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Peace and Socialism

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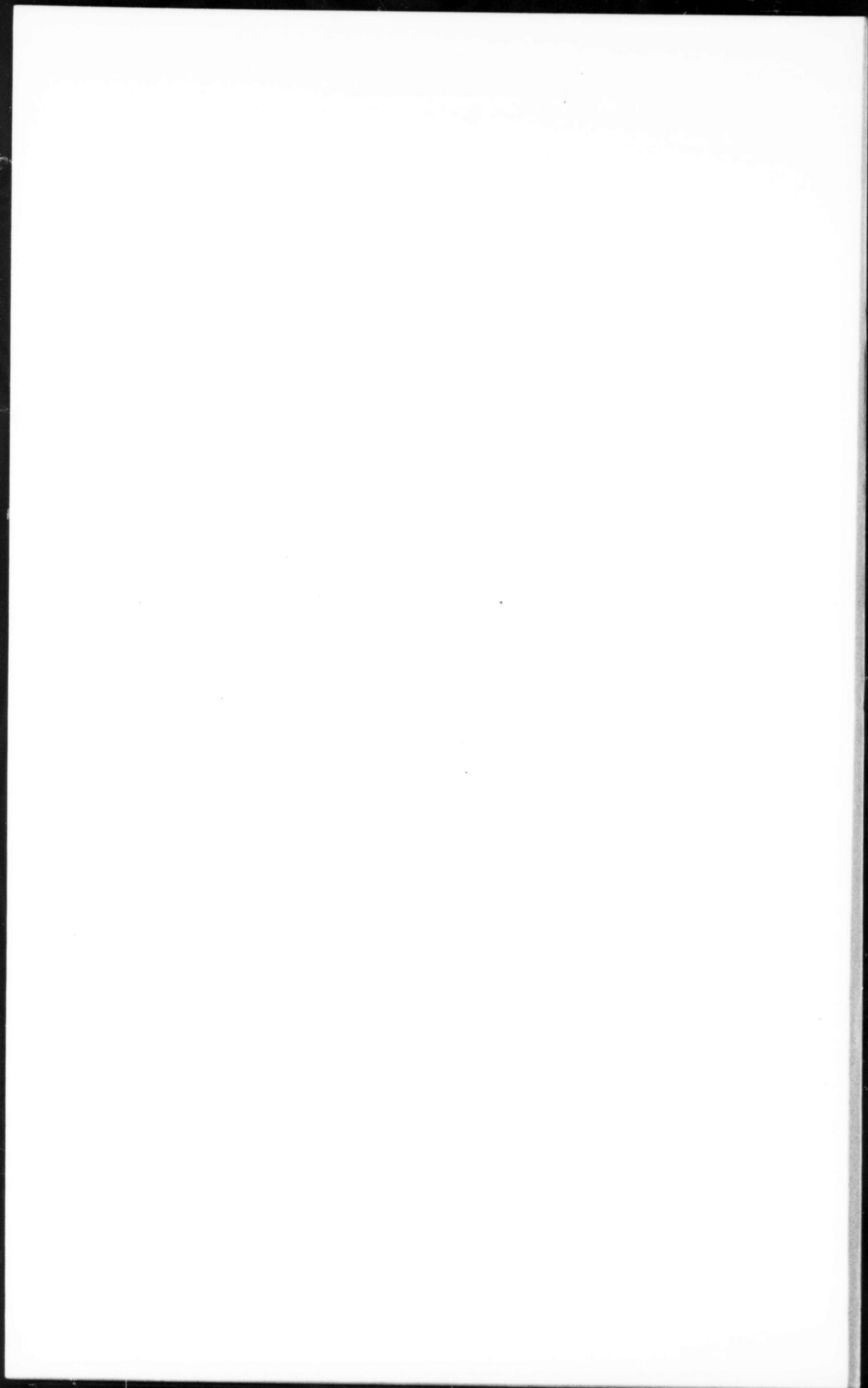
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On the dialectics of peaceful coexistence and revolutionary change

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Communist Party of Uruguay

I

The Helsinki Conference can be compared to a bright star shining through the maze of complex and contradictory international relations of recent times. And though the Conference dealt with European problems, it consummated a historical period, ushered in a new stage in the development of relations throughout the world and exerted a substantial influence on them. The cold war, demands for frontier revision, brinkmanship and the 'rolling back' of socialism, calls for a 'preventive war' against the USSR and other socialist countries — these and other aspects of postwar imperialist activities are beginning to give way to the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different, mutually opposed social systems, and to détente on the basic aspects of international politics. It is probably true to say that this is the most important development in regulating relations between socialist and capitalist states since Yalta and Potsdam, since the difficult birth in San Francisco of the United Nations. All those momentous events differ from each other substantially, but they have one feature in common. Yalta, Potsdam and the birth of the UN were manifestations of far-reaching changes in the alignment of world forces following the defeat of German fascism by the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries. These changes coincided with the beginning of a broad, multiform development of the world revolutionary process. Helsinki reflected the new qualitative changes in the alignment of forces in favor of socialism, democracy and national independence, i.e., the basic factors of universal peace.

Despite all the differences that surface in drawing historical parallels, it is not fortuitous that we mention Yalta, Potsdam and the emergence of the UN in its present juridical status. For they were all the result of the collapse of the monstrous counter-revolutionary

attempts by imperialism to use German fascism as a shock force to turn back the wheels of history to the times before 1917, and ward off for many years — for centuries perhaps — the 'specter of socialism.' We often emphasize that the victory over German fascism is tantamount to a great socio-political revolution and a profound ideological upheaval. The emergence of the socialist system, disintegration of colonial empires, the enhanced role of the proletariat, the expansion and growth of the world communist movement and the various democratic forces supporting socialism or influenced by it — all this reflects not only the new social and political geography, but also the main content of our epoch. Hard-felt setbacks, clashes, mistakes, vacillation or deviations in one or another revolutionary process — even the tragic and destructive position of the Chinese leadership toward the socialist countries and the world communist movement — could not halt the main trend of our times.

Despite its restricted geographical scope, the Helsinki Conference is fresh proof of the defeats sustained by imperialism over the past 30 years. *First*, it shows up the failure of its attempts to liquidate the positive results of the great anti-fascist war, reduce the zone of socialism, prevent the advance of national-liberation movements, remove from the political struggle or bring under its tutelage the proletariat of the capitalist countries, expel Marxism-Leninism from the ideological sphere as a rebel angel driven out of paradise. *Second*, it reveals the crisis of imperialist, particularly U.S., global strategy, failure of plans for a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and all manner of counter-revolutionary wars against the national-liberation movements and the progressive democratic forces. The cold war brought into being a whole system of aggressive organizations, NATO, OAS, SEATO and many more whose sinister activity was felt in every part of the world, with numerous acts of aggression, local wars, military plots and provocations, from Korea to Berlin, from Cuba to Vietnam, from the Congo to Algeria or the Middle East . . .

Nonetheless, there has been a steady strengthening of the world's anti-imperialist front and of the broad peace movement associated with it, in which are united even social strata that do not come out against the foundations of capitalism.

The positions of the capitalist world system have weakened in the social, political and ideological spheres, and even in terms of geography. The present deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system and the concomitant crisis developments (some researchers consider this the beginning of the fourth stage of the crisis) are due both to the sharpening of capitalism's internal contradictions and to the suc-

cesses of the revolutionary, socialist, democratic, and national-liberation forces.

Despite individual and temporary successes of its aggressive counter-revolutionary policy, imperialism has been dealt shattering blows and has sustained major military defeats. The epic history of the Vietnamese and other Indochina peoples is a symbol of our times and an eloquent political lesson. For it lays bare the aggressive essence of imperialism, and demonstrates its inability easily to impose its will on the peoples in the present conditions of history.

The successes and qualitative changes produced by peaceful co-existence and détente are based primarily on the all-round development of the world revolutionary process: the social, economic and cultural development of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, the growth of their international influence and military potential, the changed political map of the world resulting from the collapse of colonial empires and the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, the enhanced role of the proletariat of the capitalist countries and of the supreme champion of its interests, the Communist parties.

II

The changing relation of forces implies more than a comparison of the military means and potentialities of the principal socialist and capitalist powers, though this too, of course, is a factor of immense importance. We should consider also the historical, economic, social, political, military and ideological aspects.

Historically, socialism was stronger than capitalism already in the very first days after the October Revolution, but it was not yet stronger militarily. And to survive, it had to consent to such 'shameful' treaties as the Brest-Litovsk Peace. What in those days was no more than a historical perspective, achievable through dialectical struggle between the obsolescent and revolutionary, is today, as Lenin had foreseen, embodied in the might of the Soviet Union and the socialist system, in the development of the world socialist revolution and of the revolutionary process, and in the successive stages of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system. Socialism has already proved its social and historical superiority over capitalism in all the main criteria.

The ideological role of Marxism-Leninism in the second decade of the 20th century was, potentially, much greater than the political opportunities open to the international communist movement. In his *'Left'-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* Lenin posed, by way of discussion, the great task of converting the Communist parties into an effective political force. Today Marxism-Leninism inspires hun-

dreds of millions in the socialist and capitalist countries and exerts an influence on world scientific thought and research. It has become the axis of progressive trends anxious to find solutions for the problems of the socio-political and scientific-technical revolutions taking place in the world of today. And Marxism-Leninism is being enriched by new achievements resulting from its continuous theoretical development.

Speaking of the political aspect, the Communist parties are in power in the socialist countries, while in capitalist states they are fighting a multifold struggle, rallying tens of millions of people and seeking to win a decisive influence over the majority of the nation. In sum, on the international plane they constitute an *effective political force*. On the national plane, the Communist parties are prominent on the political scene even of the more 'exotic' regions of the world. They vary, some of them being very strong, while others have less weight and lesser numbers. But the main characteristic of the movement as a whole is a state of general uplift.

The changes in the relation of forces between the victorious and developing socialist revolution, a galaxy of revolutionary, democratic, anti-imperialist and other progressive movements, on the one hand, and capitalism in its imperialist phase, on the other, constitute a complex of dialectically interacting factors. And some of these — as sometimes in the case of the political and ideological struggle — may develop more slowly than the general cumulation of factors, which is objectively of a higher level.

Far be it from us to underestimate the military factors of big-time politics. That would be vulgar pacifism. Yet we do want to stress that the role of political and ideological factors as such, and particularly that of ideological struggle, is rising. In the conditions of international détente the ideological struggle will grow in intensity. It reflects the continuous and bitter class struggle which unfolds on the international plane mainly in the form of the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states. On the national plane its forms derive from concrete political tactics, the actions and experience of the masses, materializing in a drive for socialist-oriented democratic change in some capitalist states, and in democratic, anti-imperialist actions in others, depending on the stage of revolutionary process.

Here are a few examples of the dialectical connection between the growing involvement of the masses in a sphere where in the past capitalist governments transacted diplomatic deals and pursued all kinds of intrigues, and the qualitative change of the relation of forces in socialism's favor. Take the period since the Stockholm Appeal for the banning of atomic weapons up to the present concrete Soviet proposals for banning nuclear tests and limiting armaments with the

long-term perspective of an overall ban on means of mass annihilation. On the other hand, given the present relation of forces, need we emphasize the international political impact of the campaign for solidarity with Vietnam or Cuba, with the Palestinian or other Arab people, or the campaigns condemning fascism in Spain, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and other Latin American countries? Or could anyone underrate the ideological and political significance for the world revolutionary movement of the popularization of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the socialist community? Socialism's competition with capitalism — comparison of the character and rates of their social, economic and cultural growth, and also of the class content of their policy — is a form of struggle and cooperation for universal peace, for links with the peoples fighting for freedom, and support for all progressive movements. The revolutionary political and ideological force of example is visibly greater in the present stage of the building of developed socialism and communism, of socialist economic integration. Doubly so today, when the crisis is exposing the rot of the capitalist system. For us solidarity with the socialist countries is not only an international duty, but also a potential factor for the ideological and political invigoration of the proletariat and other democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

These examples may not give a conclusive idea of the conception as whole, but are essentially valid. To cite Marx, ideas become a material force when they take possession of the masses.

III

The role of the masses in international and national matters acquires a higher quality at times of profound historical flux. And in the epoch of the world's revolutionary transition to socialism, when the great variety of forms of revolutionary struggle erode the citadels of imperialism, decisive importance attaches to the *subjective factor*, which depends first and foremost on the working-class party's ability to perform its vanguard mission. This was and will always be a problem of the class and the masses, their experience, mobilization, organization and education. It also includes the crucial question of allies, and of the scale, durability and flexibility of the alliances. In the final count it is a question of power.

As I see it, the present international situation is increasingly favorable for introducing a concrete political content into the basic Marxist-Leninist ideas on strategy and tactics and for their implementation not only in the explicative educational sphere and propaganda, but primarily in the field of *actual politics* that gives birth to new events. In other words, the time seems to have come to determine in the society of each country the concrete political course that would

today or in future establish the alternative of power and enable the working class, all revolutionary forces, and especially the Communist parties to accumulate strength more rapidly. We are required to show creative political initiative in determining the decisive link referred to by Lenin, to open up and travel along the path of approach to socialism, to define the successive phases, the transitional factors, in line with the objective realities and concrete political processes.

The theoretical and political questions relating to the links between the democratic and socialist tasks have special practical significance and urgency. They have been enriched by the specific, often unusual, forms that the revolution assumed in the present conditions. This is due to the role of Communists as standard-bearers of freedom, democracy, national independence, and the economic, social and cultural development of their countries, and also to the search for, and elaboration of, concrete roads to socialism. Though these roads will not essentially depart from the time-tested general commonalities, their specificity is sure to increase. Because, as Lenin stressed, appearance is richer than law.

This is a reference to the variety of situations. The democratic and socialist alternative has already become a concrete aim in some developed capitalist countries. In others the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and the socialist revolution can unfold as a single historical process either because the proletariat was at the head or can put itself at the head of the revolution from the very beginning, or because it became the hegemon as the revolution developed. There may even be cases such as that of Cuba, where revolutionary democrats inspired by socialist ideas and led by our hero, Fidel Castro, espoused Marxism-Leninism and merged in a single party with the old working-class party. To what extent will other revolutionary democrats active in a number of other regions be able, *mutatis mutandis*, to reproduce this original experience?

But there are still more peculiar questions and themes. The variety of situations created by the scale and diversity of the world revolutionary process is truly kaleidoscopic. Take the complicated and essentially long non-capitalist road of a number of countries, or the problems related to the emergence of new 'socialist-oriented' states. A whole spectrum of problems and unique solutions arose with the establishment of many countries that will sooner or later have to determine their final orientation — socialist or capitalist. In some cases this will be done in conditions of millennial backwardness of the productive forces, with only an embryonic or weak proletariat and a large rural population, in a setting of endless plots or neo-colonialist 'temptations' dangled before them by imperialism. In many of these countries advocates of national reforms and national revolutionaries

are already coming to grips over the country's choice of ways, with the latter often supported by the socialist-oriented leaders or organizations. The active solidarity displayed by the working class in the developed capitalist countries and by the communist movement, coupled with the support of countries of the socialist system, give this set of questions added significance. On the theoretical and political plane, these new situations give impulse to a still deeper creative development of Marxism-Leninism. We know that development is never arrow-straight. We have no idyllic illusions. The sharpness of the class and anti-imperialist struggle is evidence of the sharpness of the revolutionary processes.

In present-day conditions, it is logical to look forward to broader alliances and greater coincidence of views between the working class and other social strata in defending and winning democracy, combating colonialism and neo-colonialism and fighting for genuine political and economic independence. This struggle is inseparable from the demand for the restitution of natural resources and the nationalization of key industries. It is going on against the background of a crisis in relations between imperialism and countries in vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In such cases, the struggle of the working class and other motive forces of the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution interlocks amid contradictions with a large-scale resistance in which the national-reformist or nationalist bourgeoisie plays the chief part. International organizations are formed to protect raw materials, oil, and so on. In Latin America, regional organizations are founded to the exclusion of imperialism or even against it. All this is evidence of a new international reality which raises tactical questions of national significance. In the political sphere, the establishment of fascism in some Latin American countries makes it our task to evolve an anti-fascist strategy in harmony with the fundamental struggle against imperialism and the oligarchy, the big bourgeoisie and the big landed proprietors, as the conference of the Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, June 1975) stated in its highly significant declaration.

The difficult, bloody struggle going on in Latin America reflects certain crisis aspects of the present international situation. On the one hand, fascist regimes have been set up in some countries — complete with torture, murder, economic, social and political regression, anti-communist hysteria and subservience to imperialism — and there are seats of provocation whose existence runs counter to the general trend toward international détente. On the other hand, revolutionary processes are gathering momentum, the forces resisting imperialism are multiplying, trends toward democracy and political and economic self-determination are strengthening and the policy of peaceful co-

existence is gaining ground. Many Latin American countries have established relations with Cuba. The imperialist blockade has been pierced. In spite of the hysterical stance of the dictatorial regimes of Uruguay, Chile, Brazil and some other countries, the recent conference of army commanders of American states failed. Cuba as a member of the socialist community has become a factor for the cohesion of the forces resisting imperialism and of the countries upholding their patriotic demands. In Peru, power is in the hands of a national revolutionary government, Panama adheres to an explicitly anti-imperialist position, and there are similar trends in other countries whose governments advocate national reforms. But all this is based on the militancy and heroism of the working class and democratic forces, on the devoted struggle of fearless Communist parties.

A section of the middle strata that has joined the camp of the revolutionary — students, teachers, progressive intellectuals who, like military men of the same social origin, produce revolutionary democratic leaders from their ranks — plays an important part.

In the overall context of the situation, there is evidence of new phenomena in many countries. We mean favorable changes in the Catholic Church and other religious currents, and, on the other hand, the differentiation going on in the armed forces and the growing participation of the military in the peoples' patriotic, democratic and liberation struggle.

Conditions are also improving for the expansion and deepening of mass movements, specifically for political and trade union activity and for work with the Social Democrats, among whom left views are rising. The unity of Communists and Socialists and their cohesion with democratic parties and organizations are becoming more important than ever. There are also more favorable conditions now for defeating anti-Sovietism, anti-communism and other conceptions, such as *tercerism*,* which prejudice the revolutionary process.

Important problems of unity in every form are coming to the fore on the political scene. This is giving impulse to the parties' continued political, ideological and numerical growth.

To step up the international campaign in defense of political prisoners, for the release of Luis Corvalan, Antonio Maidana, Jaime Perez, Jose Luis Massera, Vladimir Turiansky, Alberto Altesor and thousands of other prisoners in Latin American countries, Spain, Indonesia and elsewhere, is the humanist duty of all internationalists and democrats.

In sum, we are in a period in which the national and the internation-

*Nationalist political current attacking both imperialist and socialist countries, both the United States and the Soviet Union.

al, the patriotic and the internationalist, are inseparable in a setting of intense democratic, anti-imperialist and class struggles.

The struggle to maintain peace and the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist countries, consolidate détente, promote it in the political and military fields and make it irreversible implies isolating the more intransigent militarists, eliminating seats of wars of aggression like the one in the Middle East, and isolating and stamping out hotbeds of fascism. These are primary, fundamental strategic and tactical problems whose solution would benefit the broadest social strata. They can also be solved by taking advantage of the ruling classes' internal contradictions. However, these tasks do not cover all of the future or immediate goals of the working class and other revolutionary forces.

IV

The dialectics of the developments, their breadth and depth, multiply their distinctive national and international aspects. Development never stops. The big gains of the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence are indicative of the extraordinary scope of revolutionary processes. They are gathering unprecedented speed as they go deeper. This constitutes a great historic challenge to the political competence of the working class and its vanguard.

A fact we re-emphasize is that, more and more often, the solution of world problems involves the masses including social strata coming out against imperialist aggression, for peace and coexistence, and against fascism in some countries, against monopoly oligarchies and for democratic changes in others, and for political and economic independence in the so-called developing countries. Politically and ideologically, this struggle does not yet mean choosing between capitalism and socialism. In some cases this is due to political incomprehension, and in others to the class interests of definite social strata. However, the policy of socialism, apart from the overall significance of its example and aid, contributes objectively to the unification of the heterogeneous and contradictory forces in line with its program of struggle for peace, coexistence, independence and social progress. This is why the working class of a given country can use a wide range of coinciding points of view or of alliances for peace and democracy along with strengthening the basis, that is, the motive forces of the revolution. In this as in the revolutionary process as a whole, national and international factors closely condition each other.

Ever since nuclear weapons were devised and perfected, the substance of the problem has been to bring home the danger of destruction this poses for the greater part of mankind. Forecasts in this respect surpassed the imagination of even science fiction writers. This

makes the comment that there were neither winners, nor losers at Helsinki particularly important. Only vicious madmen, the progeny of a moribund imperialism, only adventurers and political blackmailers, can walk the tightrope with a bomb in their hand, as in Chaplin's unforgettable film.

In these circumstances tremendous value attaches to the far-sighted peace policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community, the powerful architects of international realities both on the plane of international relations, of peaceful coexistence, and in strengthening socialism, the working class of capitalist countries and the national-liberation forces. They are the staunch standard-bearers of world peace and the motive force of the revolutionary process of today.

This policy calls for political vision and firmness of principle, which Lenin valued so greatly and which rule out any secret deals. The Peace Program approved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the initiatives put forward by L.I. Brezhnev, who heads the Central Committee of the CPSU, have already proved it to be fruitful.

The realism of this policy has nothing in common with pragmatism. It embraces the broad, diverse problems of our time that fall within the concepts of peaceful coexistence and *détente**; it also takes into account the totality of fundamental positions and obligations deriving from proletarian internationalism. This policy of peace is based on the building of socialism and communism, defense of their gains, support of national-liberations movements and the interests of the international working class (whose victorious vanguard is the socialist countries), and of newly-liberated countries and all forces of democracy. Hence, it emphatically rejects exports of counter-revolution and the utopian notions of exporting revolution. Finally, that policy applies a stubborn, patient struggle for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement.

This theoretical and political approach harmoniously blends the present-day issue of peace and revolution.

V

Today, almost 20 years after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and slightly less time since the international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties of 1957 and 1960 (which were followed up by the meeting of 1969), it is appropriate to recall and emphasize the unitarian and, simultaneously, many-faceted character of the analysis of

*Which imply not merely an absence of war, but cooperation in resolving issues arising from the internationalization of economic, cultural, scientific, technological and other fields, which benefits the majority of mankind.

world development and the prospects charted at the time. We do not forget the weaknesses and negative developments in our movement or strive to gloss them over. However, the correctness of the theoretical premises and political guidelines worked out at the time has been confirmed by experience.

The conclusions of the 20th CPSU Congress and the world communist movement were based on the changing correlation of world forces in the early 50s. They paved the way for a further creative and critical elaboration of the problems involved. They bring together the tremendously significant question of the socialist system's becoming a determining factor in the basic trends and features of contemporary development and the question of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems in conditions when world war is not fatally inevitable; of the beginning of the third stage in the general crisis of capitalism; of the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, and elevation of relations between the socialist system and the national-liberation movement, between the forces of democracy and socialism in the capitalist world to a qualitatively higher level. On the whole these conditions make for greater opportunities for the so-called peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism; for multiplying the approaches to socialism for the peoples engaged in national-liberation struggles and those who have already achieved victory and set up new and different nations; for potential transitional stages on the way to socialism in the developed capitalist countries.

Thus, the subjects of peace and coexistence are viewed in relation to the whole spectrum of the problems of socialism, national liberation and democracy. The struggle for democracy; development of the revolutionary process in various forms; the victories of Communist parties and their allies; the replacement of some monopoly and aggressive governments by progressive ones; popular-liberation revolutions and especially the defeat of neo-colonialism; development of some countries along the non-capitalist road; the advent to power of revolutionary democrats, some of them socialist-oriented, etc. — all that is facilitated by a general global climate of peace; therein are rooted the factors contributing to peaceful coexistence and world peace. For example, the greatest contribution toward the establishment of peace in Latin America was the victory of the Cuban revolution, the dawn of socialism on the continent, the beginning of a new revolutionary period of continental proportions. Nor is this contradicted by the fact that U.S. imperialism has embarked on aggressive moves against the island of freedom, moves which endangered world peace and provoked the so-called Caribbean crisis. The historic defeat of imperialism in Korea, the triumph of Cuba (not as a con-

sequence of world war), the achievements of the GDR, and the brilliant victory on the Vietnam front: these are decisive landmarks in the dialectic interconnection between coexistence and revolution, between peace and national liberation. They are proof that there is no geographic or any other predestination, that situations like the Chilean tragedy are not inevitable. Socialism can stand its ground in Latin America as well as in other 'dangerous' regions, but of course, it will be accompanied by fierce attacks and conspiracies on the part of imperialism and bourgeois-landlord oligarchies, by stubborn class struggles. In itself the Chilean experience does not refute predictions of the possibility, in some cases and in certain circumstances, of transition to socialism without armed insurrection and civil war. In some countries détente and the changing correlation of world forces may facilitate this, provided an approach to revolution precluding civil war is found, and the issue of power and dismantling the military-bureaucratic state machine is settled.

Practical developments during this period have refuted some unfounded concepts regarding the interaction of factors of the world revolutionary process, and attempts to make an absolute of one factor or another. They have also refuted the idyllic views of those who forgot, or at the very least ignored, the beastly essence of imperialism and the fundamental thesis of the Communist Manifesto that class struggle is the motive force of history. No exploiter class will go to its grave voluntarily. The most advanced movement of our epoch, especially when its actions body forth in such political categories as détente, influences the situation in individual countries and becomes a catalyst of national prospects. But what would become of us if we forgot Lenin's axiom that revolution breeds counter-revolution, and vice versa! The living example of Portugal demonstrates how the counter-revolutionary quagmire begins to seeth both internationally and nationally, and how the Social Democratic leadership repeats history when the peoples enter the struggle for their future.

Although the historically positive changes on the world arena are favorable for the revolution in some countries, they also aggravate the internal contradictions of the capitalist system and may be accompanied by increasing aggressiveness of the imperialists and local exploiters. More, these achievements may give rise to pre-emptive or retaliatory, but nonetheless real, counter-revolutionary actions, which may prove temporarily successful in different parts of the globe. Imperialism knows no moral restraints in its brutality, as the experience of Vietnam, in particular, indicates. The recent crimes of Francoism and resurgence of fascism in some Latin American countries, with the blessing of U.S. imperialism, are instructive facts, if only because they involve Hitler methods of mass torture and anni-

hilation of active members of patriotic, democratic, and anti-imperialist movements, especially Communists. Chile, Brazil, Guatemala, Haiti, Uruguay, Paraguay and other Latin American countries, as well as Spain and South Africa, are proof that to consolidate international détente it is necessary to isolate and wipe out fascism. This, in turn, will help isolate the opponents of détente, the most aggressive imperialist circles.

The realities of our time have totally refuted the metaphysical views of the Chinese leaders and ultra-leftist groups that there exists a contradiction between peaceful coexistence and world revolution, between peace agreements involving the main capitalist and socialist powers and national-liberation movements. The Chinese leaders spread the concoctions of the supporters of tercerism about 'spheres of influence.' Some Chinese 'critics,' like the most rabidly militant imperialist circles, openly advocate a continuation of the cold war. They insist on the U.S. imperialist presence in Europe, Asia and Latin America and most significantly, embrace the blood-stained fascist Pinochet. All this in an atmosphere of vicious anti-Sovietism and attacks against the world Communist movement.

But despite all these efforts the policy of peaceful coexistence, the cause of world peace are making headway, and the revolutionary process is advancing all along the line.

Today the miraculous has become commonplace. Science has enabled man to reach other planets and penetrate the inexhaustible mysteries of matter. But our era will go down in history primarily as the era of the socialist, national-liberation, humanitarian revolution, begun in 1917. Since then the working class, which is at the hub of the struggle, has been holding firmly and unswervingly aloft the banner of peace and revolution. In the years to come it will be raised still higher. The working class will carry it on to complete victory.

Science and communism

Sergei Trapeznikov
Member of Central Committee,
Head of Department of
Science and Educational
Institutions, Central Committee
of the CPSU

A noteworthy feature of our epoch is the unprecedentedly rapid development of the creative forces of science on the solid basis of growing productive forces and the tremendous intellectual potential. Never before has the scope of science been so immense, nor has it ever had to play so great a role as now, in the age of the decline of capitalism and the transition to socialism, the age of building communist society.

The rise and progress of Marxism-Leninism and its entry into the sphere of social struggles led off a radical transformation of the world, and this also changed the standing and role of science. Man's genius, embodied in remarkable achievements, extends the horizons of knowledge from century to century. The history of civilization is also a record of the increasing power of science, of its ability to encompass a widening range of realities, delve deeper into the mysteries of nature and the objective laws of social development, and exert an increasing influence on material, social and spiritual processes.

Soviet scientists are dedicated to the transformation of life on socialist and communist principles. A fundamental advantage of Soviet science is that it is inseparable from the cause of building the new society.

'Socialism and science are inseparable and this is one of the reasons for the victory of socialism,' said L.I. Brezhnev, addressing the Soviet Academy of Sciences on its 250th anniversary on October 7, 1975. 'Socialism alone has made it possible to use the achievements of science in the people's interest, to bring out the creative potentialities and abilities which every people has in abundance. And it is only the aid of the latest achievements of the natural and social sciences that socialism and communism can be successfully built.'

Thanks to Soviet power new contingents of scientists have come

from the ranks of our working class and peasantry. It organized or extended research facilities in both traditional cultural centers and in many remote regions, in new industrial and agricultural areas. As a result, Soviet science has scaled great heights and played an invaluable part in transforming the country into a highly developed power with a vast material and spiritual potential, which held its ground in the battle with fascism. The achievements of Soviet science are widely known. It holds first place in many key spheres of knowledge and has won worldwide recognition.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, founded 250 years ago, may be described as the general headquarters of Soviet science and is rightly considered a center of advanced scientific thought. Its branches in the Union republics have long since become independent academies staffed with highly competent personnel. The scope of Soviet science is measurable by the research institutes operating in the material production sphere — industry, construction and agriculture — as well as institutions of higher learning scattered all over the country. As the 25th Congress of the CPSU draws near, our scientists, along with the whole people, are adding to their achievements in building communism, the highest and most perfect type of society.

Mankind has entered the historic period of a far-reaching scientific and technological revolution accompanied by deep-going changes in production and in public life. Each new major victory of science adds to its influence on the life of society and enhances its role in speeding technological and social progress. And while this is not the first time that society has effected important changes in science and technology, never before have these changes been so great as now.

Science is increasingly establishing itself as a mighty productive force. 'If the production process is becoming an *application of science*,' Marx wrote, 'then, by the same token, science is becoming a factor, or a function so to speak, of the production process.' This forecast is absolutely true, for research is becoming more and more meaningful under socialism, helping to discover new possibilities of furthering technological progress, greatly increasing output, raising labor productivity and steadily improving the people's living and cultural standards.

Soviet natural scientists have done much to develop the productive forces, strengthen the defenses of the Soviet Union, subdue the forces of nature and build the material and technical basis for socialism and communism.

Soviet scholars, primarily those concerned with the social sciences, have played an important role in generalizing the experience of socialist construction, educating the new man and moulding the people's communist world outlook.

The laws of science and its development trends are now more or less fully understood. Today, one can no longer speak of science in general, one must distinguish its two principal aspects: (1) fundamental research, and (2) applied research. Until recently the functions of these two lines were not distinctly demarcated and they coexisted under one roof, as it were. Now each has its own independent function.

Fundamental research, or so-called 'pure science,' does not always reveal its great power and magnificance; for a time they exist only in laboratory experiments. Therefore it needs much solicitude, time and patience. But as soon as it appears on the surface of social development, laying bare its secrets, mankind becomes aware of its greatness and the compelling force of its progress.

Applied research is always in action and hence 'visible.' Precisely because it develops in the material production sphere proper, its results are evident and tangible. Applied research materializes theory, speeds the use of discoveries in the production sphere and contributes thereby to scientific and technological progress. Yet for all its fruitfulness, primacy must go to fundamental research.

The two lines of research are intimately interconnected, of course, but there are clear distinctions between them. Fundamental research paves the way for the advance of the scientific and technological revolution. It has done so in the past and plays the same revolutionizing role today. This means that if we want to win the scientific and technological competition with the capitalist world, we must continue to give primacy to fundamental research and its close connection with applied research and material production.

It can be said that the essence of our advance to communism consists in transforming every aspect of the life of Soviet society through the use of the latest achievements of science and technology. Accordingly, the 24th Congress of the CPSU set the historic task of organically linking the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system, and giving more scope for the inherently socialist forms of linking science with production.

It is hard at the moment to fully visualize the vast prospects lying immediately ahead for science in socialist society. The time is not far off when science will unravel many new mysteries of nature, helping people to get rid of now deadly diseases, raise the overall standard of their health, greatly increase productivity in agriculture and provide ample supplies of high-quality food and raw materials.

By discovering and using new sources of energy and synthetic materials, by extending automation and mechanization and transforming transport and communications, science will make labor sub-

stantially lighter in our society, so that it will become ever more creative as man's highest requirement. The prospecting and utilization of natural resources will be further intensified. Space achievements will serve the people's needs. There will be full protection for the natural environment. Man the master and friend of nature and creator of society, will become still more powerful thanks to science.

Increasingly strong links between science and production and the fact that science is manifestly becoming a direct productive force have seriously shaken or even demolished the opinion that science and its benefits are separated by a great distance. However, it would be wrong to go to the other extreme and exaggerate the utilitarian significance of science to the detriment of theory.

Analysis of the relationship between science and socialist production in conditions of the current scientific and technological revolution reveals the following aspects of the problem:

First, the latest scientific discoveries have made it possible to evolve more perfect technologies, bring into being whole new industries and new forms of material production. The retooling of every industry on the basis of scientific achievements is changing the nature of labor, raising its standard and making it more productive. In turn, the development of production confronts science with new concrete tasks. This mutual enrichment of science and production is becoming part of man's effort to influence nature and constitutes a characteristic of the scientific and technological revolution.

Second, this revolution greatly reduces the time required for putting scientific achievements to use. Whereas the development of photography following the discovery of its principles required more than a hundred years, the telephone over 50 years and the radio more than three decades, it took only 15 years to translate the idea of radar into reality and as for the principles of television, the transistor and integrated circuits, they only required 12, five and three years respectively. The time separating research and designing from application is becoming progressively shorter. Prompt utilization of the gains of science is a key condition for the progress of production and the life of society as a whole.

