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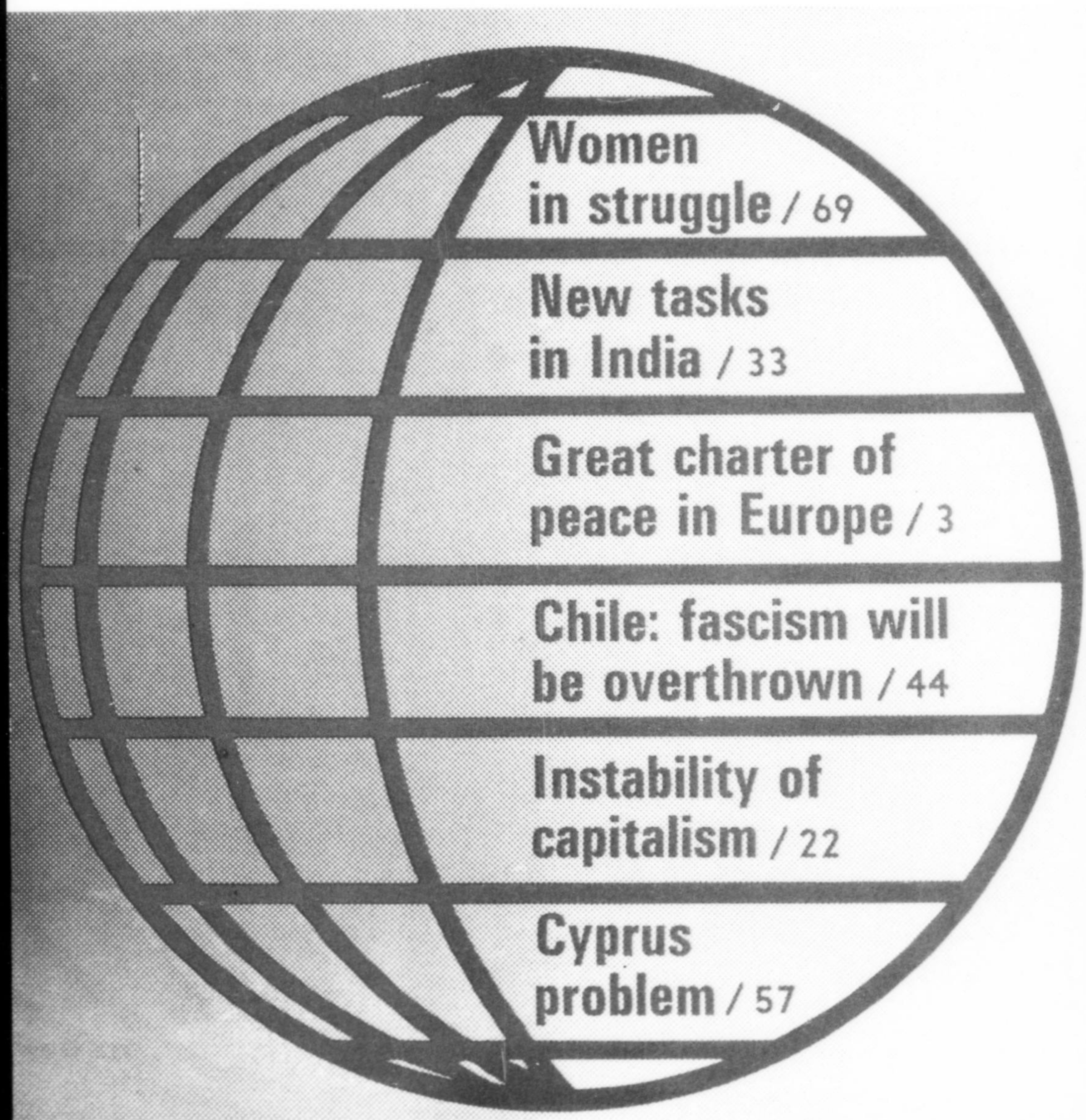

Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Great charter of peace in Europe

Edward Gierek
First Secretary
of Central Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

In my Helsinki speech I said the Polish people regard the decisions arrived at by the Security and Cooperation Conference as Europe's great Peace Charter. That, I think, is how all the peoples of our continent conceive the results of the Conference, and how it will go down in history. The Conference was an undertaking of special importance – an undertaking to consolidate the peace of the past thirty years, to extend it to all of Europe's future, its entire perspective.

The final phase of the Conference and the ceremonial signing of its decisions coincided with the 30th anniversary of the peoples' victory over fascism, the ending of the greatest, bloodiest war in history. That was itself a significant fact. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said in Helsinki, 'people of the generation that lived through the horrors of the Second World War are especially conscious of the historic meaning of this Conference. Its aims are also dear to the minds and hearts of the generation of Europeans who grew up and live in the environment of peace and who rightly believe that this is as it should be.'

The same is doubtlessly felt by all people in Europe, and especially by nations that suffered the most in the Second World War, paying the heaviest price for victory and peace. Among these, alongside the great Soviet people which bore the brunt of the burden in the battle against fascism, is the people of Poland. During the war and the nazi occupation our country lost nearly six million people. More than 40 per cent of our national wealth was destroyed. Poland was in a truly tragic situation at the hour of the long-awaited victory, won by heroic struggle and the maximum possible contribution to the war effort of the great anti-Hitler coalition. This is why the Poles are particularly conscious of the price of freedom and the boons of peace.

In the past 30 years, thanks to opting for socialism, we have made good the war losses and performed a great reconstruction, adding many times over to the country's economic potential, raising the national income eightfold and creating entirely new conditions of life and development. Poland is also in the midst of a demographic revival: today our population exceeds 34 million against the 24 million immediately after the war. The majority of our population is young, born and raised in socialist conditions and in the environment of peace. Thanks to her fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, whose heroic army liberated our land, People's Poland has finally resolved her major national problems: fair and advantageous frontiers, dependable guarantees of independence and security, and creation of conditions for the country's successful growth. We are perfectly justified in saying that we have made the most of the past 30 years.

The older generation has retained the tragic memory of the war. That is part of the nation's collective memory. The younger generation has its roots in peace and wants to live in a peaceful environment. It cannot conceive or accept any other perspective. The other peoples of Europe, I am sure, see and approach this exceedingly important problem from the same angle.

We are aware that the problems of war and peace occupy a special place in the society of today. The rapid development of science and technology in the recent decades and at present has opened up unheard-of opportunities for the growth of civilization, including man's travel in outer space. At the same time, however, the development of new types of powerful arms and weapons of mass destruction presents a terrible danger. Prevention of another world war has therefore become a historical imperative, the most insistent need of our time. Small wonder that this is the chief subject of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, which is important for the entire world, for these two most powerful countries bear a special responsibility for protecting humanity against war. Highly significant for our continent and the rest of the world is the fact that the great task of laying the foundation for enduring peace was undertaken in Europe – where both world wars began, where the biggest stockpiles of mass destruction weapons are accumulated, and where every more or less sizable conflict is fraught with the danger of a new world conflagration.

From all these premises, from the appreciation of the immensity of these problems, came the idea of a European security and cooperation conference. It was advanced many years ago by the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries. It won the active support of Communist and Workers' parties and of all progressive forces. The results set out in the Final Act signed in Helsinki are the outcome of the joint effort, of collective action, by the participating states. But

the initiative indisputably came from the socialist countries, for which assurance of lasting peace is a key ideological and political principle. It is also universally recognized that a particularly prominent and leading role was played by the Soviet Union, and that immense credit for the successful culmination of the Conference belongs personally to Comrade Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU. The Soviet Union, which made the greatest contribution to the defeat of fascism and the restoration of peace and the freedom of the peoples of Europe 30 years ago, has now become the leading force in building lasting peace on our continent and the world. This is strikingly reflected in the Peace Program advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress.

The consolidation of European peace through détente is the principal goal of the socialist community's international policy. This is borne out by all the statements of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee and of the meetings in the Crimea. It is fully corroborated also by the socialist countries' international activity, both as regards bilateral agreements with other states and multilateral negotiations. People's Poland is making an appreciable contribution to the formulation and implementation of this common policy.

The way to the European Security and Cooperation Conference was paved by acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Lenin advanced these principles in the early days of Soviet government, that is, at the inception of a new historical situation when two different and opposite systems – the socialist and capitalist – found themselves side by side. But the road to the recognition of the historical need for their peaceful coexistence was a complicated and long one. An important stage was the great anti-Hitler coalition, which joined the efforts of the Soviet Union with those of the United States, Great Britain, France and other capitalist countries in defense of the freedom of the peoples and of democracy. Deplorably, this could not be emulated for many postwar years due to the cold war started by the reactionary forces. The new relation of forces in Europe and the rest of the world resulting from the emergence of the socialist community and the growth of its power, opened the doors to the recognition and observance of peaceful coexistence. In the present situation this is the sole alternative to the deadly peril of a new world war.

Peaceful coexistence does not remove the antithesis of the two systems. There are and will be fundamental political, economic and social differences. But peaceful coexistence signifies and facilitates the prevention of wars, enables every people to choose its political system in sovereignty and peace, and offers opportunities for peaceful and friendly international cooperation.

The undertaking that culminated in the signing of the Final Act in

Helsinki was accomplished jointly by the socialist and capitalist countries despite the existing differences. It personifies and confirms the unfading significance of the principles of peaceful coexistence. It is important that it was performed in Europe, the cradle of the two opposite systems and the continent where they have existed the longest.

It was noted in many of the Helsinki speeches and the many assessments of the Conference that it concluded the postwar period in Europe and opened a new one. That, I think, is quite true. Hence the high standing of the Conference as a historic event.

For me the ending of the postwar period means universal recognition of the irreversibility of the profound changes in Europe. The main irreversible change is the emergence on our continent of the community of socialist states. The cold war doctrines of 'rolling back communism,' 'liberation,' and the like, did not and could not go into effect. In the present situation, with the present relation of forces, even the bitterest antagonists of socialism are compelled to admit that its positions are invincible.

A new politico-territorial pattern has emerged on the continent in the past 30 years, which is of crucial significance for peace.

Time and again in Europe's history attempts were made to secure lasting peace. But peace did not and could not last, because it was built on the unreliable foundation of a continent divided into spheres of influence, with some countries dominating others. More often than not it was exploded by territorial claims. One cannot compare the present situation in Europe with any preceding period any more than the Helsinki Conference can be compared with any past conference. The Helsinki decisions reflect the new conditions in Europe, representing an entirely new historical category.

For the first time in history, European peace reposes on the universal recognition of the sovereign rights and interests of all the states of our continent and provides each European people with good opportunities for assuring security and development. At the same time, it is in complete accord with the requirements of all-European security, based on the present politico-territorial pattern, the result of victory over fascism and of the postwar development.

By affirming the decisive significance of the inviolability of the frontiers and the territorial integrity of states, the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference proclaimed the present peaceful order in Europe irreversible. This means that all the participating states have solemnly and unambiguously declared that all the territorial problems that may have existed in the past were now resolved for all time. In sum, the Conference confirmed the inviolability of the politico-territorial basis of European peace.

In Helsinki, I said that the present situation in Europe, by creating favorable conditions for the friendly coexistence of all the peoples of our continent, have paved the way for peaceful relations between the two German states and their neighbors and other countries. It is highly significant that the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic have reversed the long and difficult history of relations between our two neighbor peoples. This was accomplished thanks to socialism and is a convincing example of its profound influence not only on the internal affairs of peoples, but also on their international relations. This is also seen from the sum-total of relations between socialist countries, relations of a new type based on Marxist-Leninist principles and proletarian internationalism, providing conditions for all-round cooperation, mutual convergence, ideological solidarity, and international friendship.

The 1970 treaty in which the FRG recognized the Oder-Neisse border as inviolable and final paved the way to normalization of relations, to overcoming legacies of the past and forging peaceful cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Further progress on this plane required resolving problems that affected mutual relations. And it is gratifying to note that precisely in Helsinki, abiding by the spirit of the Conference, we reached an understanding for settling these problems. The signing and implementation of the appropriate acts will open the doors to broader normalization of relations between our countries. The agreement reached by the Polish People's Republic and the FRG is one of the first examples of the effect of the Conference decision on bilateral relations.

The shaping of relations in Central Europe in a new way is of incalculable importance for lasting peace on the entire continent. The treaties concluded in recent years by the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia with the Federal Republic of Germany have improved the climate in Europe, and were immensely significant for the convocation of the Conference.

The European Security and Cooperation Conference, its convocation, progress and decisions, are tied in with international détente.

It is now clear that this important and positive process, launched on the initiative of the socialist countries and firmly supported by the Communist and working-class movement, by all peace-loving forces, has given international relations a new quality.

It makes for the elimination of the cold war and its consequences, relieves tensions, and facilitates the restriction and defusion of dangerous conflicts. At the same time, it has enlivened and enriched bilateral and multilateral cooperation among states, and produced a better climate in Europe and the rest of the world. It facilitates the

shaping of international economic relations in a new way and should give impulse to joint solution of problems stemming from the present-day world developments.

Every country, regardless of size and potential, can contribute to the further relaxation of tension. The highly constructive and exceedingly important interaction of the Soviet Union and the United States is also facilitating this process in the relations of all countries, especially those of Europe.

The success of the European Security and Cooperation Conference has improved the chances of making the détente process irreversible. It has created conditions that give this process an ever richer new content expressed in friendly, mutually advantageous relations between states and peoples. But further and considerable effort is clearly required.

It is particularly important to complement the political détente with military détente, to restrict and reduce the stockpiles of arms. The progress already made is insufficient. The arms race had not ended despite the improvement of the international atmosphere, and there is even the danger that it will build up to an ever higher and disastrous level. To stop the arms race, to reduce armed forces and armaments without prejudice to the security of either side, is a necessary precondition of lasting peace. This is why we attach such great importance to the negotiations in Vienna. We must take a long-range view. The countries of the socialist community have long since declared that it is advisable to gradually overcome the division of the continent and the world into politico-military groupings and to work for an all-European system of collective security. This remains a great aim.

Shaping the form and principles of peaceful political relations in Europe, the Helsinki decisions will extend the material basis of peace – the free development of trade, and cooperation in industry, science and technology. This is beneficial for both East and West, and necessary for the further successful development of every country and for resolving common problems. Particularly, this applies to problems connected with the rational use of the riches of land and sea, with environmental protection, and the development of communications.

Speaking in Helsinki, I drew attention to the fact that the Conference decisions concerning cultural exchanges and other contacts should be used first of all to extend mutual confidence among peoples and to implant the psychology of peace. This is exceedingly important. The distant and not so distant past has burdened the peoples with the memory of great tragedies and painful injuries, mistrust and prejudice. But history has also left us good traditions. In bringing up the future generations, we should follow these good traditions and teach the youth to respect the achievements and values contributed to

the common assets of humankind by each people. We must cultivate mutually friendly feelings. A big part here could be played by the educational system, the art and literature of each country, and also (which is especially important) the mass information media.

Guided by our deeply humanist ideology, we Communists hold that cultural exchanges and other contacts – and we stand for their continuous expansion – should serve the mutual and all-round enrichment of the peoples, helping them to a meaningful and prosperous life in security.

We are aware that the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems does not eliminate the ideological struggle. The clash of ideas, views and standpoints will continue. But this does not signify approval of 'psychological warfare,' which is a leftover from the period of great international tensions. The ideological and political subversion of those times, conducted by extreme anti-communist centers, is incompatible with the principles of peaceful coexistence. Neither are all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other countries, all forms of outside pressure.

We are also aware that the further progress of détente entails persevering political struggle and continuous counteraction against the attacks of the cold-warriors, the antagonists of improved international relations. But we trust that on the basis of the existing preconditions, given the active cooperation of all peace-loving forces, we shall succeed in making détente irreversible.

It is with this thought, with the thought of creating confidence and friendship among the peoples, that we shall observe the decisions of the Conference and participate in building enduring peace in Europe – a task imposed by history on modern times and for which realistic opportunities are now at hand.

The success of the European Security and Cooperation Conference is a great achievement of all the countries that took part, and also of the public forces that participated in the fight for the holding of the Conference and for its success.

Much credit is due to the European communist and working class movement. The demand to convene a meeting of all the countries of the continent figured at all the conferences and meetings of Communist and Workers' parties. And this played an important role in mobilizing the masses for the fight to consolidate security on our continent.

The support of other peace-loving forces, too, was extremely valuable. The two Brussels assemblies of public forces for European security and cooperation in 1972 and 1975 were particularly significant; so was the World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow in October 1973.

The preparations for the conference of the Communist and Workers' parties of Europe are making good headway. Its agenda has been drawn up: struggle for peace, security, cooperation and social progress. By concentrating the common effort on these problems, the Communist movement is reaffirming its vanguard role in the struggle for their successful solution in the interests of all and each of the peoples of our continent, in the interests of the working people of the entire world.

International policy and national struggle of the Communists

Khaled Bagdash
General Secretary, CC,
Syrian Communist Party

Ever since the international working-class movement emerged as the world's greatest social force, progressive mankind has associated it with epoch-making revolutionary gains of the peoples. Communists are in the vanguard of the struggle for the transformation of society along new, progressive lines. On all continents Communist parties are steadfastly pursuing their great international mission of bringing closer the era of social emancipation and the victory of socialism and communism on a global scale.

Internationalist by their very nature, Communist parties are guided, first and foremost, by the general laws of development of society and revolution in each country and the world as a whole. At the same time, Communist strategy and tactics take account of the diversity of conditions in different countries, of the peculiar and national-specific that must be borne in mind in upholding the interests of the working class, all working people, the masses at large. A number of pertinent theoretical and practical questions arise in this connection. Can successes of a given party be seen solely as a result of its own efforts? What is the correlation of the national and international in each specific victory of the progressive forces? How do the national and international interact? Finally, how does a national working class and its vanguard influence international politics? Answers to these questions are especially important now, when the detachments of the world revolutionary struggle are stronger than ever, both nationally

and regionally, and the internationalization of life has sharply enhanced the importance of coordination between them.

'In place of all forms of nationalism,' Lenin says, 'Marxism advances internationalism . . .' (*Coll. Works.*, Vol. 20, p. 34). The profound dialectical meaning of that key tenet is obvious to every Marxist: there is no contradiction between the basic interests of any people, any progressive movement, and the objectives of the world revolutionary process. The experience of the last few decades reaffirms that truth and refutes the concoctions of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologues, who distort these Marxist views by interpreting them as a total negation of the national factor in Communist activity. Communist parties are accused of renouncing national allegiance, of sacrificing national interests in the name of 'international communism,' etc.

The changes in the world since the October Revolution and, especially, as a consequence of the defeat of nazi Germany, have revealed more clearly the reciprocal interpenetration of the national and the international in the struggle for the national liberation and social emancipation of every people.

The heroism with which the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, defended their country was a display of patriotism unparalleled in the history of mankind. The liberation struggles waged by the peoples of the world under Communist leadership (the full liberation of Vietnam is the latest example) are irrefutable proof that there is no contradiction between genuine patriotism and genuine internationalism, both essential Communist traits.

In such an important field as socio-economic development, the socialist countries, taking into account both the international laws of building socialism and the specific, national aspects of each country, have made remarkable progress in every area. Living standards are steadily rising. What better proof that Communists are totally devoted to their country, their people, that they harmoniously blend the national and the international and that there is no conflict between the two.

These examples, like many others, refute the narrow nationalist views and concoctions of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologues concerning the role and place of the national and international in Communist activities, forcing them into retreat and isolation.

Leaving aside the fabrications of our outspoken foes and addressing ourselves to those who may simply find it difficult to bridge what they see as a 'gap' between the national and the international (and these include many sincere, patriotically minded people), we find that their main fault is the absence of a dialectical approach.

'It is altogether self-evident,' Karl Marx wrote, 'that, to be able to

fight at all, the working class must organize itself at home *as a class* and that its own country is the immediate arena of its struggle.'* But Marx does not stop there and raises the question of the *content* of the struggle, stressing that it relates to the national working-class movement as the general relates to the specific, as the whole to the part. For in its efforts to overthrow capitalist power and emancipate labor, the working class of each country performs a global task and promotes a common international interest.

This does not mean, of course, that every working-class action is necessarily internationalist in character; thus, the actions of workers swayed by ultra-leftists or right opportunists can objectively harm the revolutionary cause. The working class is internationalist by its very nature. There is no question of it. But for various reasons, at different stages, that internationalism may remain latent. Thus, internationalism is not an immanent quality of the working-class struggle: it will be internationalist if the working class and its Communist vanguard, on the one hand, properly blend the national and the international and, on the other, view their national problems through the prism of the interests, goals and tasks of the movement as a whole.

It is certainly not easy to blend the national and the international in practice. But Communists, all genuine revolutionaries, always have this in mind; they see how the international working class as a whole contributes to their own achievements; it is this that sets them apart from the revolutionary phrasemongers and other opportunists.

An example of a genuinely dialectical approach to the problem of the international and the national was given by Lenin. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union founded by him is a model for all Communists of how to combine, in theory and in practice, general international interests with the interests of one's own people. The whole policy of the CPSU, both internal and international, is imbued with the greatest concern for the destinies of the world revolutionary movement.

The experience of our Party and other fraternal parties fully confirms the irrefutable fact that unity of the national and international is a prime requisite of success in revolutionary battles. That unity can be truly organic only when the international is closely intertwined with the genuine national interests of each people and nation and at the same time represents the fullest manifestation of the progressive essence of those interests. Proletarian revolutionaries are guided by the Leninist thesis: 'The fatherland, i.e., the given political, cultural and social environment, is a most powerful factor in the class struggle

*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *Selected Works*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970. Vol. 3, p. 21.

of the proletariat . . .' (Vol. 15, p. 194). That is why, while regarding proletarian internationalism as the best possible expression of the interests and requirements of the world revolutionary movement, Communists – and this must be emphasized – oppose national nihilism, the suppression of national feelings, and hold national identity in high regard.

In upholding just national causes, proletarian revolutionaries act as consistent patriots. One who does not love one's country, one's people, cannot be a Communist. Communists flatly reject imperialist insinuations about Communist parties being 'alien elements,' labelling them 'agents of Moscow and international communism.'

What motivated the Communists who fought against fascism and Japanese militarism, against the colonialists in Vietnam, Algeria and other countries, what motivates them today in Chile, Brazil and Uruguay? A high sense of duty to the country, feeling for its sufferings, belief in its bright future. The struggle of proletarian revolutionaries in all continents is imbued with a sense of profound patriotism. Patriotism is the basis for the convergence and cooperation between Communists and other left forces, between all democrats. In the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale tens of millions of people in the non-socialist world see social emancipation and the struggle for socialism as a supreme manifestation of patriotism.

Exposing the demagogy of the bourgeoisie and opportunists – patriots in words but national-chauvinists in deeds – Lenin stressed that the working class and its party are the bearers of true patriotism. One is moved, in this connection, to recall the great leader's words: 'Is a sense of national pride alien to us, Great-Russian class-conscious proletarians? Certainly not! We love our language and our country, and we are doing our very utmost to raise *her* toiling masses (i.e., nine-tenths of *her* population) to the level of a democratic and socialist consciousness' (Vol. 21, p. 103). These are the principles that guide every Communist internationalist.

By promoting the just battle against the Israeli aggression, for the liberation of all Arab territories occupied by the aggressor, for the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, by struggling for the deepening of the revolutionary process in Syria, against the attempts of imperialists and reactionary right-wing circles to sidetrack the country from the road of social progress, our Party is performing its supreme patriotic duty. We are all moved by love for our people and our country, by pride in its revolutionary achievements.

Ideological conviction coupled with patriotism enables us to see the organic connection between the national and the international. More and more Arab national revolutionaries, belonging to different trends,

moved by patriotism and love of country, realize the connection between the national and the international and come to understand that the cause of the nation is closely linked with the world revolutionary movement, in which the decisive force is the socialist world and its vanguard, the Soviet Union.

But genuine patriotism has nothing in common with emphasis on national 'exclusiveness,' the 'uniqueness' of national conditions, etc. The great harm of nationalistic positions in the revolutionary movement has been amply demonstrated. Communists know only too well the grave consequences of attempts at sinicization of the internationalist doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin and his great forerunners Marx and Engels approached the specifics of local conditions and peculiarities of a concrete situation in the light of the main consideration: how they interact with deeper and more general factors affecting the revolutionary process. They were concerned primarily with the dialectics of development of the national-specific, which presumes expansion of the international content within the national and ultimately their merger in a single international interest.

The blending and mutual interpenetration of the national and international takes place in different ways in different historical epochs, their dialecticcal interaction is influenced by the world situation, the whole complex of societal conditions in the specific countries and continents, and also by subjective factors.

Today the international increasingly influences the peoples' struggles for national and social emancipation, peace and progress. The international situation has changed radically in the last few decades. Socialism is playing an ever greater, decisive role in its evolution and the development of all mankind; the positions of imperialism are growing steadily weaker; the working-class movement in the citadels of capitalism has reached unprecedented scope; the forces of national liberation have won major victories. This new international climate has a tremendous impact on events in all countries, it is felt on virtually all Communist national battlefields. With the vastly expanded might of all three currents of the world revolutionary process, a victory by one of them inevitably carries the potential of success and victory for the others.

The process of revolutionary change can expand in breadth and depth only through the interaction of various anti-imperialist detachments on the national, regional and global scale. Reliance solely on 'one's own forces,' underestimation of the forces of progress and socialism and the need for coordination with them, in effect means self-isolation from the other revotionary currents. It has been amply demonstrated that, given the new world alignment of forces, the

revolutionary movement wins its greatest successes, both nationally and internationally, through united action, thanks to international revolutionary solidarity. Here are some striking examples.

The great achievements of the working-class and democratic movements in capitalist countries since the war are rooted in the new world situation that emerged after the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. The Soviet people contributed decisively to that victory, and the example of existing socialism has had a tremendous impact on the class struggles in the capitalist world. Today, by championing peace and security in Europe and the world, the socialist community helps isolate the most reactionary imperialist circles. All this objectively helps the Communists of capitalist countries to bring the masses of the working class and middle strata to a realization of the significance of socialism as a shining ideal, defend the rights of the working people, and defeat reactionaries and fascists.

Conversely, their struggles for peace, democracy and social progress make it possible for world socialism to move successfully against imperialist positions and launch important peace initiatives. The international cause of the peoples gains from such interaction.

Another example is the struggle of heroic Vietnam. Its main hero is the Vietnamese people, yet no one can deny the significance of the contributions to it of the countries of the socialist community, the Soviet Union in the first place, of the Vietnam solidarity movement in capitalist countries and in the newly independent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is equally obvious that, as that movement gathered momentum, the positions of Communists and other democratic forces in Western Europe grew stronger, for by exposing imperialism they won millions of new followers. In the United States, the Vietnamese cause became the banner of anti-war actions, in the van of which were Communists. The changes in U.S. public opinion were a factor that finally forced imperialism to give up direct military intervention in Indochina. And that in turn brought closer the victorious outcome of the Vietnamese people's long, arduous struggle. Here, too, we have an example of the deep interconnection between the national and the international.

Finally, an example from the Arab national-liberation movement. Its successes derive directly from the changing world situation in favor of the forces of socialism and peace. It is difficult even to imagine how the intensive process of social change in the Arab world would have developed if the progressive regimes of our region and our peoples had not relied in their just struggle against Zionist aggression, and in carrying out progressive reforms at home, on the extensive economic and military help and support of the countries of the socialist community. They were also greatly encouraged by substan-

tial shifts in public opinion in a number of West European countries made possible because of the activities of Communists and all democrats, who spearheaded the movement of solidarity with the Arab peoples. The narrow nationalistic view of the Arab armies' victories in the October 1973 war against the imperialist-supported Israeli aggressor, discounts the international factors mentioned before, and is erroneous and even harmful for the future of our liberation struggle. Such a narrow nationalistic approach is profoundly alien to Arab Communists and other politically conscious progressive forces in the Arab world.

Arab Communists also reject the view of Maoists, who seek to counterpose the national-liberation movement, the Arab included, to the main force of world revolution – the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union – and to the working-class movement in capitalist countries. That stand, permeated through and through with hegemonism and chauvinism, is a crime against the cause of proletarian internationalism.

What do these examples show? First, the much greater role in present conditions of the international interaction of the three main currents of the revolutionary process, the importance of raising the level of such interaction, and the greater prominence of the international element in progressive national struggles. This is also seen within the framework of each of the currents.

The socialist community has entered a stage when the further deepening of all-round cooperation of its members acquires special importance. The objective laws governing the emergence of socialism as a world system, the interests of the socialist states, have placed the issue of closer socialist economic integration on the order of the day.

In the capitalist world, there is a growing need for collective efforts by various national detachments of the working class in the struggle against state-monopoly capitalism and multinational monopolies.

In the colonial period the international aspect of the liberation struggle could not come into full play because of the absence of national independence, which, as Engels wrote in a letter to Karl Kautsky (Feb. 7, 1882) is 'the basis for any kind of international cooperation.' Today, with sovereignty won by Afro-Asian countries, and especially, as Lenin predicted, with the development of the national-libreation revolution into struggle against capitalism and for social progress, the ideas of proletarian internationalism are capturing the minds of millions in what were once the colonial hinterlands. Moreover, many non-proletarian revolutionaries have, in varying degrees and by different ways, come to accept the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

The experience of the world revolutionary movement further

shows that, no matter how important and responsible is the mission of Communists and other revolutionaries on their national battlefields, it cannot be carried out successfully unless proper consideration is given to world conditions and the new correlation of forces. If these are ignored, there inevitably follows deliberate or unintentional detraction from the role of the international, and oblivion of the contributions of other detachments of the international working class to the common cause. Yet the changes brought about by their revolutionary activity, both on the world and the national scale, may prove decisive for Communist victory or success in a given country. This is vividly illustrated by the impact of the socialist countries on world events.

The forms of advance to socialism, to the ideals of social progress embodying the dialectical unity of national and international interests, can be worked out only if due consideration is given to the interests of the Communist and working-class movement as a whole and to the laws of international development. Syrian Communists hold that if the tactics and strategy of any Party underestimate the laws governing the establishment of the new communist formation on a worldwide scale, if local conditions are over-emphasized, if insistence on independence merely conceals disregard of the interests of the whole movement, the international cause is bound to suffer, and so also the cause of social liberation in the country concerned. Damage is thus done not only to the struggle against imperialism and for the world victory of socialism, but also to the interests of the proletariat in that country.

Lenin gave us an example of dialectically welding the national and international in such an extremely complicated matter as the national question. The lessons of that dialectic were especially significant for Communists in the colonial countries of the East. As Lenin pointed out, they had to take into account the existence of foreign oppression and the consequent inevitable awakening of bourgeois nationalism, the peculiarity of socio-economic conditions 'in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism' (Vol. 30, p. 161). Thus, at issue were the specifics which, in Lenin's view, could not but influence revolutionary processes in the colonial periphery, and which Communists had to reckon with in elaborating their strategy and tactics.

But the main thing in the Leninist approach to the national and national-colonial question is the accent he laid on all that fitted the issue into the framework of a world revolutionary strategy, with national liberation as part of the broader task of social liberation of all mankind.

The dialectics of the interaction of the national and the international in the liberation movement, which has brought together diverse social elements, is most vividly traced in the movement's own evolution. The interests of various classes in the anti-imperialist struggle, the ideological positions of the political parties speaking for them, and lastly, the balance between bourgeois-reformist, revolutionary-democratic and proletarian elements in the leadership of national revolutions: these factors had a tremendous impact on the liberation movement and the degree of its contacts and solidarity with other international revolutionary forces.

In many dependent countries the leadership of the anti-colonial struggle was assumed by the national bourgeoisie, though the congenital disease of every bourgeoisie, namely, fear of the people, was already apparent. Today, too, the behavior of the bourgeoisie shows that its ideals of freedom are limited. However much the bourgeoisie may claim to be an independent force both at home and on the international scene, as soon as there are signs that its selfish class interests are in jeopardy and the exploiter system is threatened, it is fully prepared to forgo national pride and compromise with imperialism.

One of the justifications that is sometimes invoked is the need for striking a 'balance' between socialist and capitalist states. More, some Egyptian press organs see opposition to 'American and Soviet influence' as a condition for preserving their country's 'freedom of action.' In practice such a policy weakens the country in the face of its sworn enemies, imperialism and Zionism, and harms Soviet-Arab friendship, which has been and remains the most reliable guarantee of victory for the just cause of Arab liberation. It is important to state this, because imperialists, reactionaries and right-wing elements are persistent in their efforts to spread ideas voiced by Egyptian journalists in other progressive Arab countries.

We know from experience that sections of the national bourgeoisie may hoist the national banner, reject neo-colonialist *diktat* and rebuff domestic reaction, but they never rise to the internationalism of the genuine revolutionaries. The trend toward convergence with proletarian internationalism is implicit in the general-democratic origins of the liberation movement. For, first, it is a popular movement, made up largely of the exploited masses, who have the same class aspirations and ideals as the working people everywhere. Second, national interests as represented by the working people are incomparably broader than the national interests of the bourgeoisie, for they are the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation, which, in the final analysis, determines the destiny of the country. In our time these interests can be realized only in the struggle for both

national and social emancipation. It is only natural that the general-democratic trend has made the greatest headway in countries that have embarked on radical social change, opted for social progress and are working to provide the economic, social and political prerequisites for building a socialist society.

The international policy of the socialist community headed by the USSR plays a tremendous part in the dissemination and assertion of internationalist principles in the national-liberation zone. It helps the broad masses of the people, all sincere patriots and progressives to gain a deeper understanding and acceptance of the ideas and very essence of internationalism. The socialist states, the decisive force in the world revolutionary movement, strive for the evolution of an international situation which would be most beneficial to the peoples' liberation struggle. This is promoted by the anti-imperialist policy of world socialism, its peace initiatives, its persistent struggle for détente which, in particular, resulted in the European Security and Co-operation Conference.

For many years the socialist community has been giving selfless assistance to the national-liberation movement, thus helping it to survive and establish itself as one of the leading revolutionary forces of our time. This is a vivid example of consistent anti-imperialist solidarity. As a consequence, the national awareness of many revolutionary detachments of the liberation movement has been enriched with a clearer understanding of the international factor in the liberation struggle.

