuing an effective policy is highly significant' (*Die Welt*, Sept. 19, 1974). In his report to the January session of the National People's Congress, Chou En-lai (according to the *Quotidien de Paris* of Jan. 21, 1975) urged Europe to accelerate its political unification. This warning of a Soviet menace to Western Europe, the paper said, was meant to 'revive the idea of political unity based on fear. Why? For the simple reason that Peking has all along believed that the only way to contain Moscow is to keep the Soviet Union in Sino-European pincers.'

In the light of these facts one can understand why the new Constitution does not contain so much as a hint of China's intention to strengthen peace, world socialism and the national-liberation movement. The present international situation, the Peking leaders maintain, is characterized by 'great disorder under heaven' and the confrontation of the 'superpowers' will sooner or later result in a world war. In this way the Maoists are seeking ideological justification for their policy of prodding mankind toward a devastating war. And it is precisely this adventuristic, man-hating policy, based entirely on anti-Sovietism, that made possible the alliance with the revanchist forces in the FRG. For both are obsessed with hatred of the USSR and both think they can profit from a world conflagration. The report

to the Hamburg Congress of the German Communist Party (1973) contained this passage: 'Blind anti-Sovietism has led the Maoist group to open support of the plans and intentions of the most reactionary element of West German imperialism. The Peking leaders are encouraging continued armaments building and conversion of the Bundeswehr into a shock force against the Soviet Union. Peking would be only too happy to see imperialist Western Europe acting as a "third force" against the community of socialist states.'

The other example which brings to light the real aims of the Maoist leadership and is of prime importance to us Communists in the FRG, is Peking's attitude toward the GDR, the socialist state on German soil. For a long time the Chinese leaders pretended to support the GDR. They still spoke of solidarity with it in the late 60s. Today, however, judging from the fact that in Peking Strauss repeatedly thanked the Maoist leaders for supporting him on 'unity of the German nation,' they have sharply changed their policy. A report in *Die Welt* (Jan. 23, 1975) says that Strauss was especially grateful to the Chinese leaders for their 'support of unity of the German nation' and their 'appeal for the political and military unification of Europe.'

Strauss' visit merely formalized the identity of views on 'unity of the German nation' which was apparent during the earlier visit of CDU Chairman Kohl. *Die Welt* (Sept. 13, 1974) quoted his statement that 'Peking resolutely rejects the GDR thesis of two German nations and two German states.' The then Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister (and now Minister) Chiao Kuan-hua, upheld 'unity of the German nation' during last year's visit to the Federal Republic.

The picture is clear enough: the Maoists are giving open support and encouragement to the revanchist plans of 'reuniting' Germany. They are among the most inveterate opponents of the socialist German state, in flagrant violation of the 1955 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the GDR which expressly speaks of the sovereignty of the two contracting parties.

Our Party declared in its statement on the Kohl visit to the People's Republic of China: 'When the Maoist leaders speak of their "full understanding" of the CDU/CSU revanchist policy and emphasize identity of views on major issues, this is added proof that they are acting as enemies of the Communist and working-class movement, the world anti-imperialist movement and the popular movement for peace, that they have virtually become abettors of imperialism' (*Unsere Zeit*, Sept. 18, 1974). Strauss, Kohl and their Maoist negotiation partners questioned acceptance of existing European frontiers, including those of the GDR, achieved thanks to the efforts of the peace forces. More, they supported Bonn's claim, during the Adenauer years, to represent the whole of Germany.

The Maoist attitude toward the GDR shows that all the declarations about strengthening unity with the socialist countries are merely a cover for a policy that runs counter to the interests of socialism.

He who bases his international policy on nationalism and anti-Sovietism inevitably betrays the class struggle and finds himself siding with imperialist reaction. The German Communist Party has no intention of interfering in the affairs of the Communist Party of China. But we consider it our internationalist duty to declare that, in our understanding, China's foreign policy is a far cry from what socialist policy should be.

Maoism is anxious to present its foreign policy, which is directed against détente and peace, merely as stemming from the differing national interests of the USSR and China. The Peking leaders are trying to induce some Communist parties and socialist countries to take up Maoist positions or at least remain neutral. And the attempt to reconcile, in the new Constitution, anti-Sovietism with declarations of loyalty to proletarian internationalism is but an ideological cover for this. The FRG Communists expose this Maoist propaganda trick, emphasizing that it is not a matter of conflicting national interests, but of conflicting policies and ideologies, proletarian internationalism and the hegemonistic propensities of Maoism.

'Of late,' GCP Chairman Herbert Mies emphasized, 'we have received new strong proof that Peking's policy and practice are at variance with the interests of the working class, that they run counter to the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity. Mao's meeting with Strauss, their identity of views on détente and their anti-Sovietism, made it clear that the Peking leaders side with the reactionary forces of imperialism' (*Unsere Zeit*, Feb. 27, 1975).

Peking's unprincipled policy follows the Maoist slogan of 'allying ourselves with all the forces that can be allied with.' In practice this has led to alliances not only with the Right wing in the FRG, but also with extreme reactionary elements in other countries, the Chilean junta, for instance, and the leaders of the Right-wing imperialist bourgeoisie in Britain and the USA, and to attempts to influence developments in the FRG. The positive change in international relations, resulting primarily from the socialist community's consistent peace policy, have aroused frenzied opposition from the CDU/CSU. The anti-Communist and anti-democratic propaganda conducted by the Springer press and other monopoly groups have encouraged the

*There are more than a hundred of these in the FRG, closely connected with each other, publishing some 360 papers, magazines, news bulletins, etc., with a total circulation of two million.

reactionary forces and their political supporters in the CDU/CSU and other Right-wing organizations.* Détente has thus become the political watershed in the Federal Republic.

The reactionaries want to force the government into open confrontation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The capitalist press speaks of a 'shift to the right.' Yet every sensible person realizes that the reactionaries are prepared to use all available means, including contacts with Peking, to undermine détente and collective security in Europe and strengthen their position in Federal Germany itself. Peking is helping them, to the extent, even, of interfering in our internal affairs.

The very logic of the fight against reaction calls for a rebuff to Maoist policy. Can the Communists of the FRG hold aloof from the struggle against Maoist ideology and foreign policy? This would mean taking a neutral stand with regard to monopoly capital and its agents in the FRG; it would mean abandoning the struggle against them. Can one expect this of a Marxist-Leninist Party committed to peace, social progess and the interests of the working class?

A critical attitude to Peking's foreign policy – which in the main is identical with the strategy of the more reactionary elements of FRG imperialism – is for our Party a component of its continuing fight against reaction, for European peace and security.

The people of Spain: on strike

Juan Lopez,
Spanish journalist

The struggle against the senile Franco regime has built up to unprecedented proportions. There is every evidence that broad strata of the people – workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, civil servants and shopkeepers – have understood the urgency of political change.

In the mass actions economic objectives combine with political. Fighting for economic demands, the working people also demand amnesty for political prisoners and emigrants, freedom of assembly, the right to form political parties, and trade union freedoms.