Third, research is penetrating the material production sphere more and more. There are more and more industrial and agricultural laboratories and institutes and the proportion of scientific workers and experts is growing in every economic field. Science is becoming accessible to a growing number of working people, the main productive force of society. Increasingly close links between science and production make for more rapid scientific and technological progress.

Fourth, the interaction of sciences, especially those that earlier were either unconnected or maintained only tenuous contacts with

each other, is increasing. The power of science multiplies due to the mutual influence and interpenetration of many of its branches — an inevitable result of the interconnection of natural phenomena, of the oneness of the material world.

Fifth, science is advancing at every level of government and economic management. The Communist Party has put the management of social and economic processes, on a solid scientific basis. This is a key law of social development under socialism. The need to evolve and widely use scientific methods in economic management heightens the role and responsibility of scientists.

Sixth, the scientific and technological revolution is turning science into an active component of material and spiritual culture. It has changed the nature of production and is helping to perfect social relations. This expresses itself, first of all, in the changed character of social labor. Overall mechanization and automation is increasingly making labor in industry and agriculture a variety of the labor of engineers and technicians. Among the major problems of social development that are in the process of solution are the elimination of essential distinctions between town and country, between workers by brain and workers by hand, between workers and peasants, and the development of all Soviet citizens into members of a classless, communist society. It is on these lines that the social structure of Soviet society is advancing.

In an antagonistic society based on exploitation, the results and effects of the scientific and technological revolution are most contradictory and multiply the negative aspects of capitalist production. By contrast, socialist transformation of social relations makes scientific and technological progress a planned and controlled process whose ultimate object is the good of society as a whole, the good of its every member and the all-round development of the individual. Lenin said that 'socialism alone will liberate science from its bourgeois fetters, from its enslavement to capital, from its slavery to the interests of dirty capitalist greed.' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 37, P. 411).

Socialism has made it possible to achieve a rate of progress enabling the Soviet Union to score scientific and technological achievements that amaze the world. Due to its rapid advance in science and technology, our country pioneered the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, reached outer space for the first time in human history, put the economy on up-to-date scientific and technological foundations, promoted education and culture on a vast revolutionary scale and trained numerous specialists for every industry.

Under socialism, scientific and technological progress is the concern of the whole people, an object of constant attention by the Party and the government, a decisive sector of the struggle for communism.

The Soviet people spare neither energies nor funds for the progress of science. Scientists can always rely on the full support of the people, the Party and the government.

Steady scientific and technological progress is only one aspect of the matter. The other aspect is that this progress is not isolated from the life of society, nor has ever been, and is closely linked with social progress.

The founders of scientific communism were the first to prove the inherent connection between scientific and social progress. They also realized that scientific and technological revolutions contribute to the awakening and formation of the social and political forces that are bound to execute the sentence justly passed by history on capitalism, to deliver mankind from slavery and violence.

This is confirmed by the facts. There is only one class in the world, the working class, which, with the support of all progressive forces, can make technological progress serve social progress, the cause of freeing the working people from exploitation and enslavement. At the same time, as Engels wrote, 'the more ruthlessly and disinterestedly science proceeds, the more it finds itself in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the workers.' The working class remains the most organized, the most revolutionary and the victorious class.

History has shown that the major scientific and technological revolutions were levers of social revolutions. And social revolutions have always been a great catalyst of scientific and technological progress and far-reaching changes in society.

The *first* scientific and technological revolution, brought about through the use of steam for energy, revolutionized the economic basis of bourgeois society in some European countries while in others it speeded the development of bourgeois revolutions which culminated in the downfall of feudalism and the establishment of bourgeois rule. At the same time the revolution in the socio-economic basis gave rise to a new class, the proletariat, the most powerful class and the grave-digger of capitalism.

The *second* scientific and technological revolution, based on electric power, in the imperialist epoch made for the maturing of the material prerequisites of a worldwide social revolution of the socialist type. It became a powerful catalyst of the development of socialist relations of production, first in one country and then in other countries of the world, in which the working class successfully carried out its liberating mission.

Now mankind is in the period of the *third* and most powerful scientific and technological revolution based on atomic energy and comprehensive automation. It may be said to have developed on the basis of its predecessors and brought about unprecedented economic,

social and political changes in the life of society by logically carrying forward the general trends of scientific progress. This revolution will undoubtedly accelerate transformative social processes on every continent that will result in the complete and undivided victory of socialism on a world scale.

History also shows that where technological progress is not accompanied by social progress, it is lopsided, makes no gains and peters out. And where technological progress is combined with social progress, science and society make rapid headway. Let us take a look at some aspects of the current scientific and technological revolution and its connection with social processes.

One of the characteristics of the technological revolution of today is that it is taking place in the period of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. It has strengthened the socialist world system. Democratic liberation movements have developed in every part of the globe. The colonial system of capitalism has fallen apart. We are, in effect, witnessing a gigantic movement of the peoples for their national, social and economic emancipation from capitalist domination. In line with the logic of dialectics we are certain that socialism will triumph through the use of the achievements of the present scientific and technological revolution.

Another characteristic. In a way, the scientific and technological revolution is at the center of the struggle between the two world systems — socialist and capitalist. Its results and consequences are, therefore, a double-edged weapon — used by the forces of progress in the interest of civilization and prosperity, and by reaction for the evil purpose of coercion and destruction. This is why the clash over the scientific and technological revolution is so acute, bringing out the close connection between technological and social progress.

The scientific and technological revolution is all-embracing. Previous scientific and technical breakthroughs concerned just specific fields of science and technology. The present one reaches into all fields of science and technology, into production, and into the social and cultural spheres. And every new discovery adds velocity to technological progress.

Hence, scientific and technological progress will not be meaningful unless it goes hand in hand with social progress. Merging in one great process, both stimulate the movement of millions of workers, farmers and intellectuals on all continents.

Here is the most distinctive feature of Lenin's party; not only does it scientifically conceptualize what it is doing, but it also does what it scientifically conceptualizes. It relies consistently on Marxist-Leninist theory, which enables it to foresee the social processes and direct the country's creative energy to conform with the objective

laws and the interests of the people. This assures planned and harmonious progress toward communism in all areas of society. No Communist should ever forget that there cannot be communist construction without Marxist-Leninist theory. In its absence the advance to communism would entail grave misfortunes and blunder off the correct path with dire consequences. This is why our Party devotes close attention to Marxist-Leninist theory and social science.

Soviet social science has made substantial advances in recent years. Its achievements are linked with the general uplift of the Party's theoretical activity. The documents of the 24th CPSU Congress, the subsequent Central Committee plenums and the decisions of the CPP CPSU sum up the rich experience of the Soviet people building socialism and communism and contain a deep-going analysis of the world revolutionary process. This is evidence of the Party's ideological vitality, of the immense importance it attaches to developing revolutionary theory in the present-day conditions.

For all its specific qualities, social science, like the natural, has two types of research — fundamental and applied. These are neither opposed to each other, nor identical.

It will be recalled that Marx, Engels and Lenin attached great significance to fundamental research and warned against shallow-brained empiricism and one-sided practicicism, against thoughtless subordination to the arbitrary course of events and to irresponsible subjectivism and voluntarism. 'Anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems,' wrote Lenin, 'will inevitably and at every step "come up against" those general problems without himself realizing it. To come up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's politics to the worst vacillation and lack of principle' (Vol. 12, p. 489).

Resolution of the fundamental problems of social science assures a fruitful link between science and practice and provides an effective methodological basis for applied research. Fundamental social research produces new ideas, new and enduring judgments.

It is universally accepted that for research to be successful it must treat natural and social science as a unity. Acting on this postulate, willed by Lenin, the CPSU promotes the allinace of natural scientists and Marxist social scientists, based first and foremost on their common ideology, methodology and aims, and the increasing need for joint comprehensive research by scientists of many different fields. Based on Marxism-Leninism, the organic complex of social and natural sciences secures theoretical and practical solutions for all the vital problems of mature and developed socialism and its growth into communism.

But we must also remember that the scale and depth of the

present-day objectives set new demands in the theoretical field and necessitate further growth of social sciences. The usefulness of research, its practical value, depends mainly on the scientist's fidelity to the Marxist-Leninist methodology. This shows the importance of the philosophico-ideological and methodological function of social sciences. The slightest neglect of scientific methodology is liable to impair the results of research, detract from their ideological value, and sometimes even open the doors to alien views and conceptions.

Marxist-Leninist social science, the communist ideology, is the result not of abstract mental exercise, but of analysis and generalization of many centuries of human thought, culture, revolutionary practice, and of the experience of the masses. Their organic unity is a mighty stimulus for the further creative development of all the three components of Marxism-Leninism — philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism.

Below are the methodological aspects of the creative development of social science in the present conditions (important for understanding the increasing role of the Party's theoretical activity).

As in all modern cognition, there are two convergent and objective processes in social science: *differentiation* of knowledge, or appearance of new directions of research, on the one hand, and *integration* of knowledge, or pooling of different sciences to solve comprehensive problems, and the resulting interaction and interpenetration of methods and approaches, on the other. And in our scientifically administered society we do not want either of these tendencies to run their course without control. The new trends in research, represented by large scientific collectives, should always have a definite purpose. In some cases the projects may be tied to vital needs, with chiefly propaganda or, as some say, applied value. In other cases they may involve deep-going, long and fundamental investigations of long-term relevance. It is important to secure this harmony of proportions in all social science research.

The most effective criteria of the role of social science in our socialist society are its academic fidelity, substantiation in theory, purity of its Marxist-Leninist quality, intolerance to even a hint of vacillation or conciliation with the bourgeois, right-opportunist or 'left' adventurist ideology. This is why the question of the scientist's responsibility and integrity is of such cardinal importance. The responsibility he bears is great, for it contains ideological, philosophical and political elements.

Social science resting on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation is in substance an *exact science*. When dialectical and historical materialism came into the world, social science acquired a dependable methodological basis and essentially became just as exact as

natural science. They have the same principles and laws of development, and their investigative instrumentarium is increasingly enriched with mathematical methods and modern technical accessories, notably computers. Hence, strictly speaking, the division of science into exact and inexact has become meaningless.

The emergence of the communist social-economic formation creates enormous new problems for the entire theoretical front. The substantive changes in the modern world call for deep-going study and class analysis, thorough investigation by theorists, and for an invigoration of the ideological offensive against our adversaries.

Real science is in essence profoundly revolutionary and transformative. Its essential purpose is to facilitate mankind's progressive development. 'Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force,' Frederick Engels said in his speech at the graveside of Karl Marx. 'However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in history, and in historical development in general.'

The call for social progress echoes across all the continents. It is sought by millions upon millions of workers, farmers, all the oppressed masses. This means that the bourgeois system has become unacceptable, that its economic and political system is discredited, that the masses are not content with the specious and hypocritical promise of bourgeois democracy, on the one hand, and that there is a search for the road to socialism, the more just social system, on the other. It is therefore the cardinal purpose of progressive scientific thought to help the revolutionary forces find the right way, the right means and methods, to the cherished aim — the worldwide victory of socialism.

By revolutionizing and socializing the production process, the capitalist mode of production has already created the material and technical conditions for socialism. In the world-historical context, the productive forces, and the scientific and technological revolution as such, have gone far beyond the capitalist framework and provide ample evidence that society is ripe for socialism. In the eyes of the peoples the fusion of monopoly capital with the state has discredited both the economic basis of the bourgeois system and its political superstructure. Briefly, capitalism as a socio-economic system has outlived its time.

It must be remembered, however, that the existence of objective material conditions for socialism does not by itself secure capitalism's conversion into socialism. Capitalism does not collapse automatically. Neither does socialism come by itself. Noting the existence

of socialism's material preconditions in the imperialist epoch, Lenin stressed that capitalism would not die a natural death, that its decay might drag out in the absence of the subjective factor, of revolutionary action by the working class and the masses headed by the Marxist party. Given active mass support and leadership of a genuinely revolutionary party, none but the working class can assure the triumph of socialism.

The scientific and technological revolution has denuded imperialism's ills, its inherent antagonistic contradictions. Lenin's analysis of imperialism's social essence and its place in history in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, is still entirely valid and provides a key to the new developments and the present features of imperialism. The general crisis of capitalism precipitated by the October Socialist Revolution continues to grow. It has become all-embracing. Imperialism is suffering setback after setback and is faced by the might of the powerful socialist world system.

The working class, other working people and the progressive forces are coming to understand that private ownership of the means of production endangers the future of the world, that it is the prime cause of society's division into classes, the course of class antagonisms and class struggle, and the source of the war danger. Hence the need for transferring power to the working masses, for abolishing private property.

With imperialism's antagonistic contradictions growing sharper, progressives are applying the maximum energy to promote international détente and consolidate peace. The lessons of history and contemporary events take us back to Lenin's tenet that the struggle for peace will not yield the desired results until backed by organized mass action bridling imperialism's militarist and extremist forces, or, in other words, until the fate of peace is placed in the hands of the peoples. The greater the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and their readiness to fight for class aims, the stronger is the counter-action to imperialist ambitions, and the more insuperable is the barrier to the extremists' designs of remodelling the world to their own pattern at the price of the lives and suffering of millions of people. Such is the dialectics of the struggle for preventing war, for international security.

One should not expect any dampening of the class struggle on the ideological front despite contentions to the contrary by right reformist and bourgeois ideologists. The struggle is not slackening. On the contrary. And in the circumstances we see our task in raising the theoretical value of socio-economic research, and in mounting a scientific offensive against anti-Marxist conceptions aimed at dressing up capitalism and maligning the socialist system.

The revolutionaries of today, the Marxist-Leninists, have the great mission of raising the role and significance of revolutionary theory, pitting its force and power against revisionism's shoddy concepts and dogmas, and facilitating mankind's final liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

In the Soviet Union, scientific and technological progress goes hand in hand with social progress, leading our society to the peaks of human civilization. It works in the interest of building a new, as yet unknown, type of society — communism. Socialism assures limitless scope for science and technology, and secures high rates of growth. This explains why our country was able to accomplish its giant advance in the Soviet years to become a land of foremost science and technology.

The socialist society moulded and established a new type of scientist. He is not isolated from the interests of the people or the class battles. On the contrary, he is flesh of the flesh of the people, an active ideologically convinced fighter, a participant in the people's struggle for the triumph of communism boundlessly faithful to the achievements of socialism. He is a patriot and, at the same time, a consistent and thorough internationalist blazing the trail by the side of his people to the radiant future for all mankind. Socialism provides him with all the conditions to be faithful to his vocation, and his beliefs and humanist ideals. Our system guarantees every scientist that his discoveries will be used in the name of the working man, for the good of the people and mankind, for the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

The great thing about Marxist-Leninist theory is that it provides the key to transforming the world, that it directs the revolutionary locomotive of history in the right direction. The building of the material and technical basis of communism, achievement of the tasks of communist construction, are graphic evidence of the great transformative power of science in Soviet society. Developing on a truly scientific foundation, our society knows that it will succeed in building communism and inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

The Communist Party will live on

Martin Gunnar Knutsen
Chairman,
Communist Party of Norway

The history of the Communist Party of Norway is that of 52 years of devoted struggles by Communists loyal to the cause uniting them. The Party was active in years of crisis and war, during the occupation and in periods of intense social battles. For all the mistakes and vacillations that occasionally affected it, the CPN built up its strength ideologically and organizationally and fought on, carrying out its mission among the working class and the people. It upheld the vital interests of ordinary men and women by campaigning against NATO, emergency legislation and the high cost of living. All this earned it respect in the trade union and other mass movements, in the Storting and in self-government bodies.

This is perfectly natural, for the CPN is part of the working class of our country, a democratic, Norwegian party. Its policies are based on all that is best in the history of the Norwegian working-class movement, in the workers' struggle for democratic progress, for better conditions, for peace, freedom and national independence.

We Norwegian Communists stress that ours is an independent party, neither controlled from without nor subordinated to anyone. In shaping our policy here in Norway, we take account of what we believe to be in the best interests of our working class and people.

There is nothing contradictory about the fact that we base our policies on Norwegian reality, while at the same time marching shoulder to shoulder with brother parties which are building their future on the same solid foundations as the CPN, that is, on the principles of the victorious Marxist-Leninist teaching. A contingent of the world Communist movement, our Party emphatically declares against the so-called 'third way' — a way lying somewhere between the imperialist world and the socialist world. We identify ourselves with the working class of socialist countries, which we regard as the main force in the worldwide struggle against imperialism. Just as wholeheartedly we support national and social liberation movements

in all parts of the world and strengthen our fraternal bonds with the Communist parties of capitalist countries.

This is not to say that when it comes to the socialist countries and brother parties, the CPN sees everything through rose-colored spectacles. We are aware of the mistakes made in the past and as for the future, we do not intend to shut our eyes to solutions we find unacceptable to us. In such cases we have offered, and intend to offer, open and comradely criticism, for this is part of our internationalist duty. Norway's Communists, in turn, consider that they must heed the opinion of brother parties when they believe this or that action of ours to be wrong. But they do refuse to have any part in bringing grist to the mill of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

We Norwegian Communists reject both inflating and underrating national conditions and interests. We are aware of our national and international responsibilities. There is no contradiction in this. The stronger the working class is internationally, the greater the opportunities for progress in the fight for the goals of the working class and people of our own country and the likelihood of achieving success by peaceful means in revolutionary struggles for a socialist Norway.

Departure from a principled position

Left unity is a most important prerequisite of victory in revolutionary battles. The extent to which the policy of class alliances is implemented conditions to a tremendous degree the immediate results of the Communists' struggle and the future of their party, its unity and cohesion, its place and role in society. I would like to go into some details of the lessons of Norway's experience in this respect.

Unification of the Norwegian Left has lately been interpreted as meaning the formation of a united Socialist Left Party (SLP) with the proviso that the other left-wing parties, in particular our own, would be dissolved. Let it be said in passing that a few years ago this interpretation was not the only one. Besides, it was not only Communists who voiced serious and justified doubts about the advisability of hastening unification at all costs.

The CPN program of principles, for its part, says nothing about such a conception of unity. What it does say is that 'in fighting against monopoly domination, it (the CPN) seeks alliance with all anti-monopoly and democratic organizations and groups' and that 'the Communist Party of Norway declares for cooperation with other working-class parties.' In other words, the program does not commit itself in any way to a 'complete organizational merger' into one party.

Nevertheless, there was a great deal of optimism regarding the outlook for this kind of unification. It was particularly strong at the close of the 1973 general election. That election brought major gains

to the Socialist Electoral Alliance (SEA) uniting the Socialist People's Party (SPP), Information Office of Workers (IOW),* non-party people and the Communist Party. This success gave still greater cause for hoping that the SEA would become a unifying political alternative to the Norwegian Labor Party's policy of class collaboration and its reformist drift to the right.

The demand for the organizational unity of the parties to the electoral alliance was first voiced in the early period of its formation. The SPP insisted in the form of an ultimatum on discussing the matter, seeing unity as a condition for all further cooperation. At that time we in the CPN did not fully realize the danger posed by this initiative. We joined in the discussion. And while the jubilee congress of the Party (1973) passed no decision on the issue of unification, its deliberations revealed that the Communists wanted the SEA to be preserved as an alliance of independent parties.

After the congress, however, strong pressure was brought to bear on the CPN in an effort to make it disband and become part of the new party to be formed on the basis of the SEA. In January 1974 a meeting of our Party's Central Executive adopted a decision which gave rise to the illusion that unification was imminent. 'As of now,' the meeting said in its resolution, 'the Central Executive sees no serious difficulties likely to prevent unification within a Marxist Party.' This was unfortunate both in inner-Party terms and from the standpoint of our relations with our SEA partners. The resolution could be construed to mean that neither the dissolution of the CPN, nor the founding of a united left-wing party presented any problem. This was wishful thinking and no such resolution should have been passed.

This stand amounted to complete abandonment of the unity line laid down in the program of principles, to a break with the policy based on working-class unity of action, with the policy of alliance of the people's democratic forces against monopoly capital. It was as good as renouncing the view which predominated in the Party and which declared for preserving the SEA as an electoral coalition, an alliance of sovereign partners, one that was broader and more effective than a party formed on its basis could be. This is why a resolution on the Party's Oslo-Akershus Regional Executive described the demand for transforming the SEA into a party as a 'fuse' threatening to blow up the Party's policy for unity. However, the Party leadership held that it would be 'unrealistic' to oppose the other partners' demand for a united party.

The national conference of the CPN in March 1974 approved by a majority the idea of transforming the SEA into a party with the

*A group broken away from the Social Democrats.

proviso that the member parties would continue to exist. The Communists maintained that the various components of the SEA must be preserved until political unity was attained. The conference resolved that the Party congress would be free to decide on the issue of unification in due course. That was the line adopted by the CPN Executive before the SEA held its first national conference (April 1974).

On the road to unification

Differences between the parties to the SEA became sharper during conference preparations. Whereas the CPN suggested February 1, 1977, as the deadline for the merger, the SPP insisted on an earlier date, for it wanted the merger to be completed as speedily as possible. By the time the conference opened, no unity of views had been reached.

The CPN tabled a motion going further on several points than the January 1974 decision. To begin with, the Party leadership called for the abolition of the right of veto enjoyed by the four SEA members. It argued that this was necessary as a means of ascertaining how far the partners could be relied on and whether they would be ready to compromise when it came to voting against each other. However, the abolition of the right of veto, far from uniting the partners, endangered their cooperation by causing a number of deplorable clashes.

The motion contained another questionable provision saying that a 'responsible committee of the parties concerned' must by January 1, 1975, adopt a binding decision on the 'execution of the second and third phases' of unification, but as regards the CPN, only its congress can take decisions of this nature.

After a long debate on problems of coordinating the SEA members' joint activities, the time limit and stages of unification and the final merger into one party, the conference unanimously approved the motion for the merger. The third and last phase of this process was to be the gradual reduction of the parties' activity and their abolition. In the end, it was decided to test a model of unification that would result in constituting a united party on the basis of the SEA during the so-called trial period, that is, by January 1977.

However, the question arose at once what the new organization should be like. The SPP insisted on an 'open mass party' devoid of a solid ideological platform, with numerous factions and groups. The CPN could have accepted the formation of such a conglomeration of parties provided the CPN itself continued as an independent party. But in that case there would have been little difference between the new organization and an alliance of sovereign partners striving for

unity of action. If, however, it were a question of dissolving the CPN, the following conditions would have to be met in founding a party on the basis of the SEA:

- the new party to be based on Marxist-Leninist principles;
- its founders to evolve common strategy and tactics and commit themselves to advocate stage-by-stage advance to socialism; the party to launch a broad movement for the unity of the working class and all the democratic forces of the people and lead the fight against monopoly;
- the new organization to adhere firmly to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

On May 21, 1974, the Party's Central Executive warned in a letter against the illusion that after the April conference of the SEA unification would virtually be a fact and the CPN would virtually cease to be a sovereign party. On the contrary, it said, effort by the membership could make the CPN ever stronger and more efficient by the time the new party held its founding congress (spring 1975).

Differences

The April conference decided to draw up a program of principles of the new party, as part of the merger process, to be endorsed at a merger congress in March 1975. Our proposals for the program were discussed by the CPN Central Executive in August and September 1974. It passed a resolution laying down in unambiguous detail our positions on the type of program we could endorse. Based on CPN principles and entailing no ideological concessions they were the guidelines for our representatives on the merger commission set up by the SEA partners to draw up the new party's draft program. In December 1974 the Central Executive stressed that only our Party congress could decide on the merger issue.

No agreement on a common draft program was reached. There were, actually, two drafts, ours and that of the other SEA members. Despite agreement on some important questions, contradictions on decisive issues were so great that it was impossible to go on discussing a joint program acceptable to the CPN should it be integrated in the new party. In the course of the elections of delegates to the merger congress the differences concentrated on three main problems: the program, attitude toward the socialist countries, and the unification process. The whole course of the debate reaffirmed us in our belief that we had been right from the outset in calling for the developing of the SEA as a broad alliance of equal participants.

Meanwhile at its congress in January 1975, the Socialist People's Party took the line that the united party should be based on its organization, and flatly rejected Marxism-Leninism. Also, it became

apparent that there was a danger that the merger convention would adopt the new party's program by a simple show of hands. In that case, our Party pointed out at its March 1975 conference, the Central Executive should at once vote that the new party's program of principles would not be endorsed as binding on CPN members, and that there would be no winding down of CPN activities, much less its dissolution, either locally or centrally. The CPN would, however, continue all-round cooperation within the SEA framework and continue to promote comradely relations and united action.

On a motion of the Party Chairman, the CPN Executive and the delegates elected to the unification congress at Trondheim decided to oppose a vote on articles of the program on which there were differences. Other SEA participants declared for dropping those articles from the program. At the new party's foundation congress it was moved to delete and defer for subsequent examination and action the following issues: the Party's attitude toward Marxism-Leninism; questions of strategy and tactics; an analysis of state-monopoly capitalism; attitude toward proletarian internationalism; policy on the women's question; ecological problems.

Ultimately an emasculated draft was drawn up which some of our comrades felt could not be called a program of principles. Still, on a motion of the then Chairman of the CPN it was decided, by a majority of 20 to 10, to agree with its being called a 'program of principles' in order to avoid a 'split over a name.'

At the Trondheim congress an attempt was made to insert statements hostile to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a separate article of the curtailed program. Thanks to Communist firmness those efforts failed, though a declaration on the subject was adopted against the votes of 89 delegates, including all CPN representatives.

Its program and organizational structure endorsed, the Socialist Left Party (SLP) was formed. It was obvious to all, however, that the delegates of the Trondheim congress were divided by an ideological barrier and there were still many obstacles to full unity.

There were other complications, too. The SEA partners had been so engaged in setting up their new party that they had failed to prepare adequately for last autumn's communal and regional elections. Not only the SLP, but the whole working-class movement suffered a serious defeat. The election struggles were restricted in character and less active than in 1973, when our election bloc put forward a joint action program (the SEA's 33 points) dealing with understandable, vital problems of concern to ordinary people. Then we had been persistent, we had been bound by an agreement on joint action on certain issues and we had not been bogged down by endless ideo-

logical and political bickering. Such unity opened up broad vistas for joint action, for the growth and consolidation of our forces. It should have been carried on instead of rejecting time-tested formulas of unity in favor of the less viable united party model. However, a kind of extremism prevailed, with the contradictions described above and defeat in the 1975 elections as a consequences. After the elections, as envisaged by the April 1974 SEA conference, the third phase in the merger was to begin.

It was especially important to define our attitude toward it in the light of the experience of the first two phases, the preparation and inauguration of the new party. We had to ask ourselves whether we ought to continue in that direction or rather declare to our SLP comrades that the CPN could not continue along that road.

Congress mandate

Acceptance of the third merger phase would mean gradually winding down the CPN's activities and dissolving it by the end of 1976. We would thereby accept that, as prescribed, all its properties would be transferred to the Socialist Left Party, that a special CPN congress would as it were undersign a certificate of death that same year.

That is why it was so important to say a resolute No to the prospect of liquidation embodied in the third phase. And that was done at the CPN's 15th Congress held in October-November 1975. Its decision stated unequivocally: The Party would not endorse the third phase of the merger plan.

The congress issued an impassioned appeal to all Norwegian Communists to preserve the CPN and spare no effort for its ideological, political and organizational consolidation, winning new members, setting up new Party branches, and intensifying educational work. The coming period will be a complex and difficult one, and Communists must go into it steeled with the will to struggle purposefully and stubbornly for the demands of the working people and unite the working class in the interests of the continuing advance of democracy and the battle against big capital.

Our goal is a well-organized, politically motivated Communist party. To achieve it we must overcome our in many ways spontaneous style of work and assert the principles of collective leadership.

Our tasks are numerous. We must see to it that decisions on Party building do not remain mere pieces of paper. We must promote cooperation and exchange of information between local branches, regional organizations, and the Central Executive. We must always remember the need for unity of practical, ideological, and political activities.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of ideologically strengthening Party ranks and expanding educational work. We have already begun, and we have concrete plans how to carry it on in future. We also need large quantities of study materials, we must put out more books and send more delegations to visit fraternal parties.

We must give new impetus to our work in the trade unions, assigning people to set up Party groups, establish contacts, and strengthen the Party's positions at all major factories. It is a vital task. It is also a prerequisite of united working-class action.

The CPN must take the initiative of revitalizing the peace movement in Norway, especially now, after the Helsinki European Conference. The struggle for peace cannot be restricted to participation in congresses or contacts between individuals; it must be promoted at grass-roots level, among trade union members, women and youth. All sections of the population should be drawn into the struggle, for peace is the prime task not only of our Party but of the whole Norwegian people. We should work to assure that the letter of the Helsinki Conference is shored up by concrete measures for détente and disarmament.

At the congress Norwegian Communists spoke of their resolve to step up the solidarity movement with everyone opposing imperialist oppression and advocating social and national liberty. They intend to continue to strengthen ties with fraternal parties in both the socialist and capitalist world, with the whole of the international communist movement.

In the light of the congress decisions, many of us ask what the reaction of the comrades from the SLP is likely to be.

A new congress of that party is to be held in 1976. There is an intention to pass a decision abolishing dual membership so as to confront Communists with the alternative of either the SLP or their own party. Left Socialists have been voicing the view that if we decide to preserve the CPN there can be no question of cooperation of leadership level.

As we see it, such a stand runs directly contrary to the provisions of the SLP program jointly adopted at the Trondheim Congress. 'For success in the struggle for socialism,' it states, 'unity of the working class is essential. We should cooperate regardless of ideological differences. United action implies unity regardless of differences in ideology.'

Matters are often presented as though someone in our Party wishes to close the door to cooperation with the SLP. On the contrary, we wish to do all we can to promote it, even if we stay out of the SLP. Communists will work for such cooperation on the factory floor, in local government, in the trade unions. They would like to work

together with the SLP for the solution of all problems on which we agree, on a comradely basis, without regard for the fact that we hold different party cards and different ideologies. We must unite for joint action in the struggle for goals we equally cherish. In that way we can advance much farther than if we try to evict one another from the arena of class struggle.

We know how many difficulties arise when the struggle involves the ideological basis of a united party whose internal contradictions are so wide that its formation in effect amounts to a kind of straight-jacketing. Artificial unity that may explode at any time is not a good solution and can inspire no one. That is why our 15th congress opted against the dismantling of the CPN and its dissolution in the SLP. Communists do not consider themselves bound by the party dissolution deadlines in the SLP plan and have no intention of agreeing to any new ones. The 15th Congress targeted our Party on expanding the struggle for achieving and strengthening the cohesion of the working class and all democratic forces in the battles against monopoly capital. This task is at the hub of Communist activity. Promotion of the unity of Left Socialist forces is a prime part of that task.

The congress of Norway's Communists addressed an impassioned appeal to all working people and the revolutionary youth to advance together in upholding the vital demands of the working class. We must join forces in the struggle to resolve the problems bred by capitalism, moving in stubborn struggles toward the realization of the great international ideal of the working people of all countries — socialism and communism. Norway's Communists clearly realize the fact that socialism has never triumphed in any country without a party basing its activities on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, firm in ideological matters, and politically effective. That is the sum-total of the experience of the world class struggle.

Internationalizing the advantages of socialism

Vladimir Shundeyev
WMR Executive Editor

The socialist community marks its entry into the last quarter of the 20th century with major accomplishments. We are in a period of continuing internationalization of the advantages of socialism as a system in its competition and contest with imperialism.

This is the salient feature of the historical background against which one can appreciate the importance of the stage the fraternal countries are passing through. Their entry into the closing quarter of this century coincides with a series of Communist congresses.

This issue goes to press at the time of the Seventh Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party and the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. The Rumanian Communist Party and Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party have already held their congresses. The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is scheduled for February 1976. The spring and summer of 1976 will see the 11th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the 17th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Party congresses of the socialist countries deeply analyze every aspect of life in their countries, and their documents become guidelines for the further progress of society.

Every Communist congress sums up the economic gains of its own country and of the socialist community. The advantages of the socialist over the capitalist economic system are obvious. In the past four years, the CMEA countries' national income increased by more than 29 per cent and their industrial output by 36 per cent, while the respective indices of the Common Market countries do not exceed 15 per cent. With approximately 19 per cent of the world's area and about 10 per cent of its population, the CMEA countries today account for nearly one-third of the industrial output of the world, and fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program for socialist economic integration will increase their share to two-fifths. As for total industrial

output, the socialist community has outstripped the United States and produced roughly twice as much as the EEC Nine. The capitalist economy, which in recent years has been wrestling with a deep crisis, shows zero or even negative growth. By contrast, all members of the socialist community enjoy high and steady growth rates, which will be maintained in the next five years as well. 'The sense of security and ordered purpose in Soviet society,' wrote *The Times*, (Sept. 1, 1975), 'contrasts more starkly than ever with the constant political and economic drift from crisis to crisis, in so much of the world.'

The brother parties regard guidance of the economy as one of their key political functions. This explains the tremendous attention they devote to measures to improve the machinery of socialist economic management and the functioning of all government agencies. The Party congresses assess results and set new economic guidelines. They also examine a wide range of problems involved in furthering social and cultural development, consolidating socialist statehood and extending socialist democracy in breadth and depth.

The brother countries' successful efforts in behalf of peace, the effect of their governments' coordinated foreign policy, are well known. For the progressive forces, the outgoing five years have truly been a period of struggle for peace in which more favorable conditions were provided for the further advance of both the revolutionary process in capitalist countries and the worldwide liberation movement against imperialism. No one today questions the fact that the socialist community played the decisive part in convening and assuring the successful outcome of the Helsinki Conference. And while opponents of détente describe the Conference as a 'Soviet trap,' they are unable seriously to influence world opinion, which gives due credit to the profoundly humane policy of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. The actual reason for reaction's attacks on the conference results is that aggressive imperialist forces now have less scope for political maneuver. 'Détente is making it more difficult to keep our military posture strong,' *U.S. News & World Report* commented on the eve of the Conference.¹

The CMEA countries have made particularly impressive progress in creating conditions for the all-round development of man, and in effecting qualitative changes in the very content and meaning of life. The 24th Congress of the CPSU and congresses of the fraternal parties of other socialist countries declared that a radical turn toward fuller satisfaction of the people's social needs and higher living and cultural standards is a condition for building developed socialism. Bourgeois propaganda lost no time in construing this as a sign of socialism 'converging' with the ideal of the capitalist West's 'consumer society.'