The working class and its party are the most consistent fighters for national and social emancipation. Equipped with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, they are aware of the general laws of world development in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. When correctly applied to concrete national realities, these laws indicate to every people the road to the great ideal of social emancipation.

The experience of the first Communist-led revolutions of liberation in Asia has vividly shown that the working class, relying on alliance with the working peasantry, assures the most radical solution of anti-imperialist tasks. It creates genuine guarantees precluding the restoration of imperialist influence or the power of local exploiters, shapes the prerequisites for the transition to socialism, and places its people on a footing of genuine equality with other sovereign nations and peoples.

In Asian and African countries where Communist parties are not in power, Communists pursue their activities in two main directions. First, consolidation of national sovereignty and achievement of the economic independence associated with it, which inevitably requires

a deepening of the liberation revolution. The second direction is directly linked with the realization of the national-democratic revolution's foreign policy program proposed by the Communists. The main demands of that program are: consistent struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for peace, disarmament, the banning of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and bases and closer ties with the countries of the socialist community. Both these directions of Communist activity are closely interrelated. The internal and external tasks of the national-democratic revolution can be realized only simultaneously. They are inseparable and dialectically interact. Syria is a graphic example.

The fundamentals of the policy of the Syrian Communist Party are clear:

– consolidation of the progressive national regime, promotion of its policy of liberation and progress, strengthening of the Progressive National Front and its role in national life;

– cementing of anti-imperialist contingents, above all the Communist Party, the Baath Party and other progressive forces, for the liberation of the occupied territories and for ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people;

– strengthening and expansion of unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in all spheres: military, political and economic;

– strengthening of fraternal bonds and cooperation with progressive Arab countries, settlement of possible differences and controversial issues on the basis of the principles of Arab brotherhood and the supreme national interests of our Arab people in the struggle against imperialism and aggression, the utilization of all Arab potentialities irrespective of the type of regime, opposition to attempts by reactionaries and imperialists to force our country, Syria, to retreat from its policy of national liberation;

– continued improvement of living standards, measures against profiteers and speculators and rising prices, solution of the housing and transport crises, etc.

Implementation of the progressive national tasks requires maximum effort by Communists and all revolutionaries. The Asian and African countries that have launched out on far-reaching social change play a bigger part on the international scene, operate from anti-imperialist positions, take radical action in defense of economic sovereignty, uphold peace and security, and support détente, now a global process. In the Arab world that is the case of Syria, Iraq, Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

It is significant that the basic guidelines of the progressive foreign policies of a number of countries headed by revolutionary-democratic

parties are framed in collaboration with all revolutionary forces, including Communists. Of interest in this connection are certain provisions of the Charter of the Progressive National Front of the Syrian Arab Republic. Among the common Arab tasks it proclaims unity of progressive Arab regimes, wide use of the oil weapon in the anti-imperialist struggle, support of the just cause of the Palestinian Resistance. Internationally, what is especially important, the Charter stresses the role of the socialist states, the Soviet Union in the first place, as the main international force on the side of the Arab liberation struggle, the importance of close contacts with all progressive and national-liberation movements, the need to fight Zionism and world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. The Charter proclaims the building of socialism on a scientific basis as its ultimate and supreme goal.

In short, the Front's program includes provisions shared by all genuine revolutionaries. It is important to remember that they came together on the basis of the patriotic program embodied in the Charter, in a country that has chosen the road of social progress, where the big financial and industrial bourgeoisie has been removed from power, where far-reaching progressive social and economic changes are under way. Hence, in the final analysis, the identity of views of Syrian Communists and Baathists on a number of basic domestic and international issues. Of course, that is not the case in all other countries.

In those countries where reactionary forces oriented on cooperation with imperialism are in power the Communist parties come out against the domination of foreign monopoly and local big capital, for an active and independent international policy. In practice that means fighting against the reactionary setup at home, against the anti-popular policies, for replacing the anti-national regime by a progressive national government.

In conditions of national-bourgeois regimes the activities of the Communist vanguard have specific features. If the foreign policy is based on general democratic principles, the left calls on the bourgeoisie to abide firmly by these principles, exposes its inconsistency and, especially, its attempts to deal with imperialism behind the back of the people. The stronger the positions of Communists, left and democratic circles the more successfully can they influence the government and its foreign policy. The history of independent India is very instructive in that respect.

It has been amply demonstrated by experience that the national tasks of each people, whether they be successful socialist construction or struggle for national and social liberation, are usually, in the broader sense, *approximations* of the international ideal of the work-

ing people of all countries: total elimination of imperialist rule, the exploiter system, and the achievement of fraternity of all the people of labor. If the national tasks have a profound democratic content and are not restricted to the narrow class interests of privileged strata they represent an organic part of the international whole and in the final analysis identify with it. In that case the just cause of national and social liberation – and that is confirmed by the whole history of the class struggle – is directly identified with the cause of democracy, with the progressive development of society, with the road to socialism.

The political instability of capitalism

Willi Gerns
Member of the Presidium
and Secretariat of the
German Communist Party

The present crisis of capitalism is truly unique. Indeed, it is a set of simultaneous crises – economic, monetary, energy and ecological – and also pervades bourgeois ideology and culture plus relations both between imperialist powers and with developing countries.

Focus of all contradictions

All the manifold difficulties confronting capitalism at this stage of its general crisis find concentrated expression in growing political instability. Economic troubles and social conflicts are nothing new, of course. But this time it is the whole area of developed capitalism that is affected and not merely individual countries. Moreover, the degree of instability may well be considered unprecedented since the war. Until recently the political system of capitalism seemed capable of bearing up under a considerable burden of class antagonisms, but now even apologists are not so sure of it. The question uppermost in the capitalists' minds is whether they can go on ruling society by the old methods.

Let us look at Western Europe. Reactionary, frankly terroristic regimes have fallen in Portugal and Greece. There is only one country still ruled by a fascist dictatorship – Spain. But its regime, too, is up

against growing popular resistance and no one would venture to forecast a long life for it.

It may be argued that these are peripheral developments and that the crisis of totalitarian forms of rule has nothing to do with trends in bourgeois parliamentary states. Yet events in Portugal and Greece are clearly due to overall changes in the West European political situation. After all, the anti-popular regimes in both countries were backed (as they are still backed in the case of Franco Spain) by the imperialists of 'democratic' bourgeois countries, and this means that their fall is an indirect blow to imperialism. The changes in Portugal and Greece are also deplored by NATO, which the imperialists have always used as both an aggressive alignment against socialist countries and an instrument of unifying the 'free world,' that is, of stabilizing the capitalist system.

We are thus witnessing a crisis extending beyond the fascist form of bourgeois political rule, for political instability is mounting in most West European countries.

Under a 'normal' parliamentary regime, the monopoly bourgeoisie wields its power through an intricate political machinery. The state, to which state-monopoly capitalism assigns extensive functions, is the main component of this machinery. It has long been something more than a 'watchdog' of the capitalist system and has actively influenced economic development and social relations in the interests of big capital. However, its principal function is, now as in the past, to prevent and suppress popular resistance.

The prestige of government bodies is maintained through the myth of their 'supra-class' character and by alleging that they serve 'society as a whole.' The political setup of capitalism comprises along with direct representatives of the monopolies, such as West Germany's associations of manufacturers or financial magnates of other countries, also bourgeois and reformist political parties. By manipulating public opinion in a variety of ways, including blackmail and bribery, the bourgeoisie of most capitalist countries managed for a long time to achieve electoral victories for frankly capitalist parties, whether 'conservative,' 'liberal,' 'Christian' or 'popular,' while the 'other side' – reformist parties – were assigned the role of an 'opposition.'

For years this political machinery, described in very rough outline here, functioned dependably enough. Not so now.

A roughly equal distribution of votes between government and opposition candidates has lately become frequent in many West European countries. More and more often, the government party or parties have a parliamentary majority of only one or two votes.

This precarious 'balance of forces' leads to frequent government

crises and the formation of coalition or minority governments. Mid-term elections tend to become typical of bourgeois politics.

The distinction between West European countries and, say, the United States is that in most of these countries a two- or multi-party system includes a strong reformist party. The big bourgeoisie has all confidence in right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, but prefers, if possible, to keep them on the sidelines – the opposition benches. The point is that on coming to power the Social Democrats are compelled to yield in some measure to the pressure of their rank and file and the influence of their left wing, as well as that of the trade unions, and to make concessions to the working people. This explains why the big bourgeoisie generally prefers to have members of 'its own' party at the helm of state. However, parties directly representing monopoly capital have in recent years been forced out of some West European governments. Of course, the foundations of capitalism are by no means called into question in Federal Germany, Britain, Sweden, Austria or any other country ruled by a reformist party. Nevertheless, the fact that, say, the West German CDU/CSU or the British Tories have retreated to the opposition is a sign of their loss of prestige, of the failure of their policies.

Major right-wing bourgeois parties, which side invariably with the monopolies, are wrestling with serious difficulties. The British Tories are a case in point. They have no reasonably clear action program. Individual politicians and various groups propose the most diverse remedies for social ills, and bickering inside the party is on the rise. The Tories' prestige is lower than ever and they pin their main hopes for the future on the electorate's growing disillusionment with Labour policies. In the FRG there is growing friction between the two right-wing bloc parties, the CDU and CSU. A new telling loss of votes in local elections caused a crisis in the Italian Christian Democratic Party and forced its leader, Amintore Fanfari, to resign.

Another sign of the malfunctioning of monopoly capitalism's political machinery is the growing influence of 'third' parties, such as the Free Democrats in Federal Germany or the Liberals and Nationalists in Britain. This comes as a surprise, for these parties were expected to die a natural death. In some countries, elections show a trend toward a scattering of the vote among many small and large parties.

Many voters, having lost faith in the traditional bourgeois and reformist parties and in bourgeois parliament, stay away from the polls. In postwar France absenteeism in elections for the Presidency and the National Assembly has ranged between 15 and 31.2 per cent. In the FRG, absenteeism in elections for provincial parliaments has lately been increasing primarily in the working-class areas of indust-

rial cities – an indication of labor's disillusionment with the economic policy of the government led by Social Democrats.

In capitalist Europe parties entrusted with forming a government often lack an electoral majority. Some national referendums, too, fail to produce a majority vote. To cite a fresh example, only 17 million out of the 40 million registered voters cast their votes for continued British membership in the Common Market. And yet this was enough.

There is a visible decline in the public prestige of executive agencies of the bourgeois state, the judiciary and police. The working people learn by experience that these allegedly 'supra-class' institutions defend the ruling class. People in Western Europe complain of a loosening of 'law and order.' Meanwhile the bureaucratic machinery of the monopoly state is being inflated to monstrous dimensions. In the late 60s Federal Germany's central administrative apparatus alone had 280,000 employees. And it is well known that the bureaucracy here is closely linked with the monopolies and has been trained by them, for 40 per cent of those engaged in economic management were transferred to the administrative branch directly from the concerns.

Scandals over corruption in government agencies have become common, nor are all cases revealed to the public. The arbitrary practices of the police are resented more and more. Sir Robert Mark, Commissioner of the London Police, defended himself in his own way against criticism of the brutality and venality of the police. 'The police force,' he said, 'is the best reflection of a society. If society is violent, so are the police; if society is corrupt, so are the police.'

Bourgeois government bodies whose duty is to maintain law and order often become a source of lawlessness. West Germany's Federal constitutional court is notorious in this respect. It adopted the absolutely unconstitutional decision to outlaw the Communist Party of Germany and later approved, also in defiance of the Constitution, the practice of barring members of the GCP and other progressive organizations from certain professions. It offered a biased interpretation of the Treaty on the Principles of Relations Between the FRG and the GDR to please the revanchists and overruled a decision legalizing abortions, although it had the approval of the Bundestag and was supported by a large body of public opinion. This court is so conservative and reactionary that, to quote Professor Woflgang Abendroth of Marburg University, 'the time has come to protect the Constitution against the constitutional court.'

Failure of the 'strategy of adaptation'?

The picture of the growing political instability of capitalist Europe would be incomplete unless we added such facts as the aggravation of

the national question in Belgium, Spain, Britain and some other countries, and intensified action by various population groups, which consciously or unconsciously protest against oppression on the part of the monopolies and their state. This social ferment takes the form of working-class struggles as well as mass actions by peasants, young people and women, and keeping it within the narrow bounds of the constitution is a problem which the bourgeois state finds it harder and harder to cope with.

Bourgeois politicians and journalists are alarmed. There is more and more talk in Western Europe about the crisis of management, political institutions and the capitalist state as a whole. Yet until recently the bourgeois and reformist press was full of cheerful declarations about prospering 'Western democracy,' the 'dynamism' of the parliamentary system and the viability of the 'legal' state. The tenor of comments is different now. *Die Welt* summed up the situation in NATO countries as follows: 'The symptoms of the disease have been detectable everywhere for many years, nor is it merely a matter of not having parliamentary majorities. Worse, even where majorities exist . . . they are maneuvered rather than won and cannot therefore accomplish much. . . . The question arises: *Is the Western world governable today?* If governability means that the leadership can pursue an orderly financial policy, a home policy holding the promise of both reasonable reforms and stability, a meaningful economic and foreign policy, and an adequate defense policy, then the answer is probably no.'

Time magazine wrote that the main reason for Western Europe's troubles is the people's massive disappointment with helpless governments of both the Right and the 'Left.' Its correspondent, William Rademaekers, commented that these governments, far from being able to deal with the crisis, cannot even explain its origin.

'Europeans,' Rademaekers wrote, 'were told that there was an oil shortage but then reassured that it wasn't one. They have been told that wage increases cannot be made because they would be inflationary and then told that they are facing 10-15 per cent inflation, imported from neighboring countries. They see their currencies floated, revalued and devalued and something resembling whim. . . . On all sides they are swamped with scandals: government officials taking bribes, gigantic corporations making gigantic profits, and billions of dollars sloshing from one currency market to another. Through all this they see no hint of a policy, European or national. Still they are asked to sacrifice – use less gas, scale down wage demands. "But for whom?" – they ask – "and for what?" '[1]

In painting so dark a picture of the capitalist crisis, the bourgeois press often tends to attribute all troubles to the shortcomings of

Western leaders. 'At this particular time of crisis,' *Time* remarked caustically, 'the heads of Europe's states are, almost without exception, technicians, manipulators of votes and bureaucracies, rather than leaders who can inspire, unite or even explain. They are to paraphrase Winston Churchill's comment on Clement Attlee, "modest men – with every reason to be modest".'[2]

Yet the explanation does not at all lie in the qualities of those in power at the moment. The maladies of contemporary bourgeois society, including its growing political instability, stem from the fundamental contradictions of its economic basis.

Followers of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin consider that the decisive factor is the primordial and fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriating its results, between labor and capital. It is, in the final analysis, the objective basis of all the interlocking crisis phenomena plaguing capitalism today.

Of course, imperialism is trying to adapt to the new situation in the competition between the two world systems and the scientific and technological revolution. This expresses itself mainly in increasing recourse to state-monopoly methods of managing the economy and public affairs generally. Attempts are made to stabilize capitalism, give it a new lease of life and ease the tension of class struggles. The working people are promised again and again that these methods will bring about full employment and universal prosperity.

At a certain stage, state-monopoly regulation produced some results. In some developed capitalist countries the state succeeded in maintaining a relatively high rate of production growth and in both providing huge profits for the monopolies on this basis and raising the people's standard of living. Apologists for the bourgeois system took advantage of these facts to claim that the contradiction between labor and capital had been overcome and capitalism transformed into a new society free from class strife.

Current developments in the capitalist world refute these claims. The crisis has dispelled many an illusion. Clearly, state-monopoly regulation cannot assure steady economic development. It has been unable to stave off recession, inflation, a general dislocation of the credit and monetary system or growing mass unemployment. As usual, the big bourgeoisie tries to put the burden of the crisis on the working class and other population groups. While the people's standard of living tends to decline, the monopolies go on making enormous profits. The workers and other working people refuse, understandably, to resign themselves to this situation, and uphold their interests ever more actively. They are coming to realize that the promise of an 'affluent society' is an empty promise. Capitalist social

conflicts are becoming more intense. More and more often, the masses fight both against individual capitalists or monopolies and against the whole system of state-monopoly capitalism, and this imparts a political character to their actions. The increasing political instability of capitalism is due to growing built-in class antagonisms and class struggles.

'Supra-national' illusions

Thus the contradictions of capitalism are developing in spite of sustained efforts to assure balanced economic development, to 'eliminate' social conflicts and achieve political stability by taking measures on both the national and the international level. Therefore, the significance of imperialist integration processes, which have gone farthest in Western Europe, should not be ignored.

Alarmed by the relentless loosening of the social and political foundations of its power, the big bourgeoisie of Western Europe sets increasing hopes on the EEC as a guarantee of capitalism in Europe. This is why the Common Market, primarily an economic alignment, is striving to become a political alliance of the Nine with one 'supranational' government, a 'European' parliament, nuclear forces of its own and every attribute of a European 'superpower,' Some predict that this transformation will be completed in 1980.

Having suffered numerous reverses in experimenting with state-monopoly economic regulation, certain groups of the West European bourgeoisie have visibly cooled to the national instruments of this regulation. The growing political demands of the masses and the fear of finding themselves alone in confrontation with their peoples, prompt these groups to look to the 'Brussels bureaucrats.' Their idea is to shift to others the responsibility for drastic measures against the working people. A section of the bourgeoisie holds that it can achieve its anti-national aims more easily through depersonalized 'supranational' EEC agencies exempt from all democratic control.

Once the Danish *Berlingske Tidende*, leading newspaper of the right-wing bourgeoisie, gave away these calculations when it insisted that Denmark should join the Common Market. 'Nine out of ten decisions in economic policy which had occupied most of the time of Danish politicians will be taken by EEC bodies,' it wrote. 'There is no need to regret this. For generations the Danish political system has demonstrated its unwillingness or inability to adopt essential economic and political measures or decisions.'

There is no doubt, however, that these calculations are built on sand. The working people's loyalty to the 'Brussels bureaucrats' will certainly not be greater than to their 'own' monopolies or their agents in the government. It is more likely that the attempts of bourgeois

governments of Europe to hide behind the back of the EEC, far from increasing political stability in individual countries, will make for the early dissipation of lingering illusions about the Common Market. Besides, the July session of the EEC Council showed that differences, mutual suspicion and distrust among the Nine are so great as to call into question every schedule for setting up a political alliance.

Imperialist integration, even in the form of 'supra-national' monopolies, will not help the bourgeois politicians. Furthermore, these mammoths of monopoly capital are shaking off all government control, becoming an autonomous economic and political force motivated solely by its own interests and its bid for maximum profit. Even the bourgeois press, which until a short time ago was full of praise of the multinational monopolies as the acme and the supreme expression of private enterprise, now often describes them as the devil's own instrument adding to the chaos in the capitalist world.

Here is a comment from the West German *Der Spiegel*. 'Uncontrolled by governments and the authorities, hardly affected by national tariffs, trade or economic policy and almost independent of exchange rate fluctuations, there have grown up beyond all bounds economic superpowers which escaped national interference and made their own laws. . . . General Motors, Exxon, IBM, Nestlé, BASF and General Electric are states above states accountable to no public agency and governed hierarchically like the military machinery of a big power.'[3]

There is a great deal of exaggeration and, on the other hand, ill-disguised admiration for monopoly power in this comment. Given the will, even a capitalist state could cope with the big monopolies. It is a fact, however, that the activity of multinational companies, especially in Western Europe, is a factor aggravating and not easing the general instability of capitalism.

Two trends

Lenin defined the political superstructure of imperialism as a turn from democracy to reaction. His definition is still relevant.

The imperialist bourgeoisie, including that of Europe, has not discarded fascist-like methods as a means by which it expects to remedy the instability of its rule. There is no overlooking neo-fascist activity in some West European countries, such as Italy or Federal Germany. The bourgeoisie uses the neo-fascists against the Left in trying to shift the political axis to the right. Of course, the bourgeoisie hands power to fascists only after it has tried every other means of maintaining its rule. This is why the Seventh Congress of the Comintern described the establishment of fascist regimes as a sign of weakness of the

bourgeoisie. When circumstances allow, the bourgeoisie prefers to rule through its traditional parliamentary institutions. Experience has taught it that dictatorial methods can stabilize its rule only for a time. The bourgeoisie has not forgotten the record of fascist Germany or Italy. But it would be wrong to underestimate the right-wing radical danger. Today, the ruling class as a whole does not give preference to neo-fascist parties. However, it is not a monolith and what it will do when its power begins to totter is open to question.

The threat from the Right is not posed by outspoken fascists and neo-fascists alone. Keith Joseph, a leading British Tory, said that all these troubles were due to the proliferation of paupers and ignorant people and that the solution lay in keeping down the birth rate among the propertyless.[4] This fascist-like statement could be ignored had it been unique. But there have been similar calls by other members of the same respectable bourgeois party. Some urged forming 'private armies' to maintain 'order' in the event of strikes.

The FRG now has 'emergency' laws which may be enfroced on the plea of safeguarding 'national security.' The Communist Party of Germany is still banned and the ban is used as a means of pressure on all democratic forces, especially the GCP. Seizing on the increased activity of negligible anarchist groups as a pretext, the ruling quarters have started a far-reaching campaign to curtail democratic freedoms.

To be sure, the tendency of the ruling class to suppress democratic freedoms, which is becoming more marked in the atmosphere of crisis, does not mean that it is completely abandoning social maneuver. The talk about reforms in the FRG comes not only from the Social-Democrats, but also from CDU/CSU leaders, including Strauss. However, these 'reforms' are expected to provide more favorable conditions for big capital to make big profits and subordinate the working class and its organizations to monopoly interests. In other words, they are anti-democratic.

Analyzing the development trends of the bourgeois political superstructure, Lenin pointed to both the reactionary character of imperialism and the democratic character of the working people fighting against reaction. 'Imperialism,' he wrote, 'does not halt ... the growth of democratic tendencies among the mass of the population. On the contrary, it *accentuates* the antangonism between their democratic aspirations and the anti-democratic tendency of the trusts' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 51). The trend of evolution of the political regime in this or that country is shaped in struggle between the democratic forces and imperialist reaction. In many West European countries, left-wing, democratic forces often gain the upper hand – witness the signal success of the Italian Communist Party in the

recent elections. Growing leftist influence is the dominant trend in the political life of society.

Now to sum up. The political instability of capitalism, an expression of its growing fundamental contradictions and deepening general crisis, tends to increase.

This trend is strengthened by the peculiar course of the current economic crisis, which is both cyclical and structural (including the aggravation of energy, transport, and environmental problems). Mounting economic difficulties and the resultant strain on state budgets limits the bourgeoisie's opportunities for social maneuver, in particular for financing the reformist policy of 'class peace' through concessions to the working people. The class struggle is growing in scope and bitterness contrary to all theories about its decline.'

Experience reveals to the working people the inability of the capitalist system to solve the economic and social problems of society. Their class consciousness is increasingly influenced by the example of the socialist countries, whose gains make a particularly strong impression against the background of the deep capitalist crisis. Anti-communist propaganda is losing ground among the masses.

Political developments in capitalist countries are also influenced by the evolution of the international situation, above all by the change in the alignment of world forces in favor of socialism, the growing might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and their constructive political initiatives. It has become manifest that the old imperialist doctrines based on the notorious 'policy from positions of strength' and non-recognition of the equality of the two sides have miscarried. Many leading bourgeois politicians who take account of public sentiment have declared for revising relations with socialist countries and renouncing military confrontation with them in favor of negotiations, recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and détente. Relations between West European and other capitalist countries, on the one hand, and socialist countries, on the other, have been normalized and, in fact, geared to peaceful cooperation. The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose Final Act was signed by the top leaders of 35 countries, was an outstanding indication of the great progress made by the policy of détente.

The dialectics of these developments are such that without altering the general trend toward the growing political instability of bourgeois society, they produce serious setbacks for the reactionary circles of monopoly capital and strengthen the positions of forces responsive to political realism.

Due to détente throughout Western Europe and in its various countries there are more favorable conditions now in which to fight

for a democratic transformation of society and unite all democratic currents in a political alliance capable of decisively restricting the positions of monopoly in the economy, ending the power of big capital and taking in this way a long step toward the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by the new social system.

This, as we Communists see it, is the road to genuine social and political stability.

1. *Time*, March 18, 1974, p. 27.
2. Ibid., p. 28.
3. *Der Spiegel*, No. 18, 1974, pp. 36-38.
4. *Morning Star*, October 21, 1974.

TO OUR READERS

In keeping with the traditions of the Communist press, the Editors of *World Marxist Review* regularly appeal to their readers for views and comments about the journal, and for suggestions of how to make it better and more interesting.

We receive many letters with advice, suggestions and critical remarks, and we try to take them into account in our editorial plans.

On the eve of the New Year 1976, we once again ask for your comradely advice.

Please tell us:

– Which articles did you like best?
– Which did you find less interesting, and why?
– What subjects are you interested in?
– What authors would you like to see printed?
– What new authors or departments would you suggest?
– Any other wishes or suggestions?

We look forward to hearing from you on these and any other questions concerning the journal's contents and presentation.

political panorama

A sharp turn

N.K. Krishnan
Member, Central Executive Committee, Secretary, National Council, Communist Party of India

TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA IN THE NEW CONDITIONS

The developments that have taken place in India during the months of June and July this year signify a sharp basic turn in the political life of the country, unprecedented in character in its whole post-independence history. A most serious bid to overthrow the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, unlease the forces of anarchy, chaos and de-stabilization with a view to install a pro-imperialist dictatorial regime in New Delhi and reverse all the progressive achievements of the Indian people since independence, has been foiled just in time by firm pre-emptive blows struck against the Right-reactionary forces with the introduction of a State of Emergency on June 26. Utilizing the new climate, a number of positive steps are under way designed to renovate the political and economic life of the country in a progressive direction – but under extraordinarily complicated conditions.

The present developments in India can be properly understood and evaluated only when viewed in the context of the background of what has been happening during the last five years.

The capitalist path of development pursued by the ruling Congress Party leadership since independence led to the growth of big industrial monopolies, to a severe economic crisis and to unprecedented sufferings of the working people. Under the impact of all this and mounting people's unrest and mass resistance, the Congress Party split in 1969, the most reactionary and pro-imperialist sections breaking away to form a separate party, the Cong(o). The defeat of the reactionary

wing in the Congress, the progressive measures taken by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi such as nationalization of banks and coal, take-over of closed factories, radical changes in the Constitution, steps against the feudal privileges of the Princes, as well as the massive election victories of the Prime Minister's party in the 1971 and 1972 elections, led to big expectations in the country. These progressive measures naturally aroused fierce resistance from the vested interests, both inside and outside the ruling party.

Instead of boldly fighting against this resistance, carrying forward the process initiated in 1969 and taking radical measures to fulfill the election pledges given in 1971 and 1972, the Congress leadership began to retreat. The result was the deepening of the economic crisis and increasing people's disillusionment and discontent over rising prices, growing unemployment and artificial shortages of foodgrains and essential commodities due to hoarding and blackmarketeering. Taking advantage of this, the Right-reactionary forces mounted a fresh offensive in 1974, this time under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, a left-winger in the past,[1] who roped into his front the Left opportunist parties – the Socialist Party and, to some extent, the Communist Party (Marxist).[2] The Jana Sangh (a reactionary pro-imperialist Hindu-chauvinist party), its paramilitary fascist wing, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), and the Anand Marg (another pro-imperialist terrorist group), all having close connections with the CIA, were the spearhead of Jayaprakash Narayan's (JP) front.

The purpose of this offensive, carried out under the demagogic slogans of 'total revolution' and 'partyless democracy,' was nothing other than the destruction of parliamentary democracy, creation of chaos and anarchy in the country and installation of a fascist dictatorship of the monopolist and landlord classes. Terrorist attacks and political assassinations became a feature of the developing crisis. Progressive Congress Cabinet Minister L.N. Mishra was assassinated in January 1975. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, A.N. Ray, was attacked. The economic crisis began rapidly to turn into a political crisis. After the Rightists had suffered a defeat in Bihar,[3] the home State of Jayaprakash Narayan, they tried to spread their movement to other States – but without much success.

In June 1975 came the judgment of the Allahabad High Court regarding the election petition filed against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The Allahabad High Court judgment set aside Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's election to Parliament, on two minor technical grounds. But she could appeal to the Supreme Court.

Following the Allahabad High Court judgment, the drive for power by the Right-reactionary, counter-revolutionary and neo-colonialist forces was stepped up with the demand for immediate resignation of

the Prime Minister, an objective for which they had been striving in order to install a fascist-type dictatorship. With this, the political crisis reached the stage of climax. The JP-led Right-reactionary forces began to turn more and more to tactics of individual and squad terrorism, to well-planned conspiracies of sabotage, violence and arson. More and more frequent and open appeals began to be made to the police and the armed forces to disobey the orders of the democratically elected government. The monopoly press also stepped up its offensive.

The Rightist's chose the nation's capital as the main arena of their activities. They began making preparations for the so-called satyagraha (civil disobedience) campaign due to start on June 29. The plan of the reactionary parties and fascist organizations was to paralyze life in Delhi and create such a situation where the proper atmosphere could be created for the capture of power. Serious efforts were being made to subvert the loyalty of the armed forces of our country. Side by side, the opposition elements in the ruling party were instigated to step up their activities. Not only did they openly entertain JP, they also intensified their campaign among Congress MPs to join hands with the JP-led forces outside. The plan was worked out to 'request' the Prime Minister to resign 'temporarily' at the same time as the public campaign of terror and sabotage would be in full swing. Various other types of suspicious gatherings began to get more and more frequent in Delhi in which reactionary political leaders and foreign imperialist agencies began to work out the details of a ramified conspiracy. The CIA was masterminding the entire operation. They were prepared to use any weapon, including communal riots. The key role in all this was assigned to the Jana Sangh and the RSS. They were to provide the muscle and the organization to push through the plot.

Though the judgment of Supreme Court Justice Krishna Iyer gave Indira Gandhi full right to continue as Prime Minister, the entire monopoly press demanded her resignation. Jayaprakash Narayan at his public meeting on June 25 came out in the most unabashed dictatorial manner threatening those in the armed forces and government services who would remain loyal with 'punishment.' He demanded that the present Supreme Court Chief Justice should not hear the Prime Minister's appeal since he was 'her appointee.' He also issued an open call to prevent at any cost the operation of the All-India Radio and Television services.

It became evident that the Right-reactionary, neo-colonialist and counter-revolutionary forces were bent on using all the opportunities offered by parliamentary democracy to destroy the freedom of our country and its secular democratic system itself. Counter-

revolutionary forces were clearly poised for a decisive attack, for the final push to power.

Faced with such a situation, a State of Emergency was declared on the ground of a grave threat to internal security, using relevant provisions of the Indian Constitution. Leaders of the Right-reactionary parties, of the Maoist groups and of others actively involved in the conspiracy have been arrested and imprisoned, including a few in the Prime Minister's own party. A number of paramilitary fascist organizations, as well as Maoist groups, have been declared illegal.

The swift and stern measures taken by the Prime Minister and the Indian government against the Right-reactionary and fascist forces were absolutely necessary and justified. Any weakness displayed at this critical moment would have been fatal for the nation. A pre-emptive blow had to be struck against the anti-national and anti-democratic forces. And this is exactly what Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has done.

As a next step the Prime Minister announced a 20-point economic program of far-reaching measures aimed at giving relief to the working masses, both urban and rural, and at stimulating production, both industrial and agricultural.

Included in this program are:

– The decision to bring into existence expeditiously a public distribution system for the supply of foodgrains and other essential commodities to the common people;

– Effective and quick implementation of the Land Ceiling laws in all the States and distribution of the surplus lands to the landless;

– Provision of reasonable minimum wages and of free house-sites to agricultural labor;

– Abolition of the practice of bonded (i.e., serf) labor;

– Steps to liquidate rural indebtedness and to save the landless and the poor peasants from the clutches of usurious moneylenders;

– Imposition of ceiling on the ownership and possession of urban land and steps to socialize urban and urbanizable land, intended to check black money and help housing programs;

– Drastic action against economic offenders such as hoarders, smugglers, tax-evaders and makers of black money;

– Schemes for workers' participation in industries, particularly at the shop-floor level.

The economic program announced does not envisage any immediate extension of nationalization measures or measures in the direction of structural change in our national economy. But if effectively implemented, it can give substantial relief to the working masses and unleash a powerful popular upsurge against the vested in-

terests and Right reaction, and for more basic socio-economic transformations.

It is important to note that the measures outlined by the Prime Minister are measures for which the CPI and the mass organizations under its influence have been campaigning and fighting in the recent period through all-India mass struggles. They are also measures which the Left and democratic forces inside the Congress have been pressing for. It is noteworthy also that the Prime Minister has assured that 'other matters are being looked into and further measures will be announced from time to time.'

The initial steps already taken in some States since the declaration of Emergency to implement some of the measures outlined in the Prime Minister's program and the drastic actions initiated against smugglers and holders of black money have helped to check the rise of prices and to change the political climate in the country in a positive direction to some extent, though it cannot be said these factors have been stabilized as yet.

The Communist Party of India has welcomed the declaration of Emergency and the firm measures taken by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi against the Right-reactionary fascist forces. The Party maintains that these must be followed up by equally stringent and energetic political measures to curb and weaken the socio-economic base of these forces.

Our Party has welcomed the immediate economic measures in the interests of the people announced by the Prime Minister and has emphasized that not only must these be effectively implemented, but they must be followed up by more basic measures against the neo-colonialists, the multinationals, monopolies, landlords, hoarders and speculators. Such measures have been included in the immediate program worked out by the Party at the meeting of its Central Executive Committee held in Delhi (June 30 to July 2). Among them are the proposals to nationalize the sugar, textile, jute and automobile industries as well as the multinational drug and pharmaceutical and oil companies; also, numerous concrete measures in defense of the popular masses and of democracy.

The CPI gives the caution that safeguards must be created in the form of supervision by popular committees to see that the Emergency powers are not used by the well-entrenched supporters of the Rightist forces in the bureaucracy to restrict the rights and liberties of the working people and forms of democratic activity in the country. Urgent steps must be taken to weed out from key positions in the state apparatus officials in league with the Right-reactionary forces and imperialist agencies.