As always, the working class stands in the vanguard of the struggle.

Though strikes are banned, their number (2,196) and the number of strikers (700,000) in 1974 was, even by official data, the highest of the past 12 years. And by the beginning of this year the strike movement grew to a level unknown in Spain since the civil war. More than a million people participated in strikes in December 1974 and January 1975.

Despite the terroristic dictatorship, the economic crisis, the mounting unemployment and the employers' reprisals, workers often win wage increases and improvements in working conditions. Their struggle is led by workers' commissions, which are elected underground bodies. The commissions negotiate with employers, bypassing the official 'vertical unions.' Working people exercise their freedom of assembly *de facto*. Nowadays, they often hold meetings in premises belonging to 'vertical unions,' but convened by workers' commissions.

Strikers can usually rely on support from workers of other enterprises, who call solidarity strikes. In Pamplona, Bilbao, Valladolid and other cities this has, in effect, resulted in general strikes.

Other population groups display increasing support of working-class actions, reflecting the new situation and the spreading general discontent. Protesting a two-month layoff miners in Pamplona, Navarra Province, called a strike in January. Some of them occupied one of the mines. They were backed by all the 13,000 workers of the Pamplona industrial belt, who stopped work, put up street barricades and clashed with the police, and also by Catholic priests, who called a hunger strike in the archbishop's residence.

The country's agriculture is in deep trouble. Farm laborers are badly hit by unemployment. Small, medium and even rich farmers suffer from the adverse effects of Franco's agrarian policy. The monopolies set ruinously low wholesale prices, while retail prices are exorbitant. Farmers have been joined by urban workers in opposing this policy. In many towns, women boycott markets and the larger food stores, protesting the soaring cost of living.

The strike of 8,000 vineyard workers in the region of Jerez, precipitated by the employers' refusal to negotiate a new collective agreement, lasted several weeks. The laborers' decision was to stop work until their demands were met. In a counter-move, the employers hired workers in other districts, but when the latter learned they would be used as strikebreakers they packed up and went home. Industrial workers in the province gave the strikers broad support.

A student movement against the dictatorship is active in practically all universities. Students clash with the police, are manhandled and arrested. In many universities, professors and faculty members take the students' side. The government has shut down dozens of facul-

ties, and in Valladolid lectures were suspended until the end of the academic year.

Civil servants, intellectuals and journalists have also acted against the Franco regime. The staffs of six ministries went on strike in Madrid, demanding pay hikes and more representatives in the wage councils and personnel commissions. Something like 500 civil servants, including some in high posts, addressed a written statement to the government, demanding immediate democratic reforms.

Early in February, actors in a Madrid theatre broke off a performance halfway, announcing that they were joining an actors' strike in the capital. The audience responded with an ovation. The Madrid actors' strike was supported by their Barcelona colleagues. Film directors stopped filming. Playwrights prohibited showings of their plays in Spain, and also in Latin America. Following in the workers' footsteps, the actors rejected mediation by the official union and demanded that negotiations with theatre owners should be handled by an elected commission.

Strikes by businessmen, doctors and medical nurses are not infrequent. Professional associations of lawyers and journalists take action in defense of their members. This protest of the middle strata has disturbed the ruling classes. The monarchist paper, *ABC*, one of the most reactionary in the country, wrote in an article: 'There is a stench of rot in Spanish society. The house where the average citizen had lived in calm and tranquility, has begun to totter.' The writer recommends 'priority attention to the middle class' to prevent 'any section of it from being tempted into an alliance with the proletariat.' The recommendation is obviously belated.

In the past, the Spanish church was one of the main pillars of the dictatorship. Now many churchmen have taken a firm stand against the regime. A recent conference of bishops and priests suggested a public plea for forgiveness for the behavior of the church during the civil war. The proposal was backed by a majority. Progressive priests support nearly all big strikes. In their sermons they show the justice of the strikers' demands, expose government repressions, arrests and torture of prisoners. Churches are often made available for workers' meetings.

In mid-February the Supreme Court re-examined the case of Marcelino Camacho and nine other worker-activists, who were sentenced to 12 to 20 years' imprisonment on charges of running a trade union center directing the workers' commissions in December 1973. Under public pressure at home and abroad the Supreme Court reduced the sentences to 2-6 years, with the result that four of the labor leaders were released on having served their time. The campaign for the release of the remaining prisoners continues.

The campaign for amnesty of political prisoners and emigrants has become nationwide. Recently a Catholic organization, Justice and Peace, collected 160,000 signatures under an amnesty appeal addressed to Franco, out of which 2,000 belonged to army officers. This shows that the army, too, is not indifferent to the people's democratic aspirations. A current is rising in the armed forces for the country's democratization and against using the army as a repressive force.

In this setting of a broad anti-Franco movement, the founding of the countrywide Democratic Junta in the summer of 1974 came as a significant political development. Diverse political forces have come together for joint struggle against fascism – Communists, Socialists, members of workers' commissions, some monarchists, and those members of the business world who understand that the Franco regime is an obstacle to economic growth. The Democratic Junta will operate until the dictatorship is replaced by democracy. In a statement to the Spanish people, the junta said it would be 'dissolved on the day a lawful political authority elected by universal suffrage takes over.' Democratic juntas have also been set up at local level – in Andalusia, Asturia, Aragon, Santander, the Balcaric and Canary Islands, Galicia, and more recently also in Madrid.

The Communist Party of Spain is the major organized force of the opposition. Brutal repressions are showered upon it. But the Party continues to extend its influence and build up its ranks.

What is the likely culmination of the popular struggle rising so rapidly across the country?

The answer has been provided by the Communist Party of Spain. It points to the perspective of a general strike, which should bring down the dictatorship. The conditions for this major confrontation are ripe. The CPS Executive named preparations for a national strike the central task of communist activity and has called on Communists to show the maximum of daring and initiative, placing themselves at the head of the masses and directing mass action.

Lenin's doctrine of the press in action

THE COMMUNIST PRESS OF DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

That was the subject of a symposium organized by *World Marxist Review* in Prague and attended by representatives of 14 parties: Hans Kalt, Political Bureau member, CP Austria, Editor-in-Chief of *Volksstimme;* Koen Calliauw, CC member, CP Belgium, Editor-in-Chief of *De Rode Vaan*[1]; Kostas Mentis, Editorial Board member, *Rizospastis,* CP Greece; Georg Polikeit, Presidium member, German CP, Editor-in-Chief of *Unsere Zeit*; Hans Mahle, Bureau member of SUP West Berlin Board, Editor-in-Chief of *Die Wahrheit;* Mendi, CC member CP Spain, representing *Mundo Obrero;* Sergio Soglia, correspondent, *l'Unita,* Italian CP; Mel Doig, Central Executive member, CP Canada, representing the *Canadian Tribune*[2]; Rene Urbany, member of Executive and Secretary of CC, CP Luxembourg, Editor-in-Chief of *Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek;* Antonio Dias Lourenco, Political Committee member, CC Portuguese CP, Director of *Avante!;* John Pittman, Political Committee member, CP USA, representing the *Daily World*; Pierre Durand, Editorial Board member of *l'Humanité*, CP France; Otto Schudel, Editor-in-Chief of Vorwärts[3], Swiss Party of Labor; Hidesato Numata, CC member, CP Japan, representing *Akahata*. Members of the Editorial Council, the permanent representatives of Communist and Workers' parties on the journal, took part in the discussions.

