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Workers of all countries, unite!

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feature

Confidently and creatively along the Leninist road

Gustav Husak
General Secretary, CP
of Czechoslovakia,
President of the Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic

1

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held April 12-16, 1976, summed up the results of the enormous work done by the Party and the people in implementing the plans for the years 1971-75 drawn up by the 14th Congress. It elaborated and endorsed Party policy for the coming period and set guidelines for the further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The Congress, which took place on the eve of the 55th anniversary of the founding of our Party, performed a job of great importance. A meeting of dedicated builders of socialism, masters of their country with a keen sense of their responsibility and tested in work, its deliberations were permeated with well-justified pride for the successes achieved, realism, creativity, critical exactingness, and determination to cope with new and greater tasks. We can say with full justification that the supreme forum of Czechoslovakia's Communists has performed it duty to the Party and the people, to the whole international communist and working-class movement.

In assessing our gains and discussing new objectives and the ways of achieving them in the coming years, the 15th Congress provided graphic illustration of the scope, attractive force and practical implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of the steady advance in building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia and its impressive prospects. The Congress expressed the Party's resolve to continue unswervingly along the Leninist road, expand its 55-year revolutionary heritage, multiply the achievements of more than 30 years of socialist construction. We are proud that our party is true to its role of vanguard of the working class and leading political force in building socialism, that it is acquitting itself with distinction in the great struggles of the international working class, contributing to the

realization of the noble ideas for which generations of revolutionaries had fought.

At their Congress Czechoslovak Communists spoke highly of the historic sigificance of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The results of that forum are a decisive contribution toward the strengthening of revolutionary, progressive, peace-loving forces all over the world, and they met with the broad response and support of the Czechoslovak people.

The whole work of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was dominated by the spirit of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The Congress reaffirmed that Czechoslovakia is an inalienable member of the socialist community, it reaffirmed our resolve to spare no effort to strengthen its unity and expand mutual cooperation. The Congress offered vivid manifestation of the spirit of profound fraternal relations between our Party and people and the Soviet Union, its Leninist Communist party, whose tremendous experience is a rich source of ideas and inspiration in our life and further work.

We highly appreciate the fact that our Congress was attended by 88 delegations and representatives of Communist and workers' parties of progressive movements from all over the world. Their interest in our experience and their speeches at the Congress and numerous worker meetings once again demonstrated that the bonds of class and international solidarity are multiplying and growing stronger, that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is closely linked with broad world front of fighters for peace, social progress, socialism and communism. This found expression in the Congress declaration 'For Solidarity with the Fighters Against Imperialism, Fascism and Reaction.'

2

The Congress noted that in the past five years we accomplished much in developing socialism in Czechoslovakia. It also noted that the going was neither simple nor easy. Many obstacles had to be surmounted, a number of serious problems had to be resolved, we had to overcome the consequences of the crisis development, deep political, economic and spiritual deformation caused in the latter 60s by right-wing opportunist and anti-socialist forces.

It was also necessary to tackle problems that had accumulated in the Party and society long before 1968. That is why, in defining our general approach to assuring the further development of our socialist society, we could declare at the Congress that 'January 1968, as stressed in the "Lessons of the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th congress of the CPCz," was an expression of the need to resolve the crisis that had developed in our Party and society.

Our positive work to implement the policy of the 14th Congress, our consistent adherence to the Leninist principles of leadership of the Party and the society, enabled us to overcome all that had weakened the Party prior to January and in 1968-69 and jeopardized the healthy development of our society.'

The implementation of the 14th Congress program confirmed that that approach was right and that the conclusions on our experience formulated in the document 'The Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th CPCz Congress' and in the resolution on Party unity were correct.

While fighting against right-wing opportunism as the main danger, and against all other deformations inherited from the preceding period, we never lost sight of new tasks. We concentrated our efforts on them, on carrying out the constructive program of building a developed socialist society.

The scope and complexity of the problems tackled after the 14th Congress imposed high demands on the whole party, especially its leading bodies, in the areas of research, leadership, political organizational and educational work. At their meetings the Central Committee and its Presidium and Secretariat creatively elaborated and specified Congress instructions, reacted to new conditions and requirements, kept close check of the fulfillment of assignments, summed up experience and oriented the Party and society on the implementation of decisive tasks.