It would be criminal complacency to imagine that the reactionary

forces have already been decisively defeated. There is no doubt that as a result of the measures taken a temporary demoralization has set in among them and certain inner conflicts have also risen in their camp. It is also true that the thorougly opportunist and disastrous policies being pursued by the leadership of the CP(M) of allying themselves with the pro-imperialist, Right-reactionary forces, the measures announced by the Prime Minister and the steps already taken under them have led to a very deep and unprecedented crisis within that Party and deep discontent of their rank-and-file and masses against the leadership of that Party. As a result, in some States like Andhra, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, etc. CP(M) cadres and masses are leaving that Party and coming over to the CPI.

But the Right-reactionary forces are planning to regroup, to counter-attack through rumors, economic sabotage, individual terrorism and violence. A big underground apparatus is being built up by the Jana Sangh and RSS, many of whose leaders have evaded arrest. They are also banking on non-implementation by the bureacracy of the program announced by the Prime Minister and resulting in mass disillusionment.

It is perfectly clear that a stern and sustained struggle lies ahead of all Left, democratic and patriotic forces. The crucial need of the hour, the CPI resolution stresses, is for these forces to act unitedly and with a sense of tremendous urgency and determination. Their first and paramount duty, therefore, is to redouble their vigilance, strengthen their unity at all levels and go on to the offensive against the anti-national and anti-democratic forces everywhere and all along the front.

Apart from using the Emergency powers relentlessly against these forces, it is essential that a nationwide mass political mobilization be immediately set in motion through meetings, rallies and the like jointly, wherever possible, by the Congress, the CPI and other Left, democratic and patriotic parties and mass organizations – trade unions, peasant and agricultural laborers' organizations, women, youth and students' bodies. This mobilization, the resolution points out, has to be carried forward immediately for the implementation of the policies, programs and measures of the government which hit at the socio-economic base of Right reaction and counter-revolution, provide a measure of relief to the masses and strengthen the democratic framework. This mobilization has to go forward to stepping up production in all spheres which serve the interests of the nation and the masses and based upon ever increasing control by the workers, employees and other toiling sections over the production process.

Dialogue has to be immediately opened among the Left, democratic and patriotic forces to evolve jointly a further program of actions

directed against imperialism, monopoly capitalism and landlordism.

To rise to the occasion, all Party units must develop a new style of concrete, detailed and hard work. The style of mass work we are used to, i.e., all-India and State political and mass campaigns and struggles, will no longer suffice, the CPI resolution points out. This should be combined with persevering day-to-day constructive work directly with the masses.

The entire Party has to swing into action as a party which concretely intervenes, unifies and organizes the working people, so as to enable it to serve best the nation, bring the maximum benefits to the masses and vanquish the Right.

The campaigns, actions and struggles of the masses have to be reoriented to meet the needs of the new situation. The Party must, as always, stand by the working class, all toiling people and democratic sections, champion their cause and lead and join all their just and legitimate struggles against the vested interests and their representatives in the state apparatus. It is not at all a question of abandoning struggles nor advancing a no-struggle line. It is a question of waging campaigns and struggles geared to the needs of the present grim situation and integrated within the framework of the overall battle against the Right.

The CPI attaches the utmost importance to the problem of national democratic front. The struggle for building up this front has entered a new phase where immensely increased opportunities have arisen for joint action by the Indian National Congress and the CPI in all fields and at all levels.

Political differentiation and conflict inside the Indian bourgeoisie has reached a new and unprecedented stage, characterized by the fact that those representing the anti-imperialist, democratic sections of the bourgeoisie have been forced into using the repressive organs of state power against those representing the pro-imperialist and most reactionary, pro-monopoly, pro-landlord, anti-communist sections.

This situation opens up the most favorable possiblities for strengthening the united front of the working class, peasantry and other toiling sections with the anti-imperialist, democratic national bourgeoisie in common struggle against Right reaction, and for moving this section of the bourgeoisie into more radical socio-economic positions in the very interests of this common struggle. This is the process through which progressive shifts in state power can be brought about in a national-democratic direction, the CPI resolution says. This, however, demands the most skillful, realistic and flexible tactics on the part of our Party.

Very positive developments have taken place in the period following the declaration of Emergency in regard to joint activity by the

Congress and the CPI at different levels. A new political awareness has come inside the Congress Party that the danger coming from neo-colonialist and Right-reactionary forces can be successfully met only by joint action by the Congress together with other 'like-minded parties,' particularly the CPI; that the economic program outlined by the Prime Minister will not be implemented if it is merely left to the bureaucracy; and that its effective implementation necessitates enlisting people's active cooperation and participation at all levels, from the village level upwards, through joint work by the Congress together with other 'like-minded parties,' including the CPI.

This new political awareness has been reflected in the resolution passed by the top body of the Congress Party, its Working Committee. The latter has set up a seven-member sub-committee to work out concrete details of how popular cooperation and participation can be organized for effective implementation of the economic program. It is expected that the report of the sub-committee will recommend popular committees at all levels down to block level with certain powers, possibly statutory powers, and that this report will help to further cooperation and joint work between the Congress and the CPI, between the mass organizations under the influence of these two parties.

In fact, the initiatives taken lately by the CPI in this direction have yielded positive results. Such joint work and cooperation is already developing at different levels in a good way in States such as Manipur, Assam, West Bengal, Punjab, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, and Kerala. In some of these States, joint committees of the Congress and the CPI at State level have already been formed, joint committees at lower levels are being formed, joint political conventions have been held to mobilize people against the Right-reactionary forces. Specifically, preparations are going on in all States for the International Anti-Fascist Conference to be held in Patna (Bihar State) toward the end of October. Full cooperation between the Congress and the CPI has been built up from the national level downward for this conference.

On the trade union front, cooperation and joint action is being built up between the central TU organizations under the influence of the Congress and the CPI, in order to maintain vigilance in the factories and industries against economic sabotage and to further production, while safeguarding the interests of the working class. A National Apex Body has been formed of the AITUC, INTUC and HMS (central trade union organizations supporting the Emergency and the Prime Minister's program) together with the All-India Employers' Organizations to regulate industrial relations and further production. Such bodies may be set up at State level also, as well as in the

different key industries, both in the state and in the private sector.

Cooperation and joint work between the Congress and the CPI in implementing radical economic measures will have a tremendous galvanizing effect on the cadres and masses following the other Left and democratic parties and groups. In particular, it will have great impact on the cadres and masses of the CP(M).

In the assessment of our Party, formulated in the resolution passed by the Central Executive Committee of the CPI, an entirely new phase has opened in the post-independence history of our country. The crisis of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which is an integral and important part of the fiasco of the capitalist path of development, can only be resolved by a radical renovation of the processes of parliamentary democracy in order to make it a more effective instrument in the fight against Right reaction and for basic socio-economic transformations. It is imperative to strengthen the political and class content of the system in favor of the working people. Our democratic system has to acquire new dimensions in which the decisive element would be the ever-increasing participation of the working class, peasantry, all working people and democratic sections in the shaping and implementation of policy and decisions.

Experience of the post-independence period of India's history and of the recent period in particular has clearly revealed how the reactionary vested interests and the Right-reactionary forces have utilized the rights of formal bourgeois democracy to further their own interests and to subvert parliamentary democracy itself. The so-called 'free press' and 'independent' judiciary as a check on the excesses of the Executive have to be re-examined in the light of real facts.

The big business press in India which has the biggest circulation and which is under the control of the different monopoly houses has invariably used the 'freedom of the press' to project the interests of the monopolists, wholesale traders, landlords, the imperialists and their multinational corporations. This press has been consistently propagating the ideology, politics and policies of the reactionary parties. They have been dishing out imperialist and Maoist slanders against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries – our most dependable allies. They have suppressed or distorted news about the movements and struggles of the toiling masses and spread anti-communism.

In the same way, reactionary vested interests and political reaction have been able to utilize the Courts time and again to block progressive land reform legislation, nationalization measures, levy on foodgrains, abolition of the privileges of the ex-princes, etc. Certain sections of the Constitution, particularly those relating to 'fundamental

rights,' have come in handy for the vested interests to use to block basic socio-economic transformations.

Changes in the Indian Constitution in order to remove hurdles in the way of effective implementation of radical economic measures; changes in the mode and institutions of functioning of parliamentary democracy in order to make it a more effective instrument against Right reaction and for basic socio-economic transformations; steps to detach the press from the monopoly houses; these have become urgent in the context of today's political situation in India.

The Congress and other progressive circles in India are giving serious attention to these urgent problems.[4]

The political situation facing India today has moved our country into the front line of the world struggle between the forces of imperialism, war and reaction, on the one hand, and the forces of freedom, democracy, peace and socialism, on the other.

It is significant that this Right-reactionary offensive inside India was carefully synchronized with the new aggressive moves undertaken by U.S. Imperialism in the Indian Ocean, with the activization of the CIA and the U.S. multinational corporations on our subcontinent. In fact, the offensive of Right reaction fully corresponded to the policy of 'destabilization' which U.S. imperialism has set as its goal in respect of all regimes in the Third World pursuing the policies of anti-imperialism, non-alignment, peace and cooperation with the socialist community. With the full cooperation of Maoist China, U.S. imperialism has in the recent period stepped up its neo-colonialist attacks in South Asia, rendered desperate by its rout in Indochina and its forced retreat in Europe.

The policies of anti-imperialism, non-alignment, peace and friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries pursued by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi have earned the special hatred of imperialist reaction, as well as of Maoist China. That is why 'destabilization' of India has become an issue of top priority with the Pentagon and the CIA, as well as with Peking.

Jayaprakash Narayan's close connections with organizations sponsored by the CIA which have built an extensive network inside India have been factually revealed in recent publications. The raids and searches which the Indian government has carried out since the declaration of Emergency on the offices of the RSS, Anand Marg and their front organizations have unearthed huge stores of arms and ammunition and fully revealed the hand of foreign imperialist agencies in furthering the conspiracy of the internal Right-reactionary forces. From the northern zonal headquarters of the RSS in Delhi, the Indian police have even seized live cartridges, significantly with U.S. markings, as well as secret army maps of sensitive border areas. The White

Paper published by the Indian government on the circumstances that led to declaration of Emergency has also revealed the fact that foreign money in a big way was passed on to certain Indian political leaders to further the Right-reactionary conspiracy.

World alignments in relation to assessment of the recent political developments in India also tell a significant tale. The reactionary press in the imperialist countries, the U.S., Britain and West Germany in particular, cannot conceal their anger over the forestalling of the Right-reactionary conspiracy in India by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. They have been spitting venom against her, denouncing her 'dictatorship' and bemoaning the 'death' of democracy in India. They have been openly praising the reactionary leaders now imprisoned. The Maoist leadership has been shrieking against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the Indian progressive forces even louder. The Maoist groups inside India have been the most devoted followers of Jayaprakash Narayan and his fascist movement.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and other socialist countries, the progressive regimes in the developing countries, the world peace movement and international democratic mass organizations have all come out unequivocally supporting the effective measures taken by the Indian Prime Minister to foil the conspiracy of reaction.

The struggle which the progressive forces in India are waging at present is difficult and complicated. It is bound to be a protracted struggle. The monopolists and landlords still remain powerfully entrenched in India's economy. The reactionary forces are powerfully entrenched inside the Indian bureaucracy at all levels. These and other hurdles and obstacles will have to be overcome before it can be safely asserted that the Right-reactionary danger has been decisively defeated.

To carry forward the healthy processes that have been initiated since the declaration of Emergency, to extend and consolidate these healthy processes, to unleash a popular upsurge throughout the country at grassroots level to fight reaction and the vested interests, to overcome the big hurdles and obstacles that lie in the way – all this places a big responsibility on the shoulders of the progressive forces in India.

World imperialism is stricken with the severest crisis in its whole history and has been forced to retreat on many sectors and in many continents. At the same time the socialist community headed by the mighty Soviet Union is winning victory after victory in competition with the capitalist world system and in the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence. These factors are powerful allies of the progressive forces in India in their present struggle.

1. See *WMR*, May 1975, p. 62. — *Ed.*

2. The Party which split away from the Communist Party of India in 1964 under Maoist instigation.

3. See R. Rao's article, 'Awareness of Historical Responsibility,' *WMR*, May 1975. – *Ed.*

4. Last August the Indian Parliament amended the Constitution to regulate electoral laws and specify the competence of the judiciary bodies in charge of these laws. – *Ed.*

Chile: fascism will be overthrown

INTERVIEW WITH LEADERS OF POPULAR UNITY PARTIES

Leaders of the Popular Unity parties met in Berlin toward the close of July to discuss questions posed by the crisis in Chile and the central task of the democratic forces – the organization and development of a broad anti-fascist front.

What progress is being made toward that goal? What common aims are helping to bring the democratic forces closer together? What are the obstacles to united action?

These questions, put by *WMR* correspondents, were answered by *Orlando Millas*, member of Political Commission, CC Communist Party of Chile; *Clodomiro Almeyda*, member of Political Commission, CC, Socialist Party of Chile; *Benjamin Teplizky*, Deputy Chairman, Radical Party; *Oscar Garreton*, General Secretary, United Popular Movement (UPM); *Bosco Parra*, General Secretary, Left Christian Movement, and *Juan Enrique Vega*, member of Political Commission, UPM Worker-Peasant Party.

Toward an anti-fascist front

Vega. The overwhelming majority of Chileans now realize that the profound social and economic crisis is the result of Pinochet's fascist pro-imperialist policy. The revival of dependent capitalism has meant runaway inflation, stagnation in industry and trade, unparalleled unemployment, and distribution of the national income in favor of a tiny minority. The objective prerequisites thus exist for a national, popular and democratic alternative to the junta.

Anti-fascist feeling finds expression in different forms: clandestine activity by the popular parties, the trade unions' fight to preserve their organizations and win back hard-won gains, more frequent anti-government actions, the intellectuals' and students' fight for freedom

of creation and thought, opposition by small and middle businessmen to a policy that spells ruin for them, widespread solidarity with the unemployed. The resistance movement is growing from day to day, bringing together more patriotic and democratic forces, their past differences now forgotten. And it is in this joint struggle of the democratic forces that the foundations of a broad anti-fascist front are being laid.

Obviously, its political, social and ideological content will be much broader than the Popular Unity bloc. But this should not be taken to mean that the Popular Unity can be wound up. The broad alliance we are working for can be built only by strengthening and developing the Popular Unity bloc, the organization of which was a historic landmark. That is why our priority task should be to strengthen the bloc politically and organizationally at all levels, study its experience so as not to repeat the mistakes it made as a political vanguard. Strengthening the Popular Unity will increase the militant potential of our people, and add a new dimension to the political and economic struggle. That is the only way to bring about unity of all the democratic forces.

Almeyda. Fascism aimed its first blow at the Popular Unity parties, the backbone of the resistance. But repression has not broken us; on the contrary, it has made us more determined, enhanced our revolutionary consciousness, promoted unity trends and the understanding that only by joint action can we prepare and mount a counter-offensive.

Junta policy is against the interests of millions of Chileans. This has led to a situation in which many of those who at first were hesitant, or even accepted the coup, are now increasingly active in the fight against the dictatorship.

The mounting movement of thousands of Chileans must become part and parcel of the anti-fascist front, based on a militant action program that will be forged in the unity process. At the same time, we must give the people a political alternative, a perspective that could rally all its forces to overthrow the junta, root out fascism, give Chile a new democratic order, advance to socialism, while taking measures to rule out any possibility of the process being cut short by a fresh counter-revolutionary putsch.

Closer political and organizational ties between the Popular Unity parties and a clearly formulated policy for the new stage of the struggle are decisive factors in building the anti-fascist front. We need more joint action within the framework of the mass struggle to defend trade union rights and political freedoms, change economic policy, oppose denationalization, etc. This is an indispensable condition for the emergence of an anti-fascist front.

Garreton. Action by the Popular Unity and other left forces is coordinated in Chile and abroad, but political unity has to be raised to a higher stage. What we need is a joint program of the left forces. It would, I believe, pave the way for a broad anti-fascist front. It would also thwart the maneuvers of imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie, which, knowing that the dictatorship is doomed, want to replace it by some other government. The struggle now unfolding in Chile is a mass struggle. No organization, and certainly no small group, can be a substitute for the masses. And we must ceaselessly strengthen this mass force politically and organizationally.

The return of democracy is the ardent wish of our people. But we should explain that first the dictatorship has to be eliminated. The present struggle is primarily a political one and we therefore reject individual terror and actions by small armed groups as a substitute for mass struggle. We must prepare the masses for direct confrontation with the dictatorship: imperialism and the monopoly bourgeoisie will continue to resort to counter-revolutionary violence. The people and their parties must be able to counter that, always bearing in mind that the struggle could culminate in a rising. We appreciate, too, the immense role of winning over a substantial part of the armed forces.

Our chief task is to activize the mass movement and organize joint action, especially within Chile itself.

Parra. In my opinion, we should, first of all, reformulate the goals of the Popular Unity bloc. To do that, we have to be absolutely clear on the national features of the Chilean revolution and on the building of a socialist democracy. The first question, unfortunately, has not been properly studied, though national specifics should have largely shaped the reforms introduced by the Popular Unity bloc. Time and again our people demonstrated their readiness to limit consumption, showed self-discipline, even asceticism, were prepared to accept hardships. But we did not take that into account.

On socialist democracy: we should, I think, explain the continuous process in which the democratic stage outgrows its framework and there emerge elements of socialist democracy. We ought also to determine which democratic institutions the revolution can utilize.

One of the reasons why there is no broad anti-fascist front is lack of clarity on the forms and methods of struggle. We are asked: What are your methods of struggle? When we fail to answer, we only sow distrust and do not attract new supporters. The formation of an anti-fascist front, reorganization of the Popular Unity and uniting all the left forces is, above all, the task of our parties. The implies closer understanding and absolute clarity on all political issues. I am not suggesting that if we decide that the main force of struggle is, say, an armed rising, we should immediately call for one. We have to dis-

tinguish between methods used to unite our parties and those used to unite the people.

There is also this consideration: socialism, the logical result of historical development, is a system that makes for the strength of each nation. Chileans have always had strong national feelings, have always wanted to see their country prosper. We should explain to the masses that fascism weakens the nation, whereas socialism leads to its prosperity and strength by solving all crucial problems.

Teplizky. The leaders of the Radical Party believe that transition to a broad anti-fascist front should begin by raising the Popular Unity to a higher stage. Our parties have been working together since 1969, when the Popular Unity bloc was formed to support the Allende candidature. Mindful of the fundamentally changed conditions, the three years of popular government, the struggle against one of the most savage dictatorships ever known to Latin America, we must do all we can to strengthen the Popular Unity bloc. And we must clearly see the main enemies of the Chilean people. They are fascism, local monopoly and oligarchic groups, and U.S. imperialism, which inspired them to overthrow the legitimate government of President Allende and now supervises all their actions. Popular Unity, therefore, must formulate a much wider political program for an anti-fascist front that will include all forces opposed to the junta and its U.S. paymaster.

Millas. The unity process is powered by the fight of the working class and the mounting resistance to the fascist dictatorship.

Fascism in Chile is doomed because, undaunted by the terror, the people have reorganized their forces and have acquired a higher level of political understanding. Every day sees small, anonymous actions in which the youth and women play a courageous part alongside the working class, which stands at the head of the struggle. The junta is completely isolated and maintains itself in power only by force. There are more visible signs of unease within the armed forces. Servicemen are beginning to realize that they are but tools of an outright terrorist dictatorship, the U.S. monopolies and a handful of plutocrats who are robbing the country. The most serious crisis in Chilean history, the economic chaos into which the fascist junta – that servant of imperialist and local monopolies – has plunged the country, make anti-fascist unity not only necessary, but possible. While promoting joint action by the anti-fascist forces, we must also promote a wide exchange of opinions in order to work out common criteria for the democratic forces.

Unity presupposes mutual understanding not only between our parties and the democratic parties that had been opposed to the Allende government and are now part of the common anti-fascist

struggle, but also among broad sections of the democratic forces. There is a place for everyone in the anti-fascist front, and there need be no doubt that it will be joined by thousands of patriots, democrats, and anti-fascist servicemen, Catholics and members of other groups.

Attitude toward Demochristians

Garreton. The overwhelming majority of the Christian Democratic Party* are opposed to the dictatorship. It is now the turn of the party leaders to clarify their attitude.

The Christian Democrats always considered themselves an anti-dictatorial and anti-fascist party. By joining other parties against the dictatorship, they can prove their political consistency.

Many Demochristians fear that once the dictatorship falls, the left forces will try to eliminate their party. This view is being spread by those who want to split the anti-fascist forces. We keep telling the Demochristians this is an enemy trap.

One more point. Our parties are workers' and people's parties. Our ultimate goal is socialism. To conceal this is foolish and inconsistent. Many Christian Democrats say that they are also for socialism. If so, our alliance with them will continue after the fall of the dictatorship and in the period of socialist construction. But if the Christian Democrats should then begin defending the interests of capitalists and imperialist monopoly, we shall come to a parting of the ways. The duration of the alliance will therefore depend on the Christian Democrats. At the moment, however, we have a common enemy, the dictatorship. Joint action against the Pinochet junta makes for mutual confidence and a common criterion concerning the country's future.

Vega. There is a growing desire in the Christian Democratic Party for a platform assuring stable democracy and the country's independent development. Mutual understanding between Demochristians and the Popular Unity is therefore not only possible, but also extremely important. It is our policy to work for mutual understanding based on a program envisaging a new type of democracy.

Almeyda. Most Demochristians and non-party people are joining the Popular Unity. The fraternal dialogue begun in Caracas between the Popular Unity and the Demochristian leaders seeking anti-fascist unity, should, I hold, be more systematic and meaningful. That would speed up the convergence of forces opposed to the tyrannic regime.

As I see it, the anti-fascist front as an alternative to the present regime should be inaugurated before the Demochristians formulate their position. The birth of the front, encompassing our parties and

*A multi-class party uniting broad sections of the population, including members of the big bourgeoisie and a considerable part of the workers. In office in 1964-70, it carried out a reformist program. – *Ed*.

tens of thousands of Chileans striving for anti-fascist action, would prod the Demochristians to take the side of the people against the junta.

Millas. The Communists support every initiative that contributes to unity of all the democratic forces without exception – Popular Unity, organizations sympathizing with it, Demochristians, Catholics, non-Party people. For example, we have given our unqualified support to the Chile-America Committee* founded by representatives of the Christian Democratic Party, the worker-Peasant UPM and the Left Christian Movement. I would also mention the meeting in Caracas early in July of leaders of the Socialist and Radical parties, Left Christians and the Christian Democratic Party. The Communist and other Popular Unity organizations were not represented and this gave rise to all manner of speculation in the foreign press. We Communists believe that the Caracas meeting should not be a precedent, should not be followed by similar ones. At the same time, however – and this we believe to be very important – its decisions can help toward anti-fascist unity at this new stage. We are fully satisfied with the report on the results of this meeting submitted to our Berlin conference.

Our policy is to facilitate unity of all the forces capable of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, re-restablishing democracy and carrying out the changes Chile needs.

The Communists and all the Popular Unity parties are working for an anti-fascist front. The Christian Democrats, however, have made no official statements on this score. We welcome joint action by members of the Popular Unity, rank-and-file Demochristians and non-Party people. But this is no longer enough. The Christian Democratic leadership must state its position. The nation demands it. An anti-fascist front, we hold, cannot be formed unilaterally. To establish it, and to do so as quickly as possible, there must be joint action by the masses and political discussion to work out a common program of struggle.

Action program

Almeyda. Here are some of the demands consonant with the interests of the vast majority; they should hasten the emergence of an anti-fascist coalition: a higher standard of living, restoration of civic freedoms, an end to unemployment and to the 'made in USA' economic policy of impoverishment, recovery of national dignity, independence and sovereignty, return of land and factories to the people and state, autonomy of universities, release of political prisoners, and respect for human rights.

*Founded in 1974. – *Ed*.

Teplizky. Our aim is to recover the gains won by the people in many years of persevering struggle, to revive the national spirit and tradition. We regard the fascist junta as anti-Chilean and contrary to the spirit of our nation. It is the product of an alien ideology. The 'model' of dictatorship was imposed from abroad and is a desperate and extreme act of the big bourgeoisie and the imperialists to block the people's way by fire and sword.

Garreton. The majority wants the return of civil rights brutally suppressed by the junta's policy of repression and economic genocide. Our duty is to tell the people that there can be no effective respect for human rights until fascism is overthrown. Fascism will collapse once the nation rises against it. The junta is trying to create the impression that the present dramatic situation is 'the unavoidable price' for a 'splendid future.' We must show that this is a lie, that the dictatorship augurs nothing but hunger and death. It is only along these lines that the struggle for democracy will unite the entire nation for determined action against the dictatorship.

Parra. Popular Unity did a good deal to extend human rights, but paid too little attention to economic problems. We must not confine ourselves to just exposing the junta's economic policy. The people must also be shown who benefits from it, who profits at their expense. We must advance our own constructive program and convince the masses that the left forces are capable of leadership at any time and in any situation. He who assumes responsibility for the country must not only show the mistakes and expose the crimes, but also offer a program of direct action, albeit just roughly, in general outline.

Millas. We hold that the main accent in the program should be on full restoration of democratic freedoms; repeal of the emergency laws; release of Luis Corvalan, the recently imprisoned Socialist Party leaders, and the thousands of other political prisoners; closure of concentration camps; repeal of sentences passed by military tribunals; an end to torture and abuse; fair and strict punishment of all executioners and killers. The other important aspect of the struggle is defense of the interests of the working class, the peasants, office workers, and middle strata – the artisans, small and middle shopkeepers and producers, cultural workers and intellectuals. Their interests are injured by the fascist junta's policy of folding the national economy, its policy of plunder.

To forge the anti-fascist unity we must work out a common criterion concerning the government to replace the dictatorship. This is highly important. The Communists are for a broadly representative popular government, a renewed democracy devoid of the faults of bourgeois parliamentarism, which proved incapable of protecting the country from fascism. The corrupt judiciary shielding the crimes of

the military junta must be torn down; the armed forces must be purged of fascist elements, and the chances of a new army assault must be eliminated; the masses must take part in running the government; the social and economic reconstruction started by the popular government must be renewed; the state must regain possession of the copper mining and other key industries; the public sector in the economy must be restored; the interests of the medium-level producers and the national bourgeoisie must get due consideration; the agrarian reform must continue, and the farmers must get back the land they were given by the Demochristian government and the Popular Unity, which the landowners took away from them.

The obstacles

Teplizky. At home and abroad there are those who would replace the dictatorship with a less brutal and crude government, but pursuing the same aims. Sectarianism, too, is still alive, and is a hindrance to forming a common political leadership. The united action program of all democratic forces is bound to be a broad one. Therefore, all of us should be prepared to make concessions to each other concerning the character and ways of the struggle in the name of restoring the people's gains and continuing the political and social drive for new institutions of power, a new economy, a drive paving the way to the strategic goal – the building of socialism in our country.

Garreton. One of the obstacles we must overcome are certain divergent views. This can be done through deep-going and systematic discussion of the disputed problems. But it is gratifying to note that progress toward unity has already been made. Certainly, unity cannot be achieved overnight.

Other obstacles are the strong political, economic, ideological and military forces which the imperialists and the monopoly bourgeoisie deploy against us whenever we advance. To crush them, we must have unity of all popular and political anti-fascist forces.

Parra. To be able to assess its activity self-critically, the vanguard must have deeper ties with the masses. A reorganization of the bloc of parties will not automatically yield such ties. The people's parties face a formidable task – to overthrow fascism and lead the country out of the crisis. For this the bonds with the masses must be closer and broader than before, closer and broader even than during the Popular Unity government.

Vega. The defeat of the popular movement in 1973 was not due solely to the shrewdness of the enemy. It was also due to mistakes of the left forces traceable to the specific historical situation: insufficiency of strategic and tactical principles, incomprehension of some of the important aspects of our alliance, and a dampening of the

ideological struggle. The same problems face the left forces today, first of all the workers' parties. And until they are resolved we shall not have effective leadership with a clear conception and a creative approach to questions of strategy and tactics.

Almeyda. Unity is hindered by party sectarianism, preoccupation with abstract ideological problems to the detriment of the concrete and immediate tasks, lack of a realistic approach, and blind faith, in outdated bourgeois-democratic institutions destroyed or reviled by the fascist putsch. Once these obstacles are overcome, it will be easier to overthrow the junta, destroy the social, economic and institutional structures that enabled fascism to seize power, and to begin laying the foundations for a new society.

Millas. The obstacles to our advance are put up mainly by the fascist enemy, the big international monopolies and local financial oligarchy behind the fascists. Attempts to dress up the fascist facade through collusion with bourgeois politicians and opportunists may mislead some sections of the people. It is up to us to explain that this is a maneuver by elements who had hired the traitor generals to establish fascism in Chile.

The emergence of an anti-fascist front is impeded by sectarianism and reluctance to draw the right lessons from the people's temporary defeat of September 11, 1973. But it is safe to say that the nation as a whole has learned these lessons, that sectarianism and the narrow view of the historic struggle will be overcome. The Communists are convinced that, once anti-fascist unity is achieved, the working class and the people of Chile will blaze the trail to a better future.

The conference in Berlin called for the unity of all forces opposed to the fascist regime, for 'uniting them on the basis of a new program.' The adopted document noted that in view of the 'necessity of advancing a democratic revolutionary and popular program consonant with the interests of the whole people as a realistic alternative to the dictatorship,' the conference was putting such a program of struggle before all Chilean democrats and anti-fascists on behalf of the leadership of parties active in Chile.

Anti-communism, weapon of counter-revolution

Marxism-Leninism has given an exhaustive assessment of anti-communism as the bellicose ideology of the monopoly bourgeoisie in its fight against the socialist countries, the international working-class and communist movement, peoples battling for national liberation – in short, against all the forces of democracy and progress. This reactionary ideology has been analyzed and stigmatized in the programs and congress resolutions of fraternal parties.

'Under the false slogans of anti-communism,' the CPSU program says, 'imperialist reaction persecutes and hounds all that is progressive and revolutionary; it seeks to split the ranks of the working people and to paralyze the proletarians' will to fight. Rallied to this black banner today are all the enemies of social progress: the financial oligarchy and the military, the fascists and reactionary clericals, the colonialists and landlords, and all the ideological and political supporters of imperialist reaction.'

Seldom have these words been so glaringly confirmed as in our day. Anti-communism, it can be said, played a fatal part in preparing the Chilean tragedy. And now there are attempts to drown the gains of the Portuguese revolution in the turbid waves of anti-communist calumny set off by international and internal reaction. That is clear not only to the Communists, Ken Coates, a Left Labourite, wrote in the London *Tribune* (July 25, 1975), after two trips to Portugal: 'I seriously doubt whether more lies have been told about any political event in any country since the heroic days of the fall of the Tsar in Russia.'

That is not a casual remark. Lies, vilification of the Communists and other democrats, the spread of patently false rumors, forgeries – they have all been brought out again to sow doubt and confusion among supporters of the Portuguese revolution, intimidating some, misleading others and inculcating a perverted picture of the objects and methods of the Portuguese Communist Party and the policy of the socialist community. The purpose is to split the democratic forces, weaken the revolutionary government, isolate the Communists and thereby pave the way for attacks on all democrats and patriots, put the brakes on the revolution, repaint the political facade in 'moderate' bourgeois-democratic colors.

The anti-communism of today is a multifaced and multiform phenomenon: it can assume different forms and different images

depending on what the reaction wants of it. But for all the external differences, its essence is unchangeable, namely, hatred of social revolution and of genuine socialism. Fear of far-reaching social change brings together the conservative-minded university professor, the soft-spoken right-wing socialist lawyer and the fascist thug with a firebomb in his hand. The anti-communist propaganda stock-in-trade is, basically, the same everywhere. There are the ritual charges that the Communists are 'aggressive,' want to dominate all other parties, that their credo is violence, that they are sworn enemies of democracy and personal freedom, 'enemies of God.' That, incidentally, was the expression used by Archbishop Francisco Maria da Silva in giving the signal for an anti-communist riot in Braga.

The events in Portugal (as earlier in Chile) are a striking illustration of many of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical propositions about anti-communism and the tactics of internal reaction and foreign imperialism against democracy and progress.

The different attitudes to violence are particularly indicative. When the Portuguese revolution was in its peaceful phase, the Communists were being accused of plotting violence – they were intolerant of all opposition it was alleged, and had no trust in democratic procedures. But what happened? The rightist forces were the first to resort to violence, and their chief targets were the Communists. In dozens of northern towns, where reaction is still strong, bands of fascist thugs burned down Communist Party offices, made bonfires of Marxist books, ransacked the homes of Communists. There were killed and wounded.

Now only the blind can fail to see that the threat to Portuguese democracy comes not from the Communists, but from this fascist violence. The West European chartered champions of 'democratic socialism' (and their Socialist International patrons) are deliberately oblivious of this and accuse the Communist Party of every imaginable sin. But can real friends of democracy be oblivious of the generally recognized contribution the Communist Party has made in the battle against Portuguese fascism? Can they ignore the fact that the Communist Party has always placed the people's interests above all else? Can they afford to forget the great lesson of the anti-fascist struggle, namely, that the fascist forces use anti-communist slander to deal a blow at all supporters of democracy and social progress.

An analysis of the events will leave no doubt that it is anti-communism which unites all the opponents of the revolution. It is under the black banner of anti-communism that the reactionary forces have regrouped to create a serious threat to the gains of the revolution. And we should not shut our eyes to the fact that the right-wing Socialist Party leadership, whatever its intentions, has become the

hope and center of attraction for everything that is reactionary. That is deplored even by the official British Labour Party journal, the *Labour Weekly* (August 8, 1975). It says that 'the Socialist Party is now receiving the support of a motley collection of right-wingers, landowners and capitalists,' and adds that this is 'an unpleasant fact with some nasty implications.'

The list of reactionary elements with whom the Socialist right are flirting can be continued. One might add the conservative army officers, secret supporters of General Spinola, and – who knows – perhaps would-be Portuguese Pinochets. Nor should we forget the Catholic hierarchy. The Portuguese church felt itself secure under the protection of Salazar and Caetano and held aloof from all the new trends in the Vatican. But it lost no time in joining the crusade against the revolution. Its vituperation has been directed against the Communists, though the Communist Party respects religious feelings and does not interfere in the affairs of the Church.