1. The CP Belgium publishes two papers, the French daily *Drapeau Rouge* and the Flemish weekly *De Rode Vaan.*
2. Mel Doig read the contribution sent in by James Leech, Editor of the *Canadian Tribune*.
3. The Swiss Party of Labor publishes a French-language daily, *Voix Ouvrière,* and two weeklies, *Vorwärts* in German and *Il Lavoratore* in Italian.

In his opening remarks, the Editor-in-Chief of *World Marxist Review*, Konstantin Zarodov, said that collective discussion of topical issues, exchange of experience and information by the fraternal parties, has always been an important feature of the journal. In the 16 years since its foundation there have been more than 70 international discussions in Prague and other cities. But a symposium of editors and journalists of the Communist press – representatives of one of the most difficult, but at the same time honorable, professions – is being held for the first time.

The newspapers here represented are published in the developed capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisie has at its command a powerful radio and television network, where the capitalist press, controlled by giant concerns, uses modern techniques and high-pressure advertising in the ceaseless anti-democratic offensive of state-monopoly capital. To the Communist press, which speaks for the working class and for all laboring people, falls the immense task of bringing the truth to the masses, helping them understand complex international and national issues, organizing them to work for détente, democracy and socialism.

Moreover, this has to be done at a time when the public mind is systematically subjected to the massive propaganda of the bourgeois press, with its experience in adroit demagogy, and when dozens of articles are published to counter one in the Communist press. Add to this the fact that in some countries Communist journalists and press distributors are persecuted and harassed, Communist papers banned, their offices bombed.

It will be recalled that Lenin compared the first proletarian newspaper of the new type with scaffolding around the edifice of the Party still under construction. That was the role *Iskra* played in Russia, and the role other Party papers played in other countries when the Communist parties were first being organized. Now we can speak of the maturity of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of the world Communist movement. And now as always, our press has an active share in building the Party, increasing its membership and strengthening it ideologically. This poses many questions. How can the press help the Party combine the theory of scientific communism with the working-class movement in the present complex and fast-moving situation? How is the growing level of social consciousness reflected in our press? What arguments should be used to show that only by applying the program of the Communists and Left forces can the workers in capitalist countries put an end to their present hardships? How best to popularize the achievements of the socialist community which, in these days of capitalist crisis, convincingly prove the advantages of socialism? How to combine the fight for democracy with the fight for

socialism, respond to all the requirements of the masses and, in Lenin's words, 'try at every step to push the consciousness of the masses in the direction of socialism, to link up every specific question with the general tasks of the proletariat . . .?' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 15, p. 354). In short, what has to be done for the paper always to speak for the Party, give the reader the Party's views, show him the prospects of the class struggle and inspire him to take an active part in it?

Our discussions here will be fruitful if, drawing on the experience of the Communist press, we are able to single out the new elements in the struggle for the masses, weigh all potentialities, assess the difficulties ahead and work out ways and means of overcoming them. What has to be done for the truthful voice of the workers' press to be heard above the many strident voices of the bourgeois press? What has to be done to bring our message to the minds and hearts of the working people? What should be our criterion in selecting what should go into the paper? What should be the character of our depiction of reality? How to give adequate coverage to the interests of the various classes, groups of working people, the youth, women, the religious? How best to organize publicity and circulation, so that the paper reaches the reader without delay? How effectively and convincingly does our press react to anti-communist attacks?

Georgi Dimitrov once said: 'How can a paper have a wide circulation if it does not engage in effective polemics with our enemies? When we polemicize with leading papers, we force them to polemicize with us on political and other issues . . . Our papers must be in the very center of political life . . .' That is the importance Dimitrov attached to the problem more than 30 years ago. Today, with the information explosion, it is more important still.

These are not abstract problems. The battle for the masses has a distinct political, revolutionary orientation. And victory in this battle is a precondition for achieving a key aim of the revolution, viz., the formation of a mass political army. From its very inception, the Communist press has been a potent weapon of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Today, too, it serves the Party at decisive sectors of the front, and it is only natural that it should get so much attention from the fraternal parties. It is the subject of discussion at Party congresses and Central Committee meetings. There are the mass press festivals, the success of which even our opponents acknowledge. Continuing the tradition set by Marx, Engels and Lenin, Party leaders regularly contribute to the press. One more example of the attention the press enjoys is this conference of editors and journalists delegated by the Central Committees of their respective Parties.

In conclusion K. Zarodov expressed the hope that the symposium would make for closer ties between the journal and the press of

fraternal parties. It is gratifying to know, he said, that much has been done in this respect in the past few years. The journal makes a point of keeping its readers informed about the Communist press, and the press of fraternal parties more frequently publishes information about the journal and reprints many of its articles. It is to be hoped that this mutually beneficial process will continue. The Editor-in-Chief wished the symposium every success in internationalizing the rich experience of the fraternal parties.

ALWAYS WHERE THE ACTION IS

Lenin regarded growth of the Party press as an indicator of the maturity of the entire revolutionary movement. In assessing the fighting capacity of the Bolshevik Party when it was preparing for the October Revolution, he said that the second most important factor (after the size of membership) was the number of daily newspapers and their circulation. The number and circulation of Communist papers in our day is a measure of the maturity of the international Communist movement.

Lenin discussed the problems of the Communist press at a time when the information and propaganda media were nowhere near their present level. However, Lenin's ideas about the press as a weapon of proletarian revolutionary struggle have not lost their topicality. He formulated the tasks of the press at each stage of the working-class movement. That is evidenced by the development of the Bolshevik press in Russia: it helped to found the Party of the new type, carry out the October Revolution and after its victory was a reliable tool in the building of socialism.

In examining the tasks of the Communist press, the symposium drew on Lenin's propositions and comments and discussed their practical application in present-day conditions. Speakers described the experience accumulated in their particular countries. Antonio Dias Lourenco remarked that that experience was largely fashioned by national features and traditions, for in each country the working-class struggle takes specific forms. Every Communist paper reflects that and has a fund of valuable experience which, shared and generalized, would prove useful for the world Communist press.

Good prospects

The press of the fraternal parties, all speakers emphasized, has good prospects for increasing its mass influence. This is due primarily to the changed balance of world forces, the mounting anti-imperialist

struggle and, last but not least, the potentialities of the present stage of the revolutionary process.

The Communist Party of the United States, John Pittman said, considers the prospects for building the press to be exceptionally bright at the present moment. This view is based on our evaluation of a number of developments. One of the most important is the struggle for détente, and this is closely linked with the fight for civil rights and for improving all aspects of American life.

Détente, Pierre Durand said, helps *L'Humanité* give a convincing picture of the advantages of socialism, elaborate on the basic idea that the achievements of the socialist countries are of decisive importance for the whole of mankind, for they have changed the world balance of forces and have given us in the capitalist countries a new weapon.