Despite its constant preoccupation with all the main questions of developing socialism in our country and with foreign policy issues, the Central Committee also attended to the further development of the Party itself. Those efforts bore fruit, and the 15th Congress was a manifestation of the inviolable unity, political maturity and revolutionary strength of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Developments after the 14th Congress reaffirmed our conviction that the Party can perform its historic role only when all its work is consistently based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, when it is closely linked with the people, when it is headed by a firm, united, determined leadership. This is one of the most important conclusions we drew in summing up our work; it is of great importance for our continued advance.

The Party's well-thought-out realistic policies based on consistent and creative application of Marxism-Leninism were actively and consciously supported by the working class, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, youth, all nations and nationalities of our country. The working people could see for themselves that the program of the 14th Congress was an expression of their vital interests and the development requirements of our socialist society. That has been and is the

source of our people's confidence in the Party, the source of their activity, dedication, inspiration and creative effort. It was once again reaffirmed that when a policy line is correctly defined its success depends in the first place on mass support for the Marxist-Leninist Party, on its ability to mobilize the people for implementation of its plans.

We approach the implementation of the program drawn up by the 14th Congress fully aware of our responsibility not only to our socialist motherland, but to the international revolutionary movement as well. Accordingly, we proceeded from the principle that the comprehensive development of socialist Czechoslovakia is inseparably linked with promoting the strength and unity of the socialist community and friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, our most loyal friend and reliable ally, guarantee of our security and our people's peaceful labors.

Our experience has reaffirmed that socialism can be successfully built and developed only in close collaboration with the other countries of the socialist community, with due account, and creative utilization, of the general laws and Leninist principles tested in practice by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with its wealth of experience, and by our and other fraternal parties.

In close contact with the people and with the support of our socialist allies, we worked consistently and unswervingly to carry out the program of the 14th Congress. At the 15th Congress we could proudly report that the program had been implemented. We are convinced that the period following the 14th Congress will occupy a worthy place in the history of our Party, in the history of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

3

In the years ahead Czechoslovakia will continue to build a developed socialist society. We see this work as a lengthy process embracing a whole historic stage. In this sense the results of the 15th Congress represent a continuation of the 14th Congress line in present-day domestic and international conditions and at a higher level.

We know from our experience the harm of proclaiming unrealistic goals and attempting to skip necessary stages of social development. We realize with equal clarity the dangers of marking time, since ultimately such delays can lead to backward movement. As socialism progresses, people's requirements and demands increase and, in line with changing conditions, the problems we face grow in complexity and importance. Only by resolving them can we add to our achievements to date and forge ahead.

That is why the 15th Congress warned so emphatically against

self-satisfaction and complacency. The method of critical exactingness which characterized our Congress is fundamental also to the work of all Party, government and public bodies and organizations. It implies stricter demands on political maturity and professional knowledge, on selflessness and discipline, on the creative talents of people and their ability to support the new and progressive. It is in keeping with the requirements that life itself brings ever more imperatively to the fore — that of raising the quality and efficiency of our work.

From the rostrum of our Congress we echoed the always pertinent and relevant words of V.I. Lenin: 'The whole point is not to rest content with the skill we have acquired by previous experience, but *under all circumstances to go on, under all circumstances to strive for something bigger,* under all circumstances to proceed from simpler to more difficult tasks. Otherwise, no progress whatever is possible and in particular no progress is possible in socialist construction' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 28, p. 192).

The Party's political guidelines for the coming period and the program of further economic and social development approved by the Congress envisage great and serious tasks and objectives: ensuring the further flourishing of our socialist motherland and a still fuller and richer life for the Czechoslovak people. That is the fundamental content of our policy, the prime meaning of all our efforts.

The guidelines for the sixth five-year plan approved by the Congress specify and expand the principles of the Party's economic policy in the coming period. That policy also continues the line of the 14th Congress, the correctness and realism of which was fully confirmed in the past period. In 1971-75 Czechoslovakia's economy developed continuously, dynamically and proportionally. Industrial output increased by 38 per cent, construction by one-half, agricultural output by 14 per cent, More than 90 per cent of the increase in production was achieved through higher labor productivity, which has become the principal factor of economic advance. The country's material and technical base and general economic potential increased by approximately one-third.