The Communists know, of course, that the pogroms in the north are the work not only of fascist elements, but also of religious fanatics led astray by their shepherds, men like Archbishop da Silva of Braga. The Italian Communist paper *Unita* (August 13, 1975) had every reason to accuse him of 'pushing Portugal into the abyss of civil war.' This typical representative of the clerical wing of anti-communism, it wrote, 'belonged to the old Catholic hierarchy which until quite recently extolled Salazar's fascist regime, consecrated the colors of the regiments sent to fight the colonial war, censured and misrepresented the encyclicals of Pope John XXIII ... It was Bishop da Silva who composed the lament for dictator Salazar.'

And so, the contours emerge of an unholy anti-communist alliance, whose intrigue and provocation are casting a cloud on the Portuguese revolution. Clinging to their privileges are representatives of the old ruling classes, the conservative part of the old army elite, obscurantist prelates, the flotsam of the fascist regime, its high-ranking officials, agents of foreign monopolies and intelligence services and, lastly, men who call themselves democrats and socialists but accept rightist backing. The reactionaries would never, of course, have been so bold and brazen if the NATO powers, who have made anti-communism official policy did not help them by bringing pressure to bear on Portugal.

Bourgeois propaganda is making every effort to divert public attention from imperialist plans and actions and set it on a false trail. In their joint statement against the biased coverage of Portugal in the capitalist press 35 cultural and academic personalities in Austria, Britain, Italy, France, Federal Germany, Switzerland and Sweden say: 'Those who for many years so scrupulously avoided interfer-

ence in Portuguese affairs when the country was ruled by Salazar and Caetano, today have no scruples about interfering in Portugal's internal affairs.'* The story has been trotted out of the 'hand of Moscow' which, we are asked to believe, is stage-managing the events in Portugal, and the equally shopworn lie about 'Moscow gold' being showered on the Portuguese Communists. But the slanderers cannot produce a grain of supporting evidence, though there is plenty of evidence of NATO and EEC political blackmail. Imperialist policy-makers are trying to exploit Portugal's economic difficulties to force her into major political concessions and stop the revolution halfway. This is a gross violation of the Helsinki decisions prohibiting any form of economic pressure to change internal development. Fitzgerald, Ireland's Foreign Minister, and former President of the EEC Council of Ministers, interviewed on Irish Radio, intimated that Portugal would get 'aid' only if she became a 'bulwark against communism.' Familiar words! The old regime in Portugal was, in the opinion of NATO, an ideal 'bulwark against communism.'

At this writing, revolutionary Portugal is going through a period of political tension and instability. The Portuguese Communists, who are courageously fighting off the reactionary onslaught, emphasize that they do not intend to resort to retaliation and violence, and warn against the danger of civil war. Addressing a 20,000 rally in Lisbon on August 15, Alvaro Cunhal, the Communist General Secretary, said: 'If we were thinking along those lines, we would have the possibility within 24 hours of destroying as many premises of reactionary parties as they have destroyed of ours in 24 days. But our position is that we must not go along the path of retaliation' (*Morning Star*, August 16, 1975). As real democrats and revolutionaries, the Communists are working for a political solution of the complex problems facing Portugal, including the problems created by the crisis of power. The Communists are devoting all their energy to uniting the left forces in support of the revolution and its gains. They urge unity within the Armed Forces Movement and its unity with the people to shield the young democracy against attacks by home and foreign reaction.

Very much in this struggle depends on the strength of the solidarity movement now unfolding in Europe and throughout the world. Millions have voiced their determination to prevent Portugal becoming a European Chile. And, as always, true to proletarian internationalism, the Communist parties, the international working class movement, are in the van of this massive solidarity campaign.

Support for the Portuguese revolution has been expressed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by Communist and Work-

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ers' parties in the socialist countries. While strictly abiding by the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, they demand that the Portuguese people be allowed to decide their own destiny.

Protests against the anti-communist riots and expressions of solidarity with the Portuguese Communist Party have come from the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Britain, Spain, USA, Federal Germany, Belgium, Canada, Mexico, Ireland, Finland, and a number of others. Trade union, women's, youth and other mass organizations have adopted protest resolutions. The French Communist and Socialist parties and the Left Radicals have issued a joint statement expressing grave concern over the increasing patently anti-communist actions in Portugal. The World Federation of Trade Unions has called for solidarity with the Portuguese workers and their trade union organization, Intersindical. Many mass organizations and political parties have called for re-establishing unity of the forces that cooperated at the initial stage of the revolution, primarily the Communist and Socialist parties.

After the Chilean tragedy, people understand the sinister implications of the reactionary outbursts in Portugal and of the divisions within the democratic camp. They have a better understanding, too, of the role of anti-communism as a poisoned weapon of counter-revolution.

The humanist writer Thomas Mann once said that anti-communism was the greatest folly of our age. The recent events in Portugal show that any concession to anti-communism is the greatest crime against the interests of the revolution and of every liberation movement.

L.S.

September 6, 1975.

For solution of the Cyprus problem

Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary of AKEL, replies to a *WMR* question on the situation in Cyprus.

The consequences of the imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus climaxed by the Greek junta-organized fascist coup of July 15, 1974 and the Turkish invasion five days later, are still painfully felt.

Our people are going through one of the worst tragedies in their history. Their country has been invaded and divided because im-

perialism, especially U.S. imperialism, wants Cyprus partitioned and turned into a powerful air and missile base in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

The two British military bases, which occupy 99 square miles and 32 other points in various parts of the island, as well as the three U.S. radar stations, constitute a constant threat to peace in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. They have been used for aggression against neighboring Arab countries and are now being used for spying and other military activities. American U2 spy planes are using the British air base at Akrotiri. In fact, the Americans are taking over control of these bases contrary to the commitment of the British government that if it decided to give up the bases it would hand over the sites to the Republic of Cyprus.

U.S. imperialism and NATO want to solve the Cyprus problem in a way that would turn the island into the central base of their aggressive policy in our part of the world. The Turkish government and the fascist circles of Ankara, supported by them, refuse to implement United Nation resolutions on Cyprus and persist in their *fait accompli* policy. Not a single Turkish soldier has been withdrawn from Cyprus. In fact, there is reliable information that Turkey has increased the number of invasion troops. Not a single refugee has been allowed to return to his home. In fact, the Turkish invasion forces have recently forcibly evicted hundreds of Greek Cypriot families in Turkish-occupied areas compelling them to become refugees in their own land. Not one of the 2,500 missing Greek Cypriots has been freed. The Turkish occupation authorities continue to arrest Greek Cypriot farmers and shepherds.

The excuse used for the Turkish invasion was 'restoration of constitutional order.' Constitutional order has been restored long ago but the Turkish invasion troops still occupy 40 per cent of Cyprus. They behave as colonizers and are bringing civilians from Turkey to the Turkish occupied territory in an attempt to change the proportion of the Turkish and Cypriot population, which up to the invasion was no more than 18 per cent.

Aided by the reactionary leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community, the Turkish invasion forces have by false promises and blackmail managed to transfer to Turkish-held areas practically all Turkish Cypriots living in the area controlled by the lawful government. This was done deliberately, to prove that it was impossible for Greek and Turkish Cypriots to live harmoniously side by side and that partition was inevitable.

At the instigation of the Turkish government and the Turkish invasion troops, the chauvinist leadership of Turkish Cypriots has unilaterally proclaimed the so-called Turkish-Cypriot Federation in

complete disregard of United Nations resolutions. The aim is to establish a confederation as the prelude to full partition of the island.

The plight of Turkish Cypriots forcibly transferred to the Turkish-occupied areas is indescribable. Unemployment, hunger, humiliation and repression are the lot of most of them. Wages, for those lucky enough to find jobs, are miserably low. Compare the high standard of living enjoyed by them in the days prior to the Turkish invasion, when Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived and worked harmoniously together.

The Vienna talks initiated by the UN Security Council and conducted under the personal guidance of Secretary-General Waldheim, have made no progress whatever toward a solution on the basis of United Nations resolutions. At the very first meeting the Greek Cypriot side proposed a comprehensive solution based on a multi-regional federation. The Turkish side has no effective plan and, on various pretexts, has sought to center the talks on the functions of a Central Government with 50 per cent Turkish and 50 per cent Greek representation and with limited powers.

The prospect, as it appears today, is that Cyprus will again appeal to the UN General Assembly requesting measures to be taken and a time limit set for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

AKEL has always held, and has sought to convince the Cypriot people, that the struggle is between the Cypriot people, Greeks and Turks, on the one hand, and imperialism on the other. It is a struggle for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, demilitarization and non-alignment. AKEL calls for a united anti-imperialist front of all Cypriots, Greeks and Turks alike, to free Cyprus from the imperialist yoke and place it on the road of democracy and social progress. Unfortunately, however, the nationalist leadership of both turned down the AKEL proposal for such a front, thus enabling imperialism to exploit the sitution to incite intercommunal strife and division.

Imperialism has always tried to present the Cyprus problem as a feud between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. That is not true – Greek and Turkish Cypriots have lived and worked together for decades without the slightest friction between them.

The AKEL position on the Cyprus problem is crystal clear: all Turkish and other foreign troops must be withdrawn and the island must be completely demilitarized. All missing persons must be traced and returned safely to their homes and families. All refugees must return safely to their homes and property. Greek and Turkish Cypriots must freely discuss and adopt a Constitution best suited to their interests.

The present talks should be enlarged on the basis of last year's Soviet proposals so that the permanent members of the Security

Council, the interested parties and non-aligned states could take part in the talks. For apart from the future state system of Cyprus there is the problem of strong and reliable guarantees, because the guarantees provided in the 1959 Zurich-London agreements are mainly responsible for the tragedy the people of Cyprus are facing today.

AKEL is for full and sincere cooperation and fraternity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Only such cooperation will deprive imperialism of all pretexts to divide the country. Cyprus can and must become a bridge of friendship and cooperation between all peoples in the area, and not a base of imperialist conspiracy and aggression.

AKEL support of President Makarios is not unconditional: it welcomes everything that is positive in the work of his government and criticizes everything we consider detrimental to the interests of the people and to the solution of the Cyprus problem. Our support is based on principles and aims at countering imperialist conspiracy and freeing Cyprus from all foreign troops.

AKEL approves the idea of a political government, or a government of national unity that will include all parties with a similar approach to the Cyprus problem. Most political parties in Cyprus support the formation of such a government. We believe that it will be strong enough to deal with all the difficult internal problems and will command maximum international support.

AKEL calls for purging the National Guard, the police and the civil service of all elements actively involved in the July 1974 fascist coup. AKEL demands, along with the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people, the trial of all persons engaged in subversive activities. All illegal armed groups must be disbanded and their arms handed over to the government of the Republic.

AKEL and the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people are for the complete dismantling of foreign military bases and the demilitarization of Cyprus. On behalf of AKEL, I recently raised this question in the House of Representatives and all members of parliament that spoke on it agreed that the bases should be abolished.

AKEL is an important factor for stability and democratic solution of the problems facing the Cypriot people, Greeks and Turks alike. It follows a patriotic policy, demands satisfaction of the people's needs, and upholds our country's right to independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, demilitarization and non-alignment. This has increased its influence and prestige among the people. AKEL is a mass party and the first party in influence and prestige on the island.

Our people will continue their struggle until their land is free from all foreign military bases and troops and Cyprus becomes really independent. Cypriot Greeks and Turks will cooperate to bring pros-

perity to all our working people and turn Cyprus into a center of peace and friendship for all peoples of the area.

Unequal partnership

Michael Graber
Member of Central Committee,
Communist Party of Austria

WHAT MULTINATIONAL MONOPOLIES MEAN FOR AUSTRIA

Austria's state-monopoly economy has two distinguishing features: first, a substantial part of it is nationalized, and second, foreign capital plays a growing role in its every industry.

The state sector embraces major heavy and extractive industry plants, most of the big banks and the enterprises owned by them. The Vöest-Alpine iron and steel combine, Austria's biggest concern, whose turnover in 1973 amounted to 30,000m. schillings, is a nationalized enterprise. The state sector employs about one-sixth of the industrial labor force.

National Bank statistics for 1971 set direct foreign investments in Austria at 24,300m. schillings. In reality the amount was higher for these statistics did not include investments made before 1960. In 1971 almost 40 per cent of enterprises with annual turnover over 1,000m schillings, were fully or partly owned by foreign capital.* In the same year, West German companies accounted for 30 per cent of all foreign investments, Switzerland and Liechtenstein for 32 per cent and the United States for 13 per cent.** Enterprises dominated by foreign capital employ over one-fifth of the industrial labor force.

Alliance with foreign capital

After World War II Austria nationalized more of the economy than any other capitalist country. The working class insisted on nationalization and in view of the situation at the time, the bourgeoisie could not oppose it.

When the very existence of capitalism in Austria was at stake the

*See Austria Directory 1973, p. 640.

**The big share of Switzerland and Liechtenstein was due to the operation in these countries of a number of holding companies controlled mostly by West German financial groups.

bourgeoisie called in foreign capital. In this way it wanted to reintegrate Austria in the capitalist world market, strengthen its positions at home and reinforce the state-monopoly system as a whole. Anti-communist and pro-U.S. leaders of the Social-Democratic Party backed that policy. It was also backed by world imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, intent on 'rolling back' communism and making Austria a showcase of the 'free world' to entice the people's democracies. That, essentially, was one of the purposes of the Marshall Plan.

Having decided on alliance with foreign capital, the Austrian bourgeoisie did its best to restrict the nationalization of enterprises owned by foreign firms. Contrary to the Communists' demand, the nationalization law passed in 1946 did not affect foreign enterprises with the exception of German property. As a result, numerous big enterprises and even whole industries remained under foreign, primarily U.S. and British, monopoly control.

A further step in the same direction was taken in 1955, when the government concluded a secret agreement with the U.S. and Britain known as the Vienna Memorandum. A similar agreement was signed with Franco. The Memorandum provided that oil-prospecting concessions, as well as some of the oil refineries and pipelines which after the war were controlled by the Soviet Union, would be transferred to Western oil companies, though under the State Treaty these enterprises were to have become the property of the Austrian state. The Communist Party press exposed the plan, and this caused a public outcry. But the government gave in to Anglo-American pressure.

Multinational companies were also granted the right to sell oil products in Austria. Today 70 per cent of the gas stations in Austria belong to Shell, British Petroleum, Esso and Mobil. These companies also control imports of oil and oil products and the Upper Austria oil-fields, which supply almost 15 per cent of domestic oil production. Multinational monopolies are co-owners of the Transalpine pipeline running through Austria and of its Adria-Vienna branch.

Thus the Austrian bourgeoisie, which wanted to bolster the capitalist system, has preserved and strengthened the positions of foreign capital in the country.

Subservience of the nationalized sector to EEC companies

The bourgeoisie has also tried to get the most out of the state sector. Private monopoly capital, operating chiefly in light industry, made extra profit thanks to cheap steel, other materials, and electric power supplied by government enterprises. The nationalized financial machinery created favorable conditions for state-monopoly regulation of the economy. Lastly, the state sector, in which SPA functionaries

were given many key positions, was used as an instrument of integrating the leading Social-Democratic cadres into the state-monopoly oligarchy.

As soon as the European Economic Community came into being, Austria's ruling quarters set out to establish close links with it, which meant refusing to make full use of the political and economic advantages of neutrality.

Since the later 1950s West German multinational companies intensified penetration into the Austrian economy. Amid increasing monopoly competition in Europe, they strove to regain control of prewar German-owned industries, and above all to make their way into the fast-growing industries. But since most of these were nationalized, they needed and secured the support of the Austrian government. A revealing example was the gradual transfer of Austria's electro-technical industry to the Siemens combine.

By buying up shares and placing orders, Siemens first extended its influence to the nationalized enterprises it had formerly owned. Steps to 'reorganize' the nationalized electro-technical industry taken in 1967, 1969 and 1971 gave Siemens more scope. And Siemens is the strike force of multinational monopolies operating against nationalized industries. It is represented on the supervisory board of ÖIAG, the Austrian corporation managing the nationalized sector of industry. This corporation holds 43.6 per cent of the shares and is a partner of the newly-established 'Austrian' Siemens concern, the biggest branch company of that West German giant. And now the directors of Siemens claim tongue in cheek that their combine 'closely cooperates with the nationalized industry' and that its Austrian branch has a 'high degree of government participation.' Yet Austria has lost all say in policy decisions in this industry.

Firmly entrenched in another growing branch of the economy, the chemical industry, are BASF, Hoechst and Bayer, successors to the notorious IG Farben. While trying to weaken the nationalized sector, they, like Siemens, also exploit it. Petrochemicals is admittedly one of the most promising lines in the chemical industry and West German monopolies are making a bid for controlling it. They obstruct co-operation in this field between two state concerns, the Austrian Oil Administration (AOA) and Chemie Linz. Moreover, they have staked out their areas: BASF cooperates with Chemie Linz and Hoechst with AOA. Besides, these multinational firms, as well as Bayer and Degussa, are shareholders of major enterprises of this industry.

The penetration of multinational concerns into the fast-growing industries poses a special threat to the Austrian economy. To develop these industries, substantial funds must be spent on industrial research. Multinational monopolies try to avoid these expenditures by

using old production methods, which holds up technological progress. Apart from the Communists, attention was called to this fact by the Chamber of Labor in its investigation of the role of foreign capital in Austria.

In 1972 Austria and the EEC signed agreements which resulted in Common Market monopolies increasing their influence on the Austrian economy. The nationalized steel plants have now been included in the EEC price system, which virtually means putting Austria's biggest industrial complex under the control of Common Market steel monopolies.

Multinational companies do not confine their attacks to large nationalized firms. They also buy up medium-size enterprises, which are typical of Austria's industrial structure. Many of these enterprises are highly specialized and hence perfectly competitive.

Role of the banks

Nationalized banks, including the biggest of them, Creditanstalt, play a special role in relations between Austrian industries and multinational companies. Creditanstalt itself belongs to the EBIC international banking group, which 'takes care' of European multinational corporations under the direction of the Deutsche Bank. These corporations purchase large, occasionally controlling, share holdings of the major engineering and automobile plants precisely through Creditanstalt. In other words, this state bank helps multinational monopolies.

In this way, Creditanstalt 'tied' Semperit, the Austrian rubber firm controlled by it, to the Michelin concern, which holds third place in the world as a producer of tires. Together with Kleber-Colombes, a branch of this concern, Semperit formed the Semkler group, in which Creditanstalt retains a controlling interest. The annual turnover of the new combine is 10,000m. French francs, 65 per cent of which come from Michelin.

At the same time nationalized firms and firms controlled by nationalized banks are setting up branches in countries where production is likely to yield the biggest profits. In other words, nationalized enterprises included in ths system of state-monopoly capitalism operate much in the same way as multinational companies. The nationalized sector stepped up export of capital when, in 1971, the Social Democrats came to power. In 1974 the Steyr-Daimler-Puch concern, likewise controlled by Creditanstalt, began to manufacture tractors and trucks in Greece and motor-scooters in Spain. Wages in these two countries are lower than in Austria.

There was much indignation in the country over the scandalous decision of the ÖIAG supervisory board to have the Vöest-Alpine

government concern participate in the construction of a steel plant in the South African Republic, in defiance of UN resolutions. The project, in which multinational monopolies are to take part along with Vöest-Alpine, would help to bolster the racist regime. Exploitation of the labor of black workers holds the promise of immense profits for the parties to the deal but it will bring no good to Austrian workers. A resolution of the CPA Central Committee stressed that this immoral project is dangerous politically, economically and socially. Imports of cheap steel from South Africa could cut production in Austria and reduce employment.

Vöest-Alpine is not the only Austrian enterprise to cooperate with the racist regime. There are another 11 firms investing capital in South Africa. And it was not accidental that the Austrian government instructed its UN delegate to vote against barring the SAR from the UN General Assembly.

A factor for instability

Why do multinational monopolies invest in the Austrian economy? Research carried out in 1971 revealed the following reasons in the case of West German firms: the possibility of exercising more effective control over the Austrian market, the situation of Austria as an avenue to the European Free Trade Association (this no longer plays its one-time role), proximity to the markets of socialist countries, the existence of a labor reserve, and lower wages. Foreign capital is also attracted by the possibility of absorbing fully or partly enterprises having long-standing traditions and fairly high technological standards.

Now what does foreign monopoly penetration mean for Austria? The Social-Democratic government and the two bourgeois opposition parties, the Austrian People's Party and Austrian Freedom Party, claim that foreign capital helps Austria to 'mature for Europe' (that is, to catch up with the highly-developed countries of Western Europe), brings the working people 'European wages,' safeguards jobs and creates new ones. The facts, however, tell a different story.

The multinational monopolies are least of all concerned over Austria's economic problems. They only develop the industries they consider profitable to themselves, without, as has been said, using the most advanced technology. Moreover, they prevent the growth of Austrian industries which could compete with them.

Thus, immediately after the war, American automobile companies used the influence of the U.S. occupation authorities to prevent the resumption of the car manufacture at the Steyr-Daimler-Puch plants. And here is another example. In 1968 Austria signed its first important treaty with the Soviet Union on deliveries of natural gas in exchange

for pipes. Accordingly. Vöest, a nationalized company, planned to build a new piping plant. But West Germany's steel monopolies, which had concentrated pipe production at the Mannesmann plants, foiled the project.

The disastrous consequences of multinational monopolies for the Austrian economy and the condition of the working class have come out very clearly now, with the capitalist system in a state of economic crisis. As the economic situation deteriorates multinational companies are cutting production primarily in their Austrian branches, where they lay off workers or put them on short-time. The Swiss shoe company, Bally, finds further production in Austria unprofitable and sells imported shoes through its retail outlets. Needless to day, they do not cost the buyer less, but have cost hundreds of Austrians their jobs.

With the economic situation in Austria worsening, the multinational companies constitute an extra factor for instability. Whereas the government prefers for political reasons to refrain from massive dismissals in nationalized enterprises (although there, too, the threat of redundancy is growing), it does not hold itself responsible in the case of foreign-owned enterprises, putting all the blame on the 'foreigners.' The demand that these enterprises be nationalized and resume full-scale production – a demand voiced even in the government party – is ignored.

'Social partners' of the monopolies

Bruno Kreisky, Chairman of the SPA and Chancellor of Austria, sees in multinational companies 'economic entities appropriate to the European markets,' and dismisses as 'illogical' the Marxist view that multinational monopolies must be combated. The practices of the Social-Democratic leadership, which is out to establish 'modern capitalism' in Austria, are entirely in line with his view. Since national big capital is regarded as a 'social partner' that is not strong enough to attain this goal, the Social-Democratic leaders bank on cooperation with multinational monopolies.

When the energy crisis was at its worst, Staribacher, the Minister of Trade (who is also Chairman of the Food Industry Workers' Union), said that the country owes its adequate energy supply to international oil companies. Yet it was obvious even then that the crisis and higher prices had been brought on by the oil monopolies. Afterwards the Austrian government admitted that deliveries of natural gas from the Soviet Union and other fuels and power from socialist countries were a factor in stabilizing Austria's energy supply during the crisis.

Nevertheless, the Social-Democratic government decided that

Austria must join the International Energy Agency, a cartel of oil-consuming countries headed by the U.S. The move meant involving the country still more in the oil monopolies' sphere of activity. 'The primary function of this international imperialist oil agency,' said the Communist Party in an appeal to the working people published in *Volksstimme* (November 24, 1974), 'is to safeguard the multinational oil companies' predatory high-profit policy. Austria is having to build oil-storage facilities which in an emergency would serve the main imperialist countries as a strategic energy reserve. This will cost the country roughly 10,000m. schillings, which will mean more taxes and higher prices. . . . As at the time of signing treaties with the EEC, the public had no part in the discussion and adoption of this decision.'

During the National Council election campaign (1971) the SPA promised 'to democratize every sphere of public life,' and many workers believed this. However, Austria's entry into the International Energy Agency showed again that partnership with domestic or foreign monopoly capital is always harmful.

The wage policy is likewise based on the idea of 'social partnership.' One of its important objectives is to keep wages in Austria lower than in the FRG so as to guarantee the competitiveness of Austrian industry. In reality this policy serves the interests of multinational monopolies, which can make big profits without improving technology. Besides, more often than not, conditions in the enterprises owned by multinational companies are worse than in Austrian enterprises.

Austria is one of the capitalist countries where strikes are relatively few. The Federation of Austrian Trade Unions, which is committed to the policy of 'social partnership,' tries to thwart every protest by the workers and every action for better working conditions and higher wages. Among the few strikes called lately, those that took place in foreign-owned enterprises were the most hard-fought. When a strike breaks out the union leadership does its best to restore 'peace.' During a strike at the Vienna branch of a West German firm, the management contrived with the aid of union bosses to sack, in violation of the law, members of the production council who had been particularly active in defending the workers.

Mass dismissals, short-time working, the rising cost of living and declining earnings have heightened the working people's resentment of the multinational monopolies. The SPA leadership is aware of this and tries to conceal its subservience to international capital. And, admittedly, it has proved very dexterous at this. Indeed, the Social-Democratic press occasionally blames the multinational companies for the present situation. But then it does so to suggest that there is no combating the multinational monopolies 'at the national level.'

The Communist alternative

Is that true? The Communists do not think so. They consider that the workers and other working people can defend themselves against the offensive of foreign monopoly capital. But to do this, it is necessary, first of all, to turn the trade unions from an instrument of 'social partnership' into an instrument of class struggle. The task is to fight for a new Austrian economic policy independent of the EEC, a policy directed against domestic and foreign monopoly capital and concerned above all else with raising the people's purchasing capacity and guaranteeing job security.

Such a policy could draw fully on the neutrality and advantageous geographical situation of Austria to promote mutually beneficial economic relations with socialist and developing countries. It could make full use of the country's own raw material resources. A growing national energy potential and greater cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in this field would help to establish a energy supply system independent of multinational companies. Lastly, such a policy could rely on the nationalized sector of the economy as the mainstay of Austrian independence and nuetrality. But to make this possible it is indispensable to put the nationalized enterprises in the people's service.

Communists have always advocated nationalization, which they regard as an important democratic gain of the working people. They have always defended nationalized industries against every attack and every attempt to give them back to private owners. State-owned enterprises are an important field of action against the multinational monopolies and Austrian big capital. Here it is harder for the government to conceal its responsibility for the state of affairs, and the workers can be shown the government's real role in the machinery of state-monopoly capitalism. The Communists insist on removing monopoly agents from the management of state enterprises and on giving the workers a say in management and control. They demand that the state sector be expanded by nationalizing Austrian and foreign monopoly concerns, private banks and insurance companies. These demands are inseparable from the struggle for an anti-monopoly democracy, for a new pattern of power that will no longer be in the hands of company owners and the advocates of 'social partnership.'

This, then, is the perspective of struggle which was approved by the 22nd Congress of the CPA (January 1974) and which we now offer to our class borthers in the SPA. 'The working class,' says the CPA action program, 'can only succeed by fighting in common for its fundamental interests and demands. This calls, above all, for united action by worker Communists and worker Socialists.'

Women in the fight for peace and progress

Fanny Edelman
General Secretary,
Women's International
Democratic Federation

AN INDISPENSABLE FORCE FOR SOCIAL ADVANCE

The forces of peace and social progress have scored momentous victories in the 70s. Women's democratic organizations have made a valuable contribution to détente, peaceful coexistence and social change. Notwithstanding differences in political and ideological views, they are playing a meaningful part in solving the problems confronting mankind in this closing quarter of the 20th century. That, properly speaking, is the purpose of International Women's Year (IWY)[1] – to use international, regional, national conferences, seminars and meetings to map out the immeidate and longer-range aims of women's participation in building the new life on the foundations of what has already been achieved.

The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) was one of the chief initiators of IWY.[2] Throughout its 30-year history it has worked perseveringly for economic, political and social equality, disarmament and enduring peace, support for the national-liberation movement and, especially, for better child care. Active participation in our work by women in the socialist and developing countries and in democratic movements in capitalist countries has made the WIDF a truly mass organization. The Federation has sought to explain to women throughout the world the significance of the UN resolution on International Women's Year.

Our national affiliates initiated the formation of IWY committees composed of representatives of government and non-government organizations, trade unions, peasant, youth, peace, religious and other groups.

Our movement has a clear understanding of how the women's question can be solved in this age of far-reaching social and economic change and the rapid advance of the technological revolution. We are working on the premise that there can be no social progress without participation of women. With more women employed in industry and taking a keen interest in politics, it is obviously necessary to join the struggle for equality with the struggle for genuine democracy, national independence and a stable, guaranteed peace. In the course of frank

discussions during International Women's Year we have sought to explain our position, but also to understand the problems and aspirations of other women's movements.

We have formed closer contacts with some feminist organizations,[3] but we frankly say that we cannot accept views which, in effect, tend to keep women out of the political, social and economic struggle. Still less can we agree with feminist movements that allow association with pseudo-left groups which are inclining women toward adventurist actions.

But despite differences in views, there are many questions on which coordinated and united action is necessary and possible. The most important of these is elimination of every manifestation of discrimination, and discrimination still exists in most capitalist countries.

Solution of the women's question in the socialist countries is an inspiring example in this respect. Abolition of private property of the means of production and of all exploitation, have created the economic, social, political, cultural and legal basis for complete equality of the sexes. The achievements of women in the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community are an inexhaustible source of inspiration for women democrats the world over.

In the past few years the women's democratic movement in capitalist countries has won a number of its economic, social and political demands. But state-monopoly capitalism continues to subject women to a more severe and subtle exploitation than men. Everything is done to prevent women becoming equal citizens, let alone active fighters for democratic reforms. Some bourgeois ideologues – those who have so much to say about 'absolute freedom and democracy' – would have women believe that it is in their best interests to remain in their present stage of inequality. That, too, is the message of the bourgeois mass media, which often give a distorted and amoral picture of the women's question.

With economic crisis and its concomitants, unemployment and inflation, affecting all imperialist countries, women workers are joining their class brothers in the fight against the omnipotence of capital. They have to cope with soaring food prices, higher rents, higher medical and tuition charges. In many cases they are the initiators of mass protests, demonstrations and boycotts against monopoly attempts to shift the burden on to the workers.

There are an estimated two billion women in the world (*Time*, July 14, 1975), most of them in the developing countries, which according to UN statistics account for 70 per cent of the world population. That figure alone is indicative of the pyramiding problems facing the women's movement there. In many developing countries much still

remains to be done to wipe out economic backwardness, poverty, illiteracy and disease and overcome age-old prejudices that reduce the status of women to that of slaves.

Little wonder, then, that at the United Nations World Conference on International Women's Year held in Mexico City and attended by delegates from 133 countries, so much attention was devoted to the developing countries. True, representatives of a number of capitalist countries tried to sidetrack the conference into abstract discussions. But representatives of the developing countries, vigorously supported by the socialist countries, secured adoption of the Mexico Declaration and of the World Plan of Action for 1975-85, in which government and non-government organizations and the mass media are urged to take practical action for equality of the sexes. The Mexico documents emphasize, in this context, the importance of abolishing colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, fascism and Zionism, and of implementing the Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States,[4] establish equal economic relations between states, and promote scientific, technical and cultural intercourse. The changed balance of forces in favor of socialism, democracy and progress is reflected in the preamble to the World Plan of Action. History, it says, demonstrates the active role women play together with men in accelerating the material and spiritual progress of the nations and in the process of progressive renewal of society; in our age the role of women as a powerful revolutionary social force is bound to grow.

There is no overestimating the importance of the Mexico conference. It realistically assessed the position of women, adopted a plan of action aimed at securing equality, equal opportunities and equal responsibility of the sexes in all countries.

The World Plan of Action is a document of importance for all democratic and progressive forces. The effort to bring its recommendations to reality should not be confined to women, for it will benefit the whole of mankind. For their part, women's democratic organizations will do everything to implement it.

The women's democratic movement highly appreciates the contribution of all the democratic forces, notably the Communist and Workers' parties. Their participation helps to lay bare the social and economic roots of woman's dependent and unequal status. In working with other organizations, and in pursuing a comradely dialogue with their representatives, Communists respect their ideological and philosophical principles. The Communists are winning prestige and influence by their correct approach to the fundamental issues and by relating concrete, specific women's demands to problems that concern the whole of society. The ceaseless efforts of Marxist leaders of

women's organizations are helping toward a higher level of political consciousness of the mass of women.

Not all the problems can be solved in International Women's Year, but we should not underestimate what has been accomplished. Wide discussion of pressing issues has disclosed hitherto unknown facts and has brought many political and public organizations into concrete action to improve the position of working women. The process will be carried further by the forthcoming World Congress of Women in Berlin. New forces are joining the democratic women's movement and new organizations are being started, but millions of women have yet to be brought into the struggle. The priority task now is to expand the movement, chiefly by recruiting women subjected to the severest discrimination – women workers and peasants, the youth in capitalist and many developing countries.

Much responsibility devolves on women's organizations in the fight for peace, to end the arms drive, supplement political détente by military détente and use all available resources to rid the world of poverty, hunger and malnutrition, the scourge of so many nations. Many still believe that these problems are insoluble. That can only immobilize the masses and play into the hands of the reactionaries. We take a different view. We believe that all complex social and economic problems can be solved – that is evidenced by the experience of the socialist countries. We believe that all complex international problems can be solved – one need only recall the success of the Helsinki Conference of 33 European countries, the U.S. and Canada. Its Final Act is a long step toward consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence and assuring equal cooperation between states with different social systems.

The women's democratic organizations are, by their day-to-day work, consolidating and extending the positive changes in the world which open broad vistas for final solution of the women's question.

Social progress can be measured by the social status of the fair sex.
Marx

Real equality of men and women will come only with the abolition of capitalist exploitation of both.
Engels

Unless women are brought to take an independent part not only in political life generally, but also in daily and universal public service, it is no use talking about full and stable democracy, let alone socialism.
Lenin

The Communist and Workers' parties, in whose activity women

members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movment.

International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969.

GROWING COOPERATION

WMR asked several prominent women public figures to comment on national and international events in connection with International Women's Year and on the prospects of the women's movement.