In the socialist countries, growing consumption is not only an index of material progress of the individual, but also a means of his cultural advance and a prerequisite of his creative activity. Communists have put fresh emphasis on 'man the creator' as the socialist ideal. This also explains their enormous effort to ensure social equality and justice, perfect socialist popular rule and inspire everyone with devotion to the ideals and values of the socialist community and the world revolutionary movement. Culture in general and education in particular enjoy special attention under socialism. The CMEA countries are leading the world in number of school and university students, educational standards, number of books published and read, number of theatre-goers, and other indices.²

Significantly, the working people of capitalist and developing countries are impressed — as reports in the world progressive press show — not only by growing wages and the low cost of public services in socialist countries, but also by the distinctive moral and spiritual atmosphere of a society free from exploitation and the oppressive power of money. A historically higher type of human relations is the basis of the sense of security that people have in socialist countries, of the community of their interests and this is what makes up the socialist way of life.

History shows that the internationalist coordination and cohesion of the forces of socialism greatly increase its impact on the world. Each new five-year plan makes for closer economic cooperation within the socialist community. This has become the rule. But the changes taking place today are so important that we may speak of a qualitatively new stage of economic cooperation. We are witnessing ever closer relations in the production sphere and the adoption of increasingly complex forms of cooperation between national economies. Cooperation has advanced far enough to make it possible, as well as coordinating development programs, to move on to systematic utilization of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor. The 29th Session of the CMEA approved a plan for multilateral integration measures for 1976-80 and put the general long-range orientation of the community's economic development on an international basis.

For the first time ever, nine socialist countries have drawn up a plan for a series of joint major projects which will be incorporated in each national economic plan. The CMEA countries, their press noted, are on the eve of the first five-year integration period.

Closer economic relations between members of the socialist community will not increasingly be determined by qualitative criteria, organic, and not just mechanical, internationalization of their productive forces and closer identity of economic structures. In this way the

advantages of socialism will become ever more manifest both within the national framework and as advantages of the socialist international system of economic management. This will confirm Lenin's brilliant prediction that socialism will have to complete the historic tendency toward the creation of a single world economy regulated according to a common plan (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147).

The fraternal relations between socialist countries are in striking contrast to the capitalist type of international economic relations and offer the developing countries an alternative in their foreign economic contacts. Those countries' close links with the socialist community are a dependable guarantee of ending age-old backwardness and surmounting obstacles to economic progress. It is becoming more and more difficult to fool anyone with falsehoods about 'exploitation' of the Third World by the 'superpowers' or about 'antagonisms' between the 'rich North' and the 'poor South.' Refuting them, Layachi Yaker, Algeria's Minister for Foreign Trade, said: 'Indeed, the highly advantageous opportunities for cooperation offered to Third World countries by socialist countries entitle us to exclude them from the bloc of exploiters and to exempt them from responsibility for an act to which they have not contributed. To include them in the North bloc, seen as a region to which the resources of developing countries flow, is to play the game of imperialism and disregard an objective reality, namely, the superiority of the socialist system.'³

The unity of Communist and Workers' parties on fundamental domestic and international policy issues is the supreme manifestation of the unity of the socialist commonwealth, a unity whose benefits have won worldwide recognition. 'The unity of our parties on key issues of socialist development and communist construction,' said L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, speaking at the 11th Congress of the HSWP on March 18, 1975, 'enabled us confidently to pursue a correct, Marxist-Leninist line. It helped us fittingly to rebuff attempts by rightist and "leftist" elements to distort Marxism-Leninism and enabled us to deal with complicated political situations that arose at times in this or that country. Our political unity led the socialist commonwealth as a whole to a higher stage of social progress.' The brother parties have adopted various forms of mutual contacts. They have been characterized by regularity, a businesslike atmosphere, the wide range of problems discussed and, above all, effective results.

Blazing new trails in history, socialism tackles complex problems, never explored before, and requiring scientifically based solutions. For the system to make progress, theoretical thought must contribute to advanced social practice. This is the inherent socialist mechanism of making decisions that inevitably assume a historic character.

The Communist parties of the socialist commonwealth have made substantial progress in the sphere of theory. They carefully study problems of mature socialism, its prospects and its development into a communist society. These problems include the distinguishing features of the economy of developed socialism; the measures needed to raise the effectiveness of production; ways and means of improving the scientific standard of planning and of making it more comprehensive, as well as of increasing economic incentives; problems of adapting the scientific and technological revolution to socialist relations of production; the problems this raises of the role of the Communist party, the state, the collective and the individual in developed socialist society. The Communists' ability to frame the right policy and make decisions in keeping with the needs of the times is due to their sustained work on theoretical problems of the revolutionary transformation of society and to the profound knowledge of the laws of social development which Marxist-Leninist science provides them with.

An innovating, Leninist approach to the formidable problems that crop up daily in building the new society is becoming an internationalist standard of the socialist community. Joint research into current problems of the socialist world system is conducted on a large scale. More scientific works are being produced by research teams from various socialist countries. National academies of sciences are developing multilateral cooperation in economics, history, philosophy and other social sciences. CC secretaries of brother parties confer periodically on international and ideological matters and on problems of party organization.

The almost simultaneous convocation of Communist party congresses is an indication of the further internationalization of life in the socialist community. It is something more than a mere confirmation of the magnitude of socialist and communist construction tasks which only a closely knit community of states can accomplish. The brother countries advance together, removing differentials in their economic development levels. At the same time they solve many related economic, political and cultural problems. Congresses held simultaneously enable the parties more comprehensively to chart the general line of the community.

The immense socio-historic effect of the coordination of forces and the unity of brother parties today invites the conclusion that the socialist commonwealth determines the main line of development of socialism as a world system. It is the community of socialist countries that sets an unprecedented example of internationalism in economics, politics, ideology and culture. It is this community that allows the greatest scope for the operation of the laws of socialism and affords

the best conditions for closer economic cooperation and political consolidation of the socialist countries and the internationalization of the socialist way of life. The socialist commonwealth is the most complete embodiment of the inherent connection between proletarian internationalism and the democratic principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence. A great goal, communism, generates the great energy of socialist internationalism.

The congresses of brother parties, the bearers of this internationalism, have powerful worldwide repercussions. 'Some events,' *Unsere Zeit*, the West German workers' newspaper, wrote five years ago on April 10, 1971, in connection with the 24th CPSU Congress, 'do not have to be explicitly raised to the rank of international events. They are such by their very nature. That Soviet Communist Party congresses are so classed may seem unusual in view of the estimation generally made of party congresses in our country. But it has long been an accepted expression of the fact (whether one recognizes it or not) that the course of history today is set in decisive measure by socialism.'

Subsequent world developments confirmed this. The conceptions, plans and peace initiatives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Communist parties of other fraternal countries served as an action program for hundreds of millions and were in the focus of the ideological struggle.

The new congresses will be attended by the majority of the fraternal Communist parties of the world. Now, too, Communists of the socialist commonwealth are well aware of the extent of their revolutionary responsibility, for they are accountable to the broadest masses of working people, who link their hopes and aspirations with socialism and look to it for answers to many burning questions. In a congratulatory message to the CC CPSU on the 58th anniversary of the October Revolution, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile expressed confidence that 'the coming 25th Congress of the CPSU will mark a new stage, not only for your country, but for the entire revolutionary movement, for the whole of mankind, which is fighting for peace, democracy, social progress, socialism and communism.'

No notable event in the socialist world goes unheeded by the class enemy. This time too, anti-communist 'experts' of every description, emigré groups and various 'foundations' zealously serving imperialism are stepping up their activities, obviously having in mind the 25th Congress of the CPSU and other fraternal party congresses. They use mostly old, discredited methods, such as misrepresenting events, spreading calumnies or shedding crocodile tears over 'lack of freedom.' Life has defeated attacks of this nature again and again.

The enemies of socialism would like nothing better than to misinterpret the irrefutable fact that the leading role of Communist parties equipped with Marxism-Leninism is a decisive condition for every achievement of socialism.

The period of important decisions which the socialist community is passing through makes new exacting demands on the standard of party leadership. And the Communist parties themselves are striving for higher standards. Anti-communists and people far removed from scientific communism cannot understand that the norms and laws of Communist party life are determined above all by the Leninist approach.

Today this implies a higher standard of work, more efficient leadership, administration and economic management. It implies that Communists must be more keenly aware of their responsibility in every field and that every builder of socialism or communism must, for his part, show a better performance.

The work being carried on by the Communists of the socialist commonwealth is of historic magnitude. It requires effort to overcome difficulties and 'growth pains,' solve problems and correct miscalculations. A Leninist approach includes criticism and self-criticism, an uncompromising attitude to defects. Party congresses furnish the finest examples of this. The working people of the world may rest assured that it is the firm voice of Leninists that they will always hear from the rostrum of Party congresses.

The working people of the socialist community react to every Communist congress as a most important landmark in their lives. Congresses assess past progress and set goals for the future. They express the will and aspirations of the masses. In every socialist country, the pulse of public life quickens as the Communist Party congresses draw near. There is a marked upsurge and nationwide enthusiasm.

The press of brother countries, which gives pride of place to the approaching Communist congresses, carries reports of a vast emulation movement to fulfill five-year plan assignments and on more and more new initiatives in the production sphere and public life generally. This speaks of widespread recognition of the fact that the decisions of every Communist congress bring the working people nearer to the lofty goals for which Marxism-Leninism has raised its internationalist banner all over the world.

1. *U.S. News & World Report*, April 28, 1975, p. 21.

2. *Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR v 1974 g.* Moscow, Statistika, 1975, pp. 134-135.

3. *France Nouvelle*, July 21, 1975, p. 15.



The image of our own future

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REFLECTIONS ON SOCIALISM AND THE WAYS OF ITS ACHIEVEMENT

Man has always sought to peer into the future. That is particularly so in our time. And not only because of the dynamism of our epoch. Interest in the future is particularly sharp in this epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. Mankind has gone a long way toward that goal. There is the socialist world system, the major changes in the alignment of forces in the world and within the capitalist countries. In contrast to the profound crisis of capitalism, the countries of the socialist community enjoy continuous economic development, social stability and rising prosperity standards. They have launched a peace offensive. People in the capitalist and developing countries look with close attention at this picture of the new world. For some, it is not altogether clear, others still have misgivings, for the ingrained stereotypes of bourgeois propaganda do not vanish all at once. But this much can be said for certain: in many interest in the future merges with interest in socialism.

For us Communists that is only natural. We proceed from the understanding that the process of history, the change of social formations, is not accidental, but is subordinate to 'tendencies working with iron necessity toward inevitable results.'¹ And only by examining the process in its unity, by revealing the laws that govern it, can we understand the sequence of events in the different countries and foresee their future. In emphasizing the objectivity of socio-historical regularities, the Communists are fully aware that they differ from the regularities governing development in the physical world. For socio-

historical regularities are revealed in the process of man's activity. 'History is not, as it were, a person apart using man as a means to achieve *its own aims*; history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his aims.'² That is why the Communists call for revolutionary action by the masses and why Marxist philosophy sees its mission in changing the world and not merely in explaining it. The Communists consider it their duty to be scientifically precise, to base all their judgments, whether in theory or practice, not on pious wishes, but on substantiated research of the real facts of real life.

That explains our special, scientific interest in existing socialism, in the experience of those who led the peoples to this new social system based on the socialist principles enunciated by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Marx once remarked that countries ahead on the road of progress would show others 'the image of their own future.'³ It is only natural that the pioneering experience in applying the common laws of social progress should inspire and guide other countries striving for progress in their own, specific conditions. In this sense the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community have set an example for the working people of the world.

This differs fundamentally from what our enemies ascribe to us. The Communists, they allege, want to impose some 'foreign model' of socialism. The fact is that the Communists do not recognize any 'model of socialism,' any mechanical copying of the methods of the building of socialism in one or another country. But they do maintain that there are common laws, discovered by Marxism-Leninism, that govern the transition to the building of socialism. And guided by these laws the Communists search for ways of successfully achieving social progress in their own countries.

Each Communist Party is independent — this is recorded in the documents of the communist movement — in shaping its policy to conform to the concrete conditions of its country, and bears full responsibility for the methods of struggle it has chosen. But this implies also a responsible attitude to the experience accumulated by others, using its positive aspects and taking account of mistakes so as not to repeat them. Like every science, scientific socialism must base its regularities on propositions that have been tested and confirmed in practice. That is why Marx adds to the remark quoted above: 'One nation can and should learn from others. Society can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs.'⁴

When workers' delegations and other progressives speak with satisfaction of their visits to the Soviet Union or other countries of the socialist community, they show a keen interest in socialism's

achievements, because this suggests what socialism can do for their own countries. Of course, they have no intention of copying all the rules, all the features of one or another socialist country (though one should copy good methods and positive features — and there are many such — that have been tried and tested the hard way); they are concerned with the common features of the new world and how they could be used to change conditions in their *own* countries.

An understanding of these essential features and of the laws of their formation is necessary not only for a party that wants to build socialism. It is necessary for every Communist who has devoted his life to bringing the new society into being. The latter-day reformists like to speak of different socialisms, of different 'models' of socialism. They have inflated national peculiarities to an extent where they obscure the general, the central, that which is the very essence of socialism. Powerless to distract the masses from the ideas of socialism, its enemies in the capitalist world, bourgeois and reformist ideologists, are doing everything they can to distort the very concept of socialism, make it innocuous, holding no dangers to the ruling class.

We have seen this technique applied in Denmark. The Social-Democrats have been in power for most of this century, but this has changed nothing in the character of society, has not altered its capitalist essence. A prominent Social Democrat writer has admitted that 'the division of wealth between the higher, lower and middle classes' remains the same as 100 years ago. None the less, the talk has always been of 'socialism,' or of 'growing into' a 'Danish,' 'Nordic,' or 'practical' socialism, as opposed to scientific socialism and the experience of the socialist countries. The Socialist People's Party, which at times was the mainstay of government policy, claimed that 'shoots of socialism are coming to the surface in capitalist society.' Even a former Conservative leader, Möller, at one time proclaimed: 'We are all of us socialists.' In this way the very concept of socialism loses all real meaning.

And yet, socialism is a scientific concept. Its essential features are not the product of abstract dreams of a better future, but of the scientific prognostication of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. They have given us a comprehensive picture of the new society, with its inalienable, law-governed features. No one is likely to argue that there are different models of capitalism, though, of course, capitalism differs from one country to another: capitalist FRG is a republic, capitalist Denmark is a monarchy. However, these differences, though important, do not alter the foundations of the capitalist system. Socialism is the very opposite of capitalism, but it, too, is a

uniform system and not a pluralistic conglomerate of 'models' and variants.

There is hardly any need to enumerate all the features of socialism as set out in the classics of Marxism-Leninism. I will cite a few examples to show, on the one hand, how they are embodied in the existing socialism and, on the other, that without them — even without one of them — no society can claim to be socialist.

Socialism is, above all, the negation of capitalist production, the express aim of which is profit, the increase of capital. Under this system the producer is separated from the means of production and lives by the sale of his labor power, and when there is a 'redundance' of labor power, he becomes unemployed. Socialism rejects the very principles of the capitalist mode of production. Neither Denmark, nor any other country which claims to be 'growing into' socialism has taken a single step toward socialism. For all their election slogans and pledges, the Social Democrats in power have never encroached on the economic status quo: the capitalists remain in possession of their capital, the workers in possession of their labor power. The capitalists draw profit from their investments, depending on their size and the degree of exploitation of wage labor. The workers can sell only one commodity, their labor power, and not always in accordance with its costs. Of course, the workers can be sold shares — capitalists 'share' with them crumbs from their profits. This acts as a material stimulator (or, more correctly, stimulates the workers' self-exploitation). For a certain time this can create an illusion of 'partnership' among a section of the workers. But more and more people are coming to realize that the essence of capitalist relations, the capitalist-labor relationship, remains unchanged, and everything the capitalists do is to their own advantage. When I hear talk about 'people's' capitalism, about the 'industrial society,' and so on, I can't help thinking that you can juggle with words and describe partial reforms as the 'beginnings' of socialism, but that does not change the economic basis of society.

Existing socialism differs fundamentally from the capitalist mode of production. Its economic basis is public property of the means of production. In economic, social, and legal status in production and society, the working man is co-owner of this property — he works for himself, not for the capitalist.

I recall an item in the Moscow *Pravda* about the chemical plant at Shchokino, near Moscow. The production process was reorganized and productivity rose 136 per cent in four years. How did the workers fare? One thousand jobs were eliminated, but not a single worker was sacked and there were no wage cuts (in fact, wages rose by an average of 34 per cent). How was this achieved? Commissions with worker representation were appointed to explore ways of creating new jobs

(for instance, by branching out into synthetic fibers. The transfer to new jobs was carried out gradually according to plan and only with the worker's consent. Increased production naturally meant higher earnings. Much could be said on this account, but I am not discussing the organizational and technical aspects. What I want to emphasize is that in a socialist enterprise nothing is done that militates against the worker, that could, say, leave him without a job or reduce his earnings. That is so, first, because the workers are in power, and, second, because the workers control all the measures taken by management. At Shchokino, for instance, the reorganization plans were discussed at workers' meetings, by the trade union and Party branch, which has control authority over management and, moreover, the factory director, as a Party member, is accountable to the Party committee. All the plans, all the calculations, all the records, the bank accounts, were laid before the workers, everything was carefully discussed. In other words, they discussed what in capitalist society the capitalist and his managers discuss in secret. And all this is taken for granted at every factory in a socialist country.

The worker's position, his relation to the means of production, his effective participation in management, is not simply a question of industrial democracy, but a cardinal question of the economic relations that determine the character of the social system.

Public ownership of the main means of production is central to the transition to the new system. The process is not the same in all socialist countries. In some it was found that it was not advisable to begin with nationalization of all the means of production. The socialist state can for a long time cooperate with private industry, which serves important needs of society. For instance, in Poland, which has already begun building developed socialist society, the peasant farm still plays a considerable part in agriculture. In Hungary, the private sector has a definite role in the service industry. However, notwithstanding all these national specifics, the *main means of production* must be transferred from private to public ownership, to the working people.

Taking even this one essential feature, can we envisage 'gradual evolution' into socialism without social revolution, without a fundamental change in social relations? There is no record of this ever happening.

Factories, even whole industries, were nationalized in several capitalist countries, but this did not change the social system or the position of the workers, who remained sellers of their labor power. For all such measures, carried out in different countries and for different reasons and purposes, in the end serve the interests of state-monopoly capital. More often than not nationalization is

confined to industries operating at a loss or barely paying their way. In other words, by bailing out individual capitalists the state is acting in the interests of the capitalist class as a whole.

In a number of countries the Communist and Workers' parties have proposed alternative nationalization programs. They envisage public ownership of key rather than unprofitable industries, elimination of monopoly power, and public control in the interests of the working people over the main national wealth and means of production. The Communists are fully aware that this can be won only in hard-fought struggle, for the monopolies will never voluntarily surrender their capital or power.

The nationalization the Communists demand at the democratic stage of the revolution is not yet socialism, but can be a long step toward it, for it would not be one more link of state monopoly direction of society, but would give the workers more rights, enabling them to influence economic development and economic policy. This is an essential element in stimulating the democratic and anti-monopoly struggle which can change the alignment of class forces and open the way to fundamental social transformations.

Though the transition to socialism assumes many different forms, it is always based on *active struggle by the working people for democracy and democratic rights. This, too, is a general regularity.* Lenin wrote: 'Consistent democracy, on the one hand, is *transformed* into socialism, and, on the other, *demand*s socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 452).

Consistent struggle for democracy leads to struggle for socialist socialization of production which, in turn, leads to a fundamental change in the position of the worker — from seller of his labor power he becomes owner of the means of production. This is the most decisive, the most deep-going, democratic social change. That is why big capital is trying so hard to prevent it. To what lengths its resistance can go has been demonstrated by the tragic events in Chile. Hence, to implement and uphold the socialist revolution in social relations, we must assure fundamental change also in the system and structure of political power.

What lessons can we draw in this respect from the experience of the socialist countries? The forms of the new social system could vary from country to country, depending on concrete conditions. Among the countries that have made the transition to socialism some were backward (Bulgaria, Rumania) while others were industrialized (Czechoslovakia, the GDR). The role of parliament differed. But these and other national features did not alter the fact that, though the *forms* of state power varied, the *essence* was in all cases workers' power, what Marx and Lenin called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This brings us to another *important common regularity of the transition from capitalism to socialism*.

Our ideological opponents are at pains to discredit the very concept of proletarian dictatorship. In this context, it is proper to recall that *any* state, including the bourgeois state irrespective of its degree of 'liberalism,' is a dictatorship in the scientific meaning of the term. Lenin wrote: 'The dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary . . . for every class society in general' (Vol. 25, p. 413). It all hinges on whose class interests the state represents. If the government of our own or any other capitalist country shunts the burden of the crisis to the working people while safeguarding monopoly interests, if it in effect blesses the price spiral and employment cuts while stimulating private enterprise with direct subsidies, and if it gives freedom of action to monopolists while curtailing workers' rights, *it is, in fact, doing the will of the capitalist class, first and foremost of big capital*. If, on the other hand, the first thing the new state in the socialist countries sets out to do after stripping capital of economic and political power is to wipe out unemployment and to lay the ground for a steady improvement of living standards, giving the working people broader and guaranteed rights (in social matters, education, and the like), *it is doing the will principally of the working class*. That, not the word 'dictatorship,' is the crux of the matter. Here we can legitimately speak of the leading political role of the working class, because, as Lenin put it, 'if we translate the Latin, scientific, historico-philosophical term "dictatorship of the proletariat" into simpler language, it means just the following: only a definite class, namely, the urban workers and the factory, industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the working and exploited people in the struggle to throw off the yoke of capital, in actually carrying it out, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist social system' (Vol. 29, p. 420).

Reformists often counterpose proletarian dictatorship to democratic elections, proletarian dictatorship to the broad left front, etc. They even allege a fundamental difference between the 'Leninist' and 'democratic' roads to socialism. This is either a misconception or a deliberate distortion. In certain circumstances, and principally with political support from the broad mass of the people, the road to working people's power may be paved by democratic elections; more, in the countries of the socialist community, in the conditions of existing socialism — after the revolution and for already many decades — it is based on precisely this expression of popular will. Working people's power may result from the revolutionary action of the masses. Why is voting according to rules set by bourgeois legislation, often discriminatory, considered 'democratic,' while elections to

top organs of power at a lawfully elected Congress of Soviets, as in Russia, at the crest of a revolutionary upsurge of the masses and their action against the handful of capitalists and landlords, are 'undemocratic?' Opposing Lenin's to the democratic way is nothing short of absurd.

Working people's power replaces the state created to serve capitalism with a new state that serves the people. That, too, is a token of its democratism. All too often, the democratic aspirations of the people are thwarted or suppressed by the state machine of the old society. It stands to reason that the working people can and should gain influence through democratic activity in, say, the elective organs of the state, spurring them to initiate democratic and socialist reconstruction. More, in these circumstances some state institutions can be turned into an instrument of working-class government. But the old state as such cannot serve the new society. Recent experience, too, shows that reactionary elements seek to use it against the people. Hence, there can be no question of direct continuity in questions of the state.

Communists prefer peaceful socialist change. This is why they deliberately and consciously prepare the best conditions for the revolution, which they associate with organizing millions of working people. And this broad alliance of *the main forces of the revolutionary movement — the working class and all who are interested in liberation from big capitalist rule — is one more important common feature of the passage from capitalism to socialism.* The Danish Communists are aware of its great theoretical and practical significance.

And what do we see in practice? The more of the real political and economic power is concentrated in a few big monopolies such as A.P. Møller, Burmeister og Wain, Danfoss, and F.L. Smith, the broader is the front of anti-monopoly forces and the more tangible the objective conditions for their broad alliance. It is a specific feature of the present struggle that the disparities among anti-monopoly class forces are usually manifested in the existence of several parties. And unless these cooperate there is hardly any chance of serious success. This is why our Communist Party addresses itself to all the democratic forces in Denmark — the Social-Democrats, People's Socialists, Left Socialists and unaffiliated trade union activists: 'We have differences in outlook and ideology. They are serious differences. Let's discuss them and explain our positions. But let us also determine what unites us. Let us see what concrete objectives could facilitate cooperation.' This appeal is implicit in the anti-monopoly program of the 24th CPD Congress, aimed at 'creating a force that will transform society.'

The Communists' policy of class alliances, their willingness to cooperate with other democratic trends, has nothing in common with

the tactical maneuvering of bourgeois parties seeking immediate goals, on achieving which the ally of yesterday is promptly dropped. We are moved by a sincere belief that struggle is the best of teachers, and that on acquiring experience of struggle people find that they want to understand the laws of social development as conceived by scientific socialism. We, who have deep faith in our theory, do not hide our wish of converting our allies of today into fellow Communists tomorrow.

Some portray the Communists' drive for left unity as a bid for 'leadership' among other parties; some even refer to the Marxist tenet on the Party's leading and vanguard role. Yes, there is this tenet. But they forget or deliberately distort the fact that it refers to the Party's leading and organizing role in relation to the *masses*, primarily the *working class*, not to other parties. This has been stressed in contemporary Marxist writing, including this journal.⁵

The Communist Party is the forward unit of the working class. It is its vanguard. Precisely in this sense does *Marxism-Leninism conceive the leading role of the Party as crucial for the passage from capitalism to socialism*. Lenin's teaching on the party of the new type, and the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, show that only a Marxist-Leninist party can lead the people to socialism. No Social-Democratic party, though it may proclaim socialism as its goal, has ever done so. The outcome of the dispute on this score early in the century between Leninists and their opponents in the social-democratic camp was clearly in favor of the former.

Some say that in the socialist conditions there should be a system of political parties and freedom of activity for political organizations and groups — those in opposition, as well as those in power. But that depends on what exactly is meant — if just the existence of several parties, then, as already noted, this is no novelty for the socialist countries. And if by opposition they mean diversity of viewpoints on concrete aspects of economic and social development in the socialist framework, it is no novelty either. It will be recalled that after the October Revolution the Bolsheviks formed a bloc with the other parties represented at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. There was an opposition even in the country's top organs, comprising the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Menshevik-Internationalists and representatives of lesser political groups. This opposition existed until the day it declared open war on the revolutionary power. If the opposition wants to turn back the clock, if it opposes the socialist system as such, and if it aims to strip the working class, the people, of their gains, their dominant place in production and society, that kind of opposition, that kind of 'pluralism,' is unacceptable. And the main point here is that the masses themselves would not accept such an

opposition. All the talk that overlooks this important point, smacks of subjectivism.

The EEC set the condition of 'pluralist democracy' before it grants a loan to Portugal. But when a Danish minister was asked what this may signify in the case of a country that has many parties, and this also in the government, he said the EEC wanted a 'democracy it would be able to recognize.' There were class interests, those of the monopolies dominating the EEC, behind the demand. The same is true for attempts to use the 'pluralism' idea to generate hatred of the existing socialism. It is the active adversaries of socialism who want that kind of 'pluralism.'

The entire system of economic, political and social commonalities cannot be covered within the space of an article. The reader will find a comprehensive analysis in documents of the fraternal parties and the collective documents of the communist movement.

Experience shows that in practice recognition of, and reliance on, basic laws and commonalities is the road to success. Conversely, underestimation or neglect has always slowed up development and, in the more serious cases, brought about a crisis. What would rejection of a law of development mean? For example, rejection of socializing production? Does it mean leaving the factories to capitalists, even returning enterprises already nationalized? This, incidentally, is exactly what certain Russian Mensheviks suggested after the October Revolution, and what the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries demanded in 1956. Does it mean negating the power of the workers, of the revolutionary people? We can only say one thing: it means accepting the domination of the big bourgeoisie. Any single 'rejection' of this kind is enough for all traces of socialism to evaporate.

It says in documents of Communist and Workers' parties that the new life in the socialist countries was shaped with an eye on the objective laws and regularities, and that this was the key to success. No bourgeois state has been able to match the kind of dynamic and stable growth that turned backward Russia into a socialist world power. None of the underdeveloped capitalist countries has been able to rise to the level of highly developed. On the contrary, the gap between the developed and the backward continues to widen. In 1960-1971, the average per capita growth rate of the national income was 3.6 per cent in the developed countries and 3.1 in the backward and developing. While Spain and Greece are still at the bottom of the ladder in Europe, just as they were 50 years ago, things in the socialist world have turned out differently. Poland, Bulgaria, and Hungary have forged ahead from among the backward to the rank of industrially developed states.

The very same documents also refer us to damage done by neglect

of the main laws and regularities of socialist construction. The documents of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (1959) analyzing the causes of the counter-revolutionary revolt of 1956, note that the former leaders misinterpreted the dialectical link between the common regularities of building socialism and the national specifics, and 'proved . . . incapable of applying correctly in the conditions of our country the main regularities of socialist construction, which have international relevance.' And two more examples: the meeting of the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia on May 29-30, 1969, which examined the events of the preceding period, pointed out 'that various opportunist movements grew inside the Party . . . and under the slogan of an entirely new 'model of socialism' rejected the basic principles of the Party structure, the Party's leading place in society, its internationalist character and obligations.' The Yugoslav Communists noted in a document issued shortly before their 10th Congress and at the Congress itself that the tendency 'to contest the vanguard role of the League of Communists' had done the Party and society incalculable damage. It was stressed that 'socialist relations of production can develop only if there is conscious action by society's organized socialist forces and if the League of Communists exercises its leading role as a united ideological, political and militant organization of the working class.'

But back to Denmark. 'The passage to socialism,' says the resolution of the 24th Congress of our Communist Party, 'can assume different forms in different countries and at different times. But everywhere it is subject to the main common regularities discovered by Marxist-Leninist theory.' This is the foundation of our Party's policy. In October 1975 a national conference decided to put up the Party Program for public discussion. The aim of the Program is to rally the working class for an offensive against big capital, which is shifting the burden of the crisis of its system to the people, making an anti-monopoly alliance doubly urgent and necessary.

Big capital will not retreat until the working class unites the people in an active struggle for a new social system. To create anti-monopoly democratic relations, the struggle must rely first and foremost on a democratic policy directed against big capital. This would shape more favorable conditions for the working people and for their further struggle.

The only ultimate aim this struggle can have in Denmark, as we have said, is socialism. At this time, when the successful growth of the socialist countries contrasts so strikingly with the crisis of capitalism, socialist ideas are attracting more and more people. New horizons are opening for them. But their struggle will not be successful unless it relies on the basic commonalities first applied by the

existing socialism and enriched each day in the all-encompassing and active struggle of the international working class for peace, democracy and socialism.

1. Marx, Preface to the first edition of *Capital*.
 2. Marx and Engels, 'The Holy Family,' *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 93.
 3. Preface to the first edition of *Capital*.
 4. Preface to the first edition of *Capital*.
 5. See *WMR*, August 1975, p. 73.
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The power structure and the alliance problem

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In elaborating an alliance strategy it is essential to analyze the condition of classes and their objective economic interests.* But that, I think, is not enough. Such an analysis must be supplemented by an investigation of the power structure and of the polarization of class forces according to their attitude toward the existing political regime. The economic positions of classes in many of the developing countries have much in common. However, alliance strategy often varies widely. The problem of allies is, generally, different in countries with reactionary regimes than in those with progressive, or even conservative, political forces in power. That is because the immediate aims differ. In some cases an alliance may be aimed against the regime as such, in others it may be designed to deepen democratic processes taking place within the society.

Thus, a solution of the problem of allies requires analyses of relations both in the basis and in the super-structure, assessment of not only the economic but also of the political interests of classes. It is such a comprehensive approach to the problem that our Party, the Communist Party of Indonesia, advocates as it puts forward its program for a National Unity Front.

The pro-imperialist policy, the policy of rabid anti-communism pursued in Indonesia by the reactionary military regime set up after

*See the contribution of Indian Marxist Indradip Sinha to the discussion (*WMR*, November 1975, page 48).

the coup of October 1, 1965, does tremendous harm to national interests. Not everyone in our society realizes this, however. It often takes time for people to grasp their real situation and genuine interests, which may require giving up illusions and old notions. However, it has been amply shown that the working people are capable of waging the struggle even before they fully realize their situation or the relationship of their interests to those of other classes. Though still spontaneous, that struggle tempers its participants, promotes the growth of their class consciousness, and thereby prepares the ground for further development.

The multi-structural character of Indonesia's economy breeds complex, intertwining conflicts of interests, desires and moods of people and social groups. The absence of democratic institutions generally prevents an conscious expression of all this, leaving room only for spontaneous manifestations. The forces actively opposing the regime are as yet small. But at the same time the regime's inability to deal with the difficulties it has bred is apparent.

Having set itself the task of seeking and uniting allies, the Communist Party primarily strives to grasp the polarization of public attitudes and forces that has begun as a reaction to government policy.

The regime has, it would seem, done everything to nip in the bud any possibility of organized manifestation of working-class discontent. To that end the trade unions were incorporated in the government-controlled All-Indonesia Workers' Federation. Nevertheless the workers, frequently against the will of the leadership, hold strikes or take part in joint demonstrations with young people and students; that is, they act against the trade union center's official line and in opposition to the regime. The significance of this in a country under arbitrary military rule need not be overrated. But neither should it be underestimated or ignored, if the interests of the proletariat are to be appraised 'according to the class antagonisms and the class struggle which find expressions,' as Lenin wrote, 'in millions of facts of daily life' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 228).

Even more vivid examples of dissatisfaction with the regime can be observed among the youth and intellectuals, especially school and university teachers. The history of the Indonesian people's struggle shows that the youth has always been in the front ranks of revolutionary fighters and participated actively in public life. True to its revolutionary traditions, it remains, despite police repressions, an active participant in the struggle for democracy. Lately even those social groups among the youth that had actively supported the coup are beginning to question the reactionary regime. Turbulent student and young worker actions in the latter half of 1973 and beginning of

1974, with demands for the democratization of political life and restriction of the power of foreign monopolies, are proof that a broad revolutionary stratum is taking shape within the younger generations.