Speakers emphasized that in its wide international coverage the Communist press explains the Marxist-Leninist position on all international issues and shows how peaceful coexistence is gaining ground.

The Communist press operates against the background of intensified working-class struggle and closer unity of the anti-imperialist forces. Capitalist reality, the aggravating economic and political crisis, are impelling the masses toward struggle for a thorough refashioning of the social structure. For most of the working people, Pittman remarked, the present crisis of capitalism is a crisis of their day to day life.

The recent revolutionary developments have swept away some of the reactionary regimes that banned Communist publications. The Spanish delegate, Mendi, remarked: The recent changes in Portugal and Greece, which we all heartily welcome, have left *Mundo Obrero* with the dubious privilege of being the only illegal newspaper represented at this meeting. We know that the downfall of the fascist regime in Spain is nigh and when that happens *Mundo Obrero* will become a legal daily. And in anticipation of that, our Party has started a campaign to collect 200 million pesetas, or about four million dollars.

Communist papers published clandestinely only a short while ago now enjoy a wide popularity and mounting circulations. Antonio Dias Lourenco told the meeting: I was still in prison on April 25. I was freed on the very day my 12-year term ended, and was immediately told I had been appointed editor of the central Party organ. You can imagine what this meant for a man who had been in prison for so long. It was not easy finding my place in the vast popular movement: in a matter of a few days I had to assess the new situation and the Party's new tasks. You'll appreciate the difficulties we had in putting out *Avante!* after 43 years of underground publication. The first issue

came out in half a million copies and was quickly sold out, and though the circulation has declined since then, *Avante!* is Portugal's most widely read paper.

The reappearance of another formerly illegal Party paper, *Rizospastis,* was enthusiastically hailed by the Greek working class and people, Kostas Mentis said. The editorial offices are always crowded. We receive thousands of telegrams from all parts of Greece, from other countries, from organizations and individuals, all of them welcoming legalization of the Communist Party and its newspaper. Even the bourgeois press finds itself obliged to admit that lifting the ban on the Party and its paper accorded with the wishes of the people. We print 75,000 copies and they are immediately bought up. Of course, legality poses many problems. One of the most difficult is personnel. Part of our journalists are still abroad and the Party is doing everything to expedite their return. With their assistance we can make our dream come true: a big daily newspaper, a really mass paper, a paper of the people, the best in Greece.

The Communist press must make maximum use of the present favorable situation, but much will have to be done to achieve that. Our press does not yet meet all the responsibilities thrust upon it by the times in which we live, Mel Doig said.

Monopoly domination

The Communist press has always had to fight for the very right to exist. Our everyday practice, Urbany remarked, refutes the principles of bourgeois democracy, according to which it is enough to proclaim freedom of the press. The reality is that we have to fight for this freedom, fight for the right to exercise it.

Speakers described the impediments and barriers the progressive press has to overcome in capitalist countries. Comrades Kalt, Numata, Durand, Soglia and Polikeit described the process of concentrating the press in the hands of the big monopoly concerns.

Austria. The intertwining of private and state property extends to the mass media too. The owners of Austria's two leading dailies, the *Kurier* and *Kronen-Zeitung*, and the director-general of the state-owned broadcasting corporation decide what information readers, listeners and viewers shall get.

Japan. Though the bourgeois press says it provides objective information, and though there is an apparent diversity of views, the hard fact is that the mass media always defend monopoly capitalism and follow an active anti-communist policy.

France. Aggregate daily circulation of the French press in 1974 was the same as in 1939, about 12 million, though the population had increased by 25 per cent and education standards were appreciably

higher. Paris now has only 13 journals, compared with 40 in 1946. Much the same is happening in the provinces, where about 100 journals ceased publication in the past 25 years. Only those that are directly or indirectly associated with monopoly capital survive.

Italy. Concentration of the press is a hard blow to freedom of information. The battle for a free press and for democratic reform of radio and television is being waged by Italy's democratic journalists. The Communists are working to make it a national movement, for the onslaught on the freedom of the press inevitably leads to monopoly domination over people's minds.

FRG. Every week brings reports of one or more journals closing down, or being merged, or of a new press group being started. In 1970 five such groups accounted for 81 per cent of total daily circulation.

Question by Pavel Auersperg, member of CC CPC and executive editor of WMR: What methods are the monopolies using against the Communist press in the FRG?

G. Polikeit: First of all, economic pressure. They refuse to handle distribution of *Unsere Zeit* and deny it advertising. Also this: the capitalist press tries to intimidate our readers by hinting that the Communist Party, and consequently our paper, are about to be banned, so that anyone who reads *Unsere Zeit* does so at his own peril.

Inflation is contributing to concentration of the mass media and is making things especially hard for the Communist press, with its modest financial resources. R. Urbany: Despite all our efforts we can not compete with the bourgeois press in many areas, especially where large outlays are needed. S. Soglia: there is a new newspaper technology, but we still have to use linotypes and rotary presses. To buy the new machinery we would have to raise the price of the paper. P. Durand: With the costs of newsprint, transport and printing steadily rising, publishing and distributing a Communist paper becomes a very complex business indeed.

The Party press in capitalist countries has to contend with many difficulties, Mendi said. In Spain, where there is no freedom, the difficulties are greater still. The first thing the police ask an arrested Communist is: 'Who gave you this propaganda, whom are you to pass it on to, where was it mimeographed?' Putting out a Communist paper calls for a combination of courage and caution, otherwise the paper will never reach the masses.

These are some of the obstacles the Communist press has to reckon with in promoting the socialist outlook and revolutionary action of the working class. 'Nonetheless,' S. Soglia said, 'despite all the difficulties, material and otherwise, and all the harassment, the Communist

press continues to live. More, it is active, is winning new positions.'

Polarization

There are two distinct media systems in capitalist society: the monopoly press which speaks for capital, and the Communist press which speaks for peace, democracy and socialism.

The ideological struggle of today fully confirms Lenin's thought that 'when the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the workers declines, is undermined or weakened, the bourgeoisie *everywhere and always* resorts to the most outrageous lies and slanders' (Vol. 20, p. 485).

In capitalist countries, Kalt said, the so-called information explosion, concentration of the press and broadcasting lead to systematic manipulation of public opinion. Information about the socialist countries, democratic and liberation movements in developing countries and the class struggle in capitalist countries are usually presented in a deliberately garbled way. The Austrian radio rarely has programs about workers and their families, though worker families make up about half of the country's population. The capitalist press devotes much space to religion, narcotics, sex – even occultism – anything, in short, likely to divert the workers from the fight for their vital interests. The idea is to keep the working class captive to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

French radio and television, Durand said, are well suited to propaganda of the dominant ideology. News reports are given in bare outline, and read at a fast pace, so that the listener cannot critically assess these snatches of information, and the deliberately hazy picture is accepted by many as a true picture. This one example: the official French radio practically never uses the term Federal Republic of Germany. By referring only to 'Germany,' it presents a misleading picture in which there is no place for the two German states.