Freda Brown
President, International
Preparatory Committee for
the World Congress for
International Women's Year,
President, Union of
Australian Women

This October a World Congress for International Women's Year will be held in Berlin. Public interest in it has surpassed all expectations. By the middle of the summer 73 international and regional organizations, and national organizations in 117 countries, had expressed their desire to take part, among them the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Federation of Women in Legal Careers, the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, the Council of European National Youth Committees, the Pan-African Women's Organization, the All-Arab Women's Federation, etc. The congress is supported by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Arriving delegations include women of the most diverse trades and professions, housewives and representatives of all classes and strata of the population. Some two thousand people and hundreds of journalists will assemble in the capital of the GDR, where excellent conditions for the work of the congress have been provided.

It is highly gratifying that representatives of the most divergent political and public forces are collaborating on the national committees for the preparation of the congress. Extensive promotion of the congress by government agencies, political parties and organizations, and democratic movements, is reported from scores of countries.

Of interest, for example, is the experience of the Japanese preparatory committee, composed of 40 women's trade union, professional and other organizations. They all work together to petition the government to immediately ratify International Labor Organization conventions on maternity protection, abolition of job discrimination against women, etc.

In the United States there is a new organization, Women for Economic and Racial Equality. It will prepare studies of discrimination against non-white women in job opportunities and pay, denial of proper education for their children, etc.

British women played host to a European seminar in London which revealed new facts of discrimination against women in capitalist countries. One important question discussed was the lot of the homeworker. The participants in the seminar called upon the trade union movement to put an end to this form of exploitation of women.

In Australia, the Preparatory Committee for the Congress is receiving support from the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the Council of White-Collar Worker Unions, the Australian Council of Churches. A solidarity fund is collecting donations to finance a representative delegation to Berlin. The delegation, incidentally, will include an Aborigine woman. The Waterside Workers' Federation in Sydney has decided to raise enough money to finance a delegate of the African National Congress of South Africa to Berlin. This will be a manifestation of solidarity with the oppressed women of South Africa and their struggle against the racists.

In many countries it is proposed to continue the activities begun under IWY programs. I think every support should be given to the proposal to transform national IWY committees into committees for promoting the United Nations' 10-year World Plan of Action. They would consolidate the cooperation of various national organizations that has started lately, and assure their coordinated action with government bodies.

Maria Kabrhelova
President, Union of
Czechoslovak Women

Cooperation among women's organizations of the socialist countries is expanding with each passing year. For all their national diversity, these countries share a common approach toward the achievement of social equality of men and women based on the socialist mode of production. The important joint activities devoted to IWY include meetings and seminars. Especially fruitful was a seminar sponsored at the end of last year in Moscow by the Soviet Women's Committee on

the subject 'Women's Participation in Socially Productive Labor,' attended by representatives of 12 socialist countries.

In January 1975, the Union of Czechoslovak Women co-sponsored, together with the magazines *Vlasta* and *Slovenka*, a meeting of executive editors of women's magazines from the socialist countries on the subject, 'The Tasks of the Women's Press in the International Women's Year.' Several seminars were also held in Bulgaria and Poland. An international symposium on 'Women's Participation in Economic and Public Life' was held last April in Rumania.

Comprehensive support of the objectives and activities of International Women's Year at government level is extremely important. At the latest session of the CMEA Executive it was decided to produce a joint publication about the life of women in the socialist countries and to sponsor an exhibition of women's achievements under socialism. A plan of cooperation to further improve the position of women was also adopted.

In Czechoslovakia there is a state committee for coordinating IWY activities presided over by Vice-Premier Matej Lucan. The press, radio and television play an important part in explaining the significance of International Women's Year, which has coincided with the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the glorious Soviet Army. We held a national seminar on 'What has Socialism Given Women? What Have Women Contributed to the Development of Socialist Society?' Summing up the results of the past 30 years of selfless efforts on the part of our women, one inevitably draws the conclusion that the period of building socialism was one of all-round development of women as individuals. These years gave us full political, economic and social equality.

Our cooperation with women's organizations in capitalist and developing countries is expanding. Thus, last September, together with the Czechoslovak Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, we sponsored a seminar in Prague for women from Africa and the Middle East.

Europe has lived in peace for 30 years now. Czechoslovak women are fully aware that credit for this goes first and foremost to the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Tara Reddy
Member of National Council,
National Federation of
Indian Women

The forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism continue to interfere in the affairs of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. One consequence is that internal reaction rears its head. This underscores

the importance of the struggle for peace, security, and the consolidation of the political and economic independence of their countries for women as well as for all patriotic forces.

The overwhelming majority of the women in virtually all developing countries live in rural communities. That is why they are so active in the movement for truly democratic agrarian reform. According to recent data, the overall illiteracy rate is 27.7 per cent in Latin America, 56.7 per cent in Asia, and 83.7 per cent in Africa. But these figures are higher for women. Our movement gives the greatest attention to combating illiteracy. Education offers women the opportunity to learn trades and professions, awakens their political and civic consciousness, and helps draw them into the struggle for a new life.

These are the objectives on which the activities of the National Federation of Indian Women are targeted.

We took the initiative of setting up a public committee to carry out activities in accordance with the IWY objectives. There is also a National Committee headed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Together with other democratic organizations we oppose domestic and foreign reaction attempts to reverse national development. This summer Indian women took a firm stand against rampaging reaction and did much to help rebuff it.

Seventy per cent of India's women are illiterate, and one of the major undertakings of this year is the drive to teach 200,000 to read and write. The NFIW has set up 500 literacy circles in Punjab, 200 in Uttar Pradesh, 120 in Manipur, 100 in Assam, etc. In Lucknow we organized central teacher courses.

More and more women in our and other Asian countries are subscribing to the demand to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, for the dismantling of the U.S. base on Diego Garcia Island and all foreign army and naval bases in Asia.

FACTS AND FIGURES

The condition of women in countries with different social systems may be judged by their participation in economic, social and political fields.

International Labor Office data show that, though employment growth rates differ from country to country and region to region, there is a general upward trend in women's employment. This is best illustrated by the trends in socialist countries. In the USSR, 92.5 per cent of all able-bodied women are either employed or receiving training. The percentage of women in the Soviet labor force climbed from 39 per cent in 1940 to 51 per cent in 1974,[5] in Hungary from 36 in 1960

to 43 in 1973, in Poland from 31 in 1946 to 46 in 1974, and in Czechoslovakia from 37.8 in 1948 to 47.5 in 1972.[6]

Women's employment is also growing in capitalist countries. In the United States the percentage of women in the labor force went up from 30 per cent in 1950 to 38 in 1972; Canada from 27 in 1960 to 33 in 1970; Britain from 32 in 1951 to 36 in 1971.[7] In France the number of working women increased 26 per cent between 1962 and 1972, and of working men only 13 per cent.[8]

The nature of women's jobs and employment level. The socialist countries make much fuller use of women in productive labor. Women and men are given equal opportunities in choosing their occupation, and this also in specialized and skilled fields. Women made up 38 per cent of the labor force in Soviet industry in 1940, and as much as 49 per cent in 1974.[9] The percentage of women among operators of complicated mechanisms and appliances is rising steadily: 77 per cent of the automated line operators and 42 per cent of machinists and motorists controlling automats are women. In the German Democratic Republic the percentage of women in industry has gone up from 39 per cent in 1965 to 45 in 1974. In the Soviet Union some 35 per cent of the engineers employed in designing and development are women.

In capitalist countries most working women have unskilled or low-skill jobs. In France, for example, women comprise 29.6 per cent of the unskilled labor, 22.9 per cent of the low-skill workers, 15.8 per cent of the skilled force, 11.1 per cent of the technicians and 3.4 per cent of the qualified engineers.[10] In Britain there are only some 500 women engineers, and in the United States women engineers are less than one per cent of total. In Japan women make up only eight per cent of the teaching staff in higher educational establishments. 1.3 per cent of primary and secondary school directors and 10 per cent of physicians.

Of the West European countries Italy has the lowest women's employment figure: 17.7 per cent of total female population; for the Federal Republic of Germany the figure is 34.8 per cent, France 41, Belgium 38.9, and Switzerland 27.4.

In capitalist countries unemployment is as a rule higher among women than men. This is seen from official ILO figures. See table below.

Wages. In capitalist countries women's wages are 20 to 50 per cent lower than men's: Britain 41 per cent, Australia 24, Belgium 36, Denmark 22, Ireland 43, Finland 29, Sweden and France 17, FRG 29, Switzerland 35, Japan 53, etc.[11] In the USA male wages average 66 per cent more than women's. Black women are paid half the white

women's wages for the same job, and only 25 per cent of a man's wage.[12] In many African countries women's earnings are 200 to 300 per cent lower than men's.

*Unemployment in 1973**

	men	*women*
Australia	1.4	2.6
Britain	3.3	1.2
Canada	4.3	5.2
Italy	2.6	4.5
Japan	0.9	1.1
Sweden	1.8	3.1
United States — whites	3.0	5.0
— non-whites	6.5	9.2

Source: *Egalité de chances et de traitement pour les travailleuses.* ILO, Geneva, 1975, p. 19.

*In Western Europe unemployment among males increased 25.1 and among females 37.1 per cent in 1974.

The socialist countries observe the principle of eual pay for equal work. Wage rates are the same for men and women, the minimum wage is the same, and the same criteria apply in awarding allowances and bonuses.

Health. In capitalist countries, the World Health Organization reports, the percentage of women among workers afflicted with occupational varieties of cancer is rising, especially in jobs involving such toxic substances as asbestos, zinc and lead. In France one infant out of every 25 is born with defects due to harmful chemicals in the air. In Japan mercury and cadmium water pollution has given rise to new ailments, especially harmful to pregnant women.

In the socialist countries free medical services and the single social security system assure preventive health care. There is a far-flung system of residential women's consulting centers, a similar system at enterprises, complemented by a system of periodic medical examinations. Women are transferred to easier jobs during pregnancy, given free accommodation at sanatoria, etc. In Bulgaria, the Labor Code forbids enterprises to reject women job applications due to pregnancy, and the list of jobs harmful to women is periodically revised and complemented.

Mother and child care. In many capitalist countries the maternity leave is very short. Working women are denied compensation for loss of earnings during the post-natal period. Large groups of women

(farm women, house-workers, and others) do not come under the maternity care system. State-run child institutions are inadequate; a large percentage of nurseries and kindergartens are beyond the reach of most working people. In Japan, many companies dismisss women when they marry, others when they have a baby.

The situation in socialist countries is entirely different. Women get paid natal and post-natal leave of 3-4 months and more; when this expires they may take unpaid leave of absence without prejudice to their service record; nursing mothers work shorter hours at full pay; mothers are released from work to care for their sick child, and are paid the usual wage for a definite length of time.

In the Soviet Union more than 14,500,000 children attend year-round or seasonal pre-scholastic institutions; in Bulgaria more than two-thirds of children in the 3 to 7 age bracket are accommodated in kindergartens; in Czechoslovakia 55 per cent in the 3-5 bracket; in Hungary 58 per cent and in the German Democratic Republic 73 per cent in the 3-6 bracket.[13]

Political involvement. In the capitalist countries there is an abyss between the formal recognition of women's right to political activity and its implementation. The data cited at the April 1975 European seminar of women in Brussels show that women comprise only 3 per cent of deputies in the parliament of Japan, 5 per cent in France, 7 in Belgium and the FRG, and 16.1 per cent in Norway.[14] There are only 18 women among 435 members of the House of Representatives in the U.S. Congress and no women in the Senate. And in Australia there is only one woman in Parliament.

In socialist countries women take an active part in government. In the USSR the number of women in the Supreme Soviet is rising steadily: 463 in 1970 and 475 or one-third of total deputies in 1974. More than 3,000 women, or 36 per cent of total deputies, have been elected to the Supreme Soviets of the constituent and autonomous republics of the USSR.[15] There are 159 women, or 31.8 per cent of total deputies, in the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic. In Mongolia 23 per cent of deputies to the Great People's Khural are women, and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam 29.7 per cent of duputies to the National Assembly.

The facts and figures in this survey speak of the high degree of economic, social and political activity of women in socialist countries. They also bear out Lenin's words that wherever the power of capital is preserved, the men retain their privileges.[16]

Y. Blinova
Institute of the International
Working-Class Movement, Academy
of Sciences of the USSR

THE WATCHWORD IS SOLIDARITY

The motto of International Women's Year is 'Equality – Development – Peace.' The United Nations World IWY Conference in Mexico (June-July) and the World Women's Congress in Berlin (October) were preceded by international and regional conferences, seminars and symposiums.

Alexandria (Egypt), March. Afro-Asian symposium on women's social advance sponsored by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization. An active part in it was played by the All-Arab Women's Federation, which speaks for national organizations in 15 Arab countries.

Mogadiscio (Somalia), April. Seminar on 'Equality, Development, and Peace' held by the Pan-African Women's Organization, with a membership of 35 women's organizations and five national-liberation movements.

Caracus (Venezuela), April-May. Regional seminar on women's involvement in development with the accent on demographic problems, sponsored by the United Nations in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Latin America.

London (Great Britain), May. European seminar on 'Can we Overcome Discrimination against Women?' organized by the National Assembly of Women of Great Britain.

New York (USA), May. International seminar on peace and disarmament sponsored jointly by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Women's International Democratic Federation.

Varna (Bulgaria), May. Congress of the International Federation of Women of Legal Careers on 'Women in 1975 and their Equality.'

Geneva (Switzerland), June. Sixtieth session of the International Labor Organization duscussed, among other problems, the question of 'Equal Opportunity and Equal Attitude toward Working Women.'

Alma Ata (USSR), July. Regional seminar of Asian Women's organizations on 'The Role of Women in the Economic Development of their Countries and in Bringing up the Rising Generation,' sponsored jointly by the WIDF and Soviet Women's Committee.

Tunis, July. International seminar on 'Students in the Struggle for Women's Emancipation and Equal Rights' organized by the Tunisian youth movement jointly with the International Union of Students.

Minsk (USSR), August. International seminar on 'Women in the struggle against Fascism, for a Just and Lasting Peace on Earth.'

1. 1975 was proclaimed International Women's Year by decision of the UN General Assembly in December 1972.
2. The WIDF proposed an international women's year at the 24th session of the UN Commission on the position of women early in 1972.

3. All feminist organizations, which in a number of capitalist countries are made up mainly of members of the intelligentsia, share the view that 'male chauvinism' is the root cause of discrimination against women.

4. Adopted by the UN in December 1974.

5. *See Zhenshchiny v SSSR (Women in the USSR), Moscow*, Statistika Publishers, 1975, p. 5.

6. *Participation of Women in Productive Social Labor.* Transcript of seminar held in Moscow, September 17-20, 1974. Archive of the Soviet Women's Committee.

7. *Egalité de chances et de traitement pour les travailleuses.* ILO, Geneva, 1975, p. 11.

8. 5e Conference national de la CGT, 17 et 18 mai 1973, Paris, 1973.

9. *Zhenshchiny v SSSR*, op. cit., p. 15.

10. 5e Conference nationale de la CGT, 17 et 18 mai 1973, Paris, 1973.

11. *Egalité de chances et de traitement pour les travailleuses*, op. cit, pp. 41-42. Round figures; they apply to manufacturing industries.

12. According to the U.S. Economic Advisers' Committee.

13. *Egalité de chances et de traitement pour les travailleuses*, op. cit., p. 71.

14. *European Woman's Economic Independence on the Threshold of the 21st Century*. Materials of the European seminar held in Brussels, April 24-26, 1975, p. 277. Archive of the Soviet Women's Committee.

15. *Zhenshchiny v SSSR*, op. cit., p. 3.

16. See V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 41.

Commentary

VICTORY OF REASON AND RELAPSES OF RECKLESSNESS

More and more the attitude of politicians, governments and political parties toward the results of the European Security and Cooperation Conference is a reflection of their attitude toward détente as a whole. Anyone who has taken time to study the Conference documents carefully will easily understand why. The Final Act signed at Helsinki sums up the outcome of a long and important span of European development. One could say it has organically imbibed all the positive aspects of the last few years, the turn from cold war to détente and practical peaceful coexistence. The Conference also indicated new areas of cooperation and new prospects in the struggle for lasting European and world peace.

A resolution passed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers notes that 'the principles proclaimed in the Final Act of the Conference of the sovereign equality of states and their sovereign rights, including the right to freely choose and develop their political, social, economic and cultural systems; refraining from the threat or use of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of

disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; equal rights and self-determination of peoples; cooperation among states; fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law, are called upon to help create on the continent an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence in the free, independent and peaceful development of every country.'[1]

That is why acceptance, or non-acceptance, of the provisions of the Final Act allow for wide-ranging conclusions. Those who accept these principles and would like them to serve as foreign policy guidelines thereby declare for the continuation of the détente process so beneficial to all peoples. Those who deny or belittle the importance of the Conference in effect publicly subscribe to opposition to détente and peaceful cooperation and opt for the cold war.

In the countries of the socialist community, the results of the Conference, which was convened on their initiative and with the support of other European countries, as well as of the United States and Canada, are seen as a victory of reason, as a gain for all peace-loving forces. Top Party, government and legislative bodies have published documents analyzing the Final Act and setting forth further steps in the struggle for détente and peace. Measures were taken to bring the Helsinki decisions to the knowledge of the people.[2]

Reaction to the Conference results in some countries of capitalist Europe and in the United States is in many ways different. True, responsible political circles and figures and many public organizations have endorsed them, holding that the Helsinki meeting was a major contribution to world relations, but at the same time a campaign against them, in the world cold war spirit, has been launched in leading bourgeois newspapers and on radio and television.

Apparently peeved at having been unable to prevent the Conference, which they had opposed to the very last minute, the opponents of détente are now attacking its results. As a starter they are playing down their significance and question the readiness of the socialist states to abide by the agreement.

Typical in this respect is the stand taken by the U.S. *International Herald Tribune*, which is printed in Paris and performs the role of showcase for the trans-Atlantic press in Europe. In the first week following the Conference it carried a series of articles downgrading its achievements. The headings alone are indicative: 'A Cold Peace for a Cold War,' 'Ice Water After the Sauna,' 'Futility of the Helsinki Document,' and so on, and so forth. The scurrilous campaign is not an isolated caper by some irresponsible journalists but, as many facts indicate, part of the strategy of reactionary circles bent on maintaining international tensions and continuing the arms race. Everything that suggests the possibility of further normalizing world relations,

developing cooperation between states, expanding trade, etc., is hateful to them. Even the joint flight of the Soyuz and Apollo space ships, seen by millions as a symbol of the success of détente and scientific and technological cooperation, came under fire from bigots and obscurantists in a section of the bourgeois press.

The purpose of reactionary propaganda, apparently, is to prepare public opinion for a possible change in the general course which, albeit with deviations and back tracking, international relations have followed in the last few years. That purpose was frankly discussed after the Helsinki Conference by American columnist Joseph Kraft in an article entitled 'A Need for an Alternative to Détente' in the *International Herald Tribune* (August 8, 1975). Referring to 'the political world of Washington,' Kraft denigrates the Helsinki meeting as 'a kind of Munich' and 'an exercise in hot air,' sternly declaring that 'the future of détente is in question' and that the United States 'needs to be looking about for an alternative to détente diplomacy.'

Statements by a majority of American statesmen and legislators would suggest that they do not share such views, do not regard détente as 'surrender' and see no need for an alternative. More, most people realize that the only 'alternative' to détente is the return to confrontation and cold war, which did not bring much success for U.S. diplomacy. Small wonder that one leading American politician declared in a television interview on returning from Helsinki that détente was not a favor to anyone; it is a necessity for the United States and for other countries.

The turn to détente and recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence is certainly no favor of capitalism to socialism. It was prompted by circumstances beyond the control of this or that bourgeois politician, by the peoples' fight for peace, the new circumstances in international affairs, the new correlation of world forces. Any concessions that were made were to political realism, to the demands of plain common sense.

Sober-minded politicians in the capitalist world are impelled toward détente by both political necessity and economic imperatives. Even the wealthiest imperialist powers can no longer afford to spend tens of billions of dollars annually on arms. That hard truth was forcefully driven home by the current economic crisis, the greatest since the last war, with unemployment in all major West European countries running into seven-digit figures, their currencies cracking at the seams under the blows of inflation and budget deficits, and the 'economy' axe chopping off primarily social spending, thus aggravating internal tensions. That is just why public response to the socialist countries' proposals aimed at first slowing down and then halting the arms race has been so favorable.

The consolidation of political détente – the main result of the Helsinki meeting – has opened the way to military détente. The first need is to find ways and means of reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe so as not to jeopardize anyone's security but, on the contrary, to be of benefit to all. Yet the NATO 'top brass' and representatives of army circles in a number of capitalist countries are doing their worst to undermine public confidence in détente. Again, as though on orders (or maybe really on orders?), they have brought out the old story of a 'Soviet threat,' to demand more military expenditure and prevent any reduction.

Characteristically, on the heels of the Helsinki Conference, General Haig, the U.S. commander of NATO forces in Europe, found nothing better than to order a 'regrouping' of forces on the bloc's northern flank. In Great Britain, Field-Marshal Sir Michael Carver, Chief of Defense Staff, went on television to attack détente and call for a 'positions of strength' policy. Counting on an uninformed public, Carver complained of defense cuts, whereas in actual fact British arms spending is rising at a rate of about £200 million a year.[3]

False references to the 'military threat' from the Soviet Union have always been staple fare of reactionary militaristic propaganda. It was the banner under which Hitler Germany rearmed, it was the reasoning behind the monstrous inflation of military budgets in NATO countries after the war. The spuriousness of the claim would have seemed to be long since demonstrated by the historical experience of Europe and the rest of the world, but the organizers of the current drive against the Helsinki accord have no qualms about including such stale fare in their propaganda menu.

Attempts with little or no logic behind them are also continuing to prove that the European Conference and its decisions consolidating détente have benefited only the Soviet Union and its friends. The authors of such claims seem unaware that they are thus involuntarily complimenting the socialist community while presenting the governments of Western Europe, the United States and Canada in an unsavory light. For it would thus appear that they are not interested in asserting the principles of peace, security, equality and above-board cooperation . . .

To somehow bolster their claim of 'unilateral advantages' for the Soviet Union, some people in the capitalist West have been attempting to reduce the Helsinki accord solely to the question of inviolability of borders. The whole thing is, they claim, that the Final Act 'sanctifies,' 'ratifies' or 'protects' the Soviet Union's postwar frontiers. But, to begin with, those frontiers are adequately protected and require no 'ratification.'[4] Besides, it should be clear to anyone who has read the Helsinki document that it speaks of the inviolability of

the borders of all participating countries, not just some, and that collective endorsements of the principle is a cornerstone in the foundation of European peace and security. After all, many conflicts and wars have been over borders.

It must be said that the opponents of détente are in general at odds with plain logic. For after starting out with declaring the Final Act to be of benefit 'only' to the Soviet Union, they then go on to demonstrate that it is of no value to anyone because it is 'not legally binding.' To this it could be said that the strength of the Helsinki accord in the eyes of the peoples of Europe and the rest of the world depends solely on how its 35 signatories go about implementing its provisions. The socialist countries, as is known, have declared their intention consistently to put the accords into effect, a commitment solemnly reaffirmed also by many European bourgeois governments.

The question of the extent to which international documents are 'legally binding' is in general not as simple as it may seem to some cynics. History knows all too many cases of treaties, impeccable juridicially, having been broken and ultimately not worth the paper they were written on. On the other hand, less formal accords have on many occasions proved viable and durable.

The Helsinki Final Act did not appear from scratch. It rests on the sound basis of international law. The principles embodied in it reaffirm legally binding provisions incorporated in bilateral treaties and other documents signed in the last few years between the Soviet Union and France, the FRG, the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Canada and other countries, as well as between Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR and the FRG. At the same time the Final Act is rooted in all antecedent documents, which gives it added force and authority.

The relapses of political recklessness that have been erupting here and there in the world since the All-European Conference are indicative of the tenacity of the cold war inertia. We should not be lulled into imagining that once 33 European and two North American governments have attached their seals to the idea of détente the general public can weaken its efforts. Quite the contrary. Imperialism never takes a single voluntary step along the road of détente. It is forced along it by popular pressure, the initiatives of the socialist states, supported by the Communist movement and all progressive forces in the world. That is why now that the All-European Conference is over the progressive forces must continue to press unflaggingly for the further promotion of détente as they did when the conference was still in the preparatory stages.

Jan Prazsky

1. Peace and Socialism Publishers *Information Bulletin*, No. 15 (295), 1975.

2. It is worth noting that in the socialist countries the Conference documents were published in the most widely circulated press organs. In the Soviet Union, for example, the full text of the Final Act was carried by the CPSU newspaper *Pravda* and the organ of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet *Izvestia*, whose combined circulation is around 20 million. Other national dailies carried detailed accounts. The Conference documents were carried in full by *Rude Pravo*, organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by the GDR's *Neues Deutschland*, etc. By contrast, not one leading bourgeois paper in Western Europe or the United States printed the Conference decisions, even though some publish dozens of pages and all claim 'freedom of information.'

3. See *Morning Star*, Aug. 2, 1975. Following the Field-Marshal's cue, the propaganda campaign against détente and for expanding the arms race was joined by Air Marshal Sir Nigel Maynard and General Sir Harry Tuzo, commander-in-chief of Britain's Rhine Army. Speaking before a Parliamentary subcommittee, General Tuzo declared that 'the Russian military threat is worse' and that since détente began 'we are certainly not safer than we were three years ago.' These statements angered a number of prominent Labour MPs. (*Morning Star*, Aug. 7, 1975).

4. Ordinary people in capitalist countries often have a better idea of the issues than some 'professionals.' Characteristic in this respect is a letter to the *International Herald Tribune* (Aug. 8, 1975) from one S.M. Fitzmaurice in Geneva. Angered by American harping on the border issue, he writes, among other things: 'Neither the United States nor its NATO allies have the power to change the present European borders. In addition, these borders have more historic, ethnic and geo-political justification than we care to concede. So let us get out of our hypocritical shell and face the facts. The Soviet Union and the Socialist countries are here to stay – fortunately for a large proportion of mankind.'

theory

Socialism and the cultural revolution

Ludmila Zhivkova
Chairman, Committee on
Art and Culture,
People's Republic of Bulgaria

Socialism and the cultural revolution is a complex and multifaceted subject now being studied by theorists in many countries. How does socialist society facilitate the development of culture and, conversely, what role does culture play in socialism's advance to communism? The experience of more than 30 socialist years provides, I believe, material for theoretical interpretation and for certain general conclusions.

The principles of the Communist Party's cultural policy rest on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the essence of culture as a whole, for all the diversity of its concrete manifestations. And this analysis must take into account the fact that culture is the self-assertion, the development of the human essence understood not as an abstraction, but, in the words of Marx, as the 'ensemble of the social relations.' And only by a dialectico-materialist approach to reality can we obtain a true picture of the relation between culture and society, and thus lay firm methodological foundations for the theory of culture. Seen in this light, the approach to culture as a means of 'humanizing' man is of immense importance. This function of culture accords with the struggle for communism. For communism, as Marx wrote, is the 'return of man to himself as *social*. . .being,' and in this sense it equals humanism, for it provides the '*genuine* resolution of the conflict between man and nature and between man and man – the true resolution of the strife between existence and essence, between objectification and self-conformation, between freedom and necessity.'

Contained in these Marxist-Leninist principles is the explanation of why scientific socialism has always shown a profound interest in culture and the laws governing its development, and why the Communists have always considered the cultural revolution an essential

element of social revolution, and the socialist cultural revolution an important element and vehicle of socialist revolution. That is expressed in the following passage in the program of the Bulgarian Communist Party: 'Our artistic creation and activity acquire exceptional importance as an irreplaceable means of communist education and development of the personality and, at the same time, as one of the main areas in which the creative essence of the new man and his striving for the beautiful and lofty will find increasingly full expression. At this stage literature and art are transformed into an organic element of the Party's cause and facilitate the development of socialist society in our country and the triumph of the communist ideals throughout the world.'

That attitude logically follows from the history of our Communist Party. A sceintific approach to culture is typical of the philosophical and literary works of its founder, Dimiter Blagoyev. Georgi Dimitrov's deep concern for the development of culture found expression in his famous words that 'every nation, no matter how small, can and should make a valuable contribution to the treasure-trove of culture.' The building of socialism not only creates the necessary preconditions for the continued flourishing of culture, but is also an essential prerequisite of the socialist cultural revolution. One might recall, in this context, what Lenin said in October 1921: 'After we had solved the problem of the greatest political revolution in history, other problems confronted us, cultural problems . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 73). Lenin was referring to the need to develop culture in the broadest sense of the word, and, of course, this included what we have now come to designate as 'artistic culture.'

It includes all the characteristic features of culture in general, but has a number of its own specific features. In defining them we should, I think, bear in mind that artistic culture includes the artistic process (creativity of the individual artist and the historical evolution of artistic creation in general), and also the following components: the result of the artistic process (the sum-total of artistic values), the custody, popularization and assimilation of works of art; the various institutions, forms and means of consciously and purposefully regulating cultural processes. However, it is also important to bear in mind that, notwithstanding all the complexity and multiformity of artistic culture, we can single out its central components. These, I think, are the main conduits of artistic culture and it its they that determine the *specific character* of all the other components – the ways and means, for instance, of disseminating culture, of cultivating an appreciation of art, the methods, also, of directing cultural activity and regulating the processes involved therein.

The history of socialist art in Bulgaria provides ample corrobora-

tion of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the chief purpose of art, that complex and dialectically contradictory phenomenon, is to provide a true reflection of reality, particularly social reality. Corroborated also is another Marxist-Leninist tenet, namely, that in depicting reality, in transmuting it into artistic images, athe artist at the same time measures it against his own aesthetic ideal. This creative process produces a new reality, a work of art in which are materialized the artist's world outlook, his ideological and emotional attitude toward life. The main designation of this new reality is to make the artist's vision of the world directly accessible to, and accepted by, the public. If the artist succeeds in this, he has evoked an intellectual, emotional and volitional response similar to his own. That is why a work of art, and artistic culture in general, is a powerful weapon of ideological influence on the masses. That is why the art of socialist realism, which truthfully reflects and assesses reality in accordance with the communist social and aesthetic ideals, is an irreplaceable means of communist education. It is deeply partisan in its very essence, since it should become, in Lenin's words, 'a component of organized, planned and integrated ... Party work' (Vol. 10, p. 45).

The ideal toward which the Communist Party leads the people and the ideal of the art of socialist realism are identical. The communist aesthetic ideal is but a facet of the communist social ideal. The Communist Party's cultural policy is based on a deep understanding of the link between the two. The success of that policy can be measured by the country's cultural progress.

The victory of the socialist revolution on September 9, 1944, opened to our people the road to socialism and communism and gave a powerful impetus to Bulgarian national art and artistic culture in general. Thanks to the unremitting solicitude of the Bulgarian Communist Party, particularly after the historic April 1956 Central Committee plenum, our socialist culture has scored remarkable achievements. The main requisites of a national cultural renaissance were created in the socialist years: the gigantic expansion of our productive forces, notably in building the material and technical basis of socialism; the triumph of socialist production relations; a more socially homogeneous society; considerably higher per capita incomes; higher educational standards; more free time, that 'chief criterion' of society's wealth; continued advance of the scientific and technological revolution.

Socialist artistic creation in Bulgaria is based on class and Party concepts. Its supreme goal is to serve the people, inspire and help their work of building socialism. Artistic creation endeavors truthfully to reflect reality from the standpoint of the communist aesthetic ideal and communist partisanship. This determines its art-value and social

significance. These characteristics did not appear all at once; they were present in the early works of our proletarian artists, men and women who devoted their lives and work to the communist cause, and who laid the foundations for the cultural revival after the victory of the socialist revolution.

Optimism is an intrinsic feature of our artistic culture. If follows from the artist's philosophical principles, his communist world outlook, lofty humanist ideals, his close ties with the people. Our art is humanist and internationalist and inseparably linked with patriotism and the national character.

Socialism, with its congenial climate for artistic creation, has greatly extended the number of people engaged in art and has raised its standards. Our achievements are measurable in facts and figures though, of course, we are aware of the relative value of figures in relation to art. Thus in 1945 there were published 0.95 books per capita, in 1970 the figure was 4.8. The tempestuous development of our musical art is evidenced by the fact that the world's leading opera theatres welcome Raina Kabaivanskaya and Nikolai Gyaurov and a galaxy of other Bulgarian vocalists. More and more young pianists, violinists and other performers play to appreciative audiences in other countries. Bulgaria, which holds a top place in the world in number of opera companies, orchestras, music schools and amateur art ensembles, is far ahead of many countries with long-standing musical traditions.

The motion picture industry is growing fast. The number of films of all types produced annually increased from 10 in 1945 to 337 in 1970, and the yearly output of documentaries rose 34 times over. Only one feature film was shot in 1950 – and 28 in 1970. In number of theatres per thousand cinema-goers Bulgaria is second only to the Soviet Union. At present 97 per cent of the populace have the opportunity to see films regularly, although the number of theatres in cities is still below requirements.

Despite the great advances of the cinema and television, the theatre remains one of the basic art forms. In 1970 performances were attended by 5.3 million people. Our theatre has always been close to life. In the years of socialist construction this link has grown still stronger. The repertoire is being constantly enriched. Bulgarian playwrights have produced many vivid, truthful works about our life, and they occupy a dominant place.

In fine art artistic creation is on the upsurge. Artists strive to probe contemporary problems in greater depth, advancing from illustrations of life to penetration to the very essence of events, to the interpretation of life in terms of fine art. Recognition of the achievements of Bulgarian artists is indicated by the continued growth in the number

of one-man exhibitions and the mounting attendence of them. In the years of popular power the people have been able to get acquainted with all of the best that has been created by Bulgarian masters. Following the opening of the National Art Gallery in Sofia in 1948, picture galleries were set up in other major towns, and existing museums began to form art collections. In 1970 there were 17 city and seven rural galleries, and 15 museum collections.