Our economic achievements made it possible to meet, and in some cases surpass, the living-standard targets we had set ourselves. They made possible the implementation of an extensive social program, strengthening and consolidating the people's sense of social security. Personal consumption increased by almost one-quarter, and public consumption by 33 per cent. Substantial progress was made in resolving the housing problem, with 614,000 new modern flats built for roughly two million of our citizens. We have perfected the whole

system guaranteeing people's confidence in the future and sense of social security.

We have substantially increased social help for families with children and expanded concern for our youth. Together with the favorable political and economic development of our society, these new measures contributed to a substantial rise in population growth, and now Czechoslovakia occupies a leading place in Europe in this respect. In our efforts to ensure everyone a peaceful old age we have substantially increased pensions. Great attention was given to health protection and raising educational and cultural standards. By maintaining the stability of retail prices we contributed in considerable measure to strengthening our people's confidence in the future. It was once again convincingly demonstrated that in socialist society the fruits of honest labor revert to the people, finding expression in the ever fuller satisfaction of their material and cultural requirements.

In accordance with the decisions of the 15th Congress, the question now is of consolidating and further promoting all positive tendencies and achievements while consistently carrying out the charted economic and social policies.

We know that in launching our sixth five-year plan we are embarking on a new stage, when our economy will be developing in more complex internal and external economic conditions. Successful solution of the tasks facing it calls for much better utilization of intensive growth factors. It is necessary to perfect the structure and raise the standards of production, increase the volume and effectiveness of exports, make better use of natural resources, including fuller satisfaction of food requirements through domestic production. This is an active policy which will require sustained efforts to implement it, but it will serve to shield our economy from the effects of rising world raw materials prices.

Efficiency and quality are the hallmarks of the sixth five-year plan, the prime condition of its implementation and of assuring the further growth of the people's living standards.

We estimate that in the course of this five-year period personal consumption will increase by one-quarter, primarily as a result of higher earnings. By 1980 average monthly wages will rise to about 2,700 crowns. In accordance with our policy of fostering confidence in the future, we shall continue our line of maintaining the stability of retail prices of prime necessities. Allocations for public consumption — primarily schools, public health, social security, child benefits, care for the younger and elder generations, promotion of spiritual and physical culture and sports — will be 38 per cent higher than in the preceding five-year period. We shall continue extensive housing con-

struction and tackle vital problems of protecting and improving the environment.

The planned rise in living standards imposes high demands on work efficiency. Under the sixth five-year plan industrial output and construction are to increase by more than one-third, and agriculture by 14-15 per cent. We shall carry out an extensive investment program designed to strengthen our country's entire material and technical base and raise it ot a higher level. To this end we have set our sights on substantially accelerating scientific and technological progress in our continued economic and social development. We shall extend the involvement of our economy in international division of labor, in the first place through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA member-countries. We also consider it necessary to continue to improve the system of planned management with the aim of making fuller use of the advantages of socialism. We shall expand worker participation in management, encourage advanced training and promote creative activity and initiative among the workers.

The tasks we set ourselves at the 15th Congress in the economic and social spheres are great indeed. However, our possibilities and capabilities have also increased and we have gained much experience. We are confident that we possess everything necessary to ensure the continued all-round development of the economy and, on this basis, the continued growth of living standards.

4

Due to the need to solve social, economic, cultural and ideological problems on a comprehensive basis, the 15th Congress stressed, the role of the subjective factor logically increases. Our experience shows that it is the role of the Marxist-Leninist party that increases in the first place, its importance as the leading, guiding and integrating factor in social development. At the same time, greater demands are imposed on the efficiency and quality of work of government and public bodies and organizations, and the political consciousnss and organized activity of the masses gain in importance.

We proceed from the fact that in this past period the growth of our country's economic strength and the consolidation of socialist production relations have been accompanied by favorable changes in the social structure of our society. The leading role and ideological maturity of the working class have increased and the workers' educational and cultural standards have improved. The all-round development of society has brought the workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals closer together and made for progress in gradually eliminating distinctions between town and countryside and in achieving the

stronger moral and political unity of our people led by the Communist Party.

The development level attained affords new opportunties for these important social and political processes to go deeper. The 15th Congress therefore called for continued effort to strengthen the leading role of the working class, use its creative energies as widely as possible, raise the level of its activity and political consciousness, extend its participation and influence in politics and other public spheres and improve its working and living conditions. Bringing the workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals still closer together in the years ahead will be the main line of perfecting the structure of our socialist society.