The stream of misinformation disseminated by the capitalist press, radio and television is countered by the Communist press. Comrades Kalt, Durand, Polikeit and Numata described the forms and methods their papers employ in their polemics with ideological opponents.

Voksstimme. In constantly counteracting the strategems of anti-Communist propaganda, we know very well that thereby we are primarily fighting for the socialist future of Austria. Not until we have rid the Austrian working class of anti-Communist prejudices can we inspire it with confidence in socialism. We need hardly say that we do not regard all those who differ with us as anti-Communists.

Question by Bistra Avramova, alternate member, CC BCP, and its representative on the journal: Could you tell us about the methods

used by the Austrian Communist press in controversies with the bourgeois press?

H. Kalt: We use every form ranging from brief and prompt comments on this or that event to big analytical articles. When reporting on socialist countries, we use concrete examples to expose the biased treatment of information by the bourgeois mass media and name the editors and correspondents concerned.

There is another serious problem I would like to mention. The Social Democrats, the government party, hold reactionary positions on a number of issues. We argue daily with the Social-Democratic press, always bearing in mind, however, that worker Social Democrats want to bring back united action and we must therefore constantly stress the difference in our approach to that party's leaders and its rank and file. It is important to handle the problem in a way that will not alienate worker Social Democrats by creating the impression that we Communists are against them.

L'Humanité. A Communist newspaper is a means of educating the masses. How can it do this? By insisting that we are always right? Obviously not, for this tone of infallibility only annoys people and is hardly convincing. We can achieve positive results by using serious arguments, effectively refuting the arguments of those who control the mass media. We must always be on the offensive, but also take into account the relatively high level of knowledge and information of our people. Our arguments must be understandable, but understandable does not mean primitive. The staff of every Party publication, and especially a Party daily, must be in close contact with the Party leadership, in constant touch with events, capable of immediate reaction and, basing itself on the Party's policy, deal the enemy blow for blow, without waiting for him to regroup. By exposing the capitalist mass media, we compel our enemy to enter into polemics with the Communist press and, consequently, report at least some aspects of its policy.

Question by V. Shundeyev, executive editor of WMR:

How did *L'Humanité* react to the recent capitalist press attacks against the socialist community?

P. Durand: Any attack against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is an attack against us, against the growing influence of socialist ideas in France. In reporting life in the socialist community we are mindful of the concerns of our own people, and contrast the achievements of socialism to the difficulties France is going through – inflation, high prices, the energy crisis. We choose examples that highlight the successes of the socialist countries. But we do not shy away from discussing the difficulties that are inevitable in socialist growth. The capitalist press usually exploits these difficulties to slan-

der socialism. But it is not enough for us merely to denounce this slander. Of course, the capitalist press prints more lies than truth, but occasionally one does come across justified arguments. It is therefore always useful to explain the nature and character of the difficulties the socialist countries have to cope with. And serious explantion helps the reader to understand that socialism can triumph even in the most difficult conditions.

Akahata. Our Party is not hostile to the rest of the press, nor does it reject comments by that press out of hand. Our stand on this issue is one of competitive coexistence. Party leaders contribute to the press or appear on television when invited. They grant interviews or take part in press conferences or round-table discussions provided these things are properly organized.

Question by Hamid Safari, alternate member, CC Executive Bureau, People's Party of Iran, and its representative on the Journal: You said *Akahata's* stand on other press organs was not hostile. Could you specify? Does *Akahata* counter anti-Communist attacks of the bourgeois press?

H. Numata: Right now we are trying to form a united front and bring about a democratic coalition government. Many Japanese newspapers campaign against our Party and the democratic forces from anti-Communist positions. Our Party strikes back when it is attacked.

Unsere Zeit. The monopolies are stepping up their ideological activity to defend capitalist positions. They assail socialism, using various right-wing opportunist theories, all sorts of revisionist concepts of 'democratic socialism' and the ultra-leftist talk of Maoist groups. That makes it highly important for our paper systematically to combat every manifestation of anti-communism and popularize the gains of socialist countries.

Question by Tsogtyn Namsarai, alternate member, CC MPRP, and its representative on the journal: How does your paper fight against Trotskyist, Maoist and other ultra-leftist groups?

G. Polikeit: First of all, we criticize the theoretical foundations and practice of Maoism and show that many views of the Peking leadership coincide with those of the most rabid West German reactionaries. Second, we expose Maoist groups in the FRG. We criticize the material they circulate and show that they are out to split the democratic movement. We try to help inexperienced young people taken in by 'leftist' talk. For instance, we publish statements by those who had supported ultra-leftists at one time but later joined our Party.

The spirit of ideological offensive, it was pointed out during the exchange of views, is inherent in the Communist press and predetermined by the Marxist-Leninist character of Communist publications.

Indeed, the ideas of scientific communism cannot be advanced without freeing the working people's minds from the bourgeois world outlook. The parties can achieve the goal they are fighting for – the triumph of socialism – only if the masses act with determination. Lastly, the only way to put the enemy on the defensive is to attack.

How does the Communist press hold its ground in clashes with a strong and moneyed ruling class in control of the mass media? By telling the truth and never evading comparison or debate, L. Soglia said. By beating off attacks, exposing reactionary maneuvers and plans, standing up sincerely for the weak, maintaining the Party's political and ideological positions, always remaining loyal to Marxist-Leninist principles, the principles of solidarity with the fraternal parties and liberation movements in other countries, never withholding news even if unpleasant and hard to explain but always disentangling it from the distortion and speculation of the bourgeois press.

WEAPON OF THE PARTY

Lenin's concept of the Party press is inseparable from his doctrine of the working-class party. His idea of the indivisibility of Communist Party and press, a requisite of building up the Party and carrying forward the revolutionary struggle, as well as a requisite of the very functioning of the press, has proved its validity in revolutionary battles of this century. Participants in the symposium gave considerable time to showing how their parties apply Lenin's concept of the Party press by making it a collective agitator, propagandist and organizer.

Source of strength

Lenin suggested in a letter that an analysis be made of ' "our" newspaper compared with the *usual* capitalist newspaper' (Vol. 42, p. 317). What distinguishes the Communist press from its bourgeois counterpart is, first and foremost, its meaningful partisanship.

The growing popular distrust of capitalist government and social institutions is prompting the capitalist press to conceal or camouflage its class orientation. More and more newspapers and magazines are adopting 'independent' labels. A typical example was cited by Urbany. Luxembourg's bourgeois dailies, he said, have lately been renouncing their party affiliations. One after another they claim to be 'independent.' The biggest, *Luxemburger Wort*, has severed its ties with the Christian Social Party. The second biggest, *Tageblatt*, has followed suit and is no longer the organ of the Socialist Workers'

Party. It looks as if the time is not far off when the Communist paper will be the only party publication.

The success of the Communist press, Dr. P. Durand said, hinges primarily on the Party's influence and strength and the membership's political awareness. Without such a party, he added, there can be no newspapers fully meeting the ideological and political requirements of the working class and other working people. It follows that only a strong party can have a strong press. Of courss, the opposite is also true.