The intellectuals are also calling for the restoration of democratic rights and academic freedoms in universities and colleges, for the formation of an independent professional organization; humanistic moods are growing in response to the policies of arbitrary repression.

In reflecting on the realization of the program for setting up a National Unity Front in a predominantly Moslem country it is also important to reckon with current discontent among believers. That discontent may be different in character and sources. Militant Moslems, as represented by landlords and big capitalists, are dissatisfied, for example, that the regime is in no hurry to proclaim an Islamic republic, does not make sufficient use of 'aid' from American imperialism, and is too soft, as they see it, on Communists and other democrats. However, there are also many believers who hold that the government pays little attention to the fate of rank-and-file Moslems, irresponsibly permits the spread of Western bourgeois culture, etc. That point of view is generally shared by moderate and democratic elements within the middle sections of society.

The mounting economic, social and political oppression also affects the character and growth of peasant dissatisfaction. The poorest and some middle peasants subjected to various forms of exploitation — feudal, national-capitalist, foreign — demand lower taxes, oppose arbitrary actions of local authorities in evicting peasants from their farms, and fight against political oppression. Patriotic elements among the wealthy farmers are dissatisfied with anti-national policies oriented on foreign capital. That, too, is the target of criticism by patriotic servicemen and junior officers, who see how army generals are profiting from corruption and deals with foreign monopolies. Friction has also begun within the army. Medium businessmen advocate the establishment of a government body capable of defending their interests against the encroachments of foreign monopolies.

Not all of those dissatisfied with the regime among urban and rural workers, intellectuals or representatives of progressive religious circles are as yet prepared to become allies of the working class. It is not easy, of course, to establish a National Unity Front after 10 years of anti-communism elevated to the status of an official policy. The Party realizes that and has accordingly set itself the prime task of as rapidly as possible restoring its ties with the masses, drastically weakened as a result of the terror, and doing everything possible to inject revolutionary purpose into their struggle.

There are stages of development when the interests of the most diverse classes and social groups faced by a common enemy may

coincide. The objective basis for such coincidence exists today in Indonesia as it embarks on the struggle against reaction. The objectives of Indonesia's national-democratic revolution — full national independence and genuine democracy — can unite all patriotically minded, anti-imperialist forces and sections of the public.

The Communist Party recognizes the inevitability of a future regrouping of forces in the course of the revolution, of a new convergence or divergence of interests when the focus of attention expands from issues of mass attitudes toward the regime to, for example, questions of the social structure. The Party will invariably reckon with the processes of polarization in Indonesian society and continue to be guided by Lenin's requirement of a precise knowledge of 'those varied interests of *different* classes that coincide in certain definite, limited common aims' (Vol. 12, p. 404).

Elaboration and promotion of the policy of alliances call for the solution of a wide range of questions. Experience shows that victory in a revolution can be assured only if there is a firm united front of revolutionary forces, of all supporters of democracy on the basis of an alliance of the working class and the peasantry.



Patriotism and internationalism of the Communists

This is the transcript of a dialogue at our Editorial offices between *Friedl Fűrnberg*, member of Political Bureau, CP of Austria, and *Mel Doig*, member of Central Executive, CP of Canada.

Patriotism and internationalism — do they conflict?

Doig. We feel the need to discuss the combination of patriotic and internationalist principles in the activity of Communist parties because, in the case of our Party for example, a number of new problems has arisen and certain aspects that had always occupied us appear in a new light. The economic crisis, unemployment and inflation have caused shifts to the left, but have also aroused the right forces, have stimulated nationalist sentiment and chauvinism. These are being deliberately cultivated by the right. The opponents of détente, of what is now known as the Helsinki spirit, rely on and stoke up nationalist ideas. We see our duty in combating nationalism, especially its spread in the working-class movement. And any penetration of nationalism into the Communist movement is more dangerous still. It is something our ideological adversaries would want to happen, as they urge us in various ways to disavow our internationalist principles. We are criticized from the right and the 'left' (by Trotskyites, Maoists, and the like), and are accused of lacking patriotism as internationalists, or of being 'dependent on Moscow,' not independent in our policy. Such pressure is liable to affect some of the Communists, let alone the masses. This is why it is important to clarify some of the aspects of the matter.

Fűrnberg. Yes, we Austrian Communists feel as you do. I should begin by clarifying some of the concepts, because our opponents tend to juggle with them, and distort the communist standpoint.

On the face of it, patriotism is a single concept. Dictionaries define it as devotion to the country, clan, or tribe of one's fathers. Lenin described it as one of the most deeply ingrained feelings, rooted in us

by centuries and millennia of separate fatherlands (See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 187). But when society divided into classes the concept acquired a class complexion, became more complicated, because the patriotism of a class, say the working class, is bound to reflect the attitude of that class to the existing social system. The concept 'internationalism' appeared much later, connoting class solidarity that transcends national frontiers. Is the contradiction between patriotism and internationalism unavoidable? Our ideological opponents — those, admittedly, who are the least devious — take it for granted, as it were, that it is inevitable. That is why they maintain, in fact, that Communists, who treat the problems of their nation in the light of the workers' international struggle, are not patriotic.

But bourgeois ideologists are finding this more and more difficult to prove. The facts deny it. In the Second World War, Communists stood at the head of the Resistance, while the monopoly bourgeoisie betrayed the interests of their countries. Recent experience, too, shows convincingly that the imperialists are hostile to national interests. This is especially apparent in the smaller countries, where capital, lusting for profit, subordinates national interests to the policy of international monopoly. It does not even bother to conceal this. The working class and its Communist party, on the other hand, express the interests of the entire nation. Uniting its ranks, the working class is now able to head a broad national front of patriotic anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces, is prepared to take over power and assume responsibility for the nation's development. The 1917 October Revolution gave rise to a fundamentally new concept, socialist patriotism.

Doig. Let's go back to the dialectics of patriotism and internationalism. If taken on an abstract theoretical plane, a contradiction between them certainly exists. But while opportunists become entangled in it and slide into nationalism, Communists resolve it with the help of Marxist-Leninist theory. For them, any nation with a capitalist society is not a single, homogenous whole. They see that while the interests of the bourgeoisie of one country inevitably conflict with those of the bourgeoisie of other countries — and this despite the development of international processes — *the essential interests of the working class of different countries coincide*. The working-class struggle for emancipation and radical transformation of society is, in essence, international. Remember what Lenin said: 'Capital is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed' (Vol. 30, p. 293). If we acknowledge that success in the national struggle for the new society is directly related to the successes of the world communist and working-class movement, it should be obvious that the national

interests of the working class in any country require it to consider the international objectives of the class struggle as their own. Hence, the patriotic and international principles coincide.

Fürnberg. Let me give the example of Austria's neutrality.

During the Second World War the Communists did not anticipate that Austria would become a neutral state and remain in the capitalist system. We thought that after nazism was defeated, Austria would take the road to socialism. However, the relation of forces in the country and the world after the Second World War, the objectives of the struggle for peace in Europe and the rest of the world, showed us that it was in the interests of the Austrian people, and also of the international struggle of the working class, to abandon the slogan of immediate passage to the socialist road, and instead emphasize Austria's neutrality. We encountered fierce resistance from the bourgeoisie, which wanted Austria in the NATO bloc.

Doig. Were you criticized by the 'Left'?

Fürnberg. We were. Even the Socialists, who still wrote 'Democracy is the course, socialism is the aim' on their posters in those days, accused us of being Soviet agents and of wanting Austria's neutrality because it suited the Soviet Union. We could not deny, of course, that the USSR had an interest in Austrian neutrality. We said: Yes, neutrality is in the interests of the Soviet Union, but it is still more in the interests of our own country, because it is a dependable basis for a sovereign Austrian state, and will help safeguard peace, benefiting all peoples.

Now, it is universally acknowledged that we were right. No significant political force in the country would think of opposing neutrality. Our government, those who had opposed neutrality, now profess to be its advocates. This is creating new problems for our Party's patriotic activity. We have to show with concrete examples that the government of the bourgeoisie, though it pays lip service to neutrality, jeopardizes it at every step. We oppose Austria's economic subordination to the Common Market. We oppose NATO attempts to make Austria a center of anti-socialist espionage. We oppose saturation of Austrian culture with elements of U.S. and FRG culture. As we see it, only this can guarantee Austria's independence and help consolidate peace and détente in Europe. It is basic for the revolutionary struggle in our country, and an example of how patriotic and internationalist aims blend.

Doig. I could say the same about the struggle for real Canadian independence. It is a struggle against U.S. economic, political and cultural domination. U.S. imperialism, helped by Canadian monopoly, is plundering Canada's natural resources — her iron ore, oil, natural gas, water reserves, timber, etc. Though there is a housing

shortage, building has declined because the transnational monopolies are buying up much of the suitable land. Communists are fighting this. We demand the nationalization of land, natural resources and energy, and democratic control over their use. The Communists' patriotic struggle is also a struggle for an independent foreign policy, a policy of peace and détente, for Canada's withdrawal from NATO and her military alliance with the United States, and for friendship and trade with the socialist community. We are in solidarity with all the anti-imperialist movements in the colonial countries, especially those exploited by Canadian imperialism, and are working for anti-imperialist unity of the working class. In whose interests is this struggle? Here, too, patriotic and internationalist interests interweave.

Fürnberg. The Communists' patriotism is an active patriotism, a patriotism of deeds. Also, it projects into the future. It is not simply devotion to the land of the fathers in its present shape, but also a dedication to improve that land, to create a new and more just society.

Doig. Would you accept the following brief summing-up for this part of our dialogue: the interests of the working class in all countries are the same? Hence, the true patriotism of the working people is inseparable from internationalism, from solidarity and fraternal cooperation with the working class of different countries, fighting imperialism, for world peace, and for freedom, democracy and socialism. Organizing that struggle, the Communist Party is the most consistent champion of the national interest, because it heads the most progressive class, which expresses the interests of the majority of the nation.

Fürnberg. Yes, I accept it. But haven't we over-emphasized just one aspect — the sameness of the patriotic and internationalist principles in communist activity? Aren't there examples of an opposite order?

The stumbling blocks

Fürnberg. It is safe to say that there are no differences among the fraternal parties over the fundamental connection between national interests and international duty. But the truth, as we know, is always concrete. Those who slide to nationalism always stumble over the concrete. Take the history of the Second International: it collapsed with the outbreak of the imperialist war. Yet it is not only major upheavals — say territorial claims — that are stumbling locks for the unstable.

Doig. Every time a concrete problem arises, a clear line must be drawn between concern for national interests, genuine patriotism, and nationalism. But it is not easy to draw. Sometimes, precisely in

connection with concrete events, one has to go against the mood of the masses infected with nationalism.

The slide to nationalism may begin through over-emphasis of specific conditions, the specific national road, and scorn for the experience of others. Our opponents would like nothing better than for various types of so-called national Marxism — 'national models of socialism' or 'national communism' — to undermine the international unity of Communists.

Ever since October 1917 there has been a solid factor to test the fidelity of internationalists: their attitude to the Soviet Union. Speaking at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Comrade William Kashtan, our Party's General Secretary, said that anti-Sovietism has always been the common factor drawing together all enemies of peace and socialism. Support for the policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community is now a most important feature of internationalism in practice.

Fürnberg. And of genuine patriotism too! Today the bourgeoisie resorts to anti-Sovietism in a three-pronged attack against the objectives of national detachments of the working class, against their international struggles, and against the Soviet Union and the socialist world system. That is why opposition to anti-Sovietism is more than an international duty; it is first and foremost the patriotic duty of Communists to their own people.

We cannot remain indifferent to attacks against the Soviet Union, from whatever quarter and in whatever form, for instance, the attacks by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. Theirs is unadulterated anti-Sovietism, which must be rebuffed. It is more difficult when we have a lack of discrimination on the part of our comrades, underestimation of the consequences of some move or statement. What should be done in such cases? Here I necessarily bring up the broader issue of the principles of relations between parties. These principles include non-interference in the affairs of other nations, in the affairs of other parties. But nowadays, as we all know, any action by any Communist party, any move or undertaking departing from basic principles, causes repercussions in other parties leading, at the very least, to a debate. Is that interference or not? Should our parties respond to such actions, to such moves, or not? We stand by the principles of non-interference, but that should not preclude offering advice, assessments, or even comradely criticism.

Doig. That is a very important point. I think we sometimes take a one-sided view of democracy in the framework of internationalism. Ignoring the common experience of the Communist movement, over-estimation of one's own experience, attempts to impose it on

others — that is, in our view, what really contradicts the concept of democracy. In emphasizing the patriotic, national character of their own party, some comrades seem to go so far out of their way to convince bourgeois opponents of their independence of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party (which is essentially true!) that they forget about their natural dependence on the international Communist movement, about their ties with it. That is impermissible, as it harms not only the party concerned but others, too, and the movement as a whole.

The objective base for the unity of the international Communist movement and the united action of all revolutionary and democratic forces is expanding. Hence the communist demand for stricter observance of the principles of communist internationalism.

Fürnberg. I think this aptly sums up the conclusions of the second question. But I would like to return to the problem of nationalism from somewhat different positions.

Winning over the masses

Fürnberg. It would have been simple if all we had to do was draw the line on nationalism. But nationalism exists in the people. And as a Communist party increasingly becomes a spokesman for popular, national interests, nationalism can, if we are not careful, penetrate the party and, through it, the international communist movement. And another aspect of the same problem: It is not enough for us to have a correct understanding of patriotism, its distinction from nationalism, and to correctly link it with internationalism. How to drive this home to people, how to make them accept our understanding of patriotism and proletarian internationalism? Without that our knowledge of the truth is not of much value.

The problem of drawing closer to the people in that sense is different in different countries, which is perhaps why we do not always understand each other. Compare the situation in Austria with that, say, in France. In France the Communist Party enjoys great popular prestige as a patriotic force. It enhanced that prestige in the Second World War, when Communists headed the anti-fascist struggle, many of them giving their lives for the freedom and independence of France. That is why, when today French Communists say that independence is threatened by FRG and U.S. monopolies, they are heeded.

In our country the situation is different. We had no broad anti-fascist resistance. Many Austrians remained duped by fascism until practically the end of the war. In their eyes Communists were traitors: while most Austrian men were fighting the Russians, British or Americans, Communists advocated victory for the Soviet Union,

Britain and the United States. After the allied victory the Communists, together with the Soviet Union, called for consistent denazification and the punishment of war criminals; these were not universally popular slogans at the time, which again was used by our opponents to accuse Communists of betraying the interests of the nation.

All this has, naturally, left deep marks in the consciousness of people, and at times we have underrated its effects. We argued that Communists had waged an extremely difficult struggle both in Germany and in Austria. Communists suffered great losses, but that struggle, I must say, was in large measure isolated from the people. The situation in France was quite different and the Party there was closely linked with the people . . .

Incidentally, the bourgeoisie reckons with all this, which makes our tasks more difficult. It has drawn conclusions from the political struggles, it has learned to maneuver, for example, to present its participation in the rivalries of monopoly groups as defense of national interests, etc. I would even say that, regrettably, the bourgeoisie has learned some of its lessons better than us. The critics of communism even make use of our achievements. For example, the triumph of socialist revolution in a number of countries and the formation of the socialist world system was one of the greatest gains of the international working class. In the socialist countries patriotism is a sense of devotion, not just to one's country, but to the socialist state, it is an expression of the unity of the people, the party and the government. In our country the Communists are in opposition. They come out against bourgeois governments. But our bourgeois and Social-Democratic critics (and even our own revisionists) mechanically transfer the norms of life in socialist countries to capitalist conditions, comparing socialist patriotism and the cohesion of the working people of the socialist countries around their governments with the Communists' opposition to bourgeois governments.

How can such influences be countered, how can the masses be won over to the communist ideology? It is a difficult question.

Doig. Not hopeless, though?

Fürnberg. Certainly not, but neither do I know any easy answer. The situation confronts the Party with specific tasks of finding an approach to the masses, and we are seeking it.

Doig. I think that you to some extent answered the question of how to bring home to the masses our notions of patriotism and internationalism when you spoke of your Party's struggle for Austrian neutrality. The main thing, as I see it, is to correctly determine the main directions of the struggle, in keeping with national interests and the interests of the international working-class movement, to clearly

formulate the slogans and define objectives, and to unite and educate the masses in a concrete struggle for concrete and meaningful objectives.

Fürnberg. That is correct. I should also like to dwell on the connection between communist patriotism and internationalism and the tasks of the struggle for advanced democracy, on the democratic nature of our patriotism and our internationalism. Today this is a very important question.

We do not advocate the kind of elitist patriotism, the patriotism of the 'leading forces of the nation,' that the bourgeoisie does. We advocate democratic patriotism, i.e., patriotism of the people. We say that the struggle for patriotic objectives is impossible without the democratic participation of the masses. When the working class becomes the vanguard of the nation it must use state power to represent not only its own class interests but the interests of the nation as a whole.

Doig. Isn't there a danger of clouding the class viewpoint, if we put the matter in these terms?

Fürnberg. This is a problem now being tackled by fraternal parties. Programs are appearing that include national as well as working-class demands. Search is on for broad alliances to remove reactionary forces from the seats of power. These are positive developments, though opinions regarding the process may vary. Much has to be discussed and clarified. But when we say that patriotism is most effective when it is of the people, it doesn't mean that we must necessarily adapt to the moods of the majority, especially at the expense of our class positions. This is something Marxist-Leninists have never advocated. They fight to bring their ideas home to the majority, to win the majority over to their side.

But I think you are right on how to approach the problem. If we were to formulate the first, second, third, etc. patriotic and internationalist tasks, priority, I think, should be given to the struggle to preserve peace, shore up détente and assure peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Closely linked with this is a second task, the struggle against international monopoly capital. It is right to say that the two nearly coincide, but there are also important differences.

In the struggle for peace we have a very wide front of allies: the petty-bourgeois masses, even part of the bourgeoisie, are prepared to join us in the fight. It is relatively easy to bring to the masses an understanding of the internationalist task of fighting for peace, which is at the same time a national patriotic task. The second task is likewise both national and international, but bringing it to the understanding of the masses is much more difficult.

Let me cite this example. Semperit is an Austrian subsidiary of Michelin. Now with the crisis it has decided to relocate in Ireland, where production costs are lower. Other international monopolies are moving their plants from West Germany to Austria and Italy. This makes for contradictions between the interests of the workers of the countries concerned.

Doig. We are having much the same experience in Canada. Westinghouse and General Electric are closing down their sophisticated plants in Canada and moving to Mexico, Hong Kong, Latin America and Africa. Thousands of Canadian workers are left without jobs. In this situation, some become vulnerable to nationalist propaganda.

Fürnberg. The maxim coined by the revolutionaries of 1848 — a blow at your enemy is also a blow at mine — can be rephrased: by fighting your monopoly capital you are fighting mine too. The Communist parties and trade unions have rich experience in organizing solidarity actions in their own countries. When production is relocated to another country, it is only logical to organize action against this in both of the countries concerned.

Doig. We have had concrete examples of this kind of solidarity.

Fürnberg. Yes, in 1973 joint action by the workers of the multinational AKZO plants in West Germany, Holland, Belgium and Austria compelled abandonment of plans to cut back production in West Germany and Holland. How they are fighting to save 6,500 jobs. Of course, organizing a demonstration or strike in solidarity with workers of another country is not a simple matter — you can lose your job. But experience has shown that this is both necessary and possible.

Doig. We have learned this from our experience: if you want to succeed you have to reckon with certain losses. You pay very dearly for underestimating the link between international and national successes. I think it is especially important to bring the youth into solidarity movements. In fact, young people are coming to take a more active part in our actions against the multinationals, for genuine independence for Canada, for peace and détente. These are things young people understand and appreciate, and through participation in such actions we help them understand our ideas of internationalism.

Fürnberg. Unfortunately, in Austria the bourgeoisie have managed to inculcate nationalism in one part of the youth and apolitical cosmopolitan consumerism in another part. We should not be misled by the actions of some student groups. The fact is that most students are concerned with their own problems and are indifferent to politics. But among the young workers, especially, you will find not only an interest in politics, but a desire to share in the political struggle. The

solidarity movement with Vietnam, and, more recently, with Portugal and Spain, confirms this. But I still think that success in the internationalist education of the youth will be achieved only if we convincingly answer questions that are troubling the youth: Why is fascism still alive? Why is the relative prosperity of the working people of Western Europe, the U.S. and Canada still paid for with the blood and sweat of the peoples of the former colonies, and why, lastly, has the international working-class movement failed to put an end to nationalism? This is still a weak aspect of our work.

True, there is the fairly widespread opinion that the better you work, the better chance you have of winning over the youth. That is not altogether so. There is often disenchantment: we work hard but the expected results do not come. This can lead to pessimism. Of course, the better we work today the easier will the struggle be tomorrow. But it would be wrong to think that the youth can be won over only by better organization work and intensified propaganda. We have to make better use of major social developments. This can accelerate politicalization of the youth.

Doig. In Canada the bourgeoisie have been relatively successful in neutralizing the youth. Young people are showing less interest in political parties. But let us not forget that politics are not confined to parties. The rise and growth of mass democratic anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist movements in Canada is something new, and for the youth they represent a political school, with the result that today many young Canadians are looking for a way out — they see no future in capitalism. And here our activity, our ability to help them find the correct path, can be a very significant factor. I understand you, Comrade Fűrberg, when you speak of the conditions needed for mass politicalization of the youth. And I think that you do not have in mind a wait-and-see attitude.

Fűrberg. Certainly not. But I wanted to emphasize that we must reckon with realities.

Doig. We take pride in the fact that more and more Canadians, workers and unemployed, are adopting the patriotic positions of the Communists and are beginning to share in solidarity actions. Not so long ago, according to an opinion poll, one Canadian in three (and this included workers) was unconcerned about civil rights for the Eskimo, Inuit and native peoples. Today the struggle of these oppressed and exploited ethnic groups is becoming part of the struggle of our organized working class.

Of course, we have to do more than we have done to date. Our dialogue did not cover all the problems. In conclusion, I would like to stress this: the problems confronting the Communist parties in the various countries, their patriotic tasks, cannot be solved in isolation

from the international revolutionary movement. If a Marxist-Leninist puts the national factor above the common principles of the Communist movement, he is thereby departing from the position of his class and taking up the class positions of the enemy.

Fürnberg. Naturally, we have not dealt with all the aspects of the problem. We have formulated many questions but have not answered them, and that, I think, is no more than natural. Much requires collective thinking, generalization of the experience of different countries. The complex tasks before us require more frequent meetings, more extensive exchange of experience to work out common aims and policies, without, however, in any way departing from the agreed international line, for any such departure recoils on the success of other contingents of the Communist movement, in some cases compelling them to suspend solution of their own problems in order to cover the breach in our common front. It would be gratifying to know that we have to some extent drawn attention to these questions.

The struggle against Zionism is a class struggle

Meir Vilner
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Israel

The policy of international détente and peaceful coexistence benefits all the peoples. Détente does not run counter to the struggle for national liberation, democracy, social progress and socialism. Indeed, it creates more favorable conditions for this struggle.

An important part of the class struggle is the ideological struggle, which assumes new dimensions in the climate of détente. The fight against Zionism is part of the battle of ideas. In Israel, it is the duty of everyone who really wants to defend the interests of the working man and the true national interests of our people and to guarantee the security and future of the State of Israel, which are endangered by Zionist policy.

The nature of Zionism is illustrated by the fact that international and Israeli Zionist quarters are 'preparing' in their own way for the 25th Congress of the CPSU (February 1976). They have announced that one week before the congress they will convene a world congress

in Brussels, the seat of NATO, to discuss the 'persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union.'

The Zionist movement has always collaborated with the imperialist bourgeoisie against the international revolutionary working-class movement. Ever since the October Revolution, the Zionists have been enemies of the Soviet Union and after World War II they took an equally hostile stand against other socialist countries. But this is only one aspect of the matter. The other, connected with the first, is that Zionism has always fought against the movements, for national and social liberation in the Middle East and other regions. Documents of the 16th and 17th congresses of the Communist Party of Israel (1969 and 1972) stressed both aspects.

At the same time our Party rebuffs, in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, all who identify Zionism with the Israeli people or Jewish communities at large and describe the struggle against Zionism as a fight against the Israeli people or Jews generally and therefore stigmatize it as 'anti-Semitic.'

Even Zionist leaders admit that 'Jew' and 'Zionist' are two different concepts. 'There is growing indifference to Zionism among most American Jews,' wrote Michael Shashar in *Yedioth Aharonoth* of November 6, 1975. 'In fact, Zionism often becomes a burden for them. The majority of American Jews are not Zionists in the original sense of the term, which means that every Jew is in duty bound to immigrate to Zion. They are not Zionists either culturally, or in terms of meeting financial commitments. Only 20 per cent of America's Jews contribute to the United Israel Appeal fund.'

This being the case as presented by the Zionist leaders themselves, on what grounds do they describe the fight against Zionist ideology and practice as a fight against Jews or even against the people of Israel?

There could be no bigger lie. Indeed, a well-orchestrated Zionist-imperialist campaign has been organized to equate the terms 'Zionist' and 'Jew,' 'Zionism' and 'Israel.' Ever since the 30th session of the UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, Zionist and imperialist quarters have demagogically called its action an 'anti-Semitic' move directed against the very existence of the State of Israel. Like a thief who cried 'Stop thief!', they misname things to justify the Israeli rulers' policy of occupation and territorial expansion and the activities of Zionist organizations against the forces of progress, national liberation and socialism.

Those behind the campaign are trying to divert public attention from the General Assembly decisions on the Palestinian problem by raising a hue and cry against the resolution condemning Zionism. The

decisions call, as everyone knows, for granting the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) the right to participate in all peace talks and conferences on the Middle East. In particular, they recommend inviting the PLO to the Geneva peace conference on an equal footing with all the other participants, and establishing a General Assembly committee to consider ways and means of giving concrete expression to the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right to independent statehood. It is clear that a campaign aimed at discrediting the above decisions has nothing in common with the Israeli people's aspirations, in fact, contradicts them, and in no way contributes to peace.

The struggle against Zionism as the reactionary ideology and political practice of the Jewish bourgeoisie does not contradict the national interests of the Israeli people or the Jewish masses in other countries. On the contrary, it serves these interests most truly, the 17th CPI Congress declared. Marxist-Leninists closely link their struggle against Zionism with their struggle against anti-Semitism. The Zionist movement, by using anti-Semitism to achieve its selfish ends, plays into the hands of racist and reactionary forces.

This explains why the ideological struggle against Zionism is closely interwoven with the struggle against anti-Semitism. In both, it is imperative to draw a sharp, principled distinction between the concepts 'Zionism' and 'the Israeli people,' 'Zionism' and 'the Jewish people.' The fight against Zionism requires a class approach based on Leninist criteria. This is the only approach that is principled and compatible with sincere concern for the fate of the Israeli people, for the destinies of the Jewish masses, as part of the general concern for the peace and freedom of the peoples, for democracy and socialism. Disregard of these necessary conditions can do much harm. Our ideological and political opponents use every mistake, however slight, for fresh anti-communist or anti-Soviet fabrications so as to disguise the reactionary ideology and practice of Zionism and cover up the Israeli rulers' aggressive and annexationist policies. They show particular zeal in slandering the Soviet Union and its Middle East policy.

We Israeli Communists consider the Soviet Union's Middle East policy a principled, Leninist policy motivated by sincere concern for world peace and security and for the legitimate national rights of all the peoples and states of our region without exception.

Racism, national oppression and every form of discrimination on national grounds are products of capitalism. It is only under socialism that the economic and social class roots of racism and national discrimination are destroyed and the freedom and equality of all peoples really guaranteed.

The Soviet Union has been, and remains, a friend of all nations and

nationalities. In the Middle East it is a true friend of both the Arabs and the Israeli people. It draws a fundamental distinction between the policy of Israel's government and Zionist leadership, on one hand, and the true interests of the Israeli people and the Jewish masses, on the other.

This is why the fight against Zionist ideology and the policy of Israel's rulers merges necessarily with the struggle against anti-Sovietism. It effectively serves the universal cause of peace and socialism, as well as the vital interests of the Israeli people and the Jewish masses throughout the world. Such is the position of Israel's Communists.

The 17th CPI Congress states in its resolution that 'Zionism, far from achieving security for the Israeli people, poses a danger to them.' This conclusion was drawn upon an analysis of the Zionist leaders' policy, which makes Israel's future dependent on imperialism and isolates the country from the Arab world, the socialist community and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for national and social liberation. The Congress saw the struggle against Zionist ideology and practice as a manifestation of Israeli patriotism, as defense of the genuine national interests of the Israeli people, and of the Jewish working people everywhere and as a contribution to the common cause of peace, peoples' independence, democracy and socialism. We Israeli Communists see opposition to Zionism as part of the patriotic and revolutionary class struggle.

Zionist ideology is rooted in bourgeois nationalism and even racism. It tries to explain anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews in capitalist countries by the mere presence of Jews among non-Jews. From the Zionist point of view, anti-Semitism is not a class phenomenon typical of feudalism and capitalism, but a 'natural,' 'eternal' phenomenon inherent in other nations and due to the presence of Jews among them. The 'solution' suggested by the Zionists does not lie in abolishing the system of exploitation which gives rise to national oppression, discrimination and racism, including anti-Semitism, nor in building a socialist society, but in isolating the Jewish working people from all other working people and in concentrating the Jews in one country — around Mt. Zion.

This is reactionary utopia today, as it was before the emergence of the State of Israel. The great majority of the Jewish working people have no ties with Israel. Its existence has not, and could not have, ended racism or its component, anti-Semitism, in capitalist countries. History shows that the Jewish question — the problem of freeing the Jewish masses from national oppression and eliminating anti-Semitism — can be fully and finally resolved only when the class

roots of racism and anti-Semitism are destroyed, that is, when socialism triumphs.

Therefore, Marxist-Leninists do not regard the Zionist movement as a national-liberation movement, but as a reactionary nationalist one, an instrument of the Jewish bourgeoisie, used by imperialism in its struggle against the three revolutionary forces of our time: the socialist world system, the international revolutionary working-class movement, and the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation.

That, too, is how we Israeli Communists see Zionism. Our 16th Party Congress stressed that the Zionist movement does not base its program or practice on struggle against imperialism but on alliance with it. In capitalist countries it collaborates with the big bourgeoisie against the communist movement, advocating isolation of the Jewish working people from their class brothers and renunciation of the struggle to change the existing social system and achieve socialism. In the Middle East too, the Zionist movement has always been — contrary to the national interests of the Israeli people — a devoted ally of the imperialists who suppressed the Arab peoples' national liberation movement.* Today the Zionist leadership of Israel is pursuing a policy of territorial conquest in alliance with imperialism.

In Israel itself, the Zionist movement operates against the interests of the masses. It sets Jewish workers apart, urges them to distrust their Arab class brothers and foments chauvinism and nationalist arrogance. It also works against the national liberation of the Israeli people from the shackles of foreign capital and dependence on imperialism.

Zionism in the international arena is an instrument used by imperialism in its global plans, which are directed primarily against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, it assists imperialist neo-colonialist activity.

The Communist Party of Israel maintains that there is no progressive Zionism, nor can there be. Zionist ideology is essentially reactionary, as is the entire practice of the Zionist movement. Our Party sees the class division in Israeli society as a decisive factor and shapes its strategy and tactics accordingly. The Zionists themselves are rent by political differences and social contradictions. In Israel some Zionists and Zionist groups, while identifying themselves with Zionist ideology, take a correct stand on certain socio-political problems. This is why our Party has always considered cooperation with them on specific social and political issues to be both possible and necessary. At the same time, it continues its ideological and political struggle against Zionism. Our Party strives for the working people's

*This was also the case under Turkish and British rule.

unity of action for their immediate interests and seeks a united peace front of all those in Israel who opposed government policy and endorse peace without annexations.

There are people who see a contradiction in our position. They ask how we can cooperate with Zionists if Zionist ideology and political practice are reactionary. It follows, they argue, that either the first or the second part of our conception is wrong. Yes, there is a contradiction, except that it is not in our position but in that of those Zionists or Zionist groups.

Take the trade union struggle in Israel, often very acute. These are strikes and demonstrations, battles with police and opposition to anti-labor verdicts passed by the labor courts. The workers do all this to protect their wages and living standards, their civil rights and liberties. Unfortunately, most working people still fail to see the consequences of the Zionist rulers' policy of aggression and territorial expansion, which leads to enormous military expenditures and a lower standard of living. Most of them do not realize the connection between the country's deteriorating economic and political situation and its bondage to American monopolies, its subservience to U.S. imperialism in its struggle against the movement for national and social liberation in the Arab world and against socialism. As a result, many support the policy of the ruling circles while staunchly resisting its adverse effects.

That is also true of the struggle for peace. All the Zionist parties and organizations supported the wars of aggression launched by Israel in 1956 and 1967, the first in collusion with the French and British imperialists, and the second in collusion with American imperialism. The aggression had definite aims, the primary aim being to overthrow the anti-imperialist and progressive regimes in Egypt and Syria. These wars were intended to put into effect the Zionist policy of conquest and of ending the national existence of the Arab people of Palestine, the main victim of the anti-Arab policy of the Zionist rulers of Israel. This policy is characterized by territorial expansion (whenever the situation makes it possible), discrimination and national oppression toward the Arab population of Israel, and nationalist arrogance encouraged by material support from imperialist powers.

It took many people years to realize that it is impossible to continue occupying Arab territories and ignoring the Arab people of Palestine, alleged to present a special danger to Israeli. Against this background, the struggle of our Party for the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied in the June 1967 war, and for recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, specifically their right to self-determination and to an independent state alongside

the State of Israel is increasingly appreciated by Israeli public opinion. This development, brought about by the new balance of forces in the world and the Middle East, especially after the October 1967 war, has created the opportunity to work for a broad peace front based on political realism.

The CPI does everything to unite the peace-loving forces of the country. When united, they will have new and greater opportunities to influence political decision-making and hence to bring about a change of official policy. We have made visible progress in laying the groundwork for a peace front, but the greater part of the work is still before us and we must overcome difficulties in accomplishing it. Not a few leaders and spokesmen of the political circles taking a realistic view of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question refuse out of anti-communist prejudice, to join with our Party in united action. They make political cooperation conditional on an ideological agreement between the Communists and Zionists. Of course, this is an unrealistic approach. After all, the Communists do not demand of people differing with them on ideological matters that they should adopt Marxism-Leninism as a precondition for unity of action. And if there is agreement that continuation of today's official policy is fraught with grave dangers to Israel, then those who divide the forces of peace and political realism on ideological grounds bear a grave responsibility indeed.