The Congress set important tasks with a view to building up the unity and fraternal cooperation of the Czechs, Slovaks, and other peoples of Czechoslovakia. Relations between them are based on the principles of equality, equal rights and proletarian internationalism. It is fair to say that the settlement of the nationality question on the Leninist principle of socialist federation, the correctness of which has been fully demonstrated in practice, is one of the most important results of our socialist construction. The Congress had every reason to put on record that the major differences in the economic, political and cultural conditions of our nations and the population of various regions of the country had been overcome. This is a great achievement of our Party.

In accordance with Congress guidelines, we shall continue to provide conditions for the all-round development of our socialist nations and nationalities, for the development of their progressive traditions and national cultures. While fully respecting national distinctions, we consider that the decisive thing is what unites us and enables us to use the advantages of the socialist system for making overall progress and building up the might of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

One of the main features of our social development since the 14th Party Congress is the further consolidation of the socialist character of our system, the expansion and improvement of the economic organizational work and cultural and educational efforts of our state at all levels, the expansion of socialist democracy. The ramified system of political parties and mass organizations affiliated to the National Front and of democratically elected representative bodies ranging from the national committees to the Czech and Slovak National Councils and the Federal Assembly, enables millions to participate in the management of public affairs, in decision-making on political, economic and cultural problems of our life. The 15th Congress expressed its appreciation of the growing activity of all the National Front parties and organizations, the improved work of na-

tional committees, other representative bodies and the state apparatus as a whole, and their contribution to the implementation of Party policy.

We will continue to regard the National Front, an embodiment of the class alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of all working people, of all the nations and nationalities of our country, as a tried and tested form of our political system. Through its numerous organizations, the Front helps to meet the interests of diverse social strata and population groups and ensure people's active and creative participation in leadership and management. It also coordinates the people's efforts in building socialism. In this connection, the Congress emphasizes the particularly important role of the revolutionary trade union movement.

Our state, an instrument of the working class and other working people, is genuinely democratic. The roots of its democratic system, which is unmatched in any bourgeois state, lie in a broad class, social basis.

Large sections of our people not only participate through democratic institutions and organizations in exploring and charting of the surest paths for the further development of society but are the main force carrying out the goals set. They take an active part in the framing, implementation and verification of our policy. It is in this way, by using diverse forms, that our people fully exercise their rights and freedoms and that the results of their labor and revolutionary gains are preserved.

In keeping with Congress decisions, we will abide by the principle that the processes of strengthening the socialist state and deepening socialist democracy are interconnected. Socialist democracy connotes both enjoyment of rights and conscious fulfillment of duties. The more actively people participate in management and leadership and in the realization of the tasks and objectives of society, the stronger the socialist state becomes. This is a conclusion we have repeatedly found to be correct, especially of late.

The 15th Congress had every reason to state that education, science, culture and art have been making progress in the past years. We have registered notable advances in fostering socialist consciousness. The ideas of socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology have won greater influence in our society, and the various aspects of the socialist way of life manifest themselves ever more forcefully. People are becoming more strongly aware of their responsibility to the collective and to society as a whole and show a growing desire to raise their educational and cultural standards and acquire socialist ideological and moral qualities.

In the period ahead the Party will continue to encourage people to

master the scientific world outlook, so that it could help them understand the laws of social development and they could contribute their work and public activity to the historic cause of building socialism with deep inner conviction.

5

The tasks which our further development faces us with make it necessary to be more exacting primarily toward the Party itself, its unity, its leading role, its efficiency. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a big political force. It has 1,382,860 full and candidate members belonging to 43,506 branches. Since its 14th Congress, it has admitted 333,952 candidate members. Over 62 per cent of them are workers. We see a noteworthy political gain in the fact that for the first time in 23 years, the proportion of workers in the Party has stopped decreasing and, moreover, is growing again. It is also very important that a turn for the better has occurred in the age composition of the Party. Over 90 per cent of the candidate members admitted since the 14th Congress are under 35 years of age, and more than 50 per cent, under 25. Young Party members and candidates now make up one-fourth of the membership.

In this connection, the 15th Congress also defined its attitude to those citizens with whom the Party had to part in overcoming the crisis because they had made mistakes. Since the 14th Congress, we have taken a differentiated approach to those expelled from the Party or struck off the list of members. Those who were not issued with a new Party card enjoy all civil rights and have every opportunity to take part in politics within National Front organizations. A substantial majority of them have realized their mistakes and errors and contribute their labor to the progress of our society. Rightist spokesmen find themselves in absolute political isolation and their political ambitions and concepts have failed completely.