Speaking of the principle of partisanship, contributors to the discussion concentrated on the role of the newspaper as an instrument of building up the Party, a publicizer of Party policy.

Lenin's definition of the function of the press as a collective organizer, siad A. Dias Lourenco, is based, first of all, on the part the press takes in Party life. The existence of a Party press organ shows that the Party exists. The regularity of publication is proof of the Party's efficiency. Built by the Party, its press also helps to build the Party, extending its contacts through its circulation.

The press plays a big role in building up the Party where its members have to operate in illegal conditions. The Party press in Spain, said Mendi, mobilizes thousands of men and women. Of course, it takes many people to edit, print and circulate a paper, to obtain newsprint and ink, find a place where a rotary press can be installed, set up distribution centers and provide transport facilities. Thus the very process of making and distributing a paper brings thousands of Communists into action, establishes links between them and teaches them joint action and inventiveness in illegal conditions – in short, organizes them.

Participants also spoke about how the principle of partisanship is applied in articles. Our Party, H. Mahle said, daily uses its newspaper to speak to the masses, acquaint them with its policies and show them the need of a political alternative.

A decisive factor for the efficiency of *L'Unita,* S. Soglia said, is the paper's ability seriously to analyze events at home and abroad and to give the Communist viewpoint.

A Communist paper explicitly declares its Party allegiance, said G. Polikeit. It's absurd and harmful to look on our press as something existing alongside the Party and to talk about its 'independence' from the Party. To do so is to weaken our press, since its strength and influence are based on approaching every reality, collecting material and analyzing developments from the Party's standpoint and on operating in the Party's interests. It would be wrong to believe that the press can state its frank opinion and the Party's position solely in editorial comments while presenting information items from an objec-

tivist standpoint. There is no such thing as non-partisan information, nor can there be. The Party press reports world events, by no means withholding comment on topics discussed by the bourgeois press. However, its selection and arrangement of material, as well as its formulations, are strictly partisan. The editorial staff is accountable to the Party for all that it publishes.

Upholding the people's interests

The Communist press strives to transform isolated efforts by the working class into concerted mass action, to link the people's everyday struggles with the fight against the foundations of the existing system, for far-reaching social changes. Defining this important task, Lenin wrote that 'an economic struggle that is not united by a central organ cannot become the *class* struggle of the entire . . . proletariat' (Vol. 4, p. 219).

It is not only Communist papers that cover the working people's actions. Strikes sometimes paralyze the life of a whole country and this is news which other publications cannot suppress whether they like it or not. However, the Communist press always takes an explicit class stand. We look at every single fact, said P. Durand, in the light of our overall concepts, which enables us to reveal the nature of the given phenomenon. A Communist paper which mentions, say, an industrial accident may use it to condemn capitalist exploitation. This, of course, doesn't at all mean that if an earthquake occurs in France the blame must be put on monopoly power. Common sense is an indispensable quality of every Communist journalist.

The crisis of the capitalist system increasingly affects life in capitalist society. John Pittman quoted as an indication of the trend of the *Daily World* the following headlines which the paper gave a while ago: 'Black Caucus Puts It to Ford: Jobs and Equal Rights, Not Billions for Arms,' 'Miners Tell Ford: Halt Death in Pits,' 'CP Asks Representation at Economic Summit,' 'Ford Pentagon Budget Seen Perilling Needs,' 'Over 6 per cent Jobless Reported in 51 Cities.'

The press uses its numerous connections to expose monopoly schemes, warn the workers of imminent layoffs and guide their action. *Unsere Zeit,* for example, campaigns steadfastly for the preservation of jobs, against growing prices.

During the oil crisis in the autumn of 1973, said H. Numata, Japan's big companies created artificial shortages by cutting off supply and deliberately raising prices. *Akahata* fought against those moves. Communist MPs circulated in Parliament a restricted document of the General Oil Co., describing the oil crisis as a 'golden opportunity offered by heaven.' Parliament formed a commission of inquiry which heard spokesmen of the oil companies. As a result, the government

accused business of foul play and the president of General Oil had to resign.

Not so long ago staff members of *Die Wahrheit* heard that Mosaik Pleite, a film-copying firm, was on the brink of failure and was trying hard to keep this secret. The paper exposed this and helped the 450 workers threatened with dismissal to fight back. It also exposed plans of Tempelhof Publishers that the company was planning to sack 900 workers.

The Communist press has opportunities to open the people's eyes to the nature of capitalism and the hopelessness of capitalist attempts at 'improvement.' This was revealed by R. Urbany, who described exposure of social reformism as a key task of *Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek*. The monopoly bourgeoisie, he said, has learned a more flexible approach to the workers, and is sometimes even ready to make concessions. In a recent round of talks in Luxembourg, the unions won a substantial pay rise. The workers may get the impression that big business has lately been more willing to come to terms and that all problems can be solved through talks and agreements. The Communist press must dispel these illusions.

Bourgeois mass media, John Pittman said, deny the very existence of the class struggle. They generally prefer not to mention the working class and speak of the 'middle class' or 'middle strata' instead. The bourgeois press wants the reader to think that the only way to bring about social change is through bourgeois liberal or bourgeois democratic reforms. We must therefore bring the meaning of concepts like 'class' or 'class struggle' home to the workers. Carrying on the offensive against the dominant ideology, carefully impressed on the people's minds over a long period, requires perseverance, journalistic skill, and staunchness in upholding our positions.

The party press gives political leadership to the struggle of the working class and teaches the workers to distinguish between action fostering the revolutionary process and action likely to hamper it. A. Dias Lourenco cited a case in point. *Avante!*, operating underground, backed the Portuguese workers' strike movement over many years, he said. The victory of the revolution changed the situation and *Avante!* helped the workers to gain a clearer idea of strikes. It disclosed the confusion that had prevailed over this matter not so much among the working class as among 'leftist' talkers urging the workers to strike, not in order to defend their interests, but to bring on economic chaos in a country that had only just delivered itself from fascism.

Promoting anti-monopoly unity

Communist parties today see their task in promoting a mass move-

ment of the working class and other working people against monopoly domination, for democracy and socialism. This task also determines the effort of their press.

What are the strategic objectives of the Communist press today? Like the Party as a whole, we do our utmost to contribute to the French people's unity in the struggle for genuine democratic change, said Dr. Durand. In spelling out social and political problems, said Otto Schudel, our press calls for a united front. We try to show our readers the way to unity of action. John Pittman, Mel Doig and Sergio Soglia spoke of the effort of the press to unite the democratic forces.

Daily World. The CPUSA has advanced an action program and is campaigning for a united front to implement it. The *Daily World* is a most valuable assistant of the Party in this matter. It addresses Party members and sympathizers as well as the non-party masses. In line with the Party's policies, the newspaper strives to meet the requirements of its readership.