The peace-loving, anti-imperialist and progressive forces of the Middle East and other areas are interested in the unity of the largest possible number of realistically-minded people in Israel who can bring about a change in official policy in favor of peace and cooperation with the countries of our region.

The October 1973 war dealt a blow to the over-confidence of certain segments of the Israeli population. This also applies to Jewish circles in the USA. Not a few of these people have come to the right conclusion, and others, disheartened by the outcome of the war, are asking: How long can Israel survive? A revealing article was contributed to *Davar* on September 9, 1975 by Uri Gordon, head of the Department for the Rising Generation in the Zionist Movement. He wrote that 'many Jews are pessimistic about the future of the State of Israel' and often say they are doubtful it can survive. But instead of drawing the natural conclusion that the Israeli government should change its policy and orientation, Gordon suggests intensifying propaganda among the Jews in the USA.

The 16th CPI Congress pointed out that Zionist policy is detrimental to the Jewish nation developing in Israel and has always imperilled the future of the state, and that the policy of expansion with imperialist help prevents the establishment of a just peace be-

tween Israel and the Arab countries and the consolidation of Israel as a state recognized by the peoples of the region. 'The problem of the Jews and other inhabitants of Israel,' the Congress stated, 'is to end dependence on foreign capital and imperialist powers, and to achieve peace with the neighboring Arab states on the basis of mutual respect for rights, including the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine.' This is how our Party sees the way out of the impasse into which the policy of the Zionist leadership of Israel has led the country.

The Communists reject both the exaggerated self-confidence shown by some Israeli quarters, who rely on the country's 'military superiority' and American imperialist support, and the other extreme, despair. Many have come to realize that Israel's current policy is completely divorced from reality and the balance of forces in the world and the region, offers the Israeli people no positive future and, in fact, threatens a disaster amounting to national suicide. However, these people often tend to infer that this is no future at all for the State of Israel.

We Communists have warned more than once that the ruling circles' Zionist policy, alleged to represent the interests of the Israeli people, is not only anti-Arab and anti-communist but also, to the same extent, anti-Israeli, anti-national. We have always warned that the policy of 'by the sword thou shalt live,' a policy geared to a military solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, is bound to end in defeat. At the same time we insist that there is a way out, that, contrary to claims, the Arab peoples have no intention of 'throwing Israel into the sea' and that our Arab neighbors are prepared for a just peace with Israel. Moreover, they are ready to meet Israel half way, for all of them are willing to recognize Israel within the borders of June 4, 1967, to which Israel will have to withdraw.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has lately tended to take a similar stand. In September 1975 its Chairman, Yassir Arafat, was interviewed by *Newsweek* (Sept. 15, 1975). 'Other Arab leaders,' said the interviewer, 'told me that if Israel returns to the 1967 borders and if a Palestine state is established on the West Bank and in Gaza, a true Arab-Israeli reconciliation and stable peace will be achieved. Do you consent to this?' Arafat replied: 'This means there will be a peace settlement.' This, then, is the truth which no amount of brainwashing through the Israeli and imperialist mass media can conceal.

In other words, while the policy of the ruling Zionist quarters poses the gravest threat to Israel, we Marxist-Leninists show the Israeli people the road to a life in peace and security, to friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with Arab peoples.

In spite of the Israeli Zionist rulers' adamant obstruction of peace

efforts and of the all-round backing they get from the U.S. imperialists, we Communists of Israel are certain that with the present balance of world forces it is possible to impose a realistic policy on imperialism and its stooges in the Zionist leadership of Israel, compel them to withdraw from all the territories occupied in 1967 and to recognize, even against their will, the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, their right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state alongside the State of Israel.

Our 17th Party Congress stated: 'The continuing changes in the correlation of forces in the world and in our region, to the detriment of the Washington rulers and their stooges, the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples and growing opposition within Israel to war and annexation will eventually compel American imperialism and the Israeli rulers to renounce their aggressive adventurism in the Middle East.'

The first signs of this are already visible. To be sure, U.S. imperialism and the Israeli government, having secured the consent of the rightist leaders of some Arab countries, still hold up this process. They mislead people and may touch off a new war in the Middle East. But they cannot turn back the general course of history, which, in spite of all its zigzags, leads to the victory of peace, national independence and social progress in our region, too.

Reaction's 'left hand'

Alvaro Mosquera
Central Committee member,
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Groups following the 'Chinese model' and extolling the practice and concepts of Maoism, that caricature of Marxism, have been trying to take hold in Colombia. The tragedy of these Colombian Maoists is that they are committed to an ideology which, far from having a universal appeal, has no relation whatever to Colombian reality and only serves to disorient revolutionary political practice. Yet they have social roots within the country, among the petty-bourgeois strata receptive to Maoist demagoguery. But, essentially, they are doomed to remain artificial, foreign-inspired organizations.

To understand the conditions that helped Maoism penetrate Colombia, one must bear in mind the following. The Chinese leaders'

break with the communist movement coincided with the radicalization of definite groups in Colombia influenced by the Cuban revolution. Some of these later embraced Maoism. Its 'super-revolutionary' slogans attract the politically immature who see revolution as something simple and one-dimensional.

Characteristic of the motley collection of Maoist groups is shaky ideological and political positions, utter confusion in matters of strategy and tactics, endless squabbling, splitting up into new factions, and excommunicating dissidents. The very existence of these quarreling pro-Maoist groups and grouplets is eloquent evidence of the crisis of Maoism in Colombia. Nevertheless, despite all the squabbling, they have in common vicious anti-Sovietism, systematic attacks on the Communist Party of Colombia, repeated attempts to undermine the class trade unions and the unitarian democratic political organizations. All this, though justified by a welter of ultra-left phraseology, objectively puts them in the camp of reaction.

The first of these Maoist groups called itself the 'Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.' It was formed in the early 60s as a faction within the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. It failed to seriously undermine the organizational unity of the Colombian Communists, who are ideologically and politically mature, have gone through the harsh school of clandestinity and know how to employ different forms of the class struggle.

From the very outset the 'party' followed a rigid simplistic pattern. Like most Colombian Maoists, it clung to the Bakuninist dogma of non-participation in elections under any circumstances. This, plus advocacy of armed struggle in rural and urban areas, was the sum total of its tactics. However, it tried to win support among the middle strata and the peasants and to do that advanced slogans in defense of economic demands.

Claiming to support united proletarian action, it remained adamantly sectarian, its 'unity' being confined to alliances of Maoist and other leftist groups. The Colombian Maoists blame the 'two super-powers' for the split in the trade union movement and denounce the Communists and their political allies as a 'reserve of imperialism.' At the same time, however, they try to infiltrate communist-influenced organizations.

This Maoist organization has brought together anti-Party elements around an unprincipled program of struggle against the Communist Party. As was only to be expected, two groups soon broke away, the 'Left Extremists' and a rightist group which borrowed much from the Extremists. There are also two new factions, the 'Marxist-Leninist League' and the 'Marxist-Leninist CP — Proletarian Line.'

The League's program is based on the ideology of agrarianism. It

absolutizes our backward agriculture and denies that capitalism is the dominant system in Colombia. Its anarchistic nature finds expression in its equating revolution with peasant war. But it has also proclaimed in favor of organizing the masses to fight for their immediate and political demands and has put out slogans for the student movement. The 'Proletarian Line' group seems to be following in the footsteps of the reformist National People's Alliance, is opposed to the unity policy of the Colombian Trade Union Confederation.

The Maoist Pueblo (People), Siete (Seven) and Jornada Camilista (The Camilo Path) organizations address themselves to the peasantry. Like all Maoists, they maintain that there is no proletarian party in Colombia but, unlike some other groups, they do not make organization of such a party their chief aim. They are affiliated to the National United Front which rejects participation in elections. Anti-Soviet and anti-communist, they attack peaceful coexistence and advocate revolutionary violence, maintaining that all opportunities for legal action have been tried and have failed, though they themselves operate legally.

Some members of the reformist National People's Alliance have come under Maoist influence and, very much like Edgar Poe's black raven, keep on repeating the Peking refrain about 'superpower hegemony.' They attack the socialist countries, and advocate a 'Colombian model' of socialism in contrast to the scientific socialism of our Party.

Besides these, there are other Maoist groups with still more confused political and organizational programs. Their verbal extremism goes hand in hand with rank reformism. Reflecting the duality and vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie, they seek to make up for their inability to conduct mass revolutionary work by an incessant flow of 'ultra revolutionary' phraseology and inconsequential demands. These opportunists direct the disenchantment of the 'impatient revolutionaries' into the channel of partisan struggle, which is the be all and end all of Colombian Maoism.

The so-called 'Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement' (MOIR) merits closer examination. Its origins go back to the now defunct 'Worker, Student and Peasant Movement,' an organization of students from democratically-minded sections of the petty bourgeoisie who adopted a more radical attitude under the influence of the sharpening crisis in Colombia and of the Cuban revolution, the methods of which they tried to duplicate in Colombia.

Subsequently, this organization came under the influence of renegades from the Communist Party and degenerated into a group with extremist and adventuristic aims based on its 'theory of partisan centers.' It called for a peasant partisan war, which it contrasted to all

forms of legal mass struggle. It rejected the leading role of the working class in favor of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and talked long and loudly about the organization of a genuine 'Marxist-Leninist Party' — even denying the existence of a Communist Party in Colombia. Its tactics were to 'unite under its leadership all armed people, all partisan movements whatever their political complexion.'¹ That policy led to a series of defeats. Its founder, the student Antonio Larrota, was killed by government-encouraged bogus partisans.

Following endless quarrels within the 'Worker, Student and Peasant Movement,' a group broke away to form the 'Independent Revolutionary Workers' Movement.' At first it concentrated on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Experience has shown that the Maoists' chief enemy is not imperialism and the oligarchy, but the proletarian party and the international communist movement.

The Maoists were responsible for destroying, bringing under the influence of company stooges, or paralyzing many class trade union organizations. The divisive activities of MOIR are detrimental to the interests of other sections of the population which it has penetrated, for example the students.

The communist tactic of combining various forms of struggle is still another target of attack by MOIR. The Communists strive to use election campaigns as one means of mobilizing the people, and this is fully in line with Leninist traditions. But MOIR asserts that taking part in elections means rejecting revolutionary violence and accepting the 'revisionist illusion' of peaceful paths created by 'right-wing opportunist leaders who have renounced socialism.'²

However, in 1972 MOIR abruptly changed its policy and decided to put up candidates together with the reformists. It offered this somewhat unexpected explanation: 'If we did not understand this problem and argued that non-participation in elections was the correct general line, it was only because of our ignorance of Marxism.'³

Having made that decision, MOIR shifted to the very opposite extreme. Elections, it said, were vitally essential 'to create the conditions for the demolition of obsolete institutions (e.g., Parliament — A.M.) and their replacement by truly democratic representative institutions in which all state power would be concentrated in the hands of the workers, peasants and the people at large.'⁴ And so, the leftists took up rightist positions — even some MOIR supporters could not stomach that.

MOIR contends that Colombia is in the midst of a 'cultural revolution,' meaning the bourgeois-democratic reforms for which the students have fought all along. Transplanting 'Mao's ideas' to Colombian soil, MOIR extols the revolutionary spirit of the national bourgeoisie, equating it with the proletariat and arguing that capitalist

development is the chief aim of the revolution's initial stage, when the peasantry 'is the main force.'⁵

Despite ideological differences with our Party, MOIR's rejection of election boycotts enabled us to cooperate with it and other democratic trends within the framework of a broad front. Furthermore, in this period MOIR ceased, at least temporarily, its public slander of the Communist Party, and even cooperated with it on common tasks at trade union and political level. In 1973 it joined the National Opposition Alliance (NOA), of which the Communist Party was the biggest affiliate and which fought the 1974 elections on an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy platform, polling nearly 200,000 votes and electing seven members of parliament.

But following the March 1975 Congress of the Trade Union Confederation (TUC), MOIR was back at its old hegemonic tricks. On the basis of a subjectivist assessment of the relation of forces, it attacked the militant TUC leadership. In fact, it tried to sabotage the Congress, ordering its few supporters to walk out, and vied with the government and bourgeois press in attacking the TUC and its national forum, accusing it of engineering a coup with the help of ... international communism. Now MOIR is trying to induce unions under its influence to withdraw from the TUC. Its campaign against the Communist Party has won plaudits from the oligarchic press. The big dailies, *Tiempo*, *Expectador*, *Siglo*, have opened their columns to MOIR propaganda.

One of MOIR's biggest crimes against the TUC and unity of the working class and the people was the way it got the National Teachers' Federation to withdraw from the TUC: it joined forces with the ultra-lefts and other Maoist and Trotskyist groups, not shunning assistance from such ultra-right quarters as Opus Dei and the pro-fascist Tradition, Family and Property organization. But its subversive campaign is meeting with mounting resistance from trade union branches, even from some of its leaders. One of them, Octavio Valverde, resigned from MOIR, denouncing its subversion as 'the most heinous crime' against the working class and 'the greatest service to reaction.'

The MOIR's anti-unity campaign is directed also against the National Opposition Alliance, now in a state of crisis largely due to MOIR's sectarianism. There have been attempts to blame the Communists for the shaky state of the alliance, even maintaining that the Communists support the government — and this at a time when four members of the Communist Party have been executed.

MOIR is causing damage also to the student movement where its sectarianism and anti-communism play into the hands of the ruling classes. Indicative of this respect is the statement by Misael Pastrana,

rightist and ex-President, in connection with the events in the National University: 'Our national center of culture has become the scene of polemics which have international implications, polemics between the humane Marxism advocated by Maoism and Soviet expansionist communism.'⁶

That Pastrana joins the Maoists in slandering the socialist countries, that he justifies the Maoist ideology, does not come as a surprise. Apparently he did his homework in China and returning from that country he spoke with sympathy of the 'incredible achievements' of Maoism and of the views of the 'supreme leader.'⁷

The big bourgeoisie appreciates the services rendered by the Colombian and Peking Maoists. The reactionary weekly, *La Republica*, often carried editorials larded with Maoist attacks on the socialist community and praise of Peking's splitting activities which, the paper says, are based on 'subtle intelligence and immortal propositions.'⁸ It welcomes close ties between Mao and Pinochet, who are united by their 'resolute anti-Sovietism.'⁹ Another ex-president, Lleras Camargo, editor-in-chief of the North American magazine *Vision*, refers to Mao Tse-tung as the 'hero of a continuous revolution,' praising him for rejecting the Marxist proposition on the historic mission of the proletariat and breaking with the USSR.¹⁰

In the final analysis, Colombian supporters of the Peking leadership serve Peking's plans. The bourgeoisie is fully aware of the social and political role of Maoism, its bellicose anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist nature, its splitting activities. Maoism and its supporters are reaction's 'Left hand.'

The Communist Party of Colombia cannot remain neutral toward Maoism and its policies. And it has never been neutral, even in the period of joint action with MOIR, whose ideology is the opposite of ours. Our Communist Party regards ideological neutrality toward Maoism as a concession to nationalistic narrow-mindedness and to opportunism on matters of principle. Objectively, such neutrality helps the Peking leadership shore up its hegemonic positions, adds fuel to the anti-communist campaign, weakens the struggle for national and social liberation, prevents unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and does grave damage to the interests of the Chinese people.

And, of course, the Maoists are not neutral, though they would very much like to see others remain neutral. In an open letter to our Communist Party, MOIR says that our differences stem from the antagonistic contradiction between the communist and the Maoist theories. MOIR's invitation to us to accept ideas consonant with the 'era of Mao Tse-tung,' is an ideological challenge. That is why, in keeping with our communist convictions, we must come out against

the ideology of Maoism and in defense of Marxism-Leninism and our Party's class positions.

1. Gilberto Vieira, *Organicemos la revolucion Colombiana!* Informe Politico al IX Congreso del PCC, p. 87 Bogota, 1961.

2. F. Mosquera, MOIR, en libro *Colombia: Tres Vias a la Revolucion*. p. 143, Bogota, 1973.

3. *Ibid.* p. 122.

4. *Ibid.* p. 123.

5. *Ibid.* p. 114.

6. *Cuadernos politicos*, No. 5, p. 12, Bogota, 1975.

7. *El Siglo*, Feb. 8, 1975.

8. *La Republica*, March 6, 1975.

9. *La Republica*, Oct. 5, 1975.

10. *El Tiempo*, Feb. 9, 1975.

Thirty years in Parliament

Dominique Urbany

Chairman,

Communist Party of Luxembourg

Dominique Urbany was born on March 29, 1903, into a miner's family in the town of Rumelange. He is a schoolteacher by profession. A foundation member of the Young Communist League of Luxembourg and delegate to the Socialist congress of Differdange, he was among the group that voted for joining the Communist International and then left the congress to set up the Communist Party of Luxembourg on January 2, 1921.

Dominique Urbany became General Secretary of the CPL in 1933, and Chairman in 1965. For three decades since October 1945 he was a Member of Parliament, heading the Communist faction. These reminiscences about his years in Parliament were written at the request of *World Marxist Review*.

REMINISCENCES

When I pass by the walls of the old building where Parliament sits and recall the time spent within its walls I often ask myself whether the best use was made of it. There was never any doubt that entering Parliament was necessary. The communist movement had long ago defined its position concerning participation in bourgeois parliaments,

the conditions of that participation, and the relationship between that form of struggle and the organized mass movement,* and it has accumulated a considerable body of experience. Moreover, we Communist MPs constantly had the interests of the working class in mind and did all we could to promote them. So why do I stop to reflect on the question?

First of all, probably, because it is hard to say: 'Here are the real, tangible results of those efforts.' But also, it is here that one becomes aware of the line between simple attendance of Parliament — with the danger of its becoming an end in itself or of participating in reformist actions — and real use of that bourgeois institution in the best interests of the working class and its struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, for socialism. How can the two forms of participation be clearly separated? Are there guidelines that can be used to chart the right course, not merely in theory but in day-to-day practice? Today, when we of the older generation are being replaced in the Chamber of Deputies, as Luxembourg's Parliament is called, by younger Communists, I consider an answer to the question to be of the utmost importance; that is why we seek, together, to analyze the road traversed and the experience accumulated.

Communists entered Parliament on the crest of the popular movement brought to life by the defeat of fascism. Once, in 1934, when we received 7.3 per cent of the poll in the southern industrial district, entitling us to one seat, we were prevented from occupying it by the clerical-liberal majority, which voided the communist ballot on the grounds that the communist program was 'incompatible with the Constitution.' In 1945 such a thing was no longer possible. The masses knew only too well how great a contribution to the victory had been made by the Soviet people led by their Communist Party; they also knew that in Luxembourg only the Communist Party carried on an organized struggle during the nazi occupation.

On its return from exile the government on March 12, 1945 set up a Consultative Chamber as a provisional parliament and appointed its members. Unable to ignore the public mood, it assigned three seats to the Communists. In the first postwar elections to the Chamber of Deputies, in October 1945, the CPL won 20.7 per cent of the ballot and four seats in the southern election district, and 8.3 per cent and one seat in the central district. Thus, five Communists joined the new legally elected Parliament.

Returning in my thoughts to those days, I clearly remember our

*I recently read with interest E. Tuominen's article on the subject in the November 1975 issue of *WMR*, page 23.

pride and confidence in our achievement: Now that we've made it, we'd get things rolling!

We had the support of thousands, many of whom believed we'd soon come to power and help them. I remember our comrades, who also believed in immediate success. They seemed to have forgotten that there were American tanks in Luxembourg. Some insisted on immediate radical action. But many of those who had exaggerated our possibilities later deserted us. We thus had to start with combating left extremist attitudes, though that was not so difficult, because the overwhelming majority of the Party were workers capable of soberly assessing the situation, without the groundless enthusiasm that is followed by disappointment and despair.

But I repeat that we were all full of hope and élan. We defined our main objectives, because we knew that we had to have a clear idea of the reasons for entering Parliament and keep from dissolving in its bourgeois atmosphere, from integrating, as they say today, in the machinery of capitalist state power; we had to use Parliament for our own purposes. This approach was facilitated by our knowledge of Lenin's works dealing with questions of parliamentary struggle, notably *'left'-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, as well as by experience we had acquired in the Comintern.

A few words about Luxembourg specifics are in order for a better grasp of our work in Parliament. The parliamentary regime is a result of the revolutionary movement of 1848, and that imprint is still there. To be sure, the rights of the Chamber of Deputies, and of the deputies themselves, were watered down little by little, but the institution has become a tradition firmly rooted in the mass consciousness. We are a small nation,* and Parliament is closer to the masses than in other capitalist countries. The Chamber debates small and miniscule administrative problems, and most deputies are not professional politicians. Abridged but fairly detailed accounts of parliamentary proceedings and decisions are circulated free to all constituents. I think this is a very democratic rule which, as far as I know, exists in no other capitalist country. True, the accounts reach their addressees two or three weeks after the sitting, which puts them out of date, but they nevertheless offer a clear idea of the goings-on in Parliament, of who advocates what, of the stand taken by one party or another on various issues. This is especially important for those who do not read daily newspaper. Those who don't get our paper can read a Communist deputy's contribution to the parliamentary debate in the proceedings. Thus Parliament is a genuine public forum. That is why I can say that

*Luxembourg covers an area of 2,586 square kilometres, with a population of 348,000 (1973). — Ed.

even if it took no decisions at all, it would have been worth participating in.

Of course, Luxembourg's Chamber of Deputies is a bourgeois parliament, a well-greased mechanism which the ruling class uses most skillfully. The bourgeois parties try to use it to gloss over class contradictions and create the illusion that they are acting in the interests of the 'whole nation.' Our task is to dispel that illusion and *bring the class struggle into Parliament*. The contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie are reflected in practically all enacted laws, even the so-called good ones. We saw our prime duty in constantly accentuating that so as to promote the class consciousness of the workers. Mobilization of the workers and the masses at large against big capital has always been one of the purposes of our parliamentary activity.

Obviously, the Party cannot win over the masses or advance toward our ultimate goal without upholding current working-class interests and struggling for better working and living conditions. At the very first session we put forward proposals which aroused a heated debate when put to the vote. We saw our task in taking advantage of every debate to assess proposed legislation from the standpoint of the interests of the working class, to demonstrate how a bill or proposal corresponds to those interests and how it contradicts them, and to perseveringly pursue our class line. This applied fully to international problems debated in Parliament. We invariably defended the positions of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, regarding this as our internationalist class duty.

I must say that our hopes associated with Parliament did not lead to a reassessment of participation in it as a form of struggle. From the outset we linked our parliamentary activity with mass work. If necessary, we didn't wait for official delivery of accounts of the proceedings and carried speeches by Communist MPs in our paper, which we distributed at factories and from door to door. We keep in close contact with the workers. Two Communist MPs are steelworkers, one of them is chairman and the other secretary of a factory worker committee. Deputy I. Grandgenet was general secretary of our trade union. Thus parliamentary activities were carried on alongside trade union activities, participation in meetings, demonstrations and even strikes.

I recall, for example, the time when minimum-wage legislation was being debated in 1945. We carried our case to the factories, and workers sent delegates to lobby the Chamber, although its rules of procedure prohibit it. As a result we were able to uphold our demands.

Ties with the workers, with the mass movement helped us preserve

our influence, especially at large factories, even in the most difficult times. And these were not long in coming.

In February 1947, the unity of the government, which was a coalition of four parties, including ours, was disrupted by reactionaries. The cold war and communist-baiting had begun. The united reactionary forces managed temporarily to push us back. In the 1951 elections our Party lost its seat from the central district (the capital). In 1954 it lost another seat from the southern district, leaving only three Communists in Parliament. The right-wing Socialist leaders were already speaking of a Communist rout. The Christian Social Party (the ruling party at the time) took a more sober view, however. Its newspaper *Luxemburger Wort* wrote that the Communists 'still wield influence' and that the 'three Communist musketeers will make enough noise for a dozen.' Well, we did our best to justify those predictions.

An especially acute struggle developed over three international issues: in 1948, when the question of revoking the nation's neutrality was debated; in 1949, when the Chamber of Deputies debated Luxembourg's membership in NATO; and in 1952, when the European army debate was held. We had our share of defeats as well as victories. Communists played a decisive part in the campaign which ultimately led to the ending of conscription. Time and again they won struggles for concrete social improvements. They did much to discredit the cold warriors and opponents of détente. Despite all difficulties, the Communists' principled stand strengthened their positions among the masses.

The Party's successes were especially impressive in the elections held in December 1968, just a few months after the August events in Czechoslovakia. Although the Party was being vilified by the reactionaries for its attitude toward those events, it was able to strengthen its positions decisively. In the southern district, for example, its share of the ballot rose to 22 per cent, and it won six seats (out of a total of 56).

What makes up the activities of a Communist MP? Not a sitting passes without Communists taking the floor to speak, demand clarification or submit a bill or proposal reflecting the needs of the working people. Our work in Parliament differs in many ways from the work of deputies from other parties, notably in our sustained activity. Some bourgeois MPs speak in Parliament once a year just so that their constituents should not forget them. Some come to register their presence and then leave. Only a few members of a parliamentary group remain in session, which is actually all they need. But we cannot, have no right, to do such things. Our duty is not just to attend Parliament — that would be a waste of time — but to attack, to expose the bourgeoisie and conciliators for all to see, to take over the

initiative, to present our views, bolstered with well-founded arguments, to have the workers and peasants listen to us. Not simply to 'make a brilliant speech' and win the praise of our opponent, but to convince the masses of the correctness of our stand, to be understandable and understood ... I hold that a Communist MP must seriously master all the methods of parliamentary struggle. It is a domain of political art, and it is important for us not to concede victory to our opponents, but to defeat them.

We had to become specialists in many different fields because, unlike the big parties, we could not afford paid expert personnel. From the very start we divided our work. Comrade Useldinger specialized in taxes and financial matters. Comrade Grandgenet looked after labor and social problems, and I concentrated on education, foreign policy, public health and certain other matters. We set to work by wading through a maze of materials, making ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the relevant laws, and studying agrarian and international problems. As a schoolteacher I could fall back on my experience on matters in education, but not on public health and I soon found myself studying medicine and pharmacy.

Naturally, all this required much time and much mental and physical energy. (Now our MPs are helped by specialists, because many intellectuals have joined the Party; there were none in my day.) We worked late into the night. Our parliamentary speeches were well argued. Our opponents could not make light of them nor find 'holes' in the presentation of our case.

We were represented on practically all the committees — social, public health, budget, and so on. The committees met behind closed doors to examine details of pending legislation. We could therefore clearly see what line our opponents were likely to take, and prepare our case when the question came up at a full meeting of Parliament.

Parliamentary debates are especially important because they are attended by the public and the press. The rules allow a certain time for debate speeches, but the rules were systematically changed to our disadvantage, along with other rights of the MPs. For instance, at one time an MP could speak after his question had been answered by a Minister. Now he is deprived of that right. These and other curtailments of parliamentary procedure were primarily directed against the Communists. And I might add that the Socialist Speakers were especially zealous in this respect.

The Speaker would constantly interfere, especially during the cold war years. We were often interrupted also by deputies from other parties. They tried to distract us so that we would have less time to put our case. The moment our time was up the Speaker would stop us, but very rarely deputies from other parties. These clashes with the

Speaker continue to this day though, of course, the situation has changed. On several occasions I was called to order: if you are called to order a second time you are expected to leave the chamber. So we had to be very careful in choosing our words, without, however, in any way lowering the level of our criticism or polemics.

When I recall those days in Parliament, one day especially comes to mind.

This was in 1956 when, in connection with the Hungarian events, the reactionaries were staging big demonstrations. There was even an attack on our printing office, but we had been warned and gave the attackers a fitting rebuff. Tension ran high in Parliament. When I took the floor, MPs from the bourgeois parties walked out in a body. There were only us three Communists and the Speaker: he had to remain, for if he left Parliament would stand adjourned. I calmly continued my speech knowing that everything I said would be taken down and made public. The bourgeois MPs gathered in the lobby and listened over the public address system. My criticism became more and more sharp. They were nervous, and then one of them came into the chamber followed by three more. Toward the end of my speech they were all back in their seats and listening. They tried to interrupt, used abusive language, but I finished my speech, having said everything I wanted to say.

The atmosphere in the Chamber was always tense and one needed strong nerves, because our opponents often used unscrupulous methods. Our MPs now sit next to the Christian Social MPs and we often speak from our seats. Sometimes it is very important to spice with humor a reply to our opponents. All this counts, because the proceedings in the Chamber are made public. And our constant readiness to give a fitting reply, our quick reaction to every enemy sally, our offence tactics, help to enhance our Party's prestige in the eyes of the people.

The tactics of offence do not, of course, imply that we are inflexible and reject alliances and compromises. For instance, we would shelve our demands on a particular social issue and support the Socialists to put up a united front against the reactionaries. This would be a compromise, but one directed against the reactionaries. Naturally, we did not compromise on matters of principle, nor make concessions on Marxism-Leninism or the socialist countries. But when it was a matter of workaday politics, we reckoned with realities. To put out a demand the masses cannot understand is a useless exercise. We are not guided by the principle of all or nothing.

Both in and out of Parliament we always endeavored to improve relations with the Socialist Party which, besides ours, is the only left-oriented party in Luxembourg. Such alliances are in line with our

united action program against monopoly capital and reaction, against the big business parties and the big concerns.

Cooperation with the Socialists was possible in several different fields, for instance, on education and public health, but not on economic problems. Most of our differences were over foreign policy: the Socialists are still ardent supporters of NATO. Somewhat later we found we could cooperate with them in the trade unions (Luxembourg now has a single trade union organization) and also on municipal policy. From time to time we would also cooperate on appointments to government posts.

The left-centrist government of the Democratic and Socialist parties formed in 1974 has followed a new policy toward us. For one thing, we got back the post of Secretary of the Parliamentary Bureau, which we had lost during the cold war, and also a seat in the Benelux Parliament. Anti-communist and anti-Soviet policy is now being carried out in a more subtle, I would say more 'intellectual,' way. There are no more frontal attacks.

Naturally, we too make certain concessions to create a basis for cooperation. I would describe cooperation in these words: interacting with a partner of equal strength is one thing, interacting with a partner with stronger mass influence is quite another, and requires precise formulation of policy so as not to lose your political identity and independence.

Parliamentary work requires personal alliances and compromises. That is inevitable, but we always appreciate that this entails certain dangers.

Communist MPs do not get rich, for they donate 90 per cent of their pay to the Party and the remaining 10 per cent is hardly enough to make ends meet. In this respect we have always been very strict. The Party finances the election campaign and propaganda, consequently, the MP's pay belongs to the Party. No one has ever questioned that; our comrades fully understand the situation.

But the material aspect is not the only one. For instance, there was a direct attempt to bribe me, though as a rule bribes are offered more discreetly, in a way that you are not able to prove anything. I was then Minister of Health, Social Security and Sports. After the turn to the right I was expelled from the government along with the Socialists. Somewhat later Pierre Dupong, a former Minister of State and relative of my wife, asked me to his office. He told me there was a move to leave me in the government. Of course, that would have been very important for me and for the Party. But — and it was a big but — I would have to renounce our program.

This is what I told the Minister of State: You will recall that several years ago you sacked me (in 1934 when I was teaching school) only

because of my membership in the Communist Party. Then the school inspector came to the house and blandly said: 'If you sign a statement renouncing your Communist ideals you can get your job back.' I went to my father and asked him to look after my two small children so that my wife could go to work because there was no money. But before that I told my father about the talk with the inspector and asked him whether I should sign the statement (of course, I had turned down the suggestion from the very start). My father replied: 'If you sign you shall never again enter this house.' And so, I said to the Minister of State, my father is just as strict today, as you well know.

These direct bribery attempts are not as dangerous as the concealed, camouflaged variety, with imperceptible but unrelenting pressure on the MP. In the Luxembourg Parliament, where everyone knows everyone else, often from school days, an arrogant overbearing attitude toward one's opponents is simply impossible. It would not go down well with one's constituents. But you will find a man from the opposite party stopping to pat you on the back or taking you into the bar for a beer and telling you that you are an intelligent person . . . You can even address Ministers in the informal 'Du.' In fact, many of us knew each other before the war and are on familiar terms. And in this informal atmosphere bourgeois politicians, some of them astute operators, often try to exploit 'weak spots' in some of our men. They incite one against another, saying to our deputy: 'You're all right, but your comrade . . .' They would tell our MPs; 'If it were not for Urbany, there would have been unity long ago.' In 1947 one of our comrades, imagining himself a great parliamentarian, fell for the bait. He was defeated at the next elections, joined the Trotskyites and later the Maoists. We cannot prevent provocations of this kind, but we can prevent our comrades becoming victims of it. And I can say that, with the one single exception, we have always succeeded. Attempts to lull the vigilance of our comrades are doomed to failure.

However, the battle against bourgeois influence, against attempts to buy over our men, must never be relaxed. That is why overall decisions on the conduct of our MPs are taken not by the Parliamentary group, but by the Party Executive and Central Committee. In other words, our deputies are under constant control and are always guided by Party directives.

Reflecting on my 30 years in Parliament, I have come to this main conclusion: in parliamentary struggle, in political battles and compromises, in the day-to-day hustle and bustle, one must never forget that he is serving the truth. What do I mean by that?

Marxism-Leninism, which has proved the inevitability of socialism's triumph, is as much a truth as, say, the laws of Newton or

Darwin, which no thinking person is likely to question. And only guided by this truth, examining every phenomenon and assessing every step one takes in the light of this truth, can one give real meaning to his work and correctly draw the line between the parliamentary opportunism and the parliamentary revolutionism I referred to in the beginning of these notes.

Of course, looking back one cannot but reflect also on the mistakes we made. Tactical mistakes are inevitable and there were many, I think, in these 30 years. But I can remember only two strategic miscalculations.

In 1945, at the beginning of the cold war, we committed sectarian mistakes — we were inflexible at times and isolated ourselves from the workers. We were over-confident and relaxed our educational work in the Party. Many militants had joined it during the war, when the Party had been driven into clandestinity. They were good resistance fighters, but lacked political experience. And so, we somewhat overestimated our forces and did not show the required flexibility in Parliament and in our general activities.