The Congress stressed that there is no need to change anything in the policy of differentiated approach. On the other hand, taking account of the experience gained, the Congress came to the following conclusion: 'Those who were not active exponents of right-wing opportunism, who work well now, proving through deeds that they adhere firmly and sincerely to a socialist position and to our stand for friendship with the Soviet Union, and who actively support the policy of our Party can be readmitted to its ranks, provided each particular case is considered separately.'

In the past period we have seen to it that Party committees and organizations steadfastly applied the principle of democratic centralism, approached problems in principled fashion and creatively, and allowed no discrepancies between words and deeds, no subjectivism

or formalism. We have regarded qualitative improvements in internal life and the use of better work methods as the main prerequisite of strengthening and deepening the Party's leading role in every public sphere. These problems of Party work were first examined as a complex at the November 1974 plenum of the CC CPCz.

The 15th Congress stressed the need for continued close attention to all aspects of Party life: its composition, the education of Communists, especially young Party members, unfailing application of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principles of democratic centralism. The Congress defined it as a standing task to strengthen Party unity and the cohesion of the Party with the people, encourage the initiative of the masses and generalize their experience.

An important requisite of improving the work of Party committees and organizations is for more and more Communists to master the Leninist style of work, to tackle problems from the standpoint of principle and in creative fashion. In this connection, the Congress stressed the need for a scientific and comprehensive approach to social processes, for deepening the principles of collective leadership, exercising steadfast and systematic control as an inseparable component of management, and fostering criticism and self-criticism, those tried and tested methods of educating people and removing shortcomings.

The Party's personnel policy is a decisive instrument of influencing social development. The Congress noted with satisfaction the activity of people promoted to leading posts after the crisis and the period following the 14th Congress. We will continue to strive for healthy stability of our cadres. However, taking account of current and future tasks, the Congress pointed to the need to make higher demands, especially of leading personnel, in regard to political maturity, professional competence, moral and human qualities, the ability to work with people, and to promote more boldly eligible young men and women to key positions.

6

The 15th Congress defined the foreign policy of our Party and state. It was well aware that the progress of socialism depends on providing peaceful conditions for the labor of all our people.

The Congress re-emphasized that deepening our friendship and alliance and promoting all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community remains a fundamental and invariable principle of our foreign policy.

We think highly of the successful materialization of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress. It has led to a healthier international climate and created the prerequisites of making détente

irreversible. Achieving durable world peace has become a realistic objective and no effort should be spared for it.

We gave credit for these noteworthy gains, first of all, to the persevering peace policy of the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the General Secretary of its Central Committee, L.I. Brezhnev. The socialist community fully supports this policy, which also owed its success to the growing activity of progressive, anti-imperialist, democratic forces all over the world. Socialist Czechoslovakia, too, has contributed to it.

The 15th CPCz Congress unanimously voiced its endorsement of the Program of Further Struggle for Peace, International Cooperation, and the Freedom and Independence of Peoples approved by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We regard it as our own program in the full meaning of the word, for it meets the vital interests of our people and the requirements of the peaceful socialist development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Czechoslovakia's Communists see the unity, efficiency and further development of the international Communist and working-class movement as a cherished cause. This is why they are taking an active part in preparations for the conference of European Communist and Workers' parties, which they hope will live up to the expectations of the world communist and working-class movement, of all revolutionary and democratic forces. Our Party is convinced that the document approved by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties has greatly benefited the international communist and working-class movement as a whole. The program adopted at the time has in the main been carried out and has proved correct. We believe it would be useful to hold a new international meeting of Communist and Workers' parties.

At the 15th Congress, we reaffirmed our unqualified solidarity with the liberation struggle of peoples against imperialist domination and voiced our resolve to help in strengthening the vast front of the progressive, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the world. We continue to regard it as our internationalist duty to fight unrelentingly against Maoism, which links up with extreme reaction in pursuing its chauvinist aims.

The Communists and people of Czechoslovakia sincerely appreciate the achievements of the socialist community which have produced a fundamental change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism. Due to the activity of all progressive and peace-loving forces, the peoples of Europe have entered their fourth decade of peace. We will therefore continue doing all in our power to help provide conditions for the creative labor and peaceful life of the peoples of the globe.