Canadian Tribune. Because of the size of Canada and some problems of regionalism, there is a crucial need for the unifying force of the Communist press in the struggle going on. The recent CPC convention called for the creation of a powerful and united movement, a coalition of forces embracing the trade union movement, the farm movement, consumer organizations, all democratic organizations. It stressed the organizing role of our press.

Question by Ali Ashur, member, CC CP of Israel, and its representative on the journal: What is the role of Canada's Communist press in the struggle for unity of action regardless of nationality?

M. Doig: The Communist press of Canada upholds the right of both Canadian nations to self-determination, including secession provided either of them adopts such a decision. However, there is one working class and it must, in conjunction with the democratic forces, lead the struggle against the common enemy, monopoly capital. The working class launches organized actions throughout the country. When, say, railwaymen call a strike that brings all transport between the East and West coasts of Canada to a standstill, the strike involves, needless to say, both English and French-speaking workers. Our papers, the *Canadian Tribune* and *Combat,* are in the thick of the strike movement and give expression to the solidarity of all working people.

A word about Canada's indigenous population. For 300 years, wasteful exploitation of the country's natural resources has been coupled with the most brutal oppression of the Indians and Eskimos. It's a disgrace to Canada. Our Party press therefore sees its duty in helping them to win recognition of their rights, specifically, the right to decide on their development as they see fit.

L'Unita. The Communist press of Italy is engaged in an important

and difficult struggle against the enemies of Left unity, first of all unity of the Communists and Socialists. The authorities, which protect the interests of big capital, abet the neo-fascists and other subversive elements. This poses a threat to democratic liberties and the Constitution. However, the progress of the democratic and anti-fascist struggle inspired and led by the ICP thwarts all attempts at a coup. We consider that, irrespective of our Party's special interests, the country's future depends on how the nation's general democratic problems will be solved.

Question by Satyajaya Sudiman, member of leadership, CP of Indonesia, and its representative on the journal: How are relations between Communist journalists and journalists writing for other democratic publications shaping now that a campaign for Left unity is on in Italy? Are there any opportunities for joint action?

S. Soglia: That is an interesting question. We may speak, first of all, of personal contacts between Communist journalists and democratic-minded journalists, even from the bourgeois press. These relations have been given organizational form in an association of journalists. Not all journalists belong to the association but their unity is growing. A new generation of journalists is emerging in Italy and new trends are coming into their own, with journalists fighting for freedom to express their views. We are carrying on this struggle in common with democratic journalists.

The scope of present-day revolutionary battles and the magnitude of the goals set by the Communist and working-class movement, participants in the exchange pointed out, determine the role of the Communist press as a nationwide mobilizing factor.

EDITOR – AUTHOR – READER

The precise organizational principles of the Leninist party of the new type are also reflected in the Party press. The Party press bases its effort on links with the working people, who take a direct part in its publication and circulation.

With the people's help

Constant support by the people both provides the Communist press with means of subsistence and confirms its vital importance to their revolutionary struggle. Lenin considered that where the workers cannot pay for their newspaper a really mass Communist movement has yet to begin (see Vol. 32, p. 511).

Participants noted that lately fund-raising campaigns for the Communist press have been particularly fruitful in most countries.

Numerous volunteer contributors supply the Communist press with ample information on the working people's life. Lenin's recommendation to have a hundred or a thousand non-staff worker correspondents to every staff correspondent is being put into practice. K. Calliauw, A. Dias Lourenco, O. Schudel, H. Numata and G. Polikeit discussed the activity of worker correspondents.

De Rode Vaan. It's very important for us to have many worker correspondents. The newspaper has five people on its staff. Its secretary, who, incidentally, is 21 years old, is also in charge of the section carrying reports from various parts of the country. The others are responsible for items on foreign policy, cultural affairs and trade union activity. The salary is roughly the same as a skilled worker's pay. We assign four out of the paper's 24 pages to worker correspondents' reports on the situation in factories, communes and cities. This section is particularly popular.

Avante! How effective our activity will be depends largely on the number of correspondents. We disagree with those who say a professional author cannot write fruitfully for a paper. We have many professionals among our 5,000 non-staff contributors.

Vorwärts. Our newspaper does much to win more correspondents. We seek the cooperation of both Party members and sympathizers.

Akahata. We get reports from 13,000 non-staff correspondents. We even have correspondents in monopoly headquarters. They play a big role in our Party's fight against monopoly capital and made a special contribution during the uproar over the oil crisis.

Unsere Zeit. To date we have about 600 worker and people's correspondents. Many of them, as well as writing for *Unsere Zeit,* contribute to or put out factory papers. This provides excellent opportunities for factory papers and *Unsere Zeit* to exchange information. Factory papers are sent to us for appraisal and we also get advance copies of their articles. We use this material in our reports on the situation in factories and the workers' condition.

Many participants spoke of classes organized for worker correspondents and of the forms of cooperation between non-staff correspondents and professional journalists.

Question by Rene Urbany: How does *Akahata* organize classes for non-staff correspondents?

H. Numata: Our voluntary contributors follow the advice of prefectural and district Party committees, which are also primarily responsible for organizing classes for them. Once a week the regional Party committee holds a political education seminar for non-staff correspondents. Editors, too, brief correspondents.

Question by Otto Sanchez, alternate member of the CC, Guatemalan Party of Labor, and its representative on the journal: How does

De Rode Vaan train its worker correspondents?

K. Calliauw: Many of our non-staff contributors have no journalistic experience, and get instruction at week-end courses. They learn to compose leaflets and write articles. Our editors try to improve their contributions, but do it very tactfully. It takes time, but we know this time is not wasted.

Dr. Durand, too, spoke of the Party journalists' work with contributions from non-staffers. Our correspondents are loyal and intelligent, he said, but are not journalists. Much of what they send us is rough copy. It has to be processed before printing. The paper needs a large number of volunteer contributors. But they cannot replace trained journalists. The majority of Party cadres should be workers. This principle also applies to the staff of a Communist paper. Yet our press handles very complicated problems these days, and they must be dealt with knowledgeably. So, striking a sensible balance we want *L'Humanité* to have as many trained people as we can get.

Activists not only contribute to papers, but also help their circulation. Comrades Hans Mahle, Sergio Soglia, Hidesato Numata, Mel Doig, Koen Calliauw and Hans Kalt compared notes on this score.

Die Wahrheit. Our street sales were almost nil just five years ago. Now the paper is sold on Saturdays, and also on weekdays, at some 20 different points in West Berlin. At livelier intersections activists put up displays and offer the paper and other Marxist publications. Progressive art groups – street speakers, groups of singers and musical performers – take part in promoting the paper.

L'Unita. On some Sundays our volunteer vendors sell as many as a million copies of *L'Unita*. Our circulation is much higher than that of *Corriere della Sera, La Stampa* and *Il Messaggero*. Their sales have dropped since the recent price increase (from 100 to 150 lire). *L'Unita's* sales, however, were not affected. On the contrary, they have increased. Sociological polls show that *L'Unita* is read by 1,363,000 people daily and 2,194,000 on Sundays.