In 1969 we called for unity with the Socialists and made many concessions. We refrained from polemics with the Socialists, did not say what had to be said. Perhaps we had too many illusions about the favorable opportunities ahead. We lost the initiative. Now we are putting things right.

Yes, there were mistakes, but there were no deviations from the fundamental line, no retreat from class positions, to betrayal of internationalism, because we checked every step with Marxism-Leninism and its fundamental ideas. Let me cite these simple examples.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that socialism is power in the hands of the working class. The main question always is: Who is in power?

If we in Luxembourg set out to achieve our aims through parliamentary methods, this could only mean that Parliament would have to be dominated by the working class in power. And if we speak of the 'workers,' the reference is always to the workers as a class. Introducing a new concept, the 'laboring people' can only confuse things. To be sure, the workers must come to power jointly with other working people, but on condition that the workers are not limping behind the masses, are the leaders, not the led.

When dramatic events unfold in one or another country our Party does not engage in abstract discussions of 'democratic freedoms' in that country. What interests us is: Who will be in power?

And now, too, with the reactionaries playing down the results of the Helsinki Conference and attacking the countries of the socialist community from positions of abstract 'humanism,' we expose the

motivations behind this; we show that the purpose of the campaign is to weaken working-class power and the socialist cause.

Not all the hopes we had when we entered Parliament 30 years ago have come true. We have accomplished much, but not all we wanted. We will be happy if our experience is understood and used by those who are taking up the struggle after us, if they learn to serve the truth better than we did.

Control profits — not wages

*Why Trudeau's policy
to combat inflation
will not work*

by William Kashton

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Bourgeois and working-class views on the crisis of capitalism

John Purton
British economist

The events of 1974-75 have forced the bourgeois spokesmen to admit the correctness of statements in Marxist-Leninist journals, foreshadowing what is now widely admitted to be the deepest capitalist 'recession' since the 1930s.* Bourgeois spokesmen do not of course give us any credit for having been right.

It is instructive to consider how bourgeois spokesmen viewed the course of capitalism at the beginning of the decade. This was at a time when the most profound world capitalist monetary crisis had already broken up the dollar centered monetary system, linked to gold and representing U.S. monopoly capitalist hegemony, at a time when the U.S. was experiencing the most protracted recession for a long time. There were those who were willing to admit that all was not quite well with the glorious 'free enterprise' system. Paul Samuelson, doyen of orthodox U.S. bourgeois economists and author of the most widely read bourgeois textbook on economics, admitted: 'There are some things we don't yet know: for instance, how to control inflation without creating unemployment ...' (taken from Arrigo Levi, *Journey among the Economists*, English edition, 1973). On the other hand, Samuelson was optimistic about American capitalism: 'Looking at the central problem of macro-economics, that of the control of the economic cycle and of growth, I would say that, as economists, we are in a good state of health' (*op. cit.*).

Then there was Heller, regarded as the 'father' of the long Ameri-

*The reader will, I hope, not judge me too immodest if I quote myself. Back in June 1973, during the capitalist boom, I wrote in the British Marxist publication, *Labour Monthly*, 'Thus, British monopoly capitalism faces not only its own recession, but also world recession following on the present boom, and a deepening general crisis of world monopoly capitalism.' In an article in *World Marxist Review*, November 1974, I wrote that developments in the capitalist world portended 'a protracted crisis of considerable dimensions.'

can boom of the 1960s. He claimed to have instructed two presidents, Kennedy and Johnson, in the 'new economics' of Keynes and his successors, in how to maintain full employment and fast, stable economic growth, by the financial interventions of the state. He spoke of those who threaten U.S. capitalism with a famine after the 'eight fat years of Kennedy and Johnson.' He concluded: 'There's no reason for that fear' (*op. cit.*).

Among the leading economists there were strong critics of Keynesian intervention. The most well-known at the time was Milton Friedman. But he was so confident in the future of capitalism as to recommend that the system should be left to run on its own, with a minimum of state intervention; the key was to fix a steady and moderate rate of increase in the supply of bank credit to match the growth in real national product.

Then there were the econometricians who specialized in drawing up mathematical 'models,' by which to predict the course of the economy and to indicate what steering methods should be adopted by the government to keep the economy on a stable course. One of the largest of such models was kept by the well-known Brookings Institute. Such econometricians were confident of increasing success.

What of economists and econometricians in 1975? Are they, from their various standpoints, just as confident in the future of capitalism as before? To what do they attribute the admittedly deepest capitalist crisis since the 1930s? What policy remedies to they prescribe for ailing capitalism? We will try to answer these questions in brief, followed by a brief reference to Marxist-Leninist analysis of the crisis of capitalism, with some assessment of the likely course of capitalism and what it signifies for the struggle of the working class and its allies in the anti-monopoly camp.

The attitudes of bourgeois economists and writers on economic questions in general during 1974 and 1975, have varied from expressions of extreme panic to expressions of extreme confidence; they have also tended to vacillate according to the latest economic news.

On December 28, 1974, the well-known and time-honored bourgeois weekly, the British *Economist*, posed the question: 'Who will survive the slump?' After mentioning the greatest capitalist boom in history, which developed unevenly for 25 years, in which world capitalist industrial production grew 3.5 times, the *Economist* pointed out that the recession was hitting all major capitalist countries, though to a varying extent. They expressed doubt about the OECD prediction of a slight recovery in mid-1975.

About the leading U.S. capitalist economy, to which every bourgeoisie is looking for proof that capitalism's crisis can be cured, the *Economist* opined on February 15, 1975, that the American recession

would be long and deep. And on March 29, 1975, with reference to the Congressional tax cuts, the widening federal budget deficit and the increasing money supply, the *Economist* opined that 'this could fuel inflation by 1976-77 and turn this textbook self-correcting recession into a giddier than ever seesaw between bust-boom-bust.'

The recession which had only hit the USA in the second half of 1974 and developed very rapidly thereafter, was still with the USA in July, 1975. In an article entitled 'Can Capitalism Survive?' (July 14) *Time* magazine carried the judgment: 'There is a growing fear that capitalism has no way to cure inflation except deep recession and that any concerted attempt to lift our economy rapidly out of recession would only fan inflation.' The major U.S. economic indicator showed signs of a small upturn for four months running in mid-1975. This tendency was noted by *Time* in the September 22 issue, when the recession was beginning to be referred to in the past tense. However, fears about the future were not stilled. What would happen after the recovery that now seemed assured? Of this *Time* said: '[The] big worry is that a combination of resurging inflation, tight money, climbing interest rates and inadequate government stimulus to the economy will choke off the recovery. ...'

The October news put in question the acclaimed recovery. The main economic indicator flattened out. New York City faced the imminent possibility of financial default. The present state of financial instability in the USA, the logical outcome of the truly enormous credit expansion of the boom years, was highlighted by the U.S. journal *Business Week*, in its number of September 22. Like *Time*, they expressed fear of the inflationary crisis that might follow any reflationary recovery.

So, the gloom of the early months of 1975 in the USA was followed by a premature return of confidence during the summer, only to be followed by more gloom in the autumn.

After looking briefly at the changing mood of American bourgeois commentators on the capitalist crisis, we have, now, to attempt to answer the second of the questions we posed above: to what causes does bourgeois opinion attribute the crisis?

Bourgeois attempts to explain the crisis of capitalism often consist of a mere mixture of pragmatic observations. Thus, a well-known British economist, Sir Alec Cairncross, writes in a special publication of the right-wing Institute of Economic affairs, called *Crisis 75*, 'The world is faced with two distinct crises. The first is an employment crisis brought on by a fear of inflation and reluctance to pursue expansionary policies while costs and prices are rising fast ... The second is a crisis of world imbalance, associated mainly, but by no means entirely, with the problem of financing imports from the oil-

producing countries. . . .’ The first part of this statement is an obvious comment about the immediate surface of events, but tells us nothing of the underlying causes. The second is equally obvious. Most bourgeois commentators treat the rise in oil prices as a pure accident or a mere case of selfish political motivation; they refuse to see it as an outcome of imperialist contradiction.

Three strands of explanation appear most frequently in various combinations. These is the monetarist explanation, whose principal representative is the American professor Milton Friedman; this explains the crisis as a failure to ensure a controlled expansion in credit. Second there is the simplicist view of the present leader of the Conservative Party in Britain, Mrs. Thatcher, with which she has recently been making big play while on visit to the USA, the view that all will be well if the interventions of state-monopoly capitalism are abandoned in favor or a return to a mythical ‘free market economy.’ This is a reflection of neo-classical economics. Then there is the more Keynesian approach, explaining the movement of the economy in aggregates. This usually takes the form of suggesting that the basic cause of the crisis is excess pressure of aggregate demand on aggregate supply, generated by too large wage increases and too great an expansion in government social expenditures. A case of this is the statement in the British *Sunday Times* of January 26, 1975, that ‘Britain is living beyond its means.’ Typical of this view is the book by a former American advisor to the governor of the World Bank, J.S. Friedman, entitled *Inflation, a World Disaster*. In this the author explains that the populations of capitalist countries have become too addicted to consumerism, trying to insist on an American pattern of consumption, regardless of the resources.

Another form of explanation is provided by an article in the September 22, 1975, issue of *Business Week*, on the U.S. economy, entitled the ‘Capital Crisis.’ ‘Over the past 10 years, government spending, including transfer payments, has been increasing at an astonishing nine per cent annual rate, more than double the four per cent rate for the private economy. That growth of government spending lies at the heart of the capital market strains that have appeared in the past year.’

This article in *Business Week* forms a useful starting point for considering the third question posed above about bourgeois comment on the capitalist crisis: as to the bourgeois proposals for its solution. It should be said that the writers of the popular style article in *Business Week* base themselves on the views of the Brookings Institute, a major grouping of econometricians, and on those of the Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, Simon. The main argument of the article is that the growth of the U.S. economy requires an accelerating fund of

investment capital. From 1955-64 the total demand for capital was \$760 billion; from 1965-74 it was \$1.6 trillion; in the next 10 years it is forecast to expand to \$4.5 trillion.

Although the writers cannot be expected to understand it, this represents the inevitable tendency in capitalism to over-accumulation, by comparison with the real possibilities of expanding the production of goods and surplus value; a tendency analyzed by Marx, in Volume III of *Capital*. As a solution to this problem the writers propose to boost saving by severe cuts in private and state expenditure. This is a classic bourgeois recipe reminiscent of Gladstonian* liberal finance in the mid-19th century. Its theoretical backing springs from the neo-classical model of the capitalist economy working through 'market' forces toward equilibrium. This is one extreme of the range of views making up the mixture of bourgeois theory and policy. It points in the direction of throwing the crisis on to the backs of the workers. As it also presents a vision of returning to 'free enterprise' capitalism it is backward-looking utopianism as well as being viciously anti-working class. In fact, such reactionary 'utopianism' can only serve as a cover for an attempt at an actual strengthening of the dictatorship of state-monopoly capitalism over the working class.

The opposite end of the spectrum is formed by the neo-Keynesian economists of the British National Institute of Economic and Social Research and the British Treasury, who favor a strengthening of state intervention in the form of an incomes policy which dictates wage reductions to the workers. Their view clearly overlaps with that of the right-wing of the Labour Party and its government, who only seem to oppose the 'free enterprise' views of the Conservative leader, by proposing an increase in state intervention, while in fact seeking to strengthen monopoly capitalism.

There are other well-known bourgeois economists, like the rather individualistic Galbraith of the USA, who favor a general increase in state intervention and planning to save capitalism. What is significant is that both the apparently separate wings of the bourgeois and right-wing reformist groups openly or tacitly assume the use of the state power to enforce a solution of the crisis at the expense of the workers and in the interests of securing a further lease of life for state-monopoly capitalism.

Passing on now to a brief assessment of official policy measures, we are struck by the impotence of capitalist governments, on the horns of the dilemma provided by the opposite demands to deflate and to reflate. The main difference is between those capitalist economies

*W.E. Gladstone — four times Liberal prime minister; as chancellor, an advocate of free trade and minimal state expenditure.

which seem strong enough to bear some reflation, like the USA, West Germany, Japan and France and those, like Britain, which are suffering most from inflation. But even the stronger states are struck by partial paralysis. While the U.S. Treasury maintains a policy of limiting expenditure and credit supply and the government seeks to balance the huge deficit some time in the near future, the demand for a more vigorous reflation is raised by a committee of the House of Representatives.

Despite this hesitation, which is one of the factors preventing the usual fairly swift upturn of the managed state-monopoly capitalist economy, it is clear that official quarters are complacently confident about the viability of and supremacy of U.S. capitalism and the possibility of continuing to manage it, though possibly with some additional weapons in the armory of state-monopoly capitalism.

West Germany, one of the leaders of the quarter of a century of fast economic growth and accumulation in the camp of world monopoly capitalism, has taken a few very cautious and limited steps in the direction of reflating selected areas of the economy, like that of domestic construction. The call to prevent a re-acceleration of inflation, regarded as potentially serious despite West Germany's relatively low inflation rate of 5-6 per cent per annum as at present, led to serious West German opposition to budget expenditure at the level of the Common Market, recently.

Japan has also floated several modest reflationary packages without really noticeable impact as yet; France has recently announced what might appear to be a relatively large reflationary package.

Britain, with the highest inflation rate of the larger capitalist powers, has seen her government frankly announce that there can be no reflation until the present rate of inflation is brought down at least to the level of her most important competitors; and, further, that Britain is waiting for the world capitalist economy to be restored by the reflationary action of the most powerful capitalist country, the USA, and other previous growth leaders, whose economies are said to be in a better state.

In sum, state-monopoly capitalism, in face of the worsening conditions attending the accumulation of capital, in face of the all-round sharpening of the contradictions of imperialism, is unable to suppress these contradictions and dampen the consequent conflicts by a Keynesian policy of state stimulation of fast economic growth. Keynesianism, which seeks to manipulate the capitalist economy through interfering in the sphere of exchange and distribution, in the main, without changing the fundamental relations of production, was doomed to ultimate failure. Ceaseless stimulation of monopoly capitalism only leads to endemic inflation. Just at present, with a giant

pool of Euro-money of at least 250,000 million dollars lying ready to fuel a new bout of inflationary over-accumulation, the capitalist states are rightly afraid to embark on reflation. The pool of Euro-money, filled up by the returning oil-money, is already about 2.5 times what it was in 1972.

But, if the Keynesian method of economic management is struck from the hands of state-monopoly capitalism, what is left? A more centralized dictatorship of state-monopoly capitalism? In order to lead up to an estimation of the roads open to capitalism and to the working-class and anti-monopoly forces, it is necessary to refer back in outline to the analysis made of the world crisis of capitalism in the November 1974 issue (British edition) of *World Marxist Review*, in the article 'Capitalism's Aggravating Crisis: Dangers and Possibilities,' to make a few comments in extension and elucidation of its theme.

In our earlier article, an explanation of the postwar period of fast growth and accumulation of capital was given, stressing such factors as the relative plenty of cheap labor, of cheap and rapidly advancing technology; as the rapid increase in concentration and centralization of capital; as the provision of one world center for money, on which was based an enormous build-up of bank credit; such as the build-up of state support and expenditure on behalf of the profits of monopoly capital; such as the apparently unending supply of cheap fuels and raw materials from the underdeveloped countries; all permitting a partial suppression of the downward phase of the economic cycle and an exaggeration of the upward thrust.

As the conditions making for easy profits for monopoly capitalism began to pass away, as the state fostered monopoly drive for accumulation turned fast growth into endemic inflation, so the conditions for a long-term crisis of over-accumulation were prepared; so the world contradictions of the system of imperialism, exacerbated by increasing unevenness of development, became increasingly sharpened. A new and far more unstable epoch opened up for capitalism, one of extreme turbulence, imperiously demanding a solution along the road to socialism, in the areas of capitalism's greatest weakness and the greatest relative consciousness and strength of the working class and the anti-monopoly alliance.

At this point it is useful to allude to the theory of over-accumulation developed by Marx; to consider, not only that this contradiction in capitalism leads basically to development through a cycle of economic crises, but that there have been longer periods in the history of capitalism during which the overcoming of this tendency to over-accumulation has been fairly easy, and other periods in which it has been more difficult. Each critical period tends to produce its own new

solution to the problem of over-accumulation. Now a new potentially long period of instability, of chronic over-accumulation, has set in. We can expect, in this period, that all the contradictions of monopoly capitalism, analyzed by Lenin, will be carried to an extreme point.

In the light of the Marxist theory of crises it would be correct to say that, by some means, such as a giant depression, the huge over-accumulation of the recent past has to be wiped out by a proportionally large dis-accumulation, in order for the rate of profit to be restored.

The necessary wiping out of past capital investments and the reduction of wages costs, both necessary to raise the rate of profit to suit monopoly capitalism, could be achieved for capitalism by a longish period of comparative stagnation, with very uneven development, a period of mass unemployment, combined with persistent inflation. The pressure to reflate could lead to the artificial stimulation of a quick recovery, followed by a rapid acceleration of inflation and a more catastrophic crisis.

In general we can expect a longish period in which the difficulties of capitalist accumulation will prove to be much more severe than in the past 25 years of relatively fast economic growth. Cyclical crises will be more difficult to overcome. The tendency to stagnation will be greater, i.e., a tendency to 'stagflation,' or mass unemployment combined with inflation. It will no longer be possible to meet the sharpening contradictions of the imperialist system by fast accumulation sustained by the former kind of economic management of state-monopoly capitalism. We have entered an epoch which can have revolutionary consequences even in the heart of the capitalist world system.

The actual course of events will be determined, not only by the objective contradictions in the capitalist system, but also by the divergent tendencies: of the ruling bourgeoisie toward a more dictatorial form of state-monopoly capitalism, on the one hand, and, on the other, the struggle of the working class and its allies for democratic reforms, and the opening up of the road to socialism. The struggle ahead calls for enhanced international solidarity and cooperation. Its absolute prerequisite is peaceful coexistence. In the epoch of capitalism unfolding before us there are indeed great dangers, but truly great opportunities.

Horizons of détente

The fight to consolidate and extend international détente entered a new stage following last summer's historic Helsinki meeting. Materialization of détente, the spread and practical exercise of peaceful coexistence principles has become the immediate objective, and a variety of political and public organizations are working for this goal. The journal asked representatives of some of these organizations to comment on the further course of détente, the obstacles still to be overcome to make it irreversible. Here are some of the answers.

GOOD FIELDS FOR COOPERATION

Prof. *Bedrich Svestka*,
Rector of Charles University, Czechoslovakia

Mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technical cooperation is an important stabilizer of peaceful relations among states with different social systems. It makes for a more effective international division of labor and better coordination of efforts and material resources. The present situation offers excellent opportunities for economic growth in the interest of the peoples.

The principles of the Final Act signed in Helsinki open extensive fields for cooperation in science, technology and the arts.

The search for solutions to scientific, technical and cultural problems in the interests of society suggests that peoples and states should join their efforts effectively on an international plane. The ground has been broken for this, and considerable headway has already been made.

But all too many urgent problems still await solution, among them environmental protection, fresh water supplies, and a large set of cultural conservation questions. The most urgent of these is to save Venice. Should Italy prove incapable of assuring its survival, other states are prepared to help. This and many similar problems cannot be solved unless tackled jointly in a world of détente.

There is ample evidence that science and technology are stunted by the narrow frameworks of egoistic nationalism, that intellectual achievements are then liable to serve the forces of war, hatred and oppression. Yet the ethics of science prescribe that the fruit of the

scientist's labor should serve all people in the battle against poverty, hunger and exploitation, and for a better and more just society. It is unthinkable for me, a medical man, that medicine should be used against human beings. Yet we know that some countries are developing biological weapons. And this at a time when concerted effort by all countries could resolve such burning problems as cancer, cardiovascular and other diseases.

How effective our struggle against the enemies of peace will be depends on how well we know these enemies, their weaponry and methods. They have huge resources and modern means of ideological indoctrination. Their central aim is to build up anti-communism.

But the effort centered on pseudo-revolutionary demagoguery is just as intensive. They want it to win minds, principally of the youth, the generation that grew up in a peaceful world and is ignorant of the horrors of war. Banking on the radicalism of young people who by virtue of insufficient experience are easy prey to extremism, the enemies of peace and social progress goad them into reckless ventures.

It is up to us teachers to work against political ignorance, misinformation and the delusions among the youth. Progressives should act hand in hand with those who educate the youth — the schoolteachers and the older, more experienced generation in the factories. Educators form a large unit in every country, and in many ways the future of the rising generation depends on how well they do their job. Their prime duty is to raise the young in a spirit of mutual respect, a thirst for knowledge of nature, man and human society, and repugnance to war and violence.

Here is a passage from the Czechoslovak Constitution: 'We want to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of the world, and to contribute to peaceful coexistence and good relations among states with different social systems.' The peoples of Czechoslovakia, who have suffered from the ravages of many European wars, have a vital stake in détente and international cooperation.

The facts show that socialism and peace go together. Socialism's prestige is high not only because of the socialist countries' multiplying achievements and successes, but also because it was the first in history to postulate that war can be banished from society, and because it is consistently working to make this come true.

ASIA NEEDS COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Jay Patirana,

Member of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka
and former Freedom Party MP

International détente meets the vital interests of humanity. In Asia the process has not gone as far as it has in Europe. But signs of détente have also appeared on the Asian political scene.

The Indochina situation has changed. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have inflicted defeat on the imperialist forces of war and aggression. The proposal made by Mme Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, for an Indian Ocean peace zone is winning more followers. If the interested states settled that problem, Asian security would make a good advance.

There are signs of détente in the way certain countries that had never formerly questioned Washington's bidding have adopted more independent policies in the national interest and for Asian solidarity and cooperation.

The Asian peoples are aware of the benefits Europe won in Helsinki. The leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada have at last agreed on the territorial integrity of European states and inviolability of their frontiers. Europe, where so many wars had started in the past, is now showing all the peoples the road to peace. And in this connection one must pay the highest tribute to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries for having taken the initiative to assemble the European Conference and making the decisive contribution to its success.

We are witnessing the longest period of peace in Europe's history. One cannot say the same of Asia, where there have been theatres of serious and long wars after fascism was defeated in the Second World War. But we are sure that if Europe could settle complicated international problems by negotiation and collective action, Asia can do the same. Naturally it will take time to convene a security and cooperation conference in Asia. There is no consensus on this score as yet. Some governments and countries are hostile to the idea of Asian collective security. But I am sure that the need for such a system will finally sink in. Sooner or later, such a conference will come about.

Domestic reaction plays first fiddle among the foes of peace and détente in Asia. This is natural, for reaction thrives on the absence of peace and détente. Governments and leaders elected by the people fall prey to reaction. They are replaced by reactionary anti-people's regimes put in power with the help of imperialist agents, notably the CIA. Like the peoples of Africa and Latin America, those of Asia should be alerted to the fact that their enemy is imperialism, which comes under new guises and new forms to interfere in the affairs of the newly-independent countries, acting by proxy to buttress the capitalist system.

There is, therefore, a direct link between a struggle against imperialism and home reaction and the struggle for peace and détente.

There is a good chance to extend the trend toward détente in Asia, but it will take vigilance on the part of all democratic forces in face of the intrigues of imperialism and home reaction.

We must consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence on the Asian continent. The European Conference would never have taken place if states with different social systems and ideologies had not recognized these principles. Nor will some of the remaining highly complicated international problems be settled if these principles do not spread and take deeper root. Take disarmament. It concerns more than just the countries belonging to different politico-military blocs. Arms spending is also rising in the non-aligned countries, though many of them are economically weak. This means that the UN Disarmament Conference should not be put off. It could produce positive results, facilitating new and important progress toward the materialization of détente.

THE MOST IMPORTANT CONCERN OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Patrick Clancy,
General Secretary, Building Workers'
Industrial Union of Australia

The turn from cold war to détente, the successes of the peaceful coexistence policy, and the birth of what is now known as the Helsinki spirit, has been acclaimed by the peace-loving forces as their common great victory. The working class is particularly enthusiastic about this victory, since it helps provide more favorable conditions for its struggle for social and economic progress.

The trade union movement in Australia has firmly declared that our country's foreign policy should be based upon the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The historic declaration at Helsinki has been welcomed by the trade union movement as providing a firm basis for the further consolidation of peace. In declaring support for the Helsinki Conference Australian unions have declared their intention to do everything possible to consolidate political détente and work to obtain détente in the military sphere by strongly campaigning for a policy of general and complete disarmament. At the Australian Council of Trade Unions' Congress, which represents over two million workers, the ACTU chairman declared that the most important concern of the trade union movement is the achievement of a stable and equitable world peace. Without such peace, he added, all our other programs and policies are in jeopardy.

This present attitude of Australian unions is the result of many years of campaigning in support of world peace. When Australia was involved in the Vietnam war, the peace movement, in which the trade unions played an active and leading part, organized mass demonstrations in Melbourne and other cities. Workers took strike action and, under the slogan 'Stop Work to Stop the War,' the concept of militant workers' action against the war was carried into the trade union movement.

This campaign against the Vietnam war and for world peace was an important factor in the defeat of the anti-working-class government, which had held office in Australia for 23 years. On the other hand, it provided a powerful impulse to the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente now carried out by the Labour government.* The trade unions have supported the extension of contacts with the socialist world and, following the exchange of many delegations between Australian unions and trade unions of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, for the first time an Australian Prime Minister made an official visit to Moscow last year. Since then other leading ministers of the government have made visits to socialist countries and held high-level talks, thus extending the areas of contact between various sectors of the Australian population and their counterparts in the socialist world.

At present leaders of a large number of important and decisive unions have declared their support for the Stockholm Appeal, 1975, and are campaigning in support of the Stockholm disarmament proposals. These trade union leaders represent such decisive sections of industry as the metal industry, the building industry and the transport. Trade union meetings, seminars and conferences are being held to discuss the issues of the disarmament campaign. At the annual Trade Union Congress last year a decision was made, resolving to ban the export of uranium for any purpose other than medical and to call upon the government to refuse to export uranium to any country that did not sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Solidarity action in support of the Chilean democrats has included a decision to refuse to allow the shipment of any goods to the Chilean junta. Meetings and demonstrations have been held, calling for the release of all political prisoners and the restoration of democracy in Chile. A petition demanding the release of Luis Corvalan and all political prisoners was signed by the leadership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and 150 other leading trade union represen-

*Last November there was a political crisis, in which the Governor-General took the unprecedented step of dismissing the Prime Minister, Labour leader Gough Whitlan, forming a caretaker government of two conservative parties — the Liberal and Country. Elections to Parliament have been set for December 13. — *Ed.*

tatives. This was sent by cable to the United Nations and by a mass deputation to the Chilean consul in Sydney.

Other actions of international solidarity by the Australian working people include protests against the fascist Franco's repression and political executions, meetings in support of the rights of the Cypriot people, demonstrations of solidarity with the people of East Timor and, last but not least, repeated statements by the trade unions declaring their complete solidarity with the Portuguese people.

Forms of action taken by Australian unions in the cause of peace are many and varied. They include job meetings, stoppages on occasions, seminars and discussions, circulation of declarations and petitions, marches and demonstrations on significant anniversaries, such as the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism. In organizing all these actions the trade union movement in Australia is keenly aware of the enormous benefit of détente and of the value it presents to the struggle for the rights and interests of the working people. The existence of détente enables the issues confronting the working class to be clarified and the campaigns for social and economic progress to be developed.

Australian trade unions will be vigilant with regard to the enemies of peace. They will do all that is possible to maintain and carry forward the détente so that it becomes irreversible and is extended to military détente.

ASSERTING REAL INDEPENDENCE

The Rev. *John Morgan*,
President,
Canadian Peace Congress

The major role assigned Canada for many years was to assist in the building and strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's military structure. The result has been to build up in Canada a generation of people in government and the military who still give first importance to that role. Détente therefore is a great problem for them: how can they continue to justify the ever greater expenditures necessary for continued participation if the reason for such participation is disappearing, if even the Prime Minister, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, has publicly recognized that European countries in NATO are already massively armed and need no 'help' in that way from Canada.

The worsening economic situation makes a choice between equip-

ping NATO and the welfare of Canada's people, since the country cannot afford both. Thus, the objective economic conditions coupled with increasing successes for détente require release for Canada from the burden of huge military expenditures.

The progress of international détente is also a major contribution to the Canadian struggle for independence from United States domination in economics and foreign policy.

United States investors now control between seven and eight thousand enterprises in Canada. Overall United States investment exceeds \$28 billion! Most of this has come since the Second World War, when Canadian governments welcomed United States investment despite the warnings of critics that such 'integration' could ultimately penalize most Canadians. Briefly stated, the Canadian sovereignty problem is as follows: not only are the commanding heights of the economy controlled by multinational corporations, largely although not entirely based in the United States, but in many other less obvious areas penetration is extending year by year. As a concomitant to this integration, Canadian foreign policy has mainly followed United States foreign policy.

The Canadian sovereignty movement has many opponents among leaders in our two major political parties (Liberal and Progressive Conservative), in the Federal bureaucracy, and in Canadian industrial and commercial circles where profits from integration have been achieved. But as détente prevails in the years ahead, support will continue to grow for a viable policy of Canadian survival: economic, social, political, and cultural.

In the words of the title of a new book by Walter Gordon, former minister of finance and proponent of Canadian independence, 'storm signals' are flying. Unfortunately, Mr. Gordon and the group of monopolists he represents offer only a program of 'buying the Americans out,' and substituting Canadian monopoly capitalists as owners of the largest corporations.

Canadian social democrats, whose practical program apart from rhetoric is social reform, nevertheless have a traditional acceptance of the principles of nationalization of basic industries; however, they are cautious in advancing it during electoral campaigning.

The Communist Party of Canada publishes and promotes the most clearly articulated proposals for democratic, anti-monopoly action in dealing with the multinationals. The connection between détente and genuine Canadian independence is always clearly made.

Canadians need détente, in short, in order to put all their efforts into curbing monopoly and the multinational corporations, for the future of their people and their vast land.

PEACE, OUR ALLY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Ornel Urriola (Panama)
Vice-President,
International Union of Students

Progress in peaceful coexistence is having a marked influence on developments in Latin America. It is creating an international atmosphere of intolerance toward imperialist tyranny against Latin American nations and promoting solidarity with their struggle by the world's democratic forces.

The conditions are thus being created for strengthening the anti-imperialist and social liberation forces in Latin America. Political forms of struggle are becoming much more effective. Failure of the blockade against Cuba; the U.S. defeat in the Security Council over Panama's sovereignty and the fact that it has been compelled to negotiate with Panama; the profound crisis of the OAS; the founding of the Latin American Economic System (LAES), which opens broad vistas for economic cooperation with countries in all continents, including the CMEA countries — these signs of a changing situation would have been utterly inconceivable during the cold war.

There can be no doubt that conditions today are much more favorable for the struggle of the Latin American youth, which accounts for 70 per cent of the continent's 320 million population. For our young people the fight against imperialism, for full national independence is the only way to win the right to education and work, wipe out poverty and unemployment. And they are coming to see more clearly than ever that success in this struggle is closely linked with positive changes in the international situation.

All this has helped the youth solidarity movement with Cuba. In fact, action by youth and student organizations contributed in no small measure to strengthening Cuba's position as a bastion of socialism in Latin America. The campaign in support of the socialist countries' peace policy has a permanent place in all student activities. There have been demands by student organizations for closer relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The students' role in the liberation struggle now that the cold war policy has collapsed and international tension lessened, was discussed at a forum of universities of Central America and the Caribbean in the capital of Honduras last May. Delegates pointed to the more favorable conditions for cooperation between Latin American universities and for exchange and cooperation agreements with universities in socialist countries.

Détente is making its first steps in Latin America. It has many enemies, foremost among them imperialism. It is obliged to alter its tactics: instead of outright violence and coercion (the U.S. intervention against Cuba in 1961 and the Dominican Republic in 1965) it is using camouflaged techniques and differentiated methods. In Chile, it relies on the reactionary forces. It helped the fascist regime come to power and is giving it every support. In other countries, the tactic is to 'loosen up' progressive regimes. Economic pressure goes hand in hand with CIA subversion and terror and the engineering of coups d'état.

Objectively, the ultra-reactionaries are being helped by the ultra-lefts, whose arguments all but coincide with those of the pro-imperialist oligarchic circles. Last autumn, for instance, the Panamanian ultra-lefts tried to provoke a clash between the students and the army. Exploiting youthful enthusiasm and radicalism, they wanted to impose on the students the provocative slogan 'all or nothing in the negotiations with the U.S.' The ultra-lefts deny that détente strengthens Latin America's anti-imperialist forces. Many leftist groups are financed by Peking and are guided by the slanderous allegation that the purpose of détente is to divide the world between the two 'superpowers.'

More vigorous struggle against the ultra-left will strengthen unity of all the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces and will help to overcome the anti-communist dogmas they want to indoctrinate in the masses. For détente opens people's eyes, enables Latin Americans to see the achievements of socialism and the vast potentialities for national and social liberation inherent in the new system.

IDENTICAL AIMS

Joseph Dube

Director of Political Commissariat,
Zimbabwe African National Council

For the peoples of Africa languishing under the yoke of racism and foreign oppression, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle means more than winning national liberation. It leads them onto the road of social progress, which is inseparable from peace and socialism. These aims — peace, progress and socialism — are being pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries through their détente policy. That is why we reject the contention that the aims of détente are incompatible with those of the national-liberation movement. The history of the past few years has convincingly shown that relaxation of international strain creates additional opportunities

for political and socio-economic transformations and for development of the revolutionary process, of which the national-liberation movement is a component part.

With the changed world balance of strength the Afro-Asian peoples are scoring remarkable victories in their liberation struggle. The inspiring example of the heroic Vietnamese people in compelling U.S. imperialism to retreat, the successes of the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia, the revolutionary changes in Mozambique and other former Portuguese colonies, adoption of the socialist orientation by a number of African countries — these are all additional sources of faith in the victory of the peoples of Southern Africa in their difficult struggle for liberation.