The results achieved over the past five years and the full acceptance of the decisions of our Party's 15th Congress by the whole Party and the Czechoslovak people, show our home and foreign policy to be correct. We are moving on to a new stage of our work with well-founded confidence and optimism. We will do everything for the program of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to be carried out because it is a program for the further development of our socialist country, for our people's growing prosperity and happiness.

Developed socialism: the immediate task

Todor Zhivkov
First Secretary of the CC,
Bulgarian CP, Chairman,
State Council of the People's
Republic of Bulgaria

Congresses have always been landmarks in our Party's life and have invariably had a tremendous impact on the destiny of our people and on the social, political, economic and cultural development of our country. This is why all Bulgarian Communists and the people as a whole followed the deliberations of the 11th BCP Congress (March 29-April 2, 1976) with keen attention. Congress sessions were carried live on radio and television and given wide coverage in the press. As a result, virtually all Bulgarian, Communists as well as non-Communists, as it were, became participants in it. The Party's truthful and inspired message was carried to every corner of our country and found response in the working people's hearts and minds. One can say the Congress reached every Bulgarian home.

Furthermore, friends and comrades from countries far and near, all who are interested in the Bulgarian Communists' activities, in our people's life, had the opportunity to follow Congress deliberations. The Congress was attended by 105 delegations from Communist and Workers' parties and from socialist and national-democratic parties, organizations and movements.

A most important result of the 11th Congress is that, proceeding from the BCP Program adopted by the 10th Congress (1971), it formulated with due regard to present-day realities the country's specific tasks in completing the construction of a developed socialist

society and in effecting the transition to communism. 'The immediate historic task of the Bulgarian Communist Party.' the CC BCP Report says, 'is to build a developed socialist society and prepare for the gradual transition to communism.'

In drafting the Party Program adopted by the previous congress, we held that, given favorable international conditions, our people would build a developed socialist society in roughly 20 years and would then set about gradually effecting the transition to communism. When the Program was being discussed and endorsed this time limit was just a forecast. Having assessed the progress made and looking ahead to the not-too-distant future, we are certain it is realistic. The period between now and 1990 will, in the opinion of the Congress, see new, far-reaching qualitative and impressive quantitative achievements in every sphere of our society. These achievements will gradually lead to fully building the material and technical basis for socialism, perfecting social relations still further and harmoniously developing the individual. The People's Republic of Bulgaria will become a country of mature socialism.

It goes without saying that none of us imagines that a developed socialist society will be built and the gradual transition to communism begun as a consequence of the automatic operation of objective social laws. The pace of this process and the choice of the most effective ways and means depends to a decisive extent on the ability to make maximum use of the advantages of the socialist system, direct social processes, and mobilize the people's experience and creative effort.

The Party has never concealed it from the people that building a mature socialist society will not be easy and will meet with difficulties and obstacles. Now as in the past, the new develops and gains strength in struggle against the old, the obsolete. No big task, especially a task so important to our people, can be accomplished without overcoming difficulties. The effort to surmount them increases still further the Party's responsibility to the people.

The 11th Congress devoted special attention to a number of key problems of building a developed socialist society. First among them is that of completing the material and technical base of socialism.

The CC report stresses that since the 10th Congress Bulgaria has made considerable headway in building and strengthening the material and technical basis for a developed socialist society. Suffice it to say that our country holds one of the first places in the world in economic growth rate. In the previous five-year period the national income increased 46 per cent; labor productivity went up by more than 44 per cent. It is is important to note that we owe 98.6 per cent of the increase in the national income to higher productivity.

There is qualitative progress in production structures. The ratio

between industrial and agricultural production has changed from 77.1:22.9 to 81.2:18.8. The share of industry in the national income is up from 49 to 54.6 per cent.

Development is particularly dynamic in those industries on which technological progress and economic efficiency primarily depend: power, including nuclear power, the chemicals and petrochemical industries and electronics. The 11th Congress stated explicitly that we can only build and expand the material and technical basis of socialism by using the latest and most promising achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

These achievements make it possible to reach the main social and economic target of the seventh five-year plan: steadily implementing the Party line of meeting the people's material and spiritual requirements more and more fully by assuring the dynamic and proportional development of the economy, rapidly increasing labor productivity and the efficiency and quality of production through the prompt use of scientific and technological achievements, heightening the people's socialist awareness and firmly establishing the socialist way of life. Higher efficiency and higher quality for higher living standards is, thus, the strategic target of the five-year plan.