The development of museums is symptomatic of the artistic climate. In 1944 there were 13 museums and 30 collections. The turning point came after the April 1956 plenum of the CC BCP. At present there are 181 state museums and some 400 museum expositions. In proportion to the population this is considerably more than in many other countries. By 1971 museum repositories had some nine million exhibits, and the average annual increase in the 1960s was 75,000 items. Most of the new pieces are archaeological finds dug up under an extensive excavation program aimed at bringing to light our land's rich cultural and historical past. Like other socialist countries, Bulgaria is currently in the midst of a 'museum explosion,' one of the indicators of which is a steep rise in attendance. In the last 12 years our museums were visited by more than 95 million persons. Museums have become an important means of mass education, which imposes great responsibilities on their personnel.

The requirements of socialist contemporaneity determine the content of radio and television broadcasts. Besides various information programs and popularization of art, radio and television studios produce plays, films, and other original works of their own. In the five years from 1965 to 1970 the number of TV sets increased from 22.5 to 121.4 per thousand of population.

Of major importance for the promotion of artistic culture is the expansion of its material base. In the last 10 years cultural facilities have approximately tripled. Vivid proof of this are new theatre and opera houses, concert and exhibition halls, cinemas, libraries, museums, book clubs, houses of culture, etc. Another important aspect is the development of the production base in motion pictures, radio, television and other related spheres. It is noteworthy that investment in cultural facilities increased at a faster rate than in the economy as a whole.

A characteristic feature of the new, socialist culture is that the working people not only have full access to all the nation's cultural values but are themselves becoming a motive force of artistic development. Socialist culture is today created not only by professionals but by the masses as well. Indicative of this is the broad participation of workers, peasants, and intellectuals in various amateur art activities, in theatrical, musical, literary and other groups.

In addition to concern for the development and enrichment of the treasury of national spiritual values, the Party, the state and all cultural workers aim at acquainting the people with the progressive, democratic and humanistic art of other countries. In its attitude toward the cultural heritage of the past and contemporary artistic creation of other peoples, our Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that popular, proletarian culture – and this includes artistic culture – is profoundly international in essence. No national culture, especially in our time, can develop successfully in isolation from progressive world culture, and without contributing to its development. The guiding principle of the Party and the socialist state on this issue is a differentiated approach toward the spiritual values created by mankind. In his 'Critical Remarks on the National Question' Lenin wrote: 'There are two national cultures in every national culture. There is the Great-Russian culture of the Purishkeviches, Guchkovs and Struves – but there is also the Great-Russian culture typified in the names of Chernyshevsky and Plekhanov. There are *the same two cultures* in the Ukraine as there are in Germany, in France, England ...' (Vol. 20, p. 32)

It is such sentiments that guide us in our efforts to make the best progressive, democratic, revolutionary values in the culture of other peoples part of the heritage of the Bulgarian people. This attitude toward world culture, toward contemporary artistic creation, toward the art of the past, was reflected in a speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC BCP, at a congress of workers of culture in 1967. He pointed out three inexhaustible sources of Bulgarian socialist culture: a rich national heritage, socialist contemporaneity, and the progressive culture of mankind – especially socialist culture, the culture of the Soviet people in the first place. 'It is from these three sources,' he said, 'that the full-flowing river of our culture springs. They determine its contents, its mighty mainstream, its purpose. From thence we draw and shall continue to draw the life-giving juices, the vital forces that go into the making of our culture, the building of the new society, the moulding of the man of the future, the man of communism.'

In socialist culture there is no place for vulgarity, reactionary ideas, misanthropy and other elements of bourgeois culture. We have no use either for blatantly anti-popular culture or for the so-called 'mass culture' forcibly implanted by bourgeois propaganda. According to the Leninist theory of cultural revolution, spiritual values should promote the awareness of the masses, draw them into creative activity. That is why we see the prime achievement of the cultural revolution as being the creation of an entirely new system of spiritual life, a socialist culture and the moulding of the moral features of man as an

active builder of the new world. It follows that the Marxist-Leninist view of the meaning and significance of the cultural revolution has nothing in common with its Maoist interpretation.

The further democratization of government, the growing cultural and educational functions of the socialist state, the fostering of a creative atmosphere for encouraging mass initiative, the enhancement of the role of creative unions – all this has made it possible to place a number of government functions in public hands.

In 1967, the BCP Central Committee passed a decision on the reorganization of the Committee on Art and Culture, making it into a public-cum-state body. It is part of a scientifically justified experiment closely associated with the introduction of a new system of public government in our country. The public-cum-state system of administrative management in the cultural sphere pursues a dual objective: first, to increase the real participation of the masses in the cultural process and draw the creators and consumers of cultural values into relevant administrative functions, and second, to pursue a more consistent policy of bringing together the activities of the whole cultural community on the basis of the cultural policy of the Party and the socialist state. The Committee must work in cooperation with the creative unions, public organizations and the cultural community. This original and successful form of organization of cultural life has given a tremendous impetus to the further democratization of the whole course of the socialist cultural revolution.

To complete the restructuring of the management of artistic culture on the basis of a combination of public and state forms, in April 1974 the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers set up a national complex 'Artistic Creation, Cultural Activity, the Mass Media.' It brings together, within a unified public-cum-state system, all activities in the spheres of art and culture sponsored by the government, public organizations and the creative unions, assuring a unified policy for the purpose of fuller satisfaction of the people's cultural requirements. The complex provides conditions for better planning of cultural activity and the establishment of a unified, coordinated system of scientific and applied-scientific activity for elaborating and theoretically elucidating the main problems and processes of the socialist cultural revolution. The establishment of the national complex is a qualitatively new step toward the perfection of the organizational and administrative structure of our cultural front in accordance with the requirements of the present stage of Bulgaria's development.

At this stage the basic task of culture is the all-round development of the personality. It necessitated the urgent elaboration and practical realization of a scientifically substantiated comprehensive na-

tional program of aesthetic education, work on which began under a decision of the 10th BCP Congress. The Institute of Cultural Problems of the Committee on Art and Culture, jointly with the Bulgarian scientific institutes, public organizations, government departments and creative unions, has worked out the program's main provisions, using theoretico-methodological elaborations and a number of specific studies. Work will shortly begin on such important aspects as preservation and dissemination of spiritual values, the enhancement of the social effectiveness of culture, training of personnel, expansion of the material and technical base, and improvement of administrative management. The program for popular aesthetic education must be closely linked with the Party program for the comprehensive satisfaction of the steadily rising cultural requirements of the people. This is becoming the main content of the socialist cultural revolution at the present stage.

The theoretical and practical problems facing our cultural front are complex, diverse, and often difficult. However, the experience to date, the successes achieved, the wise leadership of the BCP Central Committee, as well as the help of the fraternal socialist countries and their parties, particularly of the great Soviet Union and the CPSU – all this is a reliable guarantee of successful solution of the tasks of the continuing socialist cultural revolution in our country. The earnest of this is the devoted participation of talented artists, of all workers on the cultural front, closely united around the Bulgarian Communist Party, in the building of a developed socialist society.

The peasantry in the struggle for democracy and socialism

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST DISCUSSION

The problems of the worker-peasant alliance, the social and economic position of the peasantry, its place and role in the anti-imperialist movement, have been repeatedly discussed on the pages of this journal (see articles by S. Alvarez, *WMR* October 1973; G. Plissonnier — June 1974; J. Flavien — April 1975).

The editors asked delegates to the Agricultural Conference of Communist parties of capitalist Europe in May for their views on the role of the peasantry as an ally of the working class. The replies are printed on this and the following pages together with a letter from Canadian reader Robert Kenny.

New developments

The discussion begun by your journal on the allies of the working class (reader Kenny writes) should, I think, devote special attention to the position of the peasantry.

One is often asked whether the peasants of today – particularly considering the historical perspective – can be regarded as an important ally of the working class. In some West European countries and North America peasant farmers make up no more than 4-8 per cent of the gainfully employed population, and the decline continues. The Mansholt plan envisages a reduction of the Common Market peasant population from 11 million (1967) to only five million by 1980. The plan presented by Vedel, chairman of the French government commission on agriculture, is even more drastic: the French farming population is to be reduced from three million to between 600,000 and 700,000 by 1985.

Nor is it only a matter of diminishing numbers. The social position and image of the farmer have changed. Sociologists and economists say that the farmers now comprise a new social category with little resemblance to the peasant as we have known him. Thus Gervais, Servolin and Weil in their *France Without Peasants* say that the recent evolution has virtually made the peasantry a thing of the past, for what we have now are small and medium capitalist entrepreneurs of the same type as the North American farmer. How true is this? Of course, forms of exploitation have changed under state-monopoly capitalism.

My own opinion: the small and diminishing peasant populations in a number of countries and the changes in agriculture give rise to doubts which should be dispelled and to questions which should be carefully discussed. And in the course of the discussion it would be good, I think, to work out replies to the question of whether or not the whole problem of the peasantry as our natural ally is relegated to the background in highly developed capitalist countries, giving way to the problem of unity within the working class in countries where it represents the majority of the nation, or to the problem of alliance with the intermediate, middle strata which are so rapidly growing under monopoly capitalism and the technological revolution.

Lastly, it is my impression that in developing countries there has been a certain decline of the peasant movement over the past 10-15

years (possibly as a result of agrarian reforms) compared with the period of the struggle for national independence. In this context, I would like to know more about the revolutionary potential of the peasantry in these countries and how the question is posed there of the peasantry as an ally of the working class.

Robert Kenny
Toronto, Canada

ANTI-MONOPOLY IMPLICATIONS OF THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

Ludwig Müller Presidium and Secretariat Member, German Communist Party

The Common Market has accentuated concentration of capital, intensified rivalry and the monopoly plunder of the working peasant, besides, of course, disorganizing agricultural production and adding to the uneven development of member countries. In the FRG, nearly 75 per cent of peasant farms have been forced out of business in the past 25 years. The peasant population is less than half the pre-EEC figure. And since Bonn complies with EEC policy directives, another 100,000 peasant farms are in jeopardy.

Add to this the fact that the peasantry is very far from winning its long-standing demands for higher prices, guaranteed markets, cheaper agricultural machinery, and more free time. Nor is there much consolation in the fact that West German agriculture has a higher productivity growth rate than other industries. There were promises of a guaranteed living standard, stable markets, reasonable food prices for the consumer, etc. But the reality is that for more than 10 years now average peasant incomes have been from 20 to 50 per cent below the average for industrial workers.

The crisis of state-monopoly capitalism has led to intensified exploitation of farm workers, small and middle peasants. New sections of the farming community are feeling the pinch of monopoly policy. There is thus ample evidence that big business has proved its total inability to solve the problems of agriculture.

Experience has shown that unless the power of big capital is restricted and overcome, the organization of cooperatives will not save the peasants from ruin. In the six years (1967-73) membership in crop-farming cooperatives dropped by 55,000 and by all of 195,000 in dairy cooperatives. Our Party has always maintained that only socialism can save the peasants.

The West European peasantry is a powerful force in the anti-

monopoly struggle for democratic change and socialism. Its importance lies not only, and not so much, in its numbers – there are about 9,600,000 peasants in the Common Market countries. It lies also in the fact that the peasantry, subjected as a rule to the most intensive exploitation, is awakening to active struggle. Formation of the EEC agrarian market was greeted with vigorous mass peasant actions. They reached culminating point in 1974 with joint action, for the first time and on a wide scale, by peasants in France, Belgium, Holland and Federal Germany in protest against the EEC farm-price policy and the price diktat of the big industrial and trading concerns.

The peasants' long and hard struggle has prevented the big concerns from establishing their full control over food production.

The German Communist Party is concentrating on explaining its policy to the people and bringing them into the anti-monopoly struggle. One of the most graphic and popular ways of doing that is public sales of agricultural produce at wholesale prices to show the people what the farmer actually gets and what the consumer is made to pay. These sales are usually accompanied by informal talks to expose those responsible for inflation and to show that workers and peasants are exploited in the same way, and that the retail trader is being ruined by the big wholesalers. The sales are held under the slogan Keep Prices Down, and they are helping to promote the anti-monopoly movement and counter attempts to blame the inflation on the workers and peasants.

The success of the peasants' fight for democratic and anti-monopoly change depends on close alliance with the working class. The peasantry needs day-to-day support of the millions of organized workers, just as the working class needs alliance with the peasants. Only such an alliance can prevent a price diktat by the big concerns and banks, and counter the EEC anti-peasant policy. Without this alliance – and the situation favors its growth – there is no halting capitalist concentration, which spells ruin for hundreds of thousands of peasant farms. Without such an alliance there can be no democratic alternative that will keep the peasants in business, guarantee fair wholesale prices and marketing through cooperatives based on voluntary membership.

That being the position, the Communist parties in capitalist countries are faced with the all-important task of building up this historically necessary alliance between the organized working class and the peasantry, whose very existence is endangered by big business exploitation. The Communist parties should concert their efforts on popularizing this alliance and bring home to every worker and peasant the understanding that the present and future problems of our countries' agriculture and industry will be solved in the interests of the

working people only if the power of the monopoly concerns is broken.

The history of our Communist parties is rich in diverse forms of militant action at national level. However, in present conditions there are vast opportunities for coordinated international action to achieve, stage by stage, definite goals or accomplish intermediate tasks.

THE NEW REALITIES DO NOT UNDERMINE THE FOUNDATIONS OF WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

Emmanuele Macaluso Member of the Leadership, Italian Communist Party

The Italian working class can today count on allies not only among the poor, landless peasants, but also among the more prosperous. The position of even the well-to-do farmer, the one with his own plot of land, has changed in capitalist Europe. With the advance of technology and the new marketing conditions he employs less hired labor and is increasingly dependent on the monopolies that buy his product and sell him machines, fertilizer, etc. He is coming to see that big industry and state-monopoly capitalism are his enemies. He is coming to feel more tangibly the need for unity, the need to overcome his traditional individualism. For he realizes that big capital is extracting surplus value from his labor just as in the case of the industrial worker. And the more state-monopoly capitalism exploits the peasants, the more acute becomes the question of the state, its nature and how it is run. In this way the new realities are creating the objective conditions for alliance of the working class and the rural ıniddle strata. However – and on this point there is full clarity – a very large part of the peasants are influenced by the conservative Catholic and secular parties and are an important element of the ruling bloc.

In addition to associations of small farmers, Italy has two big peasant organizations, the Peasant Union (a unitarian democratic organization of agricultural cooperatives) and the Catholic peasant organization. In the past it followed a pro-government and avowedly anti-communist and anti-labor line. In the last two or three years certain contradictions have come to the surface in this organization, which runs some big corporate institutions, also banks, medical services, etc. The contradictions are due to the government's corporate protectionist policy, which has failed to moderate, let alone resolve, the crisis of the small farms, itself the result of EEC, government and monopoly policy, and a tentative, but highly indicative, dialogue has begun with the Peasant Union and the trade unions.

Catholic influence is attributable to the long and painstaking work of Catholic organizations among the rural population, but also to the errors committed first by the socialist movement and later, at a definite stage, also by the Communist Party. I refer to the differences between farm laborers and peasants and the call for collectivization of all land as an immediate aim, which would imply expropriation also of small holdings. In contrast, the Catholics, or at least part of them, advocated support of the small farms and the granting of plots to poor and landless peasants. The distrust of our Party by the small landowner and his disbelief in the socialist perspective can be overcome only by propaganda, but unfortunately it does not always reach the peasants. We therefore are working for mass political action and are explaining what we want to change in rural Italy and how we intend to refashion society and direct it toward socialism. That initiative is absolutely necessary if we are to build a firm system of working-class alliances.

Our aim is to split the ruling bloc of the big bourgeoisie by showing the peasant masses their real enemy. We are seeking to influence them not only through propaganda, but also by a clearcut anti-monopoly program. In this respect we have taken the intitiative in opposing corporate protectionism, which militates both against the peasant and society as a whole.

We should not confine ourselves to campaigning for the peasants' immediate demands, however important. We ought to concentrate on promoting unity, on bringing into the struggle the entire farming community and forming an independent democratic organization.

This should make it easier to reach agreement with the Socialists, Catholics and Social Democrats, who enjoy influence among the peasants, in order to work out common positions in the fight for agrarian and anti-monopoly reform.

We should bear in mind the positive role of small peasant property, both individual and collective. Bringing the peasants into cooperatives must always be on a voluntary basis and in the interests of the peasants. The cooperatives should make for higher productivity. That policy, we belive, is applicable not only to Italy's transition to socialism, but also to the socialist society that will be organized with due account of national specifics and with the agreement and participation of the peasants who gradually, on a democratic basis, will join the working class and other social strata interested in the development of socialism and in promoting agriculture.

We must considerably improve Party work in rural areas, win new members for the Party, primarily among the youth, and achieve broad participation in the unitarian peasant organizations.

This policy is inseparably linked with our efforts for détente and

peace in Europe and the world, for a new content to European integration.

WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE CENTRAL TO PARTY POLICY

Giorgis Panitsidis CP Greece

The farming population, which accounts for 40 per cent of the work force, has been hard hit by the crisis. Agriculture is now increasingly dependent on local and foreign monopolies which, with the support of the bourgeois state, are threatening the very existence of the small and middle farms, which make up 90 per cent of the total. An important contributing factor is the wide gap between prices of farm produce and the manufactured goods the farmer needs. The government subsidy to help the peasant farmer is a drop in the ocean.

Monopoly penetration in agriculture is having a ruinous effect. First, there is virtual anarchy on the farming market; second, the burden of indirect taxes on the small and middle farmer; third, exploitation by banking and usurer capital and, fourth, the exodus of thousands of peasants to the towns or other countries.

The government's import and export policy is to the advantage of big capital and to the disadvantage of the peasants. As a rule, it disturbs the balance between farm output and its processing, between cattle and crop farming. Another adverse factor is Greece's association with the Common Market. Our Party is campaigning against the Common Market membership because it would only give the leading EEC members and the U.S. tighter control of the Greek economy and exacerbate the problem of agriculture. And yet the facts show that there are ample opportunities to sell more farm produce to the socialist countries. Greece would benefit from this, for the socialist countries can assure balanced and non-deficit exchange, which would invigorate our agriculture and the economy as a whole.

The problem of bringing the peasants into the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle acquires much importance in this context. The Greek peasants fought to uphold their interests during all the years of the dictatorship. The struggle became especially vigorous and widespread following the changes of July 1974. The peasantry is coming to see that the Karamanlis government represents the interests of capital and supports a thin stratum of capitalist farmers. But revolutionary traditions are being revived and practically every day sees strikes, meetings, protest marches, in many cases supported by the workers.

The decisions of our Ninth Party Congress and the April 1975 CC resolution on the position of the peasants and the tasks of the Party are designed to improve Party work in the rural areas, promote the peasant movement and bring it into closer contact with the working-class movement. The worker-peasant alliance is today becoming the very center of our efforts to unite all the anti-monopoly forces.

Notwithstanding the long years of underground work and the difficulties the Communist Party has to contend with, we enjoy a large degree of authority and influence among the laboring peasants. Our Party supports the peasants' struggle both in and out of parliament and is doing everything within its power to win popular support, building up unity of all working people in the course of the joint struggle. Our Party believes that the government's policy toward the peasantry will further aggravate the problem of peasant farming, the crisis of agriculture and of the country as a whole. We therefore emphasize that only sustained struggle for unity of the peasantry and its support by the working class and all urban working people, their close alliance, can help overcome the present crisis and meet the demands of the laboring peasants. And as this struggle progresses, the peasants will more clearly see that their problems can be fully solved only under socialism.

The Editors welcome readers' contributions to the discussion.

The anti-monopoly alliance and small and medium business

Jean Chatain
Executive Editor, *Économie et politique* (France)

The key issue discussed by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of France was 'The Alliance of the French People for Democratic Change.' It formulated the conditions for setting up an anti-monopoly alliance centered on the working class and designed to extricate the nation from the stalemate created by monopoly rule. The crisis of French society is deepening, affecting all aspects of national life, most directly the working class, job-holders in general, family farmers and ever increasingly, artisans, retailers and small and medium businesses.

With respect to the middle strata the powers-that-be are faced with an irreconcilable contradiction: while they strive to keep them under their political and ideological influence and have them continue to play the part of abettor of the big bourgeoisie, the monopolies are placing the burden of the crisis on the whole nation, including small and medium businesses. They are stepping up economic reconstruction to strengthen the hold of the big multinational companies over the national wealth, thereby encroaching on national independence.

Ever since the crisis broke into the open the state has been expanding on its policy of interference for the benefit of the monopolies along three main lines: higher taxes, the burden of which is imposed on the working population and non-monopoly sections; granting of credits primarily to the larger companies (in particular, export companies); reduction of popular consumption, which in the final analysis affects the small and medium businesses that cater mainly for the domestic market. All this undercuts the non-monopoly sector: on the one hand, it accelerates the elimination of small enterprises placed in unfavorable competitive positions; on the other, it provides the financial oligarchy with added means of integrating those small and medium businesses that can serve the purposes of monopoly accumulation.

This double orientation is reflected in the political domain. In his foreword to the book, *Small and Medium Enterprises: The Hour of Decision*, Georges Valbon, member of the Central Committee and head of the CC department responsible for work at small and medium enterprises, writes: 'The plunder of these strata cannot but reflect on their consciousness. Hence the big monopoly bourgeoisie's attempts to hide what it is doing. Many of its political and ideological measures are designed to evade responsibility for the elimination of small and medium businesses. More, if it suits the monopolies' purpose they may concede that small businesses have a significant part to play, noting their "adaptability," their "capacity for innovation," which enables them to react swiftly to economic fluctuations . . .'*

The Communist position with respect to small and medium enterprises is based on three considerations.

First, their place in the economic mechanism. In France they play a much greater part than in most other developed capitalist countries, such as Great Britain, the FRG or the United States. This can be illustrated by a few figures: in France there are almost 1,800,000 industrial and commercial enterprises, of which 1,400,000 have five or less employees, or none at all. Artisans and shopowners not employing hired labor and using only family help account for more than 800,000 businesses, or 47.5 per cent of the total.

*See Jean Chatain, Roger Gaudon, *Petites et moyennes enterprises: l'heure du choix*. Edition Sociales, 1975, p. 8. Our arguments are based on this book. – *J.C.*

Second, the importance of small and medium businesses in the employment structure. Four million persons are employed by enterprises with up to 10 hired workers; five million work at enterprises that have from 10 to 500 people on their payrolls. On the whole more than half the wage and salary earners (9,000,000 out of 17,000,000) work at small and medium enterprises. The importance of the problem is enhanced by the fact that typically these enterprises offer lower wages, have a longer working day, and a high rate of labor turnover. Furthermore, it is harder for workers at a small factory to organize against exploitation and in defense of their interests.

Third, the possibility of the struggle of the working class merging with the discontent of the middle strata. The middle strata are far from homogeneous and the possibilities for such merging vary greatly. The place and role of these strata in the social organization of labor depends, for example, on whether an enterprise belongs to the productive sphere (artisans, small and medium industries) or the non-productive sphere (retail trade, services) or whether one has to do with a small retailer or medium businessman. Self-employed artisans and small retailers, for example, may join the struggle in much the same way as the working peasantry does when it enters into an alliance with the working class. And medium businessmen may also join the struggle, once they are aware that they are the victims of monopoly plunder.

'The managers of the small and medium enterprises subject to the measures facilitating the concentration of capital view the future with apprehension,' states the resolution of the 21st Congress. 'They are threatened not by the legitimate demands of their employees, actively supported by the Communist Party, but by the policy of the big corporations, banks and the authorities. Such a situation should compel them to join the struggle of the popular forces for democratic change.'

There are many forms of subordination of small and medium enterprises to monopoly interests, and they fall into a definite system. In its efforts to cushion the consequences of the crisis and expand the opportunities for accumulation, the oligarchy appropriates the surplus value created by the non-monopoly sector. A praticular form of such appropriation is the spread of subcontractor enterprises which make it possible to maintain the rate of profit of the larger, 'main' enterpise. The super-exploitation to which the workers of a small subcontractor enterprise are frequently subjected helps increase the surplus value at the main enterprise. The growing economic role of the state, the mounting closures of enterprises in industries where concentration is relatively low, as well as the spread of subcontractor organizations, are all manifestations of a trend to oust small ownership as a factor of

reproduction, as a factor for expanding accumulation and monopoly property.

The Communist Party explains to the artisans, shopkeepers, small and medium industrialists that they have one enemy in common with their wage earners: the big monopoly bourgeoisie that is in power. Consequently, they have a stake in joint action against that common enemy in defense of their demands; it is in their interests to put an end to a regime that abets the ruination of the whole population and the plunder of the national wealth by a small band of capitalists. In other words, the main contradiction is between the narrow caste dominating the economy and the state and the overwhelming majority of Frenchmen. And although the middle strata do not constitute a uniform whole, although they occupy not one but several intermediate steps between the two main classes, the differences within them cannot conceal the widening gap between monopoly and non-monopoly interests. That mounting contradiction has an impact on everything the ruling monopoly elements undertake in their effort to find a way out of the crisis of their own making.

A recent example illustrates both the possibilities for the merging of the struggle of the working class with manifestations of discontent among the middle strata and the ideological obstacles to such a merging. To protest the mounting selectivity of credits and the increases in taxes benefiting multinational export companies, a number of organizations of small and medium enterprises threatened to declare a lockout, thus displaying total misunderstanding of the difficulties they face. Who, indeed, is their real adversary? The present wave of closures is due not to the legitimate demands of their workers but to the policy of the government that is at the service of the monopolies. A lockout cannot influence a government whose economic policy is in no small measure based on unemployment. The French Communist Party opposes such actions, showing how they clash with the very purposes they are supposed to serve. It explains to the small and medium industrialists that their demands directed against the policy of monopoly concentration would acquire the effectiveness they lack if they relied on the working-class struggle for employment.

A union of non-monopoly sections should not be seen as a nebulous 'alliance for the sake of alliance,' devoid of content or principles. And the working class should not pay for it by any softening of its vital demands. At the 21st Congress General Secretary Georges Marchais said: 'Unity for us is unity to enhance the fighting ability of the working people, to expand, mobilize and strengthen the struggle of the working class, democratic and national forces against the regime of big capital. We want unity to overcome the monopoly power,

establish advanced democracy and then proceed to socialism ... No other concept of unity can serve the working class or the people. Any other kind of unity can only result in the working class trailing in the wake of the bourgeoisie or some section of it.'

The call for an alliance of the French people does not obfuscate contradictions between certain social categories. On the contrary, today all social strata are victims of monopoly domination and the main thing is their actual convergence, necessitated by the development of the crisis. Our alliance slogan thus indicates the only possible way of ensuring maximum effectiveness of the struggle conducted by each of these strata in defense of their fundamental interests.

Monopoly propaganda and ideological survivals hold back the growth of political consciousness among the middle strata. Reactionary circles supported by some labor leaders are striving to mislead the middle sections by opposing them to the working people and channeling their demands in directions contrary to the national interest. Notably, repeated reference is made, albeit in new forms, to the timeworn theme of the prices and wages spiral, while at the same time 'forgetting' huge monopoly profits. For example, while the increase in oil prices is declared a cause of inflation, no mention is made of the super-profits of the oil cartels. The purpose of such propaganda is obvious: to prevent the unification of different sections of the French people that are victims of monopoly exploitation, split them by artificially fanning differences between wage and salary earners and the small and medium proprietors so as to divert attention from the main contradiction, the antagonism between the big monopoly bourgeoisie and all other social strata. The anti-monopoly front proposed by the Communist Party does not reduce the contradictions between the working class and small and medium entrepreneurs. However, the Party explains that the main levers are in the hands of the financial and industrial trusts, that they are increasingly playing the part of collective exploiter of the society as a whole.

The role of small and medium businesses in the social organization of production in France has been increasingly reduced to that of collector of surplus value for the monopolies. Of course, they continue to be exploiters in their own right, but this is secondary to the fact that they are becoming an intermediate link in the machinery of monopoly exploitation, as revealed by the example of subcontractor enterprises.

The struggle in defense of wage and salary earners continues to have top priority, but it can and should go hand in hand, in the words of Georges Marchais, with appeals to small and medium entrepreneurs 'to take sides and correctly determine their adversary ... At the present time most small and medium entrepreneurs are threatened

by . . . the policies of the big companies, banks and authorities. They are the main enemy! Therefore small and middle entrepreneurs have a stake in the democratic reforms we propose, which will eliminate monopoly power and assure the development of small and medium enterprises. We hold that their development is necessary to preserve the balanced and dynamic character of France's economy.' Only along these lines can a long-term solution of crisis-bred problems be found. An alliance opening up prospects of democratic change is in the interests of artisans, retailers, small and medium industrialists, in short, of those who in the present situation face only one prospect: being forced out of existence, swallowed or shackled by the monopolies.

The call for an anti-monopoly alliance of the people of France in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism and the crisis racking it takes into account the evolution of societal and political relations and the development of the productive forces. It is rooted in the principle which holds that democratic change should be the concern of all except the monopoly bourgeoisie and its political servants. This means that artisans, retailers, small and middle industrialists must play a definite economic role in the democratic state, in which they will have favorable conditions for voluntary association as well as the means for modernization or reconstruction currently denied them by the regime. Small and medium enterprises, as Georges Marchais has pointed out, 'have a definite place in the society we are working for. Our stand . . . is motivated by the consideration that the existence of small commercial and industrial enterprises and family farms will be useful for socialist France.' We hold that the existence of a decentralized structure of small distribution and service enterprises is necessary for the optimal satisfaction of consumer demand. Such enterprises are frequently better suited than big ones for the manufacture of consumer goods, minor innovations and small-quantity production. The creation of a democratic state will assure a general rise in the standard of living, which will enhance the role of small and medium enterprises in the economy. Nationalization of banking and leading industries will free them from monopoly domination. Steps will be taken to promote various forms of cooperation: small enterprises among themselves, small enterprises with the expanded and democratized state sector, with enterprises supervised by local government.

In this sphere, as in others, the French Communist Party plays a vanguard role. The Party defends the interests of the working people, refutes the propaganda of deceit and division conducted by the big bourgeoisie among the middle strata, and gives political dimension to the struggle for uniting all social strata interested in the democratic transformation of society around the working class.

The scientific and technological revolution and the ideological front

Visil Bejda
Head of Propaganda Department, CC, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The problems of the scientific and technological revolution (STR) are a subject of scrutiny by both Marxist and bourgeois theoreticians and politicians. Elucidation and interpretation of STR processes and the problems they pose occupy an important place in the ideological confrontation between the two opposite social systems. Our Party attaches great importance to giving the people a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist explanation of STR, and its impact on social processes, the rate and structure of social production, on societal relations, psychology and life-style.

We see the sceintific and technological revolution and the socialist revolution as two aspects of a single social process. There is a reciprocal connection between the fundamental qualitative transformation of the productive forces, the emergence of science as an immediate productive force, and the revolutionary transformation of the basis of social production, of its content and form, of the character of labor and the social division of labor. These processes in turn affect all aspects of life of the society and the individual. However, they take place in different ways under capitalism and socialism, and we consider it highly important to analyze and interpret these fundamental differences.

The scientific and technological revolution is an objective process but under socialism it is organized, not spontaneous, and fully subordinated to the interests of the people, to maximum satisfaction of the needs of society. Problems that arise in the development of the material and technical base of socialist society and the fostering of the moral qualities of its members as builders of communism are tackled

Continuing the series, 'Socialism and the Scientific and Technological Revolution.' See *WMR*, May, June, September 1975.

in an orderly manner. Nor are there any of the tendencies to overrate the role of science and technology, or be apprehensive of them, so characteristic of contemporary bourgeois society.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia attaches prime importance to guidance of STR, seeing this as a prerequisite for building developed socialism. The problems were discussed at the 14th Party Congress and, especially, at the May 1974 Central Committee plenum. We see active promotion of scientific and technological progress as our contribution to the international task of the Communists of the socialist community of combining the achievements of STR with the advantages of socialism.[1]

Planned development of science and technology, integrated mechanization and automation of production, computerization, all create the material prerequisites for solving the main social tasks of socialism, notably fulfillment of man's age-old dream of social equality. We Communists see the way to that not in artificially levelling out requirements, talents or tastes, but in creating equal opportunities for all. It is not enough to close, once and for all, the gap between poverty and wealth characteristic of the capitalist world; it is necessary to overcome all inherited forms of inequality. Testimony that we in Czechoslovakia are solving this task successfully is seen in the expansion of social consumption funds (including free and universally accessible education at all levels and free health services), total absence of racial or national discrimination, gradual overcoming of the distinctions between physical and mental labor, and the virtual convergence of the degree of economic, cultural and social development of various regions of the country, of various nations and ethnic minorities.[2]

Under socialism STR helps to raise educational, professional and cultural standards, and release man's creative capabilities, fully in keeping with the best interests of the working people. This also raises their standard of living and ensures them a bigger say in running the economy and society as a whole. Labor becomes more creative, placing a premium on polytechnical education and vocational training, moulding of comprehensively developed people. These features of socialist development are at the same time essential prerequisites for the further spread of STR.

The growing importance of preparatory stages of production – research and development, designing, forecasting, planning, etc. – enhances the role of science and engineering, which in turn require higher standards of education, culture and professional knowhow. Some industrial trades already call for a full secondary, if not higher, technical education. Modern economic and technological standards must be matched by high labor discipline and responsibility. Given the intricacies of the division of labor, absenteeism, failure to report

on time, or slipshod performance by even one worker can disrupt the work process in a large collective. On the other hand, the higher the level of socialist society the greater the demands it imposes on such moral qualities as conscious discipline, a sense of responsibility, respect for fellow-workers, activity in the struggle for the ideals of socialism and communism. These lofty qualities have a direct bearing on labor efficiency.

In short, the qualitative changes bred by STR in the productive forces have a direct impact on man. In socialist conditions these changes promote man's all-round development, a communist outlook and morality. This in turn creates new tasks for workers of the ideological front.

First and foremost, the content and forms of ideological work must be geared to the new level of education, culture and mass consciousness. This requires of the Party to master the theory and methods of ideological influence as consistently and extensively as possible. It is imperative to blend Marxist-Leninist theory organically with the practice of political propaganda and, at the same time, to apply to the Party's ideological-educational and propaganda work the new forms and methods evolved by modern pedagogy, psychology, logic, information theory and other humanitarian, natural and exact sciences. It is impossible to dwell on all aspects of the Party's ideological work in connection with the problems posed by STR within the limits of one article, but several trends can be singled out.