Experience has shown that fresh victories by the revolutionary forces in any part of the world precipitate stepped-up aggression by imperialism and internal reaction in other areas. Following its defeat in Indochina and the former Portuguese colonies, imperialism is now trying to aggravate the situation in the Middle East and Cyprus, and shore up the fascist and racist regimes in Latin America and Southern Africa.

We have been waging an armed struggle against the Rhodesian racist regime since 1969. The blows we have dealt it, and the deterioration of the colonialist positions in this region following Mozambique independence, have compelled the Smith regime to release the liberation leaders and negotiate with the ANC. These concessions, however, have not created any illusions about the real aims of racist Rhodesia, which has the support of the Vorster regime in South Africa. A just settlement must take into account the interests of the Zimbabwe people. Should this require that the colonial regime feel the full impact of our armed struggle, we shall see to it that it does.

The embattled people are the decisive factor in winning national liberation. Every revolutionary knows that. That is why we reject all the imperialist propaganda figments about the national-liberation movement being a 'tool of world communism.' But we frankly say that the successes of the Southern African national-liberation movement are in many ways due to the support and assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The principles adopted in Helsinki last July and August finalizing the positive changes in Europe are of immense importance. And the peoples would benefit if they were extended to Asia, Africa and Latin America, where imperialism is trying to retain important strategic positions and hold on to its numerous military bases. Hence, the problem of security is no less relevant to the zone of developing countries than it is to Europe.

After the successful completion of the Helsinki Conference, the

forces of progress and peace on every continent must work for implementation of its decisions and the extension and deepening of détente. It required nearly 30 years after World War II for Europe to reach agreement on the inadmissibility of war. One hopes that it will take less time on other continents. In the battle for this aim, the peoples rely on the socialist states, the guarantors of peace and social progress. In the course of this struggle the socialist ideas acquire greater attraction for people in the newly-independent states and for those who still have to fight for national liberation.

Freedom of information or freedom of omission

A COMMENT ON WHO PUBLISHED THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE FINAL ACT AND WHO DID NOT

The six months that have passed since the leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada assembled in Helsinki's Finlandia Palace to sign the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference have further emphasized the historic significance of that event. They have also provided ample opportunity to distinguish between the genuine supporters and opponents of those decisions. Indicative in this respect is the handling of the text of the Helsinki declaration.

The bourgeois press has been quite vocal in its commentaries, yet one cannot help feeling that many publications would like to reduce the contents of the Final Act to only a few of its provisions.¹ They are especially vociferous concerning cooperation in humanitarian fields, while accusing the socialist countries of an absence of true and free information. Yet it is not at all hard to see who is really concealing the truth about Helsinki and seeks to tendentiously interpret the nature and objectives of the decisions taken there.

The best idea of the document and ability to judge it on its merits can be gained primarily from knowledge of its text. All participants in the conference affixed their signatures to the following words: 'The text of this Final Act will be published in each participating state, which will disseminate it and make it known as widely as possible.'

On August 2, 1975, the day after the conference ended, the Final Act was printed in full, with minor deletions, or recapitulated in

detail, by the biggest papers of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union, for example, the Communist Party's *Pravda* and government *Izvestia* (combined circulation around 20 million) published the document in full; newspapers in the constituent republics carried abridged texts. Moreover, the Final Act was translated into practically all languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. In Czechoslovakia, leading papers *Rude Pravo*, in Czech, and *Pravda*, in Slovak (combined circulation 1.3 million) also printed the Final Act in full, as did *Neues Deutschland* (circulation one million) in the GDR, and *Scinteia* in Rumania (circulation 1.1 million).

The list could be continued. It could also be added that booklets (100,000 in the Soviet Union alone), television and radio broadcasts devoted to the subject provided citizens of the socialist community the broadest opportunities to get to know the contents of the Helsinki document. By fully supporting their governments' efforts to meet commitments collectively undertaken by the conference participants, the socialist press again displayed a profound realization of its duty and lofty sense of responsibility to millions of its readers.

This cannot be said of the major press organs in capitalist countries. In Great Britain, for example, the Final Act was printed neither in *The Times* (circulation 400,000), nor in *The Guardian* (more than 340,000), the *Observer* (800,000), the popular *Daily Express* (3.4 million), nor *Daily Mirror* (more than 4.2 million). In fact, as the London *Financial Times* wrote, 'not a single major paper in Great Britain, or the United States too, for that matter, carried the Final Act either in full or abridged.'²

Nor was the document included in their 'free and independent flow of information' by the major bourgeois papers of France and Italy³: *Le Monde* (circulation 500,000-550,000), *Le Figaro* (more than 500,000), *L'Aurore* (more than 400,000), *Corriere della Sera* (600,000), *Il Messaggero* (224,500). In the FRG, only the Social Democratic weekly *Vorwärts* carried the Final Act in a special supplement circulated in 100,000 copies, and that after a grant from the SDP leadership provided, evidently, in an attempt to save the country's public face.⁴ To this can be added that the circulation of the *Vorwärts* supplement was much smaller than that of such Springer publications as *Bild-Zeitung* (five million) or *Die Welt* (more than 200,000).

Significantly, the French, Italian or West German reader was able to gain the most detailed and comprehensive idea of the Final Act from the Communist *L'Humanité*, *L'Unita* and *Unsere Zeit*.

Those are the facts. They offer vivid illustration of who, and how, is working for the promotion of the Helsinki document, who ignores and who helps carry out the commitment undertaken by the confer-

ence participants. These facts are added evidence of the type of free information the bourgeois 'news industry' practises. By failing to publicize the full text of the Helsinki Conference's final document and taking an active part in the anti-communist clamor, the so-called liberal, independent bourgeois press helps, whether it so desires or not, to create an atmosphere from which only right-wing, reactionary forces can benefit.

M.P.

1. Characteristically, a perusal of such a well-informed paper as the *International Herald Tribune* shows that, in October 1975, out of 34 items commenting on the Helsinki Conference, 28 were devoted to questions of freedom of information, human contacts, etc., and only 6 to disarmament problems.

2. All that appeared in Great Britain was a booklet circulated in 3,500 copies, and in the United States, 7,000 copies.

3. Official government publications carried the Final Act in France and Italy in circulations of 6,000 and 10,000-12,000 respectively.

4. The Final Act was also published on August 15 by the official bulletin of the FRG Press and Information Department.

The right to health

Professor *Jaroslav Prokopec*, Minister of Public Health of the Czech Socialist Republic, answers a letter from *Hugo Fazio*, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the journal.

My dear Comrade Minister,

UN and WHO statistics which I recently had a chance to study speak of Czechoslovakia's vast progress in health protection. I have been living in your country for several months now, enjoying the many social benefits won by your working people, and have seen for myself the high standard of your health services providing free medical aid to all — from the most exacting operations to free medicines. My family, especially my children, has had occasion to benefit from the advantages of this system. This is why I am a fervent propagandist of socialist medical services, and regard it as the prototype for my own country.

However, people who disagree with me politically, and occasionally those who hold the same views as I, ask me questions I cannot answer because the experience I have gained since I arrived in Czechoslovakia is inadequate. I am writing to you, therefore, hoping that you will help me, as well as many others through our journal, to answer those questions. It is well, for instance, that in your country

the precinct doctor looks after the health of the people of his district. However, some argue that under this system people cannot choose their own doctors. They maintain that this is important, because there is no guarantee that the precinct doctor is a highly competent doctor. The situation, they add, is aggravated by the fact that the class approach to the admission of students to universities, an approach alleged to set greater store by the applicants' working-class or peasant origin and political convictions than by their gifts and general eligibility, does not help bring into the medical profession people dedicated to the medical profession.

My interlocutors also raise other questions, which I am passing on to you because I think it is important to answer them. Free medicines are a fine thing, I am told, but do chemist's shops in Czechoslovakia have all those modern medicines one can obtain at a chemist's in a capitalist country? And do some of the very old Prague hospitals meet modern standards? Again, does not a patient's health suffer from having often to wait very long before he is received by a specialist? In short, they wonder whether free medical aid and its accessibility is up to standard.

Some of my doctor friends say that for all the progress made in the social sphere, Czechoslovak medicine is lagging behind in a number of fields requiring the use of technical facilities and equipment widely used in many capitalist countries. They also consider that the rigid hierarchical system in medicine limits the opportunities of young doctors. Some ask me how the Czechoslovak system reconciles centralized planning, rigid appropriations for curative institutions or various compulsory regulations with the doctor's duty to treat his patients according to their needs, or the principle of selecting leading personnel according to political attitude with the need of competent management of the health services. To many these things seem incompatible.

In my country as in many others, there are advocates of socialist medicine. There are also fanatical supporters of the systems existing in the United States, Britain or Federal Germany, and some of them are politically progressive doctors or members of other professions. I feel, therefore, that a frank discussion of those aspects of medical care in the CSSR that invite questions, of the trends and prospects of its evolution, would be very helpful to those who regard socialism as their future and are fighting for it.

Yours respectfully,
Hugo Fazio

Dear Comrade Fazio,

Thank you for your frank letter. I also wish to thank *World Marxist Review* for offering to publish my reply. I agree that a discussion of

the organization of medical aid in Czechoslovakia will be helpful to all who want an objective picture of socialist health services.

It is hard for me to describe all the measures adopted by the Communist Party and socialist state to protect public health. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army in 1945 we virtually began from scratch, having nothing but a sad legacy of difficult medical problems that had piled up during the nazi occupation. Public health deteriorated greatly under the nazis: the death rate went up by almost one-third. One of the main causes was the reappearance of infectious diseases and tuberculosis. Many medical institutions were destroyed, the number of hospital beds, already inadequate, dwindled still more and medical equipment was lacking. Czech higher schools had stayed closed for almost six years. And as several hundred doctors had died in fascist prison camps, there were fewer doctors than before the war. In some regions the ratio was one doctor to every 10,000 inhabitants. There was no medical policy and no system of medical service.

In those trying conditions, the new state of people's democracy, on the Communists' initiative, set the formidable task of providing free medical aid meeting current standards to all citizens. That truly revolutionary principle of health service was laid down in the Constitution, which states that 'everyone shall have the right to health protection. All citizens shall be entitled to medical treatment and financial maintenance in old age, as well as in case of disablement and lack of a livelihood. Women shall have the right to special maintenance in pregnancy and maternity, and children and the youth to guaranteed physical and spiritual development.' By applying and carrying forward this principle as we built socialism, we set up entirely new health services.

In present-day Czechoslovakia there is virtually no distinction between town and countryside as to medical aid or prevention. We have raised the average standard of medical aid to a level at which surgeons of district hospitals are as competent as those working in central hospitals (except for cases requiring sophisticated equipment and narrow specialization).

The main component of our public health system is the medical precinct, in which aid is provided by the precinct therapists, precinct pediatricist, precinct gynecologist, precinct dentist, trained nurses of the corresponding specialties and sick-nurses whose duty is to care for the aged and for chronic cases. Besides, we have medical units in factories, various organizations and higher educational institutions.

No precinct doctor who diagnoses and treats a patient is left to his own devices. He is helped by branch and specialized institutions whose unifying center is the hospital-out-patient clinic complex. This

complex has doctors of all the main specialties as well as the requisite equipment and laboratories and can both diagnose patients competently and provide out-patient treatment.¹

For us democratic medical services means more than free and accessible treatment. It also means bringing the population into the management and advancement of the health services. Our medical institutions are under the jurisdiction of local government bodies known as district and regional national committees. The Ministries of Public Health of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics direct all work involving medical treatment and prevention, set standards for it and spell them out in methodological instructions and recommendations.

You quote in your letter opponents who criticize the system of precinct doctors, alleged to make it impossible for people to choose their own doctors. We hold that the modern medical structure limits the choice of doctors. I believe you will agree that a doctor's popularity in this country or anywhere else is far from being invariably due to his professional competence. It depends rather on his ability to communicate with his patients. I admit that we are not always satisfied with our doctors in this respect. We try to improve their knowledge of psychology. We make exacting demands of doctors as individuals and stress the importance of both professional training and public service. You will admit, however, that the standard of medical aid depends primarily on the specialist's professional knowledge and skill, and not merely on his popularity. Nevertheless, any citizen who is dissatisfied with his precinct doctor or with the specialist treating him in the district out-patient clinic can ask for another doctor. This choice is impossible only in particularly serious cases. It is not limited administratively, but by the patient's condition and the need of aid from a definite, highly qualified specialist. In setting up our health services, we strove to ensure that every person received competent aid in case of need. And we have achieved this.

And now allow me to ask a question in my turn (it may be handy in an argument). Is it more humane to grant a dilettante patient the right to choose a medical specialist according to his own notions of the nature of his illness and the treatment to be applied, or to provide conditions in which the very system of health care guarantees patients competent and comprehensive aid and free treatment even if it is costly?² I must note that in our country a patient is paid sick benefits almost equalling his average earnings throughout the period of his illness and convalescence. Strictly speaking, the question does not arise in Czechoslovakia. Medical statistics, too, indicate that only an occasional patient exercises his right to choose his precinct doctor or the doctor he wants to treat him at an out-patient clinic.

You write that your opponents question our approach toward university enrollment. Certainly, we strive to avoid any repetition of the state of affairs that prevailed in the bourgeois republic, when there was only a tiny fraction of medical students from worker or farmer families. But this does not mean a simplified, vulgarized approach that fails to take into account the level of knowledge, inclinations and abilities of prospective students. School marks and performance at entrance examinations are basic requirements, while talent and vocation are additionally tested throughout the study course.³ In the course of five or six years of studies,⁴ which demand a degree of self-sacrifice, casual students usually drop out.

The question of a doctor's training is closely connected with that of the opportunities and prospects opened to new doctors, which you mention in your letter. Yes, initially graduates of our medical schools are to a certain extent restricted: they cannot work independently in a medical precinct, polyclinic or hospital. They must first complete an obligatory three-year probationary course, after which they are certified for a specialist's diploma, first level. Only the possessor of such a diploma is entitled to independent practice. Moreover, a therapist, for example, employed as a precinct physician, must also qualify as a surgeon, and vice versa. Thus, *certain restrictions in opportunities* for independent work are inseparable from *guaranteed opportunities* to acquire the necessary knowledge and experience. This may go against the grain of some young doctors, but it is in the best interests of their patients.

A young holder of a first-level diploma aspiring to a senior position will also encounter 'restrictions' and be required to expand his general theoretical and practical knowledge, or to specialize more deeply (which takes several years), pass qualification examinations, and obtain a second-level diploma. That is the basis on which the 'hierarchy' you sometimes hear of develops. But you will agree, I think, that senior positions in medical establishments must be held by experts in their own fields with extensive knowledge of related spheres of medicine.

Let me add that all doctors are obliged every three years to attend various refresher courses (they are free, with students retaining their full salary). The socialist state has thus assumed responsibility for the professional skills of doctors and created conditions enabling them to keep abreast of new developments throughout their careers.⁵

Now, concerning the state of hospitals in Prague. It is true that many, but certainly not most, are housed in old buildings. That is because we have only recently been able to devote more attention to Prague. When we began setting up our public health system we had one of two options: either we could spend a substantial proportion of

the funds at our disposal to build new hospitals in the capital, or we could modernize Prague's hospitals and build medical establishments in the provinces that had lacked them before. We chose the second option, for otherwise the principle of universally accessible health services would have remained no more than a declaration of good intentions.

Your friends also correctly note that some medical establishments are inadequately equipped. Doubtlessly, a physician's knowledge and qualifications must be supplemented by up-to-date diagnostic and treatment accessories and hospital equipment. Although much has been done in this field, we are far from satisfied and are doing all we can to improve the situation. In 1975, regional and district appropriations for medical equipment were almost 50 per cent higher than in 1970.

By increasing the number of hospitals and doctors,⁶ improving technical equipment, facilities, premises and transport, and perfecting organization, we are raising the quality of medical service. Waiting time in reception rooms is also decreasing. You might like to know that it is not so great as some of your opponents assert. During an inspection conducted in 1975, we established that more than half first-time patients calling on polyclinic specialists are received at once. Some 20 per cent of specialist physicians have appointment lists, but waiting time is never more than two weeks. I say this not to justify existing shortcomings. We have our achievements, but we also have problems, we are aware of them, and we don't pretend that everything is absolutely fine and perfect.

Your next question is about the availability of modern drugs in our pharmacies. Here are some figures. Czechoslovakia's pharmaceutical industry produces 920 medical preparations (many of them are intended not only for home consumption, but are exported to socialist and capitalist countries). In addition, we import more than 420 types of drugs from socialist and capitalist countries for general use, and another 700 types specially prescribed for individuals by their physicians.

We are aware that many more types of drugs are produced worldwide, but quantity in this sphere is not necessarily an indication of greater advance: it may also be a consequence of competition between pharmaceutical firms.⁷ Our experience indicates that the range of medicines at our disposal meets both the real requirements and the legal obligation of our medical services to assure all citizens adequate free treatment. We also guarantee that the patient gets only high-quality medicines: the Ministry of Public Health permits the use of a drug only after the most thorough tests. Our citizens know that a physician can, and is in duty bound, to prescribe whatever medicine

is needed, regardless of how much it costs, and that the state, in turn, will obtain and pay for it, even though it be for specific treatment on an individual basis.⁸ Besides we prohibit trade in drugs that may be harmful if used incorrectly, a danger we wish to spare our citizens.

And one more problem: the strict budgets of medical establishments and a doctor's obligation to be guided solely by the patient's needs. Today all medical establishments, all over the world, have their budgets. But in our country additional funds are always available if they are really necessary. There is not one case on record in the history of the socialist health services of a doctor or medical establishment turning back a patient because the budget had run out.

How do we combine the Party principle of selecting senior personnel with competent management? Far from precluding the most stringent demands on the professional skills of senior medical staff, the Party approach, as I have mentioned before, presumes them. I can add that all we have done in the past 30 years would have been impossible without competent leadership and the devotion and personal concern of thousands of workers.

In conclusion you refer to the supporters of various health systems, the socialist as well as those existing in the United States, Great Britain and the FRG. Let us examine them. In the United States we see non-comprehensive, individually orientated medicine based on private practice, in which the profit motive is, if not a *raison d'être*, at least an essential element. In such conditions neither extensive charity nor state interference can solve the problems of universal public health. The Social-Democratic model practised, notably in Great Britain, Sweden and Austria is better, but it too is not all-embracing and far from perfect. On the one hand, it relies on hospital insurance that divides citizens according to social status. On the other, it is forced, like any business enterprise, to reckon with return on investment, which inevitably produces a 'health business.'

The system of state health service practised in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries is not commercially motivated. Its 'efficiency index' is the health of each person and the population as a whole. The socialist system is the only one in the world capable not only of proclaiming, but assuring in practice the health protection of all its citizens. In socialist conditions health is no longer the private concern of the individual; it is of prime significance for the cultural, economic and social development of the society as a whole; concern for the maintenance and improvement of the health of each citizen and the whole people is a prerequisite for every person to live his one and only life well, to develop his abilities, and realize his creative potential.

Under socialism the right to state-guaranteed health protection has

become, along with the right to work, old-age security, free education and professional training, a prime social value. We have put into effect the principles of medical humanism which had been an unattainable ideal to many generations.

I thank you once again, Comrade Fazio, for your sincere, frank letter, and I assure you that I am always prepared to answer any questions and do what I can to help you and other comrades in their great and noble struggle.

Sincerely,
Jaroslav Prokopec

1. There are 254 hospital-out-patient clinic complexes of three types, with roughly 130,000 hospital beds. Complexes of the first type are intended for a population of up to 50,000 and have, in addition to an out-patient clinic, at least four main hospital departments — therapeutical, surgical, pediatric, gynecology and obstetrics. Complexes of the second type serve from 150,000 to 200,000 people and have 12 specialized hospital departments and an out-patient clinic with a greater number of specialists. Complexes of the third type, which serve a million people or more, include a regional hospital which has all the main departments and highly specialized ones — cancer, occupational diseases, tissue treatment and others. This network is supplemented by 140 specialized curative and 122 health resort establishments, 73 infants' and children's homes and 134 district and regional hygiene and epidemiology stations. We have one doctor for every 375 citizens.

2. Such frequent operations as appendectomy, herniorrhaphy, or childbirth cost from 2,500 to 5,000 crowns (average monthly wages in Czechoslovakia in 1973 were 2,360 crowns). More difficult operations, such as on the stomach, gall bladder or kidneys, cost 5,000 to 14,000 crowns. Operations on the heart involving the use of heart-and-lung machines, may cost as much as 30,000 to 40,000 crowns.

3. The following figures illustrate the social composition of the student body at Charles University's five medical departments. In the 1972/1973 academic year, first-year students included 30.19 per cent from worker families; the following year there were 31.31 per cent, and in 1974/1975, 34.85 per cent. The respective percentages for students from farmer families were 2.37, 2.76, and 2.92 (the comparatively low figures reflect the decreasing numbers of farmers characteristic of all economically developed countries).

4. Education is, of course, free. Every graduate is guaranteed a job in his or her field; the number of doctors is growing and we want it to continue to increase.

5. The efficacy of this system is illustrated by the following fact: in 1972, we launched a drive against ischemic heart ailments and myocardial infarction. The educational system made it possible, within two years, to familiarize more than 8,000 precinct and factory doctors, therapeutists, resort physicians and others in the Czech Socialist Republic with the newest methods of preventing, diagnosing, treating, and convalescence caring for, of the main cardio-vascular diseases.

6. In 1948 Czechoslovakia had 89.2 hospital beds per 10,000 of population; in 1975 there were more than 122. In 1966 there were 17.3 doctors per 10,000; in 1975 there were 26.66.

7. In Sweden, according to press reports, a doctor has some 1,600 medicines at his disposal, and in France he has 11,000, but does that mean that the Swedish health service is worse than the French?

8. Czechoslovakia spent 70 crowns per person on medicines in 1966, 152 in 1973, and 177.2 in 1975.

Difficult birth of a republic

Amath Dansoko

Member of political bureau,
African Party of Independence
of Senegal

Essop Pahad

South African publicist

The progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces of all continents warmly welcomed the birth, on November 11, 1975, of the People's Republic of Angola bringing to an end nearly 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule. Proclaimed by the Chairman of the MPLA, Agostinho Neto, the Republic's first President, it was recognized by about 30 states before the end of November. Among these are members of the socialist community, many revolutionary-democratic governments, and Nigeria, Africa's biggest country.

But the achievements of the Angolan people's national-liberation struggle are imperilled by external and internal reaction. From its very first days the Republic found itself in a difficult position, compelled to wage an armed struggle against foreign interventionist forces and their accomplices. Ranged against the Republic in an 'unholy alliance' is a 'curious trio,' in the words of the *International Herald Tribune* (Nov. 24), the USA, the South African racists and the Maoist leadership of China acting through Mobutu in Zaire, the Angolan puppets led by Holden Roberto of the so-called National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and Jonas Savimbi of the so-called National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA).

In the war against the Angolan people led by the MPLA the fascist regime of Salazar and Caetano was supported by its NATO allies. This aggressive bloc helped fascist Portugal in an attempt to maintain the domination of the imperialist monopolies over Angola's colossal natural wealth. At the same time, the imperialists encouraged divisive, pseudo-patriotic tribalist organizations such as FNLA and UNITA, whose chief assignment was to drive a knife into the back of the genuine revolutionary forces united in the MPLA.

These imperialist plans failed. The collapse of the fascist regime in

Portugal, accelerated by the liberation struggle in the African colonies, predetermined the decolonization of Angola. Independent Angola has come into being under the leadership of the MPLA which has proclaimed a program of deep-going political, social and economic changes that accord with the aspirations of the people.

It is against these changes that the enemies of the young Republic have launched their intervention. U.S. imperialism fears that the new progressive states, Angola led by the MPLA, and Mozambique led by FRELIMO, will exert a powerful influence on the revolutionary process throughout the continent, change the alignment of forces in Central and Southern Africa and deal a shattering blow to South Africa and Rhodesia, those imperialist bastions of reaction and racism. The racist rulers of these countries are in a panic: with the militant popular resistance movement rising in their own countries, they want Angola to be ruled by a pro-imperialist, neo-colonialist regime.

Of course, the imperialists, racists, Maoists and their African accomplices would very much like to present the events in Angola as fratricidal strife, as a civil war. But the progressive forces of Africa and the world know that the fight in Angola is between the people and their enemies, that what we have is a counter-offensive by imperialism, racism and reaction aimed at the progressive states of Africa, at destroying the bastions of African freedom, splitting the Organization of African Unity. And the Angolan people, led by the MPLA, are in the front line of the battle to repel this counter-offensive.

No, there is no civil war in Angola, there is a struggle between the people and the outright foreign intervention in which all the roles have been precisely assigned. The CIA provides the money, weapons and 'instructors' and helps to recruit mercenaries for the FNLA and UNITA. South Africa, besides providing mercenaries, has sent army units to Angola, and has openly assumed leadership of the armed intervention. That has been officially admitted by Foreign Minister Muller. He pleaded the 'need to defend the frontiers' (apparently of illegally occupied Namibia) 'against communism.'

Peking's role is especially unseemly. By supporting the Roberto and Savimbi thugs, providing financial and military assistance for them, the Maoist leadership, under cover of its 'superpower' demagoguery, viciously slanders the MPLA, the People's Republic of Angola and the countries supporting it, primarily the Soviet Union. The Peking leaders have thus entered into a factual alliance not only with the CIA, but also with the South African racists.

The events in Angola demand effective solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world. The Angolan people must be assured all the conditions needed to consummate the liberation of their country,

safeguard its territorial integrity and advance in peace and independence on the road of social progress.

Chile: the underground movement

Jaime Gazmuri
General Secretary,
Worker-Peasant Party (MAPU)

After nearly two years of underground work in Chile, Comrade Gazmuri, a Popular Unity leader, has temporarily left the country by decision of his Party. In this interview with *WMR* he discusses the position in Chile.

Q. In some capitalist countries the press maintains that there are no signs of active resistance to the dictatorship in Chile. What is your view?

A. That assertion is, at best, based on inadequate knowledge of what is happening in Chile. The press in these countries has devoted much more attention to the junta terror than to the Chilean people's struggle, so that in certain international circles there is probably a one-sided impression of Chilean reality.

Yet the fact is that from the very outset the junta was up against heroic armed resistance by the people of Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepcion and other major centers. Most of the resistance came from the working people, but they were fighting against immense odds, and the resistance was suppressed in a few days. Thousands were killed or jailed, and repressive measures were taken against trade union, peasant, youth and other mass organizations.

The forms of struggle had to be changed, adapted to the new situation of endless repression and decline of the mass movement. The defeat of the Popular Unity at first generated a feeling of despondency, frustration in a section of the population.

A new stage began with the organizational restructuring of our parties, and a year after the coup the democratic anti-fascist movement was spreading and is now steadily gaining strength.

What forms does it take? First, propaganda and agitation. The main

Popular Unity parties now have a mass underground press, with leaflets and newspapers appearing regularly, reaching the factories, working-class districts, universities and secondary schools throughout the country. I feel that this propaganda and agitation is of exceptional importance in raising the political consciousness of the masses and organizing them for struggle.

Our parties attach much importance also to developing and strengthening independent mass organizations, particularly the trade unions. There are many bans and restrictions on economic demands — the military junta permits only cultural and sports activities. The mines, rural areas, schools are honeycombed with police stooges who report the slightest manifestation of dissatisfaction with the regime.

Since the second half of 1974 there has been much more activity by the trade unions and national union federations. Notwithstanding the terror and the multitude of restrictions, the workers are beginning to act more openly. On May Day, for instance, there were more than 500 demonstrations and other actions. The mass struggle is developing around two demands: an end of the dictatorship's economic policy, and trade union freedoms. In mid-1975 the trade unions discussed the labor code drawn up by the fascist junta. It was unanimously rejected by all the unions, even those under Demochristian leadership, and the junta had to shelve it.

Opposition to the dictatorship comes not only from the working people. Anti-fascist actions are multiplying also in universities and secondary schools, where there is effective propaganda among the youth. Intellectuals, members of the liberal professions, are joining the struggle too, and there is more opposition from small businessmen, truck owners and other sections of the middle class resentful of the regime's economic policy. The campaign for human rights, the release of political prisoners, solidarity with the families of patriots languishing in the dreadful junta prisons, and aid to the unemployed is assuming wide scope.

Most of our people detest the military junta. Even many of those who actively opposed the Popular Unity government and objectively contributed to the victory of fascism now see things in a different light: 'That's not what we wanted,' they say. No government in the whole of our history has so quickly and so definitely lost its social support. The depth of the revolutionary process under the Allende government is now matched by the scope of the counter-revolutionary process started by the fascist coup. And it is no mere accident that the junta cannot find in our history a single symbol or personality that might be held up in justification of its policies. The dictatorship is deeply and flagrantly anti-national.

Having reorganized its forces, the Popular Unity is now again at the

head of the resistance movement. The masses, and primarily the working class, show a high degree of political consciousness. The severe defeat of September 1973 has not undermined its revolutionary spirit and revolutionary potential. In fact, it is the only class that has the energy and resolve needed to lead the anti-fascist struggle.

Reorganization of the Popular Unity parties is positive proof of their firm ties with the masses, their ability to conduct the struggle in the most onerous conditions. The terrible ordeals that have fallen to the Popular Unity have not engendered centrifugal tendencies or provoked a split. On the contrary, they have made our bloc still more monolithic.

However, the process of forging unity of all the democratic forces has still to be carried to completion. The organization of an anti-fascist front has been discussed in this journal in an interview with Popular Unity leaders abroad.* I would only emphasize that such a front can be organized if broad sections of the population join the anti-fascist struggle. That is our principal aim. Further, we must present an alternative to the dictatorship. Accordingly, while expanding the mass anti-fascist movement, we must at the same time work for political unity of all the anti-dictatorial forces. And here the problem is that though they now show more vigorous opposition to the military junta, very many democratic-minded Chileans, influenced by the Demochristians, do not want an alliance with the working class. I think that the program adopted at the Berlin Conference of our parties last July will attract the attention of all the democratic forces, of all anti-fascists, and will stimulate broad discussion with a view to working out a final program of struggle. It must envisage a new democracy in Chile, a new state, set guidelines for social, economic and foreign policy, the aim being to rescue the country from the deep crisis into which the junta has plunged it.

*Q. In your book, Learn From the Past to Build the Future** you say that the subject most discussed in Chile today is the activity of the Allende government. How is it assessed?*

A. The three years of the Popular Unity government are an important landmark in 20th century Chilean history. They have left an indelible imprint on the masses, and this notwithstanding all the attempts of fascist propaganda to discredit the Allende government and thereby justify the coup d'état. These three years were a period of deep-going socio-economic transformations with a clear anti-imperialist and democratic orientation. The personality of the late President has for the masses become a symbol of the victories of the

*See *WMR*, October 1975, page 44.

**Reviewed in *WMR*, December 1975, page 124.

popular movement. People speak of Salvador Allende with great warmth and keep his photographs.

We must carefully analyze the work of the popular government in the interests of the working class and the whole people. Without this there can be no moving ahead. We hold that the gains and achievements of the Allende government are the gains of our entire people and any united anti-fascist program must provide for their return to the people. Nationalization of copper, a public sector in the economy, expropriation of monopoly assets, agrarian reform and other changes must be undertaken following the overthrow of the dictatorship.

But we must also bear in mind the mistakes of the Popular Unity. The chief of these, I think, was underestimation of the factor of strength in the revolutionary process. The revolution cannot be successful if it does not dispose of greater strength than the overthrown classes. We overestimated bourgeois democracy and the professional duty of the armed forces and underestimated the importance for the popular movement of a favorable relation of military strength.

With a few rare exceptions, we did not purposefully study the position in the armed forces, their class composition and ideological indoctrination. It is probably true to say that, on the question of the state and its armed forces, we were swayed by bourgeois propaganda.

We should draw a lesson from this. The anti-fascist struggle cannot be successful if we do not possess an adequate military force. The monopoly bourgeoisie and imperialism will never give up power voluntarily and will always use the army to defend their class interests.

We made another mistake — we paid too little attention to the problem of alliances and did not show the necessary firmness and flexibility toward various sections of the population. In 1970-73, the popular movement and the working class lost many of their allies among the intellectuals, the liberal professions, small proprietors, the middle bourgeoisie. The working class found itself in relative isolation. The coup was possible not only because the alignment of military forces was to the disadvantage of the Popular Unity, but also because the relation of forces in society as a whole was to our disadvantage too.

We underestimated the decisive importance of ideological work as part of the political struggle, the need to strengthen our influence among the masses, raise their level of consciousness, explain the working-class program to those strata which we could win over to our side, expose anti-communist campaigns and disseminate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We voluntarily abandoned the ideological battlefield to the enemy on the excuse that the reactionaries possessed incomparably greater material facilities in this field.

These and other problems require wide discussion. They are important not only for the popular movement but also for all forces ranged against fascism. A profound analysis of our achievements and mistakes will help to bring broad democratic circles into the anti-fascist front.

Q. You have referred to force as a decisive factor of revolution. Are you working inside the army?

A. There is a widely-held view that the putschists had the support of the vast majority of servicemen. That is very relative. Actually wide circles of officers and men were opposed to the coup. But they had no leadership and, besides, they were the first target of repression. In many units, before they were taken out of the barracks at dawn on September 11, the putschists took a number of 'prophylactical' measures. We know, for instance, of the wholesale execution of carabinieri. The same happened in many army and air force units. What I want to say is that on the day of the coup there were many supporters of the constitutional government among servicemen.

Positive changes are now taking place in the army. There is mounting discontent with the way the junta is running the country and with its dictatorial policies and methods. Many servicemen realize that the Pinochet government is politically isolated, has plunged the country into a state of economic chaos, and that the junta is condemned by world public opinion.

The realization that they are serving a government which has no future has engendered a lack of confidence among army men. The talk in officer families is that the present government will not last long and that change is inevitable. Servicemen are also influenced by the universal condemnation of the army for having assumed gendarmerie functions. All this presents opportunities for ideologically influencing members of the armed forces, especially junior officers and privates. Of course, this is extremely difficult, and not only because of the terrible risks involved, but also because of the prevailing anti-communist ideology in the armed forces. But there is growing discontent and this makes it possible to conduct more political propaganda and ideological work. The distinctive feature of this work is that we do not regard everyone in uniform an enemy — our enemy is only the fascist clique that has usurped power. There is room in the anti-fascist struggle for all honest, democratically-minded army men, for everyone dissatisfied with the regime.