Akahata. More than 60,000 Party members participate in the paper's distribution every morning. Out of Japan's 123 dailies, *Akahata* ranks ninth for subscribers. Our Sunday issue has three times as many readers as the biggest commercial weeklies.

Question by John Pittman: Who distributes your paper?

H. Numata: Take my wife, a housewife. She is now 70, which does not prevent her from distributing *Akahata*. Twice weekly she delivers 12 early morning copies to neighboring families. I know at least 20 other housewives in our neighborhood who do the same. *Akahata* is not on sale in newsstalls. Our sales are handled by Party branches, which put up poster displays and stacks of *Akahata*.

De Rode Vaan: At Belgium's bigger enterprises, employers have a

private police, which makes it very difficult to distribute our paper there. Furthermore, some employers own the land adjoining their factories, and prohibit trespassing. What we do in such cases? We work through our comrades at the factory, though by soliciting readers for our paper, they naturally run a definite risk.

Volksstimme. We have been distributing our paper through the Party branches for all of 25 years. Three years ago we began using so-called dumb vendors – little stands with copies of our paper and a collection – at Vienna's livelier crossings. Drop a coin and take a paper. On Sundays our 'dumb vendors' sell some 12,000 copies.

Communist press festivals are an important way of popularizing Party policy and promoting the Party press. Almost all central Communist papers in the developed capitalist countries hold annual festivals. Hundreds of thousands of people participate. The festivals have become festivals of progressive culture.

Keeping up with the diversity of interests

The bid of the Communist press for more readers has nothing in common with the circulation drives of bourgeois papers, which pursue mainly commercial aims. Great skill is required for the paper to bring Marxist-Leninist ideas to a variety of readers, satisfy their wishes, and arouse their interest. To be a Party organ and to be a popular newspaper, Numata said, are two different but certainly compatible objectives.

The exchange of opinions showed that most of the Communist newspaper staffs study reader interests. Direct communication with readers, traditional for the Communist press, is basic. We hold readers' conferences at regular intervals, said Calliauw, for it is very important for the reader to feel his involvement in the work of the Communist press. We try to create a climate of trust and sincerity, inviting readers to speak their mind, however critical they may be.

Communist journalists want their publications to satisfy readers' needs. Numata said: Every issue of *Akahata* presents our positions and the Party's policy in clear and comprehensible terms, on the one hand, and strives to provide full enough coverage for our subscribers to get along without other papers. Our motto: '*Akahata* serves you best.' It consists of 16 pages of local and foreign political, economic and other news, a variety of feature stories, TV and radio programs, daily food suggestions for the housewife, reports on food prices, and sports news. In addition, *Akahata* has something no other publication can offer – articles on Party life, questions of theory, the ideological struggle and the mass movements.

Fraternal parties put out papers, features pages, supplements, journals, magazines and books for different reader groups with an eye on

the specific conditions of every country. In the question and answer period, participants compared notes and experiences on this subject.

Question by Milton Paredes, Central Committee member, CP of Honduras, and its representative on the journal: What is the age of *Volksstimme* readers?

H. Kalt: This is causing us some anxiety: most of them are fairly old. True, in recent years we have managed to win some young people. To promote the paper among the rising generation we get more young people on our staff. At present half the editorial staff is under 30. Younger people write in a way and language all their own. They address themselves to younger readers. Our various campaigns, too, are oriented on winning the interest of young workers.

Question by Felipe Malaya, Central Committee member, CP of the Philippines, and its representative on the journal: What is the nature of the Spanish page in the *Daily World?*

J. Pittman: The Spanish page is a regular feature addressed chiefly to New York's Puerto Rican minority. Sometimes it also contains articles for Americans of Mexican origin. Since there are many Spanish-speaking people in the United States, the Party is planning to have 2-4 Spanish pages in the *Daily World,* and subsequently to put out a special Spanish language edition.

Question by V. Venetsanopoulos, Central Committee member, CP of Greece, and its representative on the journal: How does *Unsere Zeit* respond to the interests of immigrant workers?

G. Polikeit: Reports meant for foreign workers appear regularly. Mainly, they are associated with definite events. On May Day, for example, we offer features in the language of all the bigger national groups living in the country. During the divorce referendum in Italy, we had Italian pages in several issues by agreement with the Italian Communist Party. There has also been a series of articles in Greek.

Question by Dr. Pierre Durand: Does *Avante!* have any contacts with Portuguese emigrant centers abroad?

A. Dias Lourenco: We mail *Avante!* to wherever Portuguese emigrant workers concentrate. It may be interesting to note, too, that the paper sent to Portuguese living in Spain, is in great demand among Spanish comrades. The situation in Spain has many points of resemblance with what we had in Portugal. And we think it important that our Communist paper reaches that fascist-dominated land.

Question by A. Haba, alternate member of Central Committee, Iraqi CP, and its representative on the journal: How do the publications of the CP of Spain cover the interests of intellectuals and servicemen?

Mendi: We have a national journal, *Realidad,* for intellectuals, and also newspapers for journalists, doctors, lawyers, architects, etc.

They do not look particularly attractive, because most of them are mimeographed. But they do reach the reader. The Party has long been concerned with the question of special publications for servicemen. We put out bulletins for soldiers and officers.

Question by Tadeusz Wrebiak, member of Central Auditing Commission, Polish United Workers' Party, and its representative on the journal: What is *Rode Vaan*'s attitude toward believers?

K. Calliauw: Relations with believers are important, especially in the case of our paper, which appears in Flanders, where most of the people are of peasant stock and there are many believers. The front of all progressive forces in Flanders would have been impossible without the involvement of Christian working people and the Christian trade unions. The paper works for closer contacts with them, and writes on the subject quite extensively.

Participants stressed that Party publications should be a model of modern journalism in language, presentation and appearance. Yet Calliauw pointed out that the Communist press is often, and rightly, rebuked for lack of imagination, a certain stereotype, its difficult language and excessive use of terms and expressions unknown to most readers. A clearer style helps tighten the contacts with readers.

Referring to the Communist paper's approach to style, Dr. Pierre Durand stressed: Apart from being comprehensible (e.g., we do our utmost to weed out jargon), the language we use must accord with our principles. We banish words associated with racism, colonialism, or obscurantism. The semantic aspect of journalism is of the utmost importance, being the expression of the educational and ideological functions of the Communist press.

Study of the specific features of the present-day Communist press and exchange of experience between publications in different countries, participants said, are highly useful. This first gathering of Communist journalists from capitalist countries organized by *WMR*, said Antonio Dias Lourenco, is doubtlessly very timely. The same was noted by many other participants. 'I have benefited greatly from the many useful and necessary points made at the conference,' said Sergio Soglia. 'I will tell my Party about it, for I think it is valuable for the Communist press of my country,' said John Pittman. 'Journalists of the Canadian Party press welcome this opportunity for comparing notes with comrades representing the Communist press of other developed capitalist countries,' said Mel Doig. Participants suggested closer cooperation between the newspapers of the fraternal parties.

Concluding the discussion, *Tadeusz Wrebiak,* member of the *WMR* Editorial Board and Chairman of its Book Review Commission, thanked the participants.

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