The changes in the social structure of society caused by STR, the growth in the numbers, education and culture of the working class, the faster overcoming of distinctions begween physical and mental labor, have all combined to spawn a number of bourgeois theories regarding the 'deproletarianization' of the working class, its 'convergence' with the middle strata, and the irrelevance of the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat. The aggravation of class struggles in the capitalist world indicates, however, that, on the contrary, the working class is building up its strength, organization and cohesion. And in the socialist countries the working class has an ever growing role to play as the prime mover of social development, as one of the makers of scientific and technological progress, as a powerful educational and organizing force. The role of the working-class party as the tested, reliable and recognized leader of all revolutionary struggle and the efforts for the socialist transformation of the world, is growing in step with the increasing social role of the working class and the growing intricacy of the conditions and tasks of the struggle. This is why the CPC calls on Marxist-Leninist science to carry forward the theory of the growing role of the working class and the increasing importance of Party leadership of the struggle of the workers and

other working people in this age of technological revolution. This theme holds a prominent place in our propaganda. Of course, we must continue research into the peasantry's place and role in STR, into the changes that have come about in it and the prospects of its evolution. Another important task is to study the problems of the intellectuals, youth and women.

More than ever, philosophers, politicians and sociologists are faced with the key problem of the relationship between man and society, which has always claimed their attention. Do urbanization, 'technologicalization' and other effects of STR increase the 'incommunicability' of man and society, making it impossible for society to influence man while man neither wishes nor is in a position to influence public affairs? Will social development not result in a dismal uniformity of tastes, interests and behavior? The practice of present-day capitalism and existing socialism provides conclusive answers to these questions. We expect ideological workers to generalize and interpret this practice, to show how capitalism takes advantage of the achievements of STR to pervert the individual and destroy the humanistic basis of relations between man and society, and how, on the other hand, socialism ensures the all-round spiritual and physical development of man, the moulding of vivid personalities, with their own individual identity and yet harmonizing their conduct and aspirations with the interests of society.

To accomplish this serious task, we must both investigate the problems concerned theoretically and step up the people's communist education. We must spread the scientific world outlook among the people, put national and world culture within their reach, encourage a communist attitude to labor and foster conscious discipline, a sense of responsibility, comradeship, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

A prime task is to carry forward democracy, specifically in the production sphere. In capitalist society, the use of the latest scientific and technological facilities in management tends to isolate the managerial apparatus from the working people as well as from the traditional parliamentary and other representative bodies. In Czechoslovakia (as in other socialist countries), steps to professionalize management go hand in hand with steps to heighten the role of elected bodies at all levels, and of Party, trade union, youth and women's organizations and various voluntary associations. The people's rising political, educational, cultural and technological standards and increasing social maturity and awareness which are all typical of socialism, make it possible to draw more men and women into government through democratic bodies and organizations. The task facing us is not only to reveal the advantages of socialism in this sphere

but to encourage the working people's public activity and make everyone aware of being entirely in control of and responsible for production and society.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia cooperates in the ideological field with brother parties, draws on their experience and contributes its share to the common effort. Such cooperation is particularly important in concerting international action.

We all know that under capitalism STR has given rise to certain anti-humanist theories. The class limitations of bourgeois theorists prevent them from fully grasping the historically conditioned nature, social function and consequences of STR. In their approach to this fundamental issue, they differ widely, covering the whole range of technological determinism, from the optimistic notion that the very progress of technology is an adequate prerequisite of social progress and should produce 'paradise on earth,' to the extremely pessimistic contentions (made from the standpoint of anthropological determinism) that science and technology have become an instrument of subordinating man to institutions and structures alien to him. Needless to say, we must distinguish between attempts at an unbiased assessment of the processes involved in STR and frank apologia for capitalism. It would be wrong, however, to ignore the fact that our bourgeois and revisionist opponents are using new-fangled ideological concepts in the struggle against us. This was the case, specifically, during the crisis developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69. With help from brother parties we were able, on the whole, to overcome the influence these theories exerted on people's minds. It must be remembered, however, that they persist, the very existence of the capitalist world providing fertile ground for them.

Certain bourgeois philosophical and sociological concepts may seem convincing because they generally use scientifically established facts relating to scientific and technological progress in capitalist production and are a reflection of real hopes and fears which STR breeds in the everyday consciousness of people living in capitalist society.

But all these theories typically overrate the place and role of science and technology in contemporary development, seeing them as a force which is above society and dominates people's destinies 'for better or for worse.' For all their diversity, these theoretical constructions are affected with a hereditary disease common to every doctrine of bourgeois political economy, a disease detected by Marx. According to them, past labor 'manifests itself, (Marx wrote) not as merely a material object of living labor subordinated to living labor, but the other way round – not as an element of the power of living labor but as power over this labor. To justify also *technologically* the *specific*

social form, i.e., the *capitalist form*, in which the relationship between labor and working conditions finds itself reversed, so that it is not the worker who uses these conditions, but the working conditions that use the worker, political economists attribute to the material object of labor false importance in opposition to labor itself.'

Making an absolute of the independent role of technique and technology in social development is a reflection of the bourgeois philosophers' and sociologists' lack of faith in the ability of mankind to subdue the spontaneity of capitalist production. It makes people believe that there is no sense in striving for social progress, for an end to exploitation, for freedom and social justice.

In short, for all the diversity of contemporary bourgeois concepts, they whitewash capitalist domination and are directed against Marxism and socialism. To expose the unscientific essence and subversive function of theories that are but a distorted reflection of processes involved in STR is a major task of ideological workers.

It is becoming ever more important to demonstrate the scientific indefensibility of various 'Left-wing,' Maoist and anarchist theories denying the significance of labor and regarding man as a mere appendage of the productive forces and a means of developing society rather than its goal. These theories mask their anti-Marxism, anti-socialism in revolutionary rhetoric, hence their particular danger.

The powerful development of the mass media and means of communication brought into being by STR has enhanced the importance of the Party's ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology and every kind of distortion of Marxism. For the Communists of socialist countries, this work increasingly transcends the narrow bounds of a 'domestic' duty and becomes an internationalist duty as well. Competent use of up-to-date information media makes it possible effectively and rapidly to publicize revolutionary theory, combat alien propaganda and ideology and step up the ideological struggle from working-class positions.

Our Party sees to it that as the STR goes on, every factor helping to shape socialist man performs its function and that ideological education stimulates the assertion of the socialist way of life. We consider that the main thing in forming socialist man is active participation in the construction of the new society. Socialist emulation and propagation of the experience of front-ranking workers are very important in this respect. To foster emulation and inspire the majority of workers, and eventually all working people, with the same attitude to labor as is shown by the most efficient workers means accomplishing both a big economic and an ideological task.

The progress made by the Czechoslovak working people in carrying out the decisions of the 14th Party Congress and the new advances

registered by countries of the socialist community in the economy, science and technology strengthen people's faith in socialism and their confidence in the Party leadership, and are the most forceful arguments against anti-communist propaganda. The unity of word and action in the work of the Party, primarily of its Central Committee, and the unity of ideological influence and economic and political activity, entitled the CC CPC to state in November 1974 that 'the impact of Marxist-Leninist ideas has increased in every public sphere' and that 'a noteworthy change for the better has come about, with the moral values of socialism striking deeper root in the people's minds,' as Gustav Husak, General Secretary, put it.

We do not deny the fact that we have shortcomings in the economic field. But the country's crisis-free development in recent years is in itself a rebuttal of calumnies about the 'unprofitableness' of socialism put out by Ota Sik and other renegades. The working people believe in the ability of Czechoslovakia's planned economy to achieve within the framework of socialist economic integration a steady growth of economic efficiency, of material and cultural standards.

We are not solving the complicated problems of economic and cultural development single-handed. They are being solved in common by all members of the socialist community. Our effort is aimed at building the new society and moulding the new, socialist man, a man accomplishing the STR and cognizing the objective laws of its evolution, a man participating in the revolutionary transformation of the world into a world free from exploitation, hunger, war and the danger of self-destruction that threatens mankind and is inherent in the capitalist distortion of the development of the scientific and technological revolution.

1. Suffice it to say that the number of people engaged in scientific research in Czechoslovakia has increased from less than 2,000 in the latter years of the bourgeois republic to 150,000 today. Equally revealing are the following figures: whereas the GNP in 1973 was 5.2 times that of 1948, the national income increased 5.5 times, industrial output 8 times, and the scientific and technological potential 30 times.

2. A vivid example is the socialist development of Slovakia, formerly a backward outlying province, a raw-material appendage of the industrial regions, and source of cheap manpower. Socialism opened the way for the rapid development of the economy, culture and science and growth of the people's living standard. In all these fields the Slovak Socialist Republic now virtually matches the Czech Socialist Republic.

3. In the 20 years between 1950 and 1970, the proportion of skilled workers in Czechoslovakia's national economy increased from 24.05 to 43.68 per cent, while unskilled labor declined from 70.39 to 37.04 per cent. Skilled labor is growing especially rapidly in industry: by 315 per cent between 1945 and 1974. Simultaneously, educational and professional standards of the working class are rising. Sixty-nine per cent all wage and salary earners with a secondary education, and about one-half the college and university graduates, are of working-class or peasant origin.

Situation analysis and forms of struggle

Alvaro Mosquera
CC member, Communist Party
of Colombia

NOTES ON THE EXPERIENCE OF COLOMBIAN COMMUNISTS

The question of taking the right bearings in any historical situation, varying the forms of struggle accordingly, combining them correctly and switching promptly from one form to another has always been, and evidently will always be, relevant for Marxist-Leninist parties. The founders of Marxism-Leninism studied the matter, and the experience of the CPSU made it possible to draw fundamental methodological conclusions. Now, every contingent of the Communist movement has definite experience, and the experience of each is interesting and useful to other parties. We think the history of the Communist Party of Colombia, founded a little over 45 years ago, invites some important conclusions of universal validity.

The Party has travelled a difficult path marked by achievements and mistakes, and has developed in struggle into a party of the Leninist type. Operating in legal, illegal or semi-legal conditions, it has contributed to the theory and practice of the Colombian revolution, to the struggle for the working people's interests. It has exerted an appreciable influence on social and political thought in the country by its ideas of national independence and socialism, agrarian reform and united democratic front. On the basis of a profound analysis, the Party showed that the country was in a structural crisis which would be solved only by revolutionary means.

An anti-imperialist, internationalist and patriotic organization championing democratic freedoms, the worker-peasant alliance and the hegemony of the working class at every stage of the revolutionary process, our Party exercises a strong influence among the working people and other social groups. For example, in the 1970 elections, when the Party had no allies and the political forces had divided into two distinct groups supporting the two presidential candidates, one of whom represented the oligarchy and the other the 'populist' opposition,* it won over 30,000 votes. In the 1974 elections, when the CPC was one of the three left members of the National Opposition Union (NOU), the other two being less influential than the Com-

*The National Popular Alliance, a protest movement of the middle strata. – *Ed.*

munists, the NOU presidential candidate won over 150,000 votes, mostly in Bogota and other big cities. The NOU holds seven seats in parliament, one of them held by Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the CPC.

The formation and development of the Party did not follow a straight line, as will readily be seen. The persecution of Communists and the banning of the Party by reactionary regimes were among the objective obstacles. There were also subjective difficulties, such as sectarian mistakes arising from an 'infantile disorder of "left-wing" communism,' right-wing opportunist tendencies and an inability to correctly apply Marxism-Leninism to Colombian conditions. By making a self-critical assessment of positive and negative experience, both our own and foreign, strengthening our link with the masses and mastering the Marxist-Leninist method of analyzing concrete realities, we acquired a grasp of the Leninist tactic of combining diverse forms of the class struggle of the workers and other working people against capitalist rule.

I would like to deal with some important conclusions from our experience that I think may be useful in similar conditions. We Communists are neither dogmatists nor pedants and know that life in various countries may be similar but is never identical. There are universal laws of the revolution equally valid for the October Revolution, which opened the era of socialism, and for other revolutions of this era, but there is also the practice of using these laws in concrete political situations, in the specific conditions of this or that country.

We gained experience in combining diverse forms of struggle on the basis of Lenin's teachings and the national traditions of revolutionary struggle, always bearing in mind the situation in the country. One aspect was that for over a hundred years the Indians' most effective method of struggle against the Spanish colonizers was guerrilla warfare. Our country, like other countries of Latin America, won freedom and independence from Spain through an armed revolt. The nineteenth century was a time of almost continuous civil wars and political struggles. Another notable aspect of the social situation in our country is that the ruling classes have always varied the forms of oppression in their own way, alternating brutal repression with social reform and reactionary with relatively liberal periods.

It was necessary to combine diverse forms of struggle because the regime was not strong enough to defeat the Revolutionary Armed Forces militarily or eliminate civil freedoms at one stroke. The development of capitalism has given rise to a comparatively strong bourgeoisie, which, at least for the present, needs a democratic facade. Years of experience helped it to realize that terroristic dictatorship is a threat to the exploiting classes themselves because it

breeds and stimulates the guerrilla movement. The bourgeoisie is not yet prepared to rule the country through generals committed to the strategic plans of the Pentagon, and prefers for the time being to maneuver within the framework of a circumscribed and farcical bourgeois democracy. Mounting popular resistance and the democratic traditions of the masses, which are sensitive to the authorities' breaches of legality, prevented the bourgeoisie from outlawing the CPC. But we Communists know that the big landowners and the capitalists backed by the U.S. imperialists will not effect social changes or meet the working people's needs of their own free will. The ruling oligarchy will try to curtail even the relative democratic freedoms won by the working people in protracted struggle. This was borne out by the imposition of martial law in June, the suppression of strikes, and by curbs on civil rights.

In line with Lenin's doctrine of the revolution, the Party has always done its best to make flexible and skillful use of all the forms and means of class struggle ranging from agitation among the masses to work in parliament and from strikes to armed action. This was especially necessary in the late 40s, when the big landowners and the bourgeoisie, backed by U.S. imperialism, started a campaign of massive violence, an 'undeclared civil war.' This campaign, or war, has been going on ever since, breaking out afresh or dying down for a while, and is typical of the political atmosphere in the country.*

The masses countered reactionary violence with a guerrilla struggle in the rural areas, which suffered most from the oppression of the oligarchy and imperialism. As a result, the direct interdependence of government violence and guerrilla resistance has been so close that it may be termed the main law of the guerrilla war in Colombia.

However, the masses cannot always counter reactionary with revolutionary violence. The conditions are not always available. Besides, though a guerrilla movement is not artificially implanted, it cannot be successful if it is purely spontaneous. Colombia's experience shows that where the masses are not solidly organized, lack adequate political awareness and have not gone through the 'preparatory school' of guerrilla warfare, the reactionaries' use of force catches the people unawares. As for the emergence of anarchist militant groups of adventurers isolated from the masses, it objectively plays into the enemy's hands by enabling him to achieve 'victories' which are as hollow as they are easy, but which demoralize the popular movement.

The CPC is aware of this and does not make an absolute of the

*Take, for example, LASO (Latin American Security Operation), a Pentagon plan designed over 10 years ago to crush popular resistance to the policy of monopolies and big landowners and carried out under the supervision of the U.S. military mission to the Colombian Ministry of Defense. – *Author's note*.

guerrilla form of the class struggle. It has always done its best to support this form with explicit political demands, prepare the masses for it organizationally, and link it with other forms of large-scale civil action. After the 1949 reactionary coup, the Party advanced the slogan, 'Counter Falange violence with organized violence by the masses,' and promoted a self-defense movement of the masses, forming a paramilitary organization in which the people were trained in guerrilla warfare and steeled politically and in which the 'process of politicizing and organizing the masses . . . convinces them in the need for armed struggle as one of the highest forms paving the way for revolutionary solutions through revolt.'

While building up the self-defense of the masses, the Party also organizes civil action to resist oppression, for armed struggle cannot yet be the chief means of resistance. In this sense, self-defense is a special form of combining different fighting methods. It teaches the people to repulse reactionary attacks (by force of arms if necessary), helps achieve unity and enables the Communists to form alliances with diverse social strata. Some of our allies may differ from us in political beliefs, but also have stake in preserving democratic standards. They understand that self-defense is a guarantee of the existence and the basis for the establishment of new democratic mass organizations.

Not until efforts to prevent or stop reactionary attacks by the solidarity of the population and other civil pressure fail, and 'peaceful' methods are exhausted, does self-defense turn into mobile guerrilla warfare. Its effectiveness came as a surprise even to U.S. generals, as in the case of Marquetalia and other attacked areas. 'The transformation of mass self-defense into a strong guerrilla movement,' the 10th Party Congress noted, 'is a correct application of our entire conception of revolutionary struggle in Colombian conditions.' Such qualitative changes should not be accidental or arbitrary. They must not depend on subjective decisions, on the arbitrary acts of reckless young men claiming to speak for revolutionary or quasi-revolutionary groups.

The main reason for a possible transition from self-defense to massive guerrilla warfare is sustained violence. Experience shows, however, that guerrilla action is not the only possible response to enemy attack. We have repeatedly frustrated reactionary plans by purely political means. Everything depends on the situation and on the nature, duration and scale of the attack.

What we consider important is not to fight for the sake of fighting but to defeat the enemy and achieve our goals. The task is to make revolutionary progress, weakening the enemy and strengthening the people's positions. Armed struggle, appropriate and justified in

definite conditions in which it serves as a catalyst of the mass movement, may in a different set of circumstances become an obstacle leading to the isolation of the guerrillas from the people and hence to the failure of the armed struggle. The guerrilla movement, said Manual Velez, commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, must carry on political work among the masses and always maintain contact with them, for without popular support it is doomed to fail. The Party, which is the revolutionary vanguard, organizes these links with the masses and evolves a political and military line for the guerrilla movement.

Our Party documents stress the importance of these links. 'The peasants' guerrilla war,' said a resolution of the 10th Party Congress, 'grows stronger and makes progress only where it is waged on a mass scale. . . . Guerrilla action . . . is invincible when it has its source in the masses, takes account of their interests and follows Marxist-Leninist principles.' In our conditions, both self-defense and guerrilla warfare are forms of class struggle and not mere 'seats' of armed struggle isolated from general conditions.

When the government follows a policy of reform influencing large sections of the population, first of all the peasants, the forms of class struggle must change. It is not accidental that guerrilla tactics were sometimes reversed, and armed struggle was relinquished in favor of self-defense. This happened whenever political factors made it necessary to renounce the use of arms. In those circumstances it would have been suicidal to go on fighting. On the other hand, demobilizing and disbanding self-defense units would have been tantamount to delivering the people unarmed into the hands of their future executioners.

The Colombian guerrilla movement has no direct causal connection with the overall revolutionary situation. This explains why, for all its staunchness and militancy, the movement in our country has failed to yield the same results as in Cuba even though it began much earlier. While the will for victory is the same in the two countries, the course of history is different.

The CPC states its view on this score as follows: 'The armed struggle is developing in Colombia in the form of peasant guerrilla operations even before a revolutionary situation has shaped in the country, for the revolutionary peasant movement cannot passively allow its organizations to be destroyed by force. . . . Guerrilla action, in turn, helps to provide some of the subjective factors which are indispensable if a revolutionary situation is to result in the victorious revolution in Colombia.' It follows that our guerrilla struggle precedes a revolutionary situation. The Party is opposed to dogmatic trends whose exponents are waiting for a completely mature revolutionary

situation to set in before they begin armed operations, and hence recognize solely peaceful forms of struggle. The Party is also against 'left-wing' subjectivist doctrinaires who disregard existing conditions and call for immediate guerrilla action under any circumstances, seeing it as the only way of revolution.

A right-wing deviation would isolate us from that part of the masses which is ready to take up arms, and 'leftism' would cut us off from the majority of the people, which does not yet consider this necessary and is fighting by other, often effective and decisive, means. To renounce all armed action before a revolutionary situation arises would mean ending the revolutionary movement.

The problem of using this or that form as the fundamental one does not depend on the subjective estimations or wishes of revolutionaries. When the majority of the people puts its faith in 'peaceful' means, to call for armed struggle is to indulge in revolutionary rhetoric that can bring no response from the masses. We Colombian Communists combat revolutionary rhetoric so that 'at some future time people will not say of us the bitter truth that "a revolutionary phrase about revolutionary war ruined the revolution" ' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 29).

This is why the CPC considers it a necessity to combine and coordinate all forms of struggle 'according to the actual conditions in the country and the various areas.' The 10th Congress stressed that 'in areas attacked in line with the U.S. militarists' plans, guerrilla action has become the main form of struggle.' At the same time, 'to combine all fighting methods, putting the method which corresponds to the given situation first, means faithfully interpreting Marxist-Leninist ideology and consistently applying it in the social process going on in our country.'

The Party takes into account and uses existing conditions according to Lenin's statement that 'the revolutionary class must be prepared for the most rapid and brusque replacement of one form of struggle by another' and that 'revolutionaries who are incapable of combining illegal forms of struggle with *every* form of legal struggle are poor revolutionaries indeed' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 96-97). Unless we have mastered every means of struggle, we are likely to suffer a serious, or even decisive, defeat when changes in the condition of other classes beyond our control necessitate forms of action or methods we are not prepared for. But we are certain to win if we are prepared to use every form of struggle.

Program for regional development

Reino Leinonen
Secretary, Kainuu Regional Committee of the CPF

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

Private capital in our country accounts for roughly 80 per cent of all investments and the rest comes from the state, the municipalities and the enterprises owned by them. However, decisions on the use of even this 20 per cent are made mostly by the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, with state-monopoly capital as the ultimate beneficiary. Big capital sites its industrial plants where it can make maximum profit, with scant account of the people's needs or the interests of social progress. This adds a number of problems and difficulties to the system's fundamental contradictions. One of these problems is that of economic and social distinctions between areas. This article shows how the Communists approach the problem as they defend the people's interests, combining the struggle for fuller satisfaction of their current needs with the struggle for revolutionary objectives and for socialism. It is a contribution to the exchange of the Communist parties' experience of economic activity suggested by a group of authors.*

In the past decade we have seen the law of uneven capitalist development operating on the scale of one country, nor is little Finland an exception. Rapid changes in production pattern and in population were accompanied by the increasingly uneven development of the country's different areas, with the capitalist state unable to counteract the process. Northern Finland, whose population is largely engaged in farming and forestry, was badly hit. Scientific and technological progress in these branches released a substantial number of workers and unemployment in the North surged high. In recent years it has gone up considerably throughout the country, but in Northern Finland it was sometimes as high as 10 per cent or more as against one to three in Southern Finland.

The result has been emigration to other parts of the country or even to other countries. In 1961-70, as many as 140,000 people emigrated to Sweden. Our Constitution says that everyone is free to live where he wishes, but actually capitalism made it impossible for these jobless to

*See 'The Communist Alternative,' *WMR*, August 1975.

live in their own country. Official statistics reveal that 400,000 Finns lost this 'freedom of choice' after 1946 and found themselves abroad. The exodus told on the Party organizations of the Lapland, Oulu and Kainuu regions, for the Party's members and supporters are among the least secure and therefore compelled to migrate in search of jobs.

Uneven development also finds expression in incomes distribution. Per capita income in Northern Finland amounts to only two-thirds of that in the Helsinki area. It should be noted that in Finland differences in income are the greatest in the world. One-fifth of the population, the poorest, accounts for only 2.3 per cent of the taxable incomes and two-fifths for 10.3 per cent, and 49.6 per cent goes to a privileged one-fifth. The plight of low-income categories in Northern Finland is even worse than in, say, the Helsinki area, for taxes are higher in the North and have to be paid by people in the low-income.brackets who, moreover, enjoy fewer public services.

Private capital was not interested in industrializing Northern Finland, which it preferred to keep as a reserve territory supplying raw materials and manpower, and crowded the industrial plants in Southern Finland. Neither the bourgeois parties, nor the Social Democrats did anything to promote the nationalized industries and their siting in Northern Finland. The Communists took an entirely different stand.

The Communist Party of Finland, in particular its Lapland, Oulu and Kainuu organizations, campaigned for the industrialization of the underdeveloped North. As a result, and with the aid of state subsidies, the Veitsiluoto and Kemijärvi woodworking plants, the Otanmäki and Mustavaara pits and other small enterprises were started.

The Communists campaigned through mass meetings, demonstrations, the dispatch of delegations, letters and statements on specific issues. Regional organizations brought workers, small farmers and others into the campaign.

The latest powerful mass campaign was launched on the initiative of the Party's Lapland organization, which demanded that a steel plant be built in Tornio. The government intended to build it in the South although the ore needed for the plant lies in Lapland. The campaign was joined by all political organizations of the province. A delegation sent to Helsinki virtually occupied the buildings of parliament. The government was compelled to decide on siting the plant in Lapland. Incidentally, the working people's pressure induced provincial organizations of the ruling parties to join in many of the mass campaigns.

Communists point out that in the part of the Soviet Union which lies in the same latitude as Northern Finland, the economy is growing, new plants are built, and labor is in great demand. This shows that the lag of certain areas of Finland is not due to geographical causes but is

a product of the social system. The Soviet Union, in fact, has invited Finnish workers. The Tuloma power station was built by Finns. Under construction today are a timber station at Pääjärvi and the Kostamuksh ore-dressing mill, complete with a town for 65,000 inhabitants. Big capital was against Finns building the Kostamuksh project. The opponents argued that this might lead to a shortage of labor and other undesirable effects. Thereupon the Kainuu Committee of the Party sent delegations to Helsinki to put pressure on the government and prevail on it to sign the agreement. It was signed in 1973 and considerably improved the job situation, especially in Kainuu, and the general situation in Northern Finland as a whole. Regional organizations have always sought closer cooperation between Finland and the Soviet Union.

Besides orgainizing mass action for permanent jobs, we campaign for many other demands, in particular for more extensive public services. Every year we demand that more sums be budgeted for the construction of roads, bridges, schools, cultural institutions and hospitals and this has made for a substantial improvement in the public services available in Northern Finland.

Needless to say, our struggle for the working people's interests could not alter the trend of development of a country dominated by big capital. The main means of production are still owned by capitalists and underlie their economic and political power. To change the trend of development, it is necessary to overthrow the power of monopoly capital. But people see that we represent a force fighting unrelentingly against capitalist power and that this fight has produced certain changes.

Naturally, Communists today enjoy the greatest popular backing in precisely the three provinces in question. The latest elections showed that the Communists were supported by approximately 17 per cent of the country's population but in Kainuu the percentage was as high as 32, in Lapland 29 and in Oulu 24 per cent. This is how the Party is gaining influence and how the masses are coming to realize the need for fundamental social changes.

The three Northern provincial organizations have long planned and coordinated their actions for the working people's interests and organized mass campaigns encompassing the whole of Northern Finland. In the early 60s the three organizations decided that we must counter plans for capitalist development with a common industrialization program for Northern Finland. The program was ready in 1965 and determined the line of the mass struggle mentioned earlier. A little more than two years ago the three regional organizations agreed that part of the 1965 program had been fulfilled and that there were new opportunities for the development of Northern Finland. They found it

necessary, therefore, to work out a new program in collaboration with the people's democratic organizations of the Lapland, Oulu and Kainuu provinces.

A conference of the bureaus of the three provincial Party committees drew up guidelines for the program. We held a seminar at which our best experts presented papers on all central aspects. Afterwards there were numerous conferences for more detailed study and consultations with experts. In drafting the program functionaries of the provincial committees collaborated with Communists working in trade unions and other mass organizations, in government agencies and on municipal councils, experts of agricultural and other organizations and, needless to say, MPs. We also enlisted the assistance of some non-party experts.

When the first draft of the program was ready we held a seminar of functionaries of Party and mass organizations, Communists working in various institutions and a number of experts. After the seminar the draft was virtually rewritten on the basis of the suggestions made. The second draft was discussed at plenary meetings of the provincial Party committees and conferences of the Northern districts of the Finnish People's Democratic League. Thereupon the draft was discussed at plenary meetings once more and was approved.

The reason why we are giving so many details on the procedure is that its very development is indicative of both the complexity of the problem and the thoroughness of the Communist approach.

The program, entitled 'For a Better LIfe: Program for the Development of Northern Finland,' was ready in October 1974. It immediately attracted public attention, and even bourgeois papers wrote about it. The working people did not fail to notice that no other political organizations of the three provinces had been able to put forward any development program for Northern Finland whereas the Communists had already produced a second program. Let us see what this program contains.

It recognizes cooperation with the Soviet Union to be a highly important factor for the economic development of the region. 'Good relations of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland based on complete mutual confidence are the cornerstone of peace and the independence of our country and the security and prosperity of our people,' it states. 'Trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union are of exceptional value to Finland. They help to advance our economy and to provide more jobs, and have also created the prerequisites of expanding and diversifying our industry. Joint building projects, such as the Tuloma power plant or the Pääjärvi and Kostamuksh ore-dressing mills have tangibly eased the job situation in Northern and Eastern Finland. In addition to temporary cooperation

in construction, an effort should be made to launch permanent economic cooperation. Inasmuch as the Soviet Union has gained experience in developing its northern areas, an industry should be set up in Northern Finland on the basis of Finnish-Soviet technolgoical and economic cooperation with a view to exporting its output to Murmansk Region and Soviet Karelia.' The program also proposes 'cooperation between the northern areas of the Soviet Union and Northern Finland as a special provision of the five-year trade agreement between our two countries' and the drafting of long-term plans for large joint projects.

The ruling parties' policy of developing backward areas proceeds from the assumption that the state must use taxes paid by the people as a subsidy for private capital to industrialize Northern Finland. Relevant legislation has already been enacted. However, subsidies and tax rebates go in the main to wood-working plants which hold a monopoly position and do not really need them, whereas small and medium plants trying to hold out against monopoly capitalist pressure are denied such aid. By passing laws on the developing areas, the government and parliament increased the profits of big capital and the tax burden of the working people and thus helped to step up exploitation. The Communists could not approve this policy. Their new program says: 'The potentialities and desires of private capital proved inadequate for building plants in Northern Finland that would be promising and would assure full employment. Nor did political measures improve the situation to any considerable extent. It is necessary to go on from the policy of securing additional funds by various means to direct government measures and to legislative action not serving the interests of monopoly capital but providing new and permanent jobs in the areas affected by unemployment.'

Experience shows that we need an effective system of siting our industries. Such a system would narrow the gap between the industrial and underdeveloped parts of Finland. What Northern Finland needs first of all is a large-scale and a medium-scale industry controlled by the state, using the natural resources of the provinces in question and assuring high employment. This would provide a framework for the region's economic progress. To this end, we need a democratic system of control over the geographical distribution of industry. Special permission should be required for building new plants, and their siting should accord with the economic interests of the region and the nation as a whole. The program stressed the importance of deflating the influence of banks on this question. It considers in very specific terms the opportunities for developing industry in Northern Finland and demonstrates the need to build a number of plants.

The program demands that part of export revenue should be used to set up a government-controlled industry. It calls attention to the need to appropriate more funds for housing in Northern Finland, ensure the priority granting of credits to it and take into account building costs area by area. It also indicates that this is the only way to solve the problem of labor.

The program demands equal status for Northern Finland with respect to education. All school-leavers should be enabled to continue their studies. It is proposed that the government found technical schools in Lapland and Kainuu, a higher educational institution in Rovaniemi and a higher commercial school in Northern Finland, and calls for resumption of the training of teachers in Lapland. It envisages free medical care and social maintenance for the population at government expense.

The program provides for measures to improve local government. In particular, it insists on increasing the role of municipal councillors and on a specific term of office for senior municipal officials. It proposes that the provinces be governed by democratically elected councils.

The Party also devotes much attention to farming and the farmers' condition. Specifically, it proposes collective action in various forms by small farmers.

For lack of space we cannot present the program for the development of Northern Finland fully enough or show how very concrete and well-grounded it is. What we have attempted, therefore, is a general description of the program. Being a supplement, so to speak, to our Party program and the program of immediate demands, the above program gives the Communists of Northern Finland explicit recommendations for action and sets objectives which they organize the masses to achieve. We try to draw all the municipal organizations and political forces of the region into mass campaigns for the implementation of our proposals. We explain the program to the working people, pointing out, however, that its implementation will no more than remedy the imbalances born of the capitalist social system. To bring about radical changes, we are at the same time stepping up the fight for the socialist revolution, publicizing the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and organizing the masses to fight for socialism.

the press

Immortal revolutionary doctrine

Academician *Anatoli Yegorov*
Director, CC CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute

Prof. *Günther Heyden*
Director, CC SUPG Marxism-Leninism Institute

Publication of first volumes of the Complete Marx-Engels Works (Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe, MEGA)

No doctrine has enjoyed such wide currency or has exerted such a profound revolutionary influence on social development as Marxism-Leninism. Marxism appeals to the hearts and minds of millions of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class, because, Lenin emphasized, Marx used the 'solid foundation of human knowledge' to prove that the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the building of communism were inevitable.

By providing a scientific explanation of history, showing the exploited classes the ways and means of their emancipation, and the working class its great historic mission, Marxism became a weapon for the revolutionary refashioning of the world, for liberating mankind from all forms of exploitation and oppression. The world outlook of the working class, Marxism accords with the objective requirements of mankind's development and of social progress.

Uninterrupted creative development is an objective quality, an inherent feature, of the teaching of Marx and Engels. Creatively developed and raised to a new, higher level by Lenin, enriched with the vast experience of the international working-class liberation struggle, the building of socialism and communism, it became Marxism-Leninism, a reliable compass for the most powerful political force of our time, the world Communist movement, the theoretical foundation of communism.

Time and again the reactionaries tried to 'ban' Marxism-Leninism, repeatedly proclaiming its destruction. Revisionists of every hue have sought to emasculate its revolutionary substance, distort it under the guise of its 'creative development.' But the revolutionary march of history dealt a devastating blow at every such attempt and demonstrated the invincible strength of the great teaching of Marx and Lenin. The crucial changes resulting from the Great October Socialist Revolution, the emergence of the socialist world system, the building of developed socialist society and the transition to communist construction in the USSR, the building of developed socialism in other countries of the socialist community – they are all evidence of how the ideas of scientific communism are being translated into practice. The successes of the mass struggle for peace, democracy and socialism led by the Marxist-Leninist parties testify to the strength and vitality of the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin.