Q. In the collective interview mentioned above, the Popular Unity party leaders spoke of bringing the Christian Democratic Party into the anti-fascist front now being built. What is the attitude of the Christian masses toward the military junta?

A. The Christian masses differ widely in class composition and,

consequently, in political views and ideological attitudes. But on the whole they reject the dictatorship, its ruinous economic policy and fascist ideology. Fascism is abhorrent to Christians. They reject the junta's policy on education and culture. This tells on the attitude of Catholic leaders who have come out against the repressions and all the man-hating policies and activities of the junta. I can say that only three or four out of the 30 Catholic bishops support the dictatorship. The Church founded a cooperation-for-peace committee which has campaigned in defense of political prisoners and assistance to their families.

This leads me to believe that our alliance with the Christian masses, based on common political and programmatic aims, will be a long-lasting one. The participation of the Christian masses in the anti-fascist struggle, and after the overthrow of fascism in the building of socialism can prove a major factor. Christian thought, which rejects the fascist ideology, is, I think, acquiring a progressive character in Chile and this makes possible a fruitful dialogue between Christians and Marxists.

Q. What has been the response in Chile to international solidarity with its people's struggle?

A. A very wide response. Solidarity with the Chilean people was expressed in the very first days of the coup, especially by the socialist countries which displayed fraternal sympathy with our people's struggle and suffering. I find it hard to convey the feeling of gratitude that moved our democrats and patriots when, on the day after the coup, they heard over the radio a message full of confidence in their future victory. They knew that the Chilean people were not alone. That came from Moscow radio. The solidarity messages helped us overcome defeatist moods.

Solidarity with the fighting Chilean people has come from wide circles of the world public — from political organizations, governments, the Church, intellectuals, the working class. This is of immense importance for Chileans. It is evidence that the junta is isolated, is incompatible with the march of history. International solidarity also helps cultivate in our people a feeling of internationalism: they see that all the forces standing for progress, peace and socialism are interested in the success of their anti-fascist struggle.

In more direct terms, the broad campaign of solidarity with comrades Luis Corvalan, Clodomiro Almeyda, leaders of the Radical Party and other political prisoners has saved the lives of many patriots and has forced the dictatorship to release a number of comrades who played a prominent part in the popular movement. I do not for a moment doubt that were it not for this solidarity campaign many leaders of the left parties would have been murdered by the junta.

Q. How do the Chilean people learn of the international solidarity campaign?

A. Chiefly from radio Moscow, Berlin and Havana. These broadcasts are so effective and so widely popular that even the fascist press finds itself compelled to enter into polemics with them. And not infrequently the press comes out with an attack on the solidarity campaign and thereby unwittingly becomes itself a source of information about what is happening in the outside world. Last but not least, there is our expanding underground press. Every issue of the newspapers put out by the Popular Unity parties carries detailed reports of the international solidarity campaign, of the numerous initiatives by the democratic forces and their demands to put an end to the fascist tyranny in Chile.

Q. Could you tell us something — within the framework of the possible — of your personal experience in underground work?

A. All of us working underground have had to tackle new problems. Of course, there was repression against popular movement militants in the past too, but the present terror is totally unprecedented. But experience has shown that all difficulties are surmountable, that not only can one hide from the repressions because of our contacts with the masses, but also begin political work. The Popular Unity parties from the very outset decided to keep their leadership in Chile. That was a correct decision. Today our parties are active and taking initiatives on various issues. I could give you many details of how we work with the masses, the working class, but as you have remarked, that would go 'beyond the framework of the possible.' Our parties remain the vanguard of the people, the leaders of its struggle. Their mutual trust has never been closer. That is the earnest of our future successes.

Fascist escalation continuing in Uruguay

Sergio Sierra
CPU representative
on *WMR*

The news from Uruguay is alarming. The Bordaberry dictatorship, established through a coup on Jun 27, 1973, has started a new wave of brutal repression. Hundreds of patriots were rounded up during a vast

terrorist operation of the Army Intelligence Service and the First Division under General Cristi. Their whereabouts are unknown. This information comes from the wives and relatives of the arrested, who have applied to the International Red Cross, the UN Human Rights Commission and various embassies for help, according to the Argentine newspaper *Razon*.

In this situation, the past masters of torture (a common occurrence under the dictatorship) feel no restraint whatever. This naturally arouses much anxiety for the health and the very lives of the detainees. The repression extends to the most diverse political trends and population groups, labor leaders, academics, students, cultural personalities, journalists, former MPs. Communists are a special target. Since October 1974, when Jaime Perez, Secretary of the CC CPU, was arrested, the regime has also seized Jose Luis Massera, Vladimir Turiansky and Alberto Altesor, men prominent in the Party and the working-class movement, and numerous rank-and-file Communists. Nothing is known about their whereabouts.

In a statement released on November 11, 1975, the Communist Party described the reactionary offensive as a 'new, still more dangerous step toward all-out fascism' and warned against still more sinister plans by the regime. It uses the techniques of psychological warfare devised by U.S. imperialism and spends millions of pesos stolen from the people on anti-communist campaigns and slanderous attacks, in particular against Rodney Arismendi.

The CPU and the opposition, the statement notes, suffer great losses in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, for the restoration of the people's freedoms. The current wave of repression is the regime's reaction to the demand of large segments of the population for an end to torture and terror. Protests have come from the church, which has circulated the text of a pastoral letter condemning the dictatorship's use of force.

Stepping up repression is all that Bordaberry and the oligarchy behind him, those primarily responsible for the present social and economic troubles of the republic, can do. The terror campaign is in line with the directives which General Vadora, commander-in-chief of the Uruguayan armed forces, tried to impose on the 11th conference of American armies (October 1975) with support from Chile and Brazil and direct pressure from the Pentagon. The attempt to extend Pinochet's 'experience' to the whole continent, turn armies into pretorian guards and use them against détente, in a 'life-and-death struggle against Marxism-Leninism,' as General Vadora put it, failed ignominiously — it was defeated by the army leaders of other countries. After this miscarriage repression was intensified in Chile, Brazil and Uruguay. The threat of a coup in Argentina, where terrorist

activities are on the rise* as elsewhere, increased more than ever. Reaction tries through terror to prevent joint action by the growing patriotic and anti-fascist forces of Latin America. In Uruguay it would like to leave the opposition leaderless so as to block unity against the dictatorship, keep Bordaberry in power and perpetuate his regime.

Reports from Uruguay speak of the pressing need for greater international solidarity with the country's patriots. The importance of solidarity was stressed by L.I. Brezhnev and Rodney Arismendi at their meeting on November 6, 1975. Once again, the General Secretary of the CPSU assured the First Secretary of the CPU of the unqualified solidarity of Lenin's great Party with the courageous people, working class and Communist Party of Uruguay. Uruguay's Communists deeply appreciate the position of the CPSU, which gives them fresh energy and stimulates the widespread international campaign to end terror and torture in Uruguay, win legal guarantees for political prisoners, impose respect for human rights and bring about the restoration of freedom in the country.

The lives of some of the nation's finest sons are in jeopardy. Whether they will be saved depends largely on the scale of international solidarity.

*Fascist gangs, especially the AAA (Anti-Communist Alliance of Argentina), are on the rampage in the country. They kidnap and kill politicians and other public figures, above all labor leaders and Communists. While this issue of the journal was in preparation it became known that a group of armed men had looted and burned the home of Jorge Andres Kohen, Communist leader of student youth, the son of Alberto Kohen, CPA representative on the journal, alternate member of the CC CPA. The Security Service searched the premises of the lawyer's office which Alberto Kohen headed before his arrival in Prague. — *Ed.*



**'She was hated
and feared ...'**

ON ANGELA DAVIS' 'AUTOBIOGRAPHY' AND THE POLEMICS AROUND IT

It is now more than five years since Angela Davis was arrested on October 13, 1970, on charges carrying penalties of a mandatory death sentence in the gas chamber or life imprisonment, and more than three-and-one-half years since her acquittal of those charges on June 4, 1972. Yet her name remains a household word in many countries of the world, and time has not diminished the people's interest in her life and work.

For one thing, she is still in 'the public eye.' As a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USA and as an officer of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, she is continuing the work she was doing when arrested. This is the work of defending the victims of racist and political repression — a never-ending, ever-growing task in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalist rule in the USA. She is engaged continuously in speaking, lecturing, writing and organizing in all regions of the country.

Moreover, her *Autobiography** has attracted wide attention in the United States and throughout the world. It is a straightforward account of her prison and trial experiences, of the events and circumstances that shaped her childhood and youth, her interests and intellectual development, her discovery of socialism and decision to join the Communist Party.

However, certain book critics of the capitalist media have challenged both her account of the determining factors of her life and her political assessment of their importance. In a review of the reception given the autobiography by U.S. capitalist media reviewers, Louise Patterson, herself a veteran in the struggle against racist and political repression, summarizes the content of the reviews she accumulated on her desk 'from East to West, North to South, and all points in

*Random House, New York, 1974; London, Hutchinson, 1975, 400 pp.

between.' She writes (*Political Affairs*, May 1975): '... certain threads run through most of them. Anti-communism, racism and male chauvinism are present, of course, a disbelief that the autobiography reveals the real Angela Davis because it does not deal with what they deem her "private life" ...' She has omitted, they lament, certain intimate personal details on which they set so high a store, and without which they feel the account of her life is incomplete. This kind of comment, of course, speaks more about the present-day genre of criticism in capitalist countries than about the autobiography's content.

Louise Patterson quotes from several reviews, however, which give limited positive judgments of the autobiography. Of the latter group of critics, Elinor Lenger in *The New York Times Book Review* of Oct. 27, 1974, seems to have read the autobiography with an above-the-average understanding of its content. She finds credible the account by Angela Davis of her discovery of socialism in her history classes in New York, and the impact on her spirit and intellectual development of the *Communist Manifesto*, an experience she describes as opening up before her eyes 'a whole new world.' 'Like an expert surgeon, this document cut away cataracts from my eyes,' Angela Davis writes. 'What had seemed a personal hatred of me, an inexplicable refusal of Southern whites to confront their own emotions, and a stubborn unwillingness of Blacks to acquiesce became the inevitable consequences of a ruthless system which kept alive and well by encouraging spite, competition, and oppression by one group of another. Profit was the word: the cold and constant motive for the behavior, the contempt and the despair I had seen.'

It is to the credit of *The New York Times Book Review* critic that she singled out for quotation this excerpt from the autobiography. For in this statement Angela Davis describes not only the liberating and inspirational influence of Marxism on herself; she also makes clear its potential for enabling others to clear a path through the debris of racist and retrograde ideas which are a prominent feature of the chronic cultural underconsumption of the U.S. masses, and are many times more virulent in the enforced isolation and cultural deprivation of the Black ghettos.

Yet the critic falters in her understanding when she says the autobiography's concern with the prison movement 'is sometimes the voice of Every Prisoner, a little familiar.' As a deeply compassionate, talented person of exceptional courage, Angela Davis would naturally express sympathy with 'Every Prisoner' of whatever skin-color in her indictment of the conditions in U.S. jails and prisons. But her work on behalf of prisoners and her sharpest condemnation of the U.S. penal system are directed against its special and discriminatory treatment of

prisoners of African, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Native American Indian and Asian descent. For in this sphere of U.S. society the social inequality and the racist and national oppression inherent in the system of class exploitation stand out in grim and horrifying reality.

For instance, although U.S. citizens of African origin constitute no more than 11 per cent of the total U.S. population, in the 43 years from 1930 to 1973 they comprised 2,066 of the 3,859 prisoners executed, or 53.5 per cent (*Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1974*, table 286, p. 167). In the summer of 1972, of the 141,600 persons in U.S. jails, 58,900 were Black, or 41.6 per cent, and of these 26,800, or more than 45 per cent, had pre-arrest annual incomes of less than \$2,000, that is, incomes below the poverty level (*Ibid*, table 280, p. 163).

These official statistics, of course, do not and cannot tell the whole story. They do not include the 'executions,' that is, the cold-blooded murders of hundreds of Blacks by police every year throughout the USA, or the cruel and degrading treatment and punishments inflicted on arrested, jailed and imprisoned persons who are not white. These also are the facts of life which Angela Davis experienced from childhood, and which she relates in some detail.

Capitalist media critics of African origin on the whole show more discernment in judging the autobiography. But exceptions among them show class affinity is stronger than affinities of skin-color and shared childhood experience.

A number of capitalist media critics are blatantly hostile, making wide use of the 'reverse racism' ploy, whereby persons of the overwhelmingly white majority and ruling class claim they are the victims of racist discrimination by persons who are not white. Louise Patterson quotes the *New Yorker* magazine (Nov. 11, 1974), notorious for its snob appeal, which calls the autobiography 'a grim book and more hostile perhaps than its author realizes, for she reveals a spirit more rebellious, and one might say more racist, than her intellect admits.' Here it is her 'rebelliousness' the critic finds objectionable, a view shared by those who sought her death.

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, of *The New York Times* daily book page, also disapproves of Angela Davis's 'off-the-cuff political judgments,' specifying her comments about the reception accorded her in the German Democratic Republic and about the popular support and defense of the revolutionary gains by the Cuban people. What rankles most deeply here is her estimate of the factors which won her freedom. The critic reveals this by defending the U.S. jury system. He declares that 'it was finally the men and women of the jury, conforming to specific rules of justice, who found her not guilty as charged.'

Surely, in view of the statistics of palpable discriminatory treatment

of Black defendants cited above, and in view of Angela Davis' personal experiences with U.S. justice in Alabama, New York, California and elsewhere, to expect her to have illusions in a U.S. jury's freedom from racist bias is to insult her intelligence. As her autobiography explains, she and her lawyers considered the jury finally selected was the best they could get, but they were unsure of the outcome until the verdict was announced.

Of the factors that won her freedom, Angela Davis gives first place to the mass movement, both in the USA and in the world. Her statements of this are clear, unequivocal and permeate the entire autobiography. Again and again she speaks of the movement which, beginning with the comrades of her Communist Party branch and her relatives and close friends, swiftly involved the entire leadership and membership of the CPUSA, then spread throughout non-communist U.S. circles and came to embrace tens of millions on every continent. The national and international scope and all-class character of the movement for her freedom, the speed with which it developed and the militancy of its activities were phenomenal.

If the capitalist media critics were able to comprehend the significance of this fact, they did not admit it. That would have required that it be explained, and an explanation would have said more about conditions in the United States and the world than most capitalist media owners wish to tell their readers. It would have shown that her personal and social characteristics — a young Black woman Communist intellectual, actively engaged in defending persons unjustly imprisoned — embodied the aspirations and struggles of the overwhelming majority of humankind. As Jack Woddis wrote in the *Morning Star* of May 3, 1975: 'Angela Davis was hated and feared by the big U.S. monopolies on more than one score. She was a Black militant, young, a woman — and a Communist. From the point of view of America's rulers there could hardly be anything worse.'

Her arrest and imprisonment occurred at a moment when U.S. imperialism, increasingly challenged at home and abroad, had unleashed an offensive against the U.S. masses and stepped up its aggressive activities against other peoples. This was the period of the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, of mass arrests of peace activists unprecedented in U.S. history, of the wage freeze and violent reprisals against student demonstrations, of intensified government racist practices and the police killings of Black militants. The peoples saw the singling out of Angela Davis for execution as an attempt to terrorize and quell the upsurge against U.S. imperialism — as an act of political terrorism. Her defiance of this attempt, and her determination and that of the CPUSA to win her freedom, became a focal point of the peoples' resistance. She became a universal symbol of the struggle

against U.S. imperialism. This multi-faceted personal and social character of Angela Davis enabled broad masses of the people in the USA and in the world to identify with and support her struggle.

Whether capitalist media critics want it or not, Angela Davis' book and the polemics around it revive the interest of the public in problems posed during her arrest and trial, problems which still call for discussion and action. Her autobiography is additional evidence of the power of the masses to counter the repressive policies of even the most powerful capitalist state. It brings again into focus the importance of the struggle against racism. It should give fresh inspiration and determination to the mass movements now working to save the lives and liberties of imprisoned patriots in the torture-chambers of South Africa, Brazil, Chile, Spain and Paraguay.

John Pittman

The Moynihan-Kissinger Doctrine and the "Third World"

A new pamphlet by Henry Winston.

Significance of the appointment of the racist Daniel P. Moynihan as U.S. Ambassador to the UN as part of U.S. imperialism's intensified attack on socialist and "third world" countries, together with revival of nuclear first-strike policy. Exposes blatant racism of Moynihan and other bourgeois sociologists, Maoism's increasingly open support to and collaboration with imperialism, parallels between Moynihanism and Maoism and how they serve the same reactionary interests.

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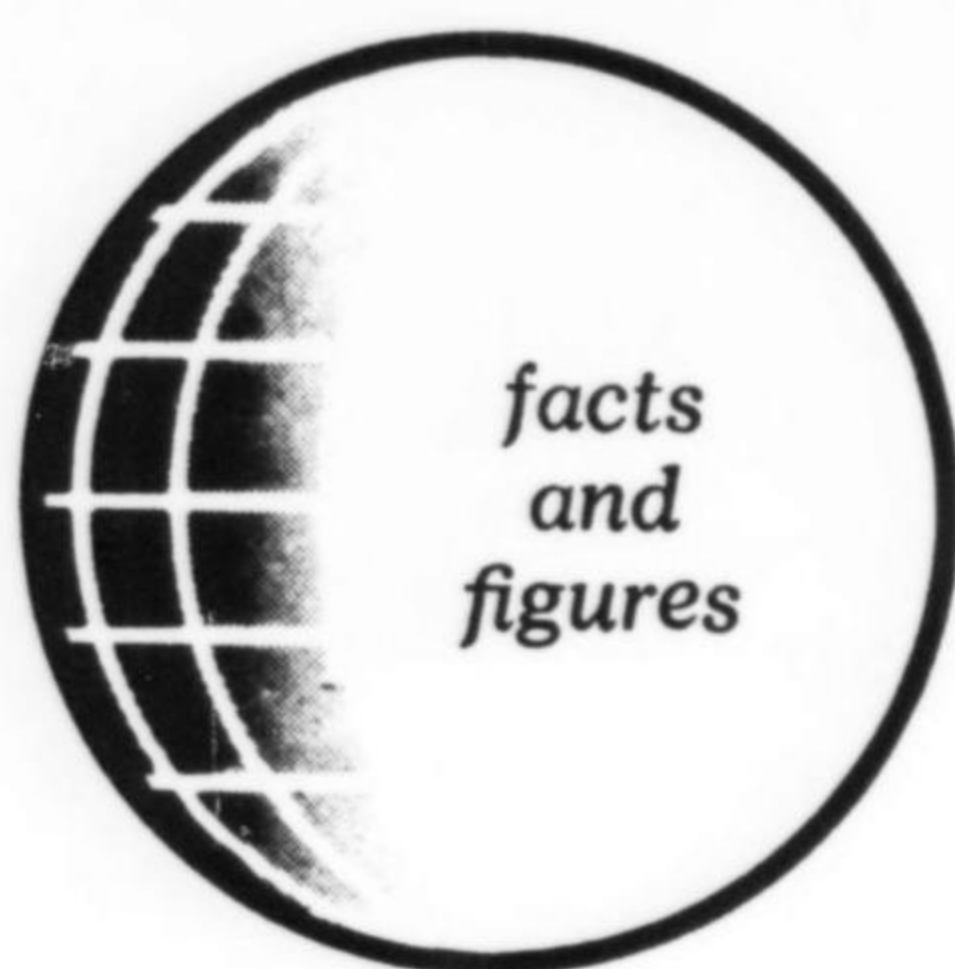
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The crisis and the strike movement

The class struggles of the working people of capitalist countries in the past two years have been against the background of the deepest and most protracted economic crisis of the postwar period. The crisis has aggravated the chronic maladies of the capitalist system — unemployment, the energy and food crisis, currency and foreign trade upheavals, inflation, growing prices. The impact of these factors on the struggle of the working class varies from country to country. However, available data warrant the general conclusion that unlike the past, when economic crises led to much greater unemployment and cut the number of strikes, the current crisis has by no means eased the strike movement or, for that matter, other mass struggles of the working people.*

The facts point, first of all, to steadily growing action by wage workers, including strikes. Following are data on the number of strikers, nationwide 'action days' and other economic and political actions by the people in the past 15 years (see Table 1).

Over the past five years, which include two crisis years, an estimated 314 million people have joined in mass actions in capitalist countries, against 273 million in the previous five years. The working people's struggles, far from diminishing, gained in intensity during the transition from boom to crisis. In the pre-crisis 1972-73 period, 120 million took part in mass actions in capitalist countries, industrially developed countries accounting for 88 million of them. In 1974-75 these figures went up to 124 and 97 million, respectively.

It is an important trend of the current crisis that the share of strikes — the principal and sharpest form of economic conflict between labor and capital — has grown in the 1971-75 period. This is confirmed even

Prepared by the Institute of the International Working-class Movement (IIWCM), USSR Academy of Sciences.

*For details, see F. Burdzhakov's article 'The crisis and the economic struggle of the working class,' *WMR*, September 1975, Page 107.

Table 1

Strikes and mass economic and political actions in capitalist countries
(million participants)

Year	Total	Industrial countries
1961	51	42
1962	55	41
1963	57	42
1964	56	35
1965	36	19
1966	44	27
1967	47	30
1969	57	43
1969	60	44
1970	65	45
1971	70	48
1972	60	43
1973	60	45
1974	62	48
1975*	62	49

Computed by the IIWCM according to official statistics and trade union press reports.

*The figures for 1975 in both this table and the next are estimates.

Table 2

Number of strikers, according to official statistics

Year	Industrial countries	Developing countries		Total	
	strikers (million)	% of par- ticipants in mass actions	strikers (million)	% of par- ticipants in mass actions	% of par- ticipants in mass actions
1966-70	65.2	34.5	15.0	17.9	29.3
1971	16.6	34.8	3.0	13.6	28.0
1972	14.7	34.2	3.0	17.6	29.7
1973	17.5	38.9	3.9	26.0	35.8
1974	19.0	39.6	4.0	28.6	37.1
1975	20.0	40.8	4.5	34.6	39.5
1971-75	87.8	37.7	18.4	22.7	33.9

by official statistics, which disregard some types of strikes (see Table 2).

The increasing proportion of strikes is evidence of a serious intensification of labor strife and the growing potentialities of the strike movement due to more efficient trade union tactics and the movement's ever closer interaction with other working-class struggles.

Data for 1974-75, while tentative and incomplete, indicate that in spite of the greater risk of losing their jobs, working people everywhere show a growing resolve to strike.

The number of strikers has gone up substantially in most countries. In 1974-75, for instance, the number of hours lost in the United States averaged 7,804 (against 7,016 in 1971-74) per strike. In 1974 each strike involved an average of 664 workers in Japan and 1,240 in EEC countries (West Germany, Britain, France, Italy), whereas the figures for 1971-74 were 600 and 829, respectively. The strike movement has surged high in Canada, which in 1974 and early 1975 placed second after Italy in number of strike man-hours. In Argentina, the first eight months of 1975 saw 803 strikes involving a total of 25,636,685 workers.

The crisis has by no means checked the expansion of the social basis of strikes. These are joined by new categories and involve more and more government employees and other white-collar workers, women, immigrant workers and farmers.

A number of capitalist countries show a considerable increase in the proportion of strikers among service industry employees, in particular transport and utilities personnel, as well as among municipal employees and teachers. This is particularly noticeable in the United States, West Germany and Japan. In West Germany, utilities personnel were in the forefront of the strike movement in 1974, and in the United States strikes by municipal employees and teachers were as militant as strikes by automobile or steelworkers.

In the service industry, however, strikes by shop assistants and office personnel are still relatively few — an indication of inadequate class consciousness. Owing to the large proportion of women, growing competition by job-seekers, the weakness of trade unions, the employers' paternalist policies and other causes, this category has yet to join in social and economic battles.

The crisis has brought about changes in strikers' demands. In the early 70s, workers' participation in decision-making, steps to improve qualifications, job promotion, pay equality and other demands became predominant. Afterwards the rapid increase in the cost of living and the economic crisis again brought to the fore the workers' immediate material and economic interests. Many of the strikers' de-

mands today concern wages and salaries — specifically cost of living adjustments, higher pensions, and above all, job security. The continuing price growth has led to must more persistent demands for higher pay (from five to more than 20 per cent).

In the atmosphere of crisis and growing anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle, the predominance of economic demands does not at all imply that the workers now have narrower interests and are drifting back to the 'economism' or the remote past. These demands interact with the social, economic and political actions of the organized working class and this makes them an important line of action against the omnipotence of monopoly, for far-reaching democratic change.

The difficulty of holding strikes due to the crisis compels the working people and their unions to perfect strike tactics and employ more effective forms and methods. They strive to carry forward such forms as stoppages accompanied by the occupation of factories or the seizure of factories to carry on without the management. More and more often, these forms are complemented by picketing and solidarity strikes. The workers also use ever more flexible methods of exerting strong pressure on employers without calling mass strikes that are officially registered: work to rule, refusal to work overtime, stoppages in decisive production fields with the subsequent transfer of the dispute to some other bottleneck.

A remarkable feature of the present crisis is the growing share of general and nationwide strikes. In 1974 alone there were about 20 general strikes in the U.S., Italy, France, Britain, West Germany and Japan. Strikes embracing whole industries or professions and other major actions in 1974 accounted for almost three-fourths of the total strike time in the United States.

Facts of recent date show that strikers are increasingly aware of the interconnection of the economic and socio-political objectives of their struggle. The unions try to link the working people's economic slogans with the demand for changes in the government's economic policy, guaranteed jobs, an end to anti-labor legislation. The very nature of these demands necessitates forms of struggle encompassing the whole nation which inevitably acquire political significance by developing into action against state-monopoly capitalism as a system.

Growth of unemployment in capitalist countries

Despite the optimistic forecasts of bourgeois economists and sociologists, the situation in the capitalist world's labor market has been steadily deteriorating since the beginning of the 1970s. The economic crisis of 1974-75 has aggravated the problem more than ever. The winding down of production in key industries (automobile, aircraft, shipbuilding, iron and steel, metalworking, etc.), mass dismissals, and reduced working hours have resulted in a growth in unemployment on a scale unmatched in the last decades. According to official figures, the number of jobless in the developed capitalist countries in the first nine months of 1975 has been at a postwar record level of 15 million.

The highest unemployment by the middle of 1975 was registered in the United States (8.7 per cent in July) and Denmark (9.2 per cent in June), followed by Canada, 6.2 (July), Belgium, 6.1 (June), Italy, 5.6 (June), and France, 4.7 (August). Unemployment has also been growing rapidly in countries that until recently had been short of manpower: 4.5 per cent in the FRG (August), and 1.7 in Japan (June).

Official statistics do not take all unemployed into account. Many people who have lost hope of finding work and stopped looking for jobs simply don't go to employment bureaus. Judging by press reports, in the United States there were some 1.1 million in this category by July 1975. Nor do all school leavers or college graduates who fail to find jobs register at once. Also unlisted are people holding occasional or part-time jobs — some 10 million in the developed capitalist countries in 1974. In the United States, toward mid-1975, 3.9 million persons were compelled to work a reduced week.

Considerable changes have taken place in the social composition of the jobless. For the first time since the 1930s, unemployment has sharply hit white-collar workers and holders of university diplomas. Today's unemployed include many civil servants and workers in the service sphere and trade. In February 1975, for example, 25 per cent of the jobless were white-collar workers. The growth of the female workforce has resulted in a greater number of jobless women, in the United States, for example, from 30.3 per cent in 1950 to 41.7 per cent in February 1975. The proportion of young unemployed has also increased substantially. In the United States, Great Britain, France

and the FRG young people under 25 accounted for from 20 to 35 per cent of the unemployed.

Mounting unemployment, expansion of the social composition of the jobless, and a sharply declining standard of living owing to spiraling prices and inflation, combine to considerably enhance uncertainty in the future, as well as the force of social protest among the overwhelming majority of wage and salary earners. This explains the growing resolve of workers to continue, despite the crisis, the struggle against monopoly, for job guarantees, for the right to work.

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

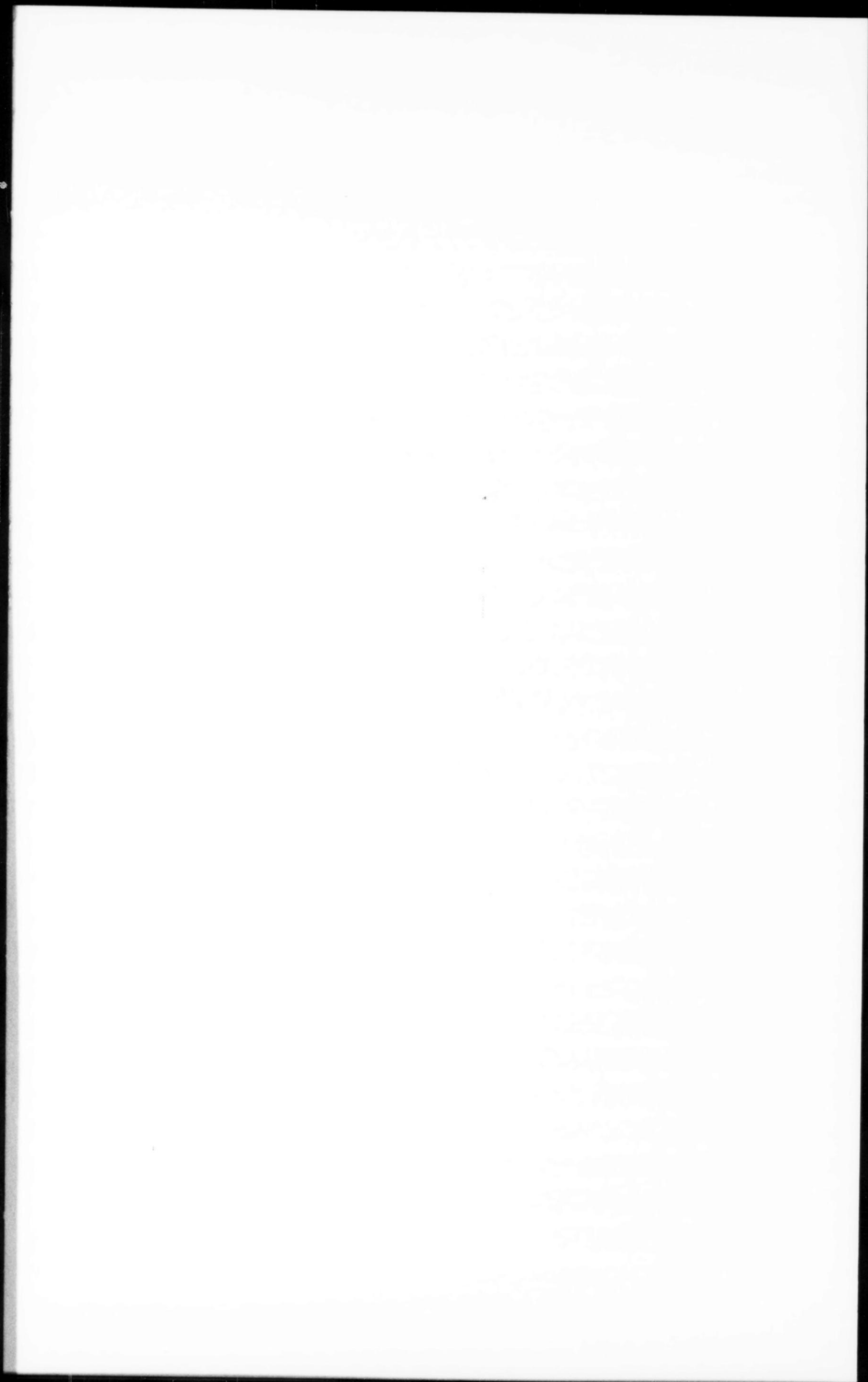
Note: As bourgeois statistics uses different methods to assess the number of jobless (data supplied by employment bureaus, polls, etc.) the margin of error may vary substantially and the total figures should be treated as estimates.

Sources: *Bulletin of Labor Statistics*, ILO, Geneva, Third quarter 1975; *Main Economic Indicators*, October 1975.

Number of officially registered unemployed in developed capitalist countries
(thousands)

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975 January	1975 June	1975 Sept.-Oct.
TOTAL	7,846.0	9,442.0	9,748.0	8,693.0	10,122.0	15,274.0	15,214.0	15,038.0
USA	4,088.0	4,993.0	4,840.0	4,304.0	5,076.0	8,180.0	8,569.0	7,800.0
Canada	495.0	552.0	562.0	520.0	525.0	817.0	704.0	623.0 ³
Western Europe	2,588.0	3,157.0	3,473.0	3,078.0	3,656.0	4,962.0	4,759.0	5,410.0
EEC ¹	2,195.0	2,697.0	3,000.0	2,668.0	3,307.0	4,469.0	4,333.0	4,899.0
Belgium	71.3	70.9	86.8	91.7	104.7	148.0	162.0	205.0
Denmark	23.9	30.0	29.9	20.1	44.5	123.0	84.0	93.0 ³
France	262.1	338.2	383.5	393.9	497.7	766.0	738.0	946.0
FRG	148.8	185.1	246.4	273.5	582.5	1,154.0	1,002.0	1,005.0
Great Britain	640.0	848.0	964.0	642.0	804.7	777.0	870.0	1,114.0
Ireland	41.6	42.4	48.2	44.1	48.1	101.0	102.0	103.0 ³
Italy	960.9	1,120.0	1,133.8	1,093.3	1,090.3	1,202.2	1,198.0	1,200.0
Netherlands	46.4	62.0	107.9	109.9	134.9	198.0	177.0	233.1
Austria	58.4	52.0	49.1	41.3	41.3	75.0	37.0	36.0 ³
Finland	41.0	49.0	55.0	51.0	39.0	49.0	45.0	48.0 ²
Spain	145.6	190.3	190.9	149.6	150.3	224.0	243.0	304.0
Sweden	59.0	101.0	107.0	98.0	80.0	77.0	63.0	76.0
Japan	590.0	640.0	730.0	670.0	720.0	990.0	920.0	940.3 ³
Australia	74.7	87.6	125.9	107.7	133.2	312.0	246.0	248.0

¹ The Nine, 2 July, 3 August.



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