Man, the builder of the material and technical basis, without whose efforts technology, however perfect, would be dead, is the main productive force. Accordingly the Congress paid special attention to the problem of ensuring his further development. The Party has always paid the closest attention to changes in the nature of work and in the social consciousness, mentality and behavior of the working man. It strives to provide conditions for the proper regulation of social and class relations, for the formation and development of new relations between people based on comradeship, cooperation, collectivism and mutual assistance. Such relations are not only an important distinguishing feature of socialism but a powerful factor for its rapid progress.

As our country makes further headway it will work for the solution of the complicated historic problem of removing essential distinctions between town and countryside, between physical and mental labor. eliminating social and class distinctions and fostering the community of interests of all members of society are two aspects of the process of moulding a harmoniously developed individual.

It is safe to say that while we still come across people lacking socialist consciousness to one extent or another, the socialist individual has, nevertheless, become predominant due to objective changes in society and under the impact of the Party's educational work. On the other hand, people's culture, behavior and morality are not always in keeping with socialist standards. That is why our task

is to involve all people in our efforts to foster and ensure the harmonious development of the socialist individual. This will continue to be a key concern of the Party and the society.

The important thing in this process is to enhance people's public activity, first of all their creative participation in labor, achieve a correct attitude to socialist property, the mainstay of the socialist system, and assure application of the socialist principle of distribution according to quantity and quality of work. This principle will also play a key role under mature socialism, during the transition to communism, that is, until the objective and subjective conditions are provided for introducing the communist principle, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

The 11th Congress expressed its appreciation of the Party's effort to foster a socialist attitude to labor in people. However, it also spoke of shortcomings in this field. For instance, we have no reason to be satisfied with the present state of discipline. People continue to infringe discipline in regard to labor, planning, contracts and finance, and yet those who do so are shown undue leniency. Discipline in production is not only an economic matter but an indicator of the development level of the individual, of his social awareness, his sense of responsibility to himself and society and, in the final analysis, his attitude to the socialist system.

Man in developed socialist society was the central theme of the Congress. The harmonious development of the individual is unthinkable without continued effort to establish the new, socialist way of life. The Party has concerned itself with this problem especially since the December 1972 plenum of its Central Committee. The Congress gave it the closest attention.

It is well known that at every stage of social development the way of life is conditioned by the mode of production and the character of the given socio-economic formation. In *The German Ideology,* Marx and Engels stressed that the mode of production should not be regarded as a mere reproduction of the physical existence of individuals. 'Rather,' they wrote, 'it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1968, p. 32).

The socialist way of life is a result of deep changes in every sphere of human activity. Exploitation is abolished and so are unfair distribution of material and spiritual riches and anti-humane relations. Conditions are created for steadily improving the people's material and cultural standards. Even in underdeveloped countries, victorious socialism does more than the most developed capitalist countries to

meet such vital requirements of the people as full employment, social protection of labor, organized rest and recreation, care of children, health services, social security and maternity protection. It gives the people free access to every form of education and unprecedented opportunities to share in national and world culture and take part in public life.

Thus, the socialist way of life is a comprehensive, many-sided concept born of the socialist revolution and encompassing virtually every aspect of social development. Its material basis is the degree to which man's requirements are met. The December plenum of the Central Committee approved a program of higher living standards — a forceful indication of the Party's concern for the people. It sets as the principal and immediate task of social production and a guideline in drafting the country's social and economic development plans the attainment of specific targets in satisfying the people's material and cultural requirements. The basic principle is that comprehensive satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual needs should be in accordance with scientifically-based standards of consumption and make at the same time for the harmonious development of the individual.

The decisions of the December plenum are being steadfastly carried out. In the sixth five-year period, the working people's real income increased by 32.4 per cent, against 25-30 per cent envisaged by the guidelines. Minimum pay went up from 65 leva in 1970 to 80 leva in 1973, against 70 leva planned for the end of the period; average monthly pay rose from 124 to 146 leva. Nominal incomes of cooperative farmers have almost drawn level with those of wage and salary earners.

Remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work will also remain the principal source and basic form of growing incomes in the seventh five-year period. Average monthly pay is to be increased to nearly 170 leva and minimum pay, to 90 leva by 1980.