In this age, when the highroad of history is charted by the socialist system, the international working class and all the revolutionary forces, Marxism-Leninism plays an even more important role in social development.

It is omnipotent because it is true. Its impact on the life of society is determined by its uninterrupted creative development, which does not bypass the principles enunciated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, but is based on them. That is why the publication and circulation of the Marxist-Leninist classics has always been a key task of the Communist and Workers' parties. It acquires especial significance today, with new strata of the working people joining the fight to refashion society along revolutionary lines. In the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin the people of the socialist countries building the new society, the working class of the capitalist countries fighting for social and political liberation, and the progressive forces in the socialist-oriented developing countries striving to overcome economic backwardness, will find the key to solution of the cardinal problems of our time.

The Marxist-Leninist classics are being published on a much bigger scale. The basis was laid by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by its unremitting work in collecting and making public the literary heritage of Marx and Engels, begun on Lenin's instructions immediately after the founding of the Soviet state. The CPSU sees this as the internationalist duty of the world's first socialist state.

The Marx-Engels Institute founded in 1921 by decision of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, merged with the Lenin Institute in 1931 and is now the Marxism-Leninism Institute. It has devoted much time and effort to collecting the literary heritage of Marx and Engels and now has the world's most complete collection of their manuscripts, letters and early editions. Publication of their com-

plete works in the original languages was begun in 1927, almost simultaneously with the first Russian edition, but was discontinued after the first 12 volumes.

Engels, it will be recalled, emphasized that dissemination of the principal Marxist works was not only an important factor in promoting the revolutionary working-class movement, but also a convincing indicator of its growth. The epochal achievements of the Soviet Union, the socialist revolutions in a number of countries of Central and southeast Europe, Asia and in Cuba, the growth of the socialist world system and of the international working-class and national-liberation movements have created a greater demand for Marxist literature and also greater opportunities for its publication. That is one of the functions of the research institutes set up by the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries. One such institute has been founded in the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state on German soil.

A new stage was begun with the completion, in 1966, of the second Russian edition. Consisting of 39 volumes (42 books) and 11 supplementary volumes (seven of which are already out), it is the most comprehensive collection to date of the works of Marx and Engels.

The GDR Marxism-Leninism Institute has made it the basis for its own edition of the complete works in German. Similar collections are being brought out in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and work is beginning in the Korean People's Democratic Republic and other countries. Much is being done also by the Communist parties and progressive publishing houses in a number of capitalist countries and by the Maurice Thorez Institute in France and the Gramsci Institute in Italy. The Marxism-Leninism Institute and Progress Publishers in Moscow, in cooperation with Lawrence and Wishart (London) and International Publishers (New York), are putting out a 50-volume collection of Marx and Engels in English (the first four volumes are already out). A similar edition is being produced by the Italian Communist publishers, Editori Riuniti. The French CP Publishing house is bringing out 20 volumes of selected works and is preparing a complete collection of the Marx-Engels correspondence. A Japanese edition, based on the second Russian edition, is nearing completion. The Moscow Marxism-Leninism Institute has rendered valuable assistance in publishing the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin in Chinese.

The Marxist classics have been translated into many languages and have a large and diverse readership in many countries, for everywhere there is a strong desire to study Marxism and a heightened interest in newly discovered manuscripts and biographical material.

The growing importance of Marxist-Leninist theory and the re-

quirements of its continued development in present-day conditions make it necessary to assimilate Marxism-Leninism in all its aspects, in the unity of all its components. That approach makes for a more profound understanding of the universality of its dialectical laws governing the development of being and thought, its international character, its appreciation not only as a science explaining the past and present, but also as a science that provides an insight into the future. The need, therefore, is for a full, comprehensive edition containing the entire literary heritage of Marx and Engels. Published in the original languages, it will provide all contingents of the international labor movement with an integral scientific basis for the study of the theoretical works and practical activities of the founders of scientific socialism, and a basis, also, for publication of their works in other languages.

A while ago Dietz Publishers in Berlin brought out the first volumes of the complete works of Marx and Engels (MEGA) in the original languages. The project is being carried out jointly by the two Marxism-Leninism institutes on the basis of agreed decisions of the CPSU and SUPG Central Committees. The volumes already available are the result of long years of joint work and cooperation by research institutions in a number of other countries.

The publishers defined the principles of the MEGA project in the light of the role the works of Marx and Engels play in the theoretical and ideological activities of the Communist parties and in the battle against bourgeois ideology. First, MEGA is designed to make the entire literary heritage accessible. This means that together with books, articles and letters, MEGA will include all preparatory materials, notes and numerous unpublished rough drafts, which together will comprise several dozen volumes. Second, all works will be published in the original languages, with extensive passages in English, French, Italian, Spanish and Russian, also numerous quotations in other languages, about 20 in all. Third, MEGA will contain not only finished works, but all material used by the authors, from early drafts to the final edited version. Fourth, all the texts are carefully checked with the original manuscripts and other authentic sources.

MEGA will consist of four departments, and within each the works will be given in chronological order. The first department will contain everything published in the lifetime of the authors and all related material, such as early drafts, rough notes, etc., with the exception of *Capital* and related manuscripts. *Capital*, with all preparatory materials and variants, will make up the second department. The third is devoted to the Marx-Engels correspondence and (in a supplement) letters addressed to them. The fourth will contain all

drafts, notebooks, marginal notes, source quotations, etc., much of it published for the first time. Work on the four departments is proceeding simultaneously. Each volume will have comprehensive reference material, textological comments, bibliographical, name and subject indexes.

The wide response to the MEGA project is indicative of the high interest among progressives throughout the word in the works of Marx and Engels.

MEGA will be a significant contribution to the dissemination of scientific communism throughout the world and to the ideological struggle against falsification of Marxism-Leninism.

With the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, bourgeois ideologues are employing more subtle, pseudo-scientific methods to defend capitalism and attack socialism. Lenin's remark that 'the theoretical victory of Marxism compels its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists' (Vol. 18, p. 584) applies not only to the revisionists. Other representatives of bourgeois ideology claim to be 'genuine interpreters' of Marx and Engels. That kind of falsification is directed against Marxism-Leninism as the ideological and theoretical basis of the communist movement. In fact, falsification of Marxism has become a special branch of bourgeois ideology, 'Marxology,' It twists the views of Marx to attack Marxism-Leninism and the socialist countries. Attempts to 'refute' the ideas of Marx and Engels are being abandoned in favor of attempts eclectically to combine passages torn out of context with bourgeois dogmas and present the results as 'genuine' Marxism.

Some bourgeois ideologues claim to be 'true,' 'modern' Marxists eager to carry forward Marxism with 'the help of Marx.' In their attacks on the socialist countries and in constructing all manner of new 'models of socialism,' the revisionists try to base their arguments on Marx's writings. Many ultra-left, anarchist and pro-anarchist groups contend that they are the real followers of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In short, bourgeois theorists are exploiting the growing interest in the ideas of Marx and Engels and in their literary heritage to counterpose a falsified Marx to the real one and to existing socialism. They are speculating on the inadequate knowledge, and in some cases on the inaccessibility, of the works of Marx and Engels in capitalist countries.

Bourgeois publishers frequently put out some of these works, but the texts are arbitrarily selected and prefaced by anti-communist commentaries. Some openly distort Marxism by depicting as the summit of Marxist thought the writings of the young Marx, which reflected only the very first stage of his work. Then there are invented

'contradictions' between the views of Marx and Engels, and between their views and those of Lenin. Still others try to 'combine' Marxism with Freudism or sundry bourgeois philosophical schools. There are also attempts to prove that the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin is 'incompatible' with the theory and practice of the communist movement and with socialist reality, that there is no united, international Marxist-Leninist doctrine but a multiplicity of 'Marxisms' and, consequently, a multiplicity of 'models of socialism.'

MEGA will help in the battle against all such anti-Marxist, anti-communist manipulations.

The MEGA publishers can draw on long years of experience and are always guided by Lenin's proposition that the rise, formation and main development stages of Marxism are closely linked with the history of the labor movement.

There can be no doubt that MEGA will make for a deeper understanding of the development of the views of Marx and Engels; will show the organic unity and interconnection of all the component parts of Marxism; will reveal the unity of scientific theory and revolutionary practice in Marxism, its inseparable link with the development of the labor movement; will give the reader a deeper understanding of the Marxist dialectical method and will show how it can be used to resolve the great problems of the revolutionary movement; will help the reader understand the objective law-governed process of Marxism uniting with the mass labor movement, the process of its creative development, its international character; will bring out the organic link between the ideas of Marx and Engels and their subsequent development by Lenin and the Communist and Workers' parties.

By bringing to the reader all the wealth of the works of Marx and Engels, MEGA will help the continued development of Marxist-Leninist theory and consolidation of its positions.

Ever since the world began to change in the way Marx, Engels and Lenin foresaw, bourgeois ideologists have been at pains to prove that Marxism-Leninism is an obsolescent doctrine, relevant only in the past – rather like a candle in this age of neon lights – that it cannot explain the world we live in and the changes taking place in it. But all the widely-publicized new concepts coined by the bourgeoisie are short-lived, while the living doctrine of Marxism-Leninism continues to point to the peoples the road ahead, the road to communism.

Confused prophets

Radovan Richta
Director of Czechoslovak
Academy of Sciences'
Institute of Philosophy
and Sociology

NEW TRENDS IN BOURGEOIS PROGNOSTICS

From optimism to dismay

The attitude of classes and social systems to the future is largely determined by their present position. That is the main factor in the changing views of bourgeois scientists on the prospects of capitalist society.

At the dawn of capitalism many saw its future as a kingdom of reason, 'the best of all worlds' in the words of that incorrigible optimist, Pangloss of Voltaire's *Candide*. Bourgeois scientists shared his optimism. But not for very long, for the maladies of capitalism soon made themselves felt. Now they see capitalism as the 'lesser evil.'

With socialism a living reality, capitalism can no longer be considered the only possible social system. Mankind is faced with the need to choose between socialism and capitalism. But capitalism's learned minds try to avoid that choice in forecasting the future. Ever since the 20s all their thinking about the future has been based amost exclusively on progress in science and technology, changes in the natural environment, population growth, development of the human intellect, etc.[1] Projecting these factors into the future is the main method of bourgeois prognostication. That applies to the growth[2] and industrial-society theories,[3] which since the 50s have been the basis for long-range forecasts in the developed capitalist countries.

Bourgeois ideologists strive to anticipate the future, hoping that this will help them find a way out of capitalism's general crisis.[4]

Every capitalist country has one or more government institutes engaged in predicting the future. Prognostication, or its synonym futurology,[5] is now a science, in a way also an industry, employing, in the United States, more than 15,000 people, or one futurologist for every 13,500 Americans. In 1972, American universities and colleges offered 200 courses in futurology and employed hundreds of teachers.[6]

Private futurology centers are probably the only enterprises in the

capitalist world enjoying a boom amid economic crisis or, more correctly perhaps, prospering in direct proportion to the deepening of the crisis.[7] Their product is forecasts, for industries, the economy, as a whole, for entire countries, even continents.[8]

Most of these prognoses are influenced by monopoly interests and their objectivity and scientific validity are at best doubtful. Distrust of such forecasts drawn up by government or private organizations has given rise to a growing number of clubs and research groups that pride themselves on their 'independence,' which is highly relative, for most of their studies are in one or another form financed by the big capitalist corporations.[9]

And there is this revealing touch: though prognostication is widespread and has at its command new methodological and technical means, the forecasts produce a feeling of dismay even in their authors. The hope that advances in science and technology would solve all the vital problems of the capitalist world and make life better, has proved illusory: the general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen.

The 1973 Rome Conference is especially indicative in this respect. Its results are set out in a book,[10] in which scientists from different countries explain their approach to the problem of man's future. There are philosphical essays and sociological studies, historical analogies and forecasts based on mathematical models. Whatever the approach, all admit that society is in a state of profound crisis. One of the authors, John McHale, says: 'Our environmental, socio-economic, urban and technical crises . . . are institutional crises deriving from specific modes of economic, social and industrial practice' (p. 17).

The Paris *Le Nouvel Observateur* recently published a report of a conference organized by the French Socialist Party in June 1975, on the crisis of capitalism and the prospects of social development. An editorial note says: 'There was general agreement with Harvard Professor Marglin that capitalism is no longer a vehicle but rather an impediment to progress.'[11]

The helpless computer

Practically every book and article appearing in capitalist countries about the future contains the warning, in one or another form, that mankind is heading for catastrophe.[12] Ten or 15 years ago such dark forebodings were reserved for science fiction – serious scientists dismissed them as figments of a morbid imagination or of weak nerves. But now the scientists themselves are telling us that mankind is nearing an 'age of darkness,' will be hurled back many years and degenerate into groups of desperate individuals. Furthermore, we are told that this will not necessarily be caused by some terrible catac-

lysm – it is enough for the world to continue on its present course and at its present pace.[13] And so, scientists who only a short while ago looked forward to the continuous advance of capitalist society are now jettisoning all their rosy illusions.[14] And jettisoning, also, their glowing phraseology: now the talk is about 'a global collapse of human affairs,'[15] 'the collapse of industrial civilization,'[16] and more in the same vein. Though the optimistic official U.S. forecasters merely predict a 'technological crisis' in the 80s,[17] some of their colleagues are more pessimistic, maintaining that the problem is one of survival.[18]

But though predicting a grim future, the forecasters cannot provide any credible outline of it: all they can tell us is that we are in for a 'unique period in the history of Western civilization' for 'the future speaks a foreign language to us today.'[19]

The prospects for the different branches of science, technology and economics have been studied more or less successfully, but the overall prospect for capitalist society, which is of most interest to bourgeois science, is given in indistinct contours – even the lastest computers and the latest data-processing techniques have proved of no avail.

For what we have is a fallacious conceptual method. Long-term prognostication rests on scientific analysis of the tendencies of social development and on the objective laws of the historical process. Bourgeois science, however, is incapable of using objective knowledge to achieve accurate forecasts. As a rule, bourgeois scientists regard classes as the abstract totality of 'individuals as such,' and the capitalist system as 'society as a whole.' Consequently, they argue that mankind, and not merely the capitalist system, is in a state of crisis, that the whole world, and not the world of capitalism, is rushing headlong toward its doom. But the fact is that capitalism's loss of a future is proof of the birth of a new future for mankind. And it will be recalled, in this context, that the founders of scientific socialism foresaw a time when, at a definite stage of social development, liquidation of capitalism would become necessary for the survival of mankind. Refusing to concede that the future belongs to socialism, bourgeois futurologists continue, with exertions worthy of a better cause, to draw a picture of the future in which all the realities of capitalism remain intact.[20]

Only a clear understanding of the objective laws of social development, a clear conception of the social structure of society, of the close ties between the problems of science, technology and the environment and the social problems, provides the key to an understanding of the prospects of social development.[21] Otherwise the scientist is caught in a welter of fortuitous facts and obscure connections. He

finds it hard even to single out the problems that determine future development. A meeting of the World Future Society in Washington last June was told by a group of researchers working on a yearbook of world problems that there were 2,560 such problems, and even with the help of the latest computers they could not single out the 'problem of world development.'[22]

It is proving even more difficult to determine what aspects should be studied first: some blame everything on excessive growth of the population, which is running far ahead of the world's natural resources.[23] Others are of the opinion that man himself, by his very nature destructive and aggressive, is the greatest danger of all.[24] Still others maintain that the danger lies in man's inability to visualize his future.[25]

Can growth be stopped?

Many bourgeois scholars see the main danger to humanity in the 'satanic pace' set by science, technology, and economy. Like a malignant growth, they say, it is destroying the structure of individual living and society.[26] As they see it, growth must be terminated[27] or at least substantially reduced.[28] Their logic is simple: since growth has brought about the crisis of the capitalist world and since it holds no promise for the future, it should be stopped. Some hold that industrial development must be cut back drastically in a part of the modern world, permitting a more rational redistribution of products. And the so-called Argentinian group of forecasters recommends ending growth in all industrially developed countries, socialist as well as capitalist.[29]

Some of the no-growth advocates name the new fields to which, they think, 'Western civilization' should apply itself. On top of the list is improvement of the 'quality of life' and 'psycho-social growth,' which is to replace material growth.[30] Yet it is precisely in the life style and the domain of spiritual values that bourgeois society is gripped by an evident and particularly grave crisis.

The popularity of the social concepts of terminating or cutting back economic growth is itself clear evidence of the collapse of the traditional bourgeois values, which repose on accumulation of wealth, private enterprise, prestige consumption, and the like. But still deeper contradictions come to light when scholars try to explain how to achieve this widely advertised 'passage from growth to balance.'

For example, they suggest a 'tranquil passage' under the direction of an international institution vested with legislative and executive powers and handling such global problems as economic and technical development, ecology, population, etc.[31] Treatises have been pulled out of oblivion or newly contrived about a universal sensorium – the

'conscience of the species.'[32] As some bourgeois scholars conceive it, this 'conscience' would transcend national and class boundaries. Politically, it is reflected in proposals of a 'world government.'[33] The existence of the two opoosite social systems – socialist and capitalist – is ignored. Many, in fact, associate the projected 'worldwide' institutions with international monopoly. But whatever they will be like, these institutions are conceived to restrict economic growth, reduce the natural growth of population, decelerate growth of knowledge, etc. In the name of 'preserving mankind,' these bodies are meant to subordinate people to their power, 'rise above' the accepted ethics, 'push apart democracy,' etc.[34]

Attractive vagueness

Most bourgeois forecasts of the 70s have one striking point in common: as a rule, they contain the prefix 'post-.' Daniel Bell predicts a 'post-industrial society,' Kenneth Boulding a 'post-traditional' one, Ralf Dahrendorf a 'post-capitalist' or 'post-bourgeois,' and Amitai Etzioni speculates about a 'post-modern' era. The outlook of a 'post' -prefixed society is accepted by diverse bourgeois thinkers – from those who aspire to a bourgeois society built on a technocratic foundation down to the exponents of economic romanticism, who associate social growth with a return to the relationships of the artisan mode of production, the cult of a 'mild,' 'harmless' and 'neutral' technology.[35]

Attempts to describe what a post-industrial society would represent run into formidable difficulties. All ideas are vague and nebulous.[36] To be sure, a closer look will show that the vagueness of the concept is, in a sense, its most attractive side. Each and everyone can fit it into the pattern of his choice. True or false but always secondary factors of the social reality formulated by state-monopoly capitalism, are passed off as the characteristic properties: growth of the labor force employed in the service sphere as compared with industry, or the state's interference in production, or growth of the numbers of 'white-collar' as compared with 'blue-collar' workers, and the like. Since industrial society is associated with economic growth, the conclusion is drawn that post-industrial society should be based on termination of such growth. Post-industrial society, its advocates maintain, will differ from the present-day bourgeois society, will do away with its evils. Yet they hasten to allay the fears of antagonists of radical change; the essential elements in the developed capitalist countries, they say, are sure to survive. Critics of Daniel Bell, in particular, call attention to the fact that his conception presupposes 'that all the major industrial countries are moving along the American Road.'[37]

The post-industrial society model envisages more effective use of

scientific-technical development to rectify some of the failings of modern capitalism. But for the exponents of this bourgeois-reformist approach post-industrial society is not an ideal, but rather the way to salvation – not entirely dependable, not devoid of conflicts and contradictions, but salvation all the same – from the world's unmistakable march to socialism and communism.[38]

Prevision of social processes

Looking at the main trends in bourgeois futurology, one is bound to notice how inaccurate or biased its exponents are in assessing the key factors of the development of society. There is practically no mention of the arms race, for example, in most of the works of the bourgeois futurologists of the 60s, though it consumes collosal resources and has a markedly negative effect on society. And there is not the faintest reference to the fact that the arms race is one of the chief reasons for the impasse of bourgeois society.[39]

The notorious book by H. Kahn and A.J. Wiener[40] lists the possible variants of an atomic conflict (the authors are convinced that wars are inevitable), but does not say that the arms race absorbs resources essential for resolving the vital problems of the present-day world. The world spends an annual nearly 250 billion dollars on armaments, thus precluding implementation of projected environmental programs. During the cold war, most such projects in capitalist countries were doomed by lack of funds.

The international détente and consistent policy of peace energetically promoted by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist communisty offer fresh opportunities for solving some of the major world problems. It is gratifying to note, for one thing, that an appreciation of these opportunities has of late gained prominence in forecasts produced in capitalist countries.[41] Bourgeois scholars are beginning to take notice of the preconditions for society's future development, such as safeguarding world peace, international cooperation in environmental protection,[42] space exploration and medicine, cultural cooperation, and the like.

The course of history has shown that serious forecasting is impossible without reliance on Marxist-Leninist theory, without considering the historic mission of the working class, the role of the working people – the true makers of the future – and the leading role of the Communist parties, the vanguard in the working people's fight for peace and social progress.

In this sense the long-term prognoses elaborated in the USSR and other countries of the socialist community are of universal significance,[43] for they are based on the actual achievements of socialist society and, unlike bourgeois futurology, possess a serious scientific

methodological foundation that shows the laws and regularities of social development.[44]

Socialism provides the mechanisms to resolve the most complicated problems of long-term development regarded in capitalist countries as hard to solve or insoluble: comprehensive guidance of social processes,[45] purposive orientation of scientific and technical development on aims set by society,[46] building of a comprehensive system of education to promote the full and harmonious development of the faculties and gifts of individuals,[47] and the like.

Marxist-Leninist science enables us to foresee the direction of the main processes in world development. Six years ago, the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted that the development of bourgeois society in the coming decades would be afflicted by a profound crisis of the entire capitalist system. What is more, it defined its character and main trends. And though most bourgeois scholars and nearly the entire bourgeois press pretended that this forecast was never made, it took very little time for it to come true.

The facts show beyond a doubt that only a Marxist-Leninist analysis can lift the veil on the future. As stressed in the CPSU Central Committee's report to the 24th Congress, 'theoretical understanding of the phenomena of social life and of its main trends enables the Party to foresee the course of social processes, work out a correct political line and avoid errors and subjectivist decisions.'

1. See *Philosophical Problems of Social Development*, Moscow, 1974.
2. W.W. Rostow. *The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto.* Cambridge, 1960.
3. R. Aron. *Dix-huit leçons sur la société industrielle*. Paris, 1962.
4. 'The major sociological problem ahead will be the test of our ability to foresee the effects of social and technological change and to contrast alternative courses.' (D. Bell. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York, 1973, p. 284). Also K. Steinbuch, *Mensch, Technik, Zukunft, Probleme von Morgen*. Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1973, p. 355.
5. Flechtheim frankly says that he introduced the term 'futurology' to prevent confusion with the Marxist (in his opinion utopian) concept of transition from capitalism to socialism (see E.A. Arab-Ogly, *The Forecast Labyrinth; Social Prognostication and the Ideological Struggle*. Moscow, 1973).
6. See preface to A. Toffler's *The Futurists*. New York, 1972.
7. Kahn and Bruce-Briggs write that the Hudson Institute was initially financed by the government. More recently most of the futurology financing has been coming from about 100 U.S. and foreign (mostly multinational) concerns (*Things to Come, Thinking About the Seventies and Eighties*, New York, 1972, p. 3).
8. The European branch of the Hudson Institute has drawn up long-range prognostications for France and Britain (J. Bellini, W. Pfaft, L. Scholoesing, and E. Stillman. *The United Kingdom in 1980* – The Hudson Report. London, 1974).
9. Some of the Club of Rome research was financed by the Volkswagen concern.
10. *Human Futures. Needs, Societies, Technologies*. London, 1974.
11. *Le Nouvel Observateur*. No. 6, 1975, p.3

12. 'This common apocalyptic note of a "sense of an ending" is . . . the distinctive literary image of the time' (D. Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York, 1973, p. 51.)

13. That is the view of members of the Club of Rome.

14. See P. Heilbroner. *An Inquiry into the Human Prospect*. New York, 1974.

15. 'Technological Forecasting and Social Change.' Vol. 6, No. 3, 1974, p. 260.

16. A. Toffler. *The Eco-Spasm Report*. New York, 1975.

17. *The Future of the Corporation*. Edited by Herman Kahn. New York, 1974.

18. 'A Blueprint for Survival.' *The Ecologist*. Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1972. This can have dangerous social implications, for it, in the name of survival, unwittingly allows for the depreciation of social values in the conduct of people. (See paper read by M.T. lovchuk at the Eighth World Congress of Sociology. Toronto, 1974).

19. F. Polak. *The Image of the Future*. Amsterdam, London, New York, 1973, pp. 183, 231.

20. E. Jantsch tries to interpret this as follows: 'The choice is between a rational and an irrational revolution . . . not between the concepts of capitalism and socialism' (*Futures*, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 1971, p. 163).

21. *The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Specifics of Social Development in Our Epoch*, Moscow, 1974.

22. Anthony Judge. 'World Problems and Human Potential.' *Futures*, Vol. 7, No. 3, June 1975.

23. 'Considering present technology and patterns of behavior our planet is grossly overpopulated now. The large absolute number of people and the rate of population growth are the major hindrances to solving human problems.' (P.R. Ehrlich, A.H. Ehrlich, *Population, Resources, Environment. Issues in Human Ecology*. San Francisco, 1970. p. 321).

24. K. Lorenz. *Die acht Todsünden der zivilisierten Menschheit*. Mïchen, 1973; E. Fromm. *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. Greenwich, Connecticut, 1973.

25. G. Bruckmann, H. Swododa, *Auswege in die Zunkunft. Was kommt nach der Konsumgesellschaft*? Wien, Mïchen, Zürich, 1974.

26. E. Fromm. *The Revolution of Hope, Toward a Humanized Technology*. New York. Evanston, London, 1968. I. Illich. *Liberer l'avenir. Appel à une revolution des institutions*, Paris, 1971.

27. D.H. Meadows, D.L. Meadows, J. Randers, W.W. Behrens. *The Limits to Growth*. New York, 1974.

28. M. Mesarovic, E. Pestel. *Mankind at the Turning Point: The Second Report to the Club of Rome*. New York, 1974.

29. *Latin American World Model* (Preliminary Report). Buenos Aires, October 1974.

30. G.T. Land, 'The Evolutionary Crisis' in *The Futurist*, Vol. IX, No. 1, February 1975.

31. E. Laszlo. *A Strategy for the Future: The Systems Approach to World Order*. New York, 1974.

32. A. Peccei, for example, contrasts the 'conscience of the species' to class consciousness ('The Humanistic Revolution,' *Successo*, International Edition. January 1975).

33. J. Tinbergen. 'Society Needs to Organize the Structures and Uses of Science.' *Impact of Science on Society*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1972, p. 297.

34. Dennis Gabor urges rehabilitating the idea of power by the elite, which, he says, is the only one capable of implementing the restrictive program recommended by futurologists. See Dennis Gabor. *The Mature Society*, New York, 1972.

35. E.F. Schumacher. *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. New York, 1973.

36. D. Bell. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York, 1973, p. 37.

37. J. Floud. 'A Critique of Bell.' *Survey*, No. 1, 1971, p. 31.

38. D. Bell. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York, 1973 pp. 128-129, 163.

39. See materials of symposium, *Global Problems of Modern Civilization*, held in Prague in 1973, and, in particular, the opening speech by Jaromir Sedlak.

40. H. Kahn, A.J. Wiener. *The Year 2000. A Framework for Speculation on the Next Thirty-Three Years*. London, 1969.

41. L.A. Lecht. *Dollars for National Goals: Looking Ahead to 1980*. New York, London, Sydney, Toronto, 1974.

42. Inter alia see *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* (Vol. 6, No. 3, 1974), for the results of Japanese research on the subject.

43. L. Lavallee. *Pour une conception marxiste de la prospective*. Paris, 1970.

44. A comprehensive prognosis of scientific-technical progress and its social consequences until 1990 has recently been produced in the Soviet Union. (See report on speech by Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, Vice-President of USSR Academy of Sciences in *Voprosy filosofii*. No. 5, 1975). Similar work is conducted in other socialist countries.

45. V.G. Afanasyev. *Nauchnoye upravleniye obshchestvom* (Scientific Guidance of Society). Moscow, 1973.

46. *Osnovniye printsipy i obshchiye problemy upravleniya naukoi* (Basic Principles and Gerneral Problems of the Guidance of Science), Moscow, 1973.

47. *Czlowiek. Socializm. Rewolucja naukowo-techniczna* (Man, Socialism and the Scientific-Technical Revolution). Warsaw, 1974; V.G. Marakhov. *Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i yeyo sotsialniye posledstviya* (Scientific-Technical Revolution and its Social Consequences). Moscow, 1975.

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Brief information about Communist and Workers' Parties

LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

April 20-23, 1919, saw the founding of the Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party of Yugoslavia through the merger of Social-Democratic and workers' parties and organizations in various parts of the country. At its Second Congress in June 1920 it was renamed the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In December 1920 the royal regime banned the CPY and until 1941 the Party operated illegally. After July 4, 1941,* the CPY headed the heroic struggle of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities against the nazi invaders, for national liberation and social emancipation. By the time the liberation struggle was crowned with victory, the CPY had a membership of over 141,000 as against 12,000 in 1941.

The Fifth Congress of the CPY (July 1948) was the first to be held in a free, socialist country. In November 1952, at its Sixth Congress, the CPY was renamed the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The Seventh Congress (April 1958) adopted the LCY Program. The Eighth Congress was held in December 1964, and the Ninth in March 1969. At the 10th Congress (May 1974) Josip Broz Tito was elected LCY Chairman for life. Comrade Tito has been at the head of the LCY (CPY) since 1937.

At the close of 1973 the LCY had a membership of 1,076,711 (of whom, 29.1 per cent were workers, 5.6 per cent peasants, 5.8 engineers and technicians, 13.7 per cent intellectuals, 12 per cent administrative personnel, 7.3 per cent executives and functionaries, 5.4 per cent university and technical school students, 7.7 per cent officers and men of the Yugoslav People's Army, people's militia and security forces, 13.4 per cent pensioners and others).

The supreme authority is the Congress convened every four years. It elects the Chairman of the LCY and approves the composition of the Central Committee, Auditing Commission and Party Constitutional Commission.

The Central Committee elects a Presidium as its political executive agency. It is the highest authority in the period between congresses. The Leagues of Communists of all the six republics are represented on it by equal numbers of members, as are also (again by an appropriate number of members) the Leagues of Communists of both auton-

*On that day the Party Central Committee issued a call for a general uprising. July 4 is annually observed as Fighters' Day. – *Ed.*

omous regions and the Party organizations in the People's Army. The Presidium includes *ex officio* the chairmen of the CCs of the Leagues of Communists of the republics and regions. The Central Committee and its Presidium are headed by the LCY Chairman, Josip Broz Tito. The Presidium elects an Executive Committee and forms commissions.

The LCY publishes the weekly *Kommunist* and the monthly *Socijalisam*.

SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Founded in 1924, it was for 20 years the joint party of Syrian and Lebanese Communists. During the French mandate in Syria and Lebanon it conducted extensive propaganda and educational work among the people, organizing them for the struggle against imperialism, for national independence and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

In 1948-58 Syrian and Lebanese Communists worked together within a united Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon. The Party played an active role in preparing the overthrow of the Shishakli dictatorship in 1954, it opposed imperialist plans of drawing Syria into military blocs, and worked for the expansion of ties with the socialist countries, national economic development and the improvement of the people's living standards. The Party made a big contribution to mobilizing the Syrian masses for the struggle against the Baghdad Pact, the tripartite aggression in the Suez Canal zone in 1956, and the imperialist provocations against Syria in 1957.

Syrian reaction exploited the country's participation in the United Arab Republic (1958-61) to fight the progressive forces. Following the March 1958 decree abolishing all political parties in Syria, the Communist Party was forced to go underground. In 1959 the Party was the victim of repressions.

After the revolution of March 8, 1963, and especially since the left Baathists came to power in Feburary 1966, cooperation between the Communists and left Baathists was established at government level, with a representative of the SCP joining the government. The SCP threw its full support behind the progressive trends in the ruling Baath Party's policy, notably in the socio-economic sphere, in strengthening friendly relations with the Soviet Union and in deepening the anti-imperialist content of the nation's foreign policy. In November 1970, the SCP supported the new leadership of the Syrian state and the Baath Party headed by Hafez Assad, and joined the government (two ministers). Cooperation between the SCP and Baath Party entered a higher stage with the formation of the Progressive National Front, which in effect signified the legalization of the Communist Party. The

SCP supported common slates with the Baath and other progressive parties in local and national elections and it has seven seats in the People's Council (parliament).

The SCP publishes the Newspaper *Nidal al-Shaab* ('People's Struggle').

TUNISIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Established in May 1939 on the basis of Communist groups affiliated to the French Communist Party since 1920.

Tunisian Communists did much to popularize Marxism in the country; they were active and consistent promoters of the ideals of national-liberation and proletarian internationalism and took an active part in the national-liberation struggle. During the Second World War the TCP headed the anti-fascist struggle, and led the Resistance Movement against the Italian-German occupation of Tunisia. Many Party leaders and activists were killed or jailed.

After Tunisia's liberation in 1943, the Communist Party emerged from underground and remained legal until 1952. The colonialist repressions that year considerably weakened the Party which, besides, had wrongly assessed the character of the armed popular struggle in 1952-54 and did not take part in it. The Party became legal again in July 1954. It played a significant part in the mass actions against the protectorate. After independence the TCP called for the democratization of national life, agrarian reform and raising the living standards.

The Fifth and Sixth Party congresses, in 1956 and 1957, summed up the results of the people's struggle for national independence and made a critical review of the actions of all patriotic forces. A new Party program, 'Tunisia's Way to Socialism,' was adopted. The Seventh Congress (March 1962) supported progressive government measures aimed at consolidating national sovereignty and independence, establishing a state sector in the economy, and restricting and easing out foreign monopoly capital. The Communists also supported the ruling Socialist Destour Party's foreign policy, especially as regards the struggle against imperialism and Zionism and development of friendly relations with the socialist countries.

In January 1963, the Tunisian Communist Party and its newspaper *al-Talia* (Vanguard) were banned and some of its leaders were persecuted by the police. The Party now operates illegally. While supporting the ruling party's measures that are in keeping with the working people's interests, the Communist Party criticizes inconsistencies in home and foreign policy and the departure from the policy of progressive socio-economic changes since 1969.

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