An important part in raising the standard of life will also be played by public funds spent on education, health care, culture and social security. They are to be used for carrying out a series of important social measures to stimulate the efforts of the best workers in industry and agriculture and of salary earners and for improving the living conditions of big families, low-income families, working women, pensioners, solitary elderly people and students.

The following figures give an idea of advances in meeting the working people's material requirements. In 1975, per capita consumption of meat and meat products increased in comparison with 1970 from 41.4 to 57 kg, of milk and dairy products from 152.1 to 174 litres, fresh and canned vegetables from 88.9 to 94 kg, and eggs from 122 to

145. More textiles, clothing, footwear and durables were sold. According to the guidelines approved by the Congress, overall consumption in the seventh five-year period should increase by almost one-half.

To continue perfecting the socialist way of life, it is essential to improve the environment. The Party approaches this problem as a complex task which includes measures to modernize residential communities, improve housing and working conditions and recreational facilities and protect the natural environment. One of the tasks we have set ourselves is to work out a precise conception of territorial development. Urban development will proceed on the basis of communities linked together to form a single system incorporating both industries and services.

Housing conditions have improved. Over 240,000 flats were built under the sixth five-year plan and per capita dwelling space today averages 13.3 sq.m. We consider, however, that in spite of the progress made the housing problem has not yet been solved, especially in big cities and industrial areas. The Party regards it as a strategic problem of our social policy and intends to seek an early and comprehensive solution to it. The 11th Congress resolved that another 400,000 flats would be built in the seventh five-year period.

The effort to improve the standard of living, meeting the growing demand for goods and services in increasing measure and improve the environment has nothing to do with the 'consumer approach.' We see this as the basis for qualitative changes in the moral make-up and way of life.

The people's active participation in the management of socialist society is part of the socialist way of life. The growing scale of social changes and the scientific and technological revolution are leading to a high degree of socialization, concentration and intensification of production and to strengthening centralized management of major territorial units. All this is fraught with the danger of setting economic management at a distance from the people, from their problems and concerns. This is why the Party has lately been taking steps to improve social management, use new forms of extending people's participation in social decision-making and carry forward socialist democracy.

The Party has done much to introduce a uniform system of social management in line with the present development level of society and with scientific and technological achievements. Experience shows that an inflated system inevitably becomes bureaucratized and cannot provide efficient management. This prompts us to take steps to simplify management, cut its costs and raise its competence and efficiency.

Application of the state-public and public-state principles has become one of the main lines of perfecting social management. Further progress has been made in using various forms of direct and representative participation in the management of economic organizations by workers and cooperative farmers. General meetings, delegates' meetings, economic committees and councils afford real opportunities for the constant and active participation of workers and cooperative farmers in management and make them more keenly aware of their responsibility for carrying out decisions. After the 10th Congress, a new, original form of direct democracy known as counter-plan was devised in line with Lenin's ideas. It enables millions of working people to contribute to the better organization of production and reveal further possibilities of raising the productivity of social labor and rapidly improving the standard of living.

We see an important line of developing democracy in increasing the role of the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Committee and Councils of Bulgarian Women and numerous other cultural, scientific and sports organizations.

The Fatherland Front, the broadest socio-political organization and nationwide movement, plays an important part in the political system of our society. Its activity helps to strengthen links between government agencies, especially people's councils, and the population. The Front educates the population from the point of view of class commitment, patriotism and internationalism and strives to create a healthy social and psychological climate in communities and increase the role of the family and of public opinion in the communist education of the rising generation.

A very definite role — one that has taken shape in the course of history — is played in the development of Bulgarian society and in the country's life generally by the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU). The alliance of two parties became indispensable in the struggle to overthrow bourgeois rule and grew stronger after the socialist revolution. Although radical changes have occurred in the social structure of our society in the course of building socialism, the BAPU does much to mobilize the working people, especially in rural areas, even now that a developed socialist society is being built. The Communists' attitude to their allies is seen in the fact that the new Bulgarian Constitution says: 'The Bulgarian Communist Party guides the construction of a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in close fraternal cooperation with the Bulgarian Agricultural People's Union.'

At the 11th Congress we reaffirmed our loyalty to the fraternal friendship and cooperation of Communists and BAPU members and

hailed the BAPU's comprehensive activity both at home — in building socialism in the countryside — and on the international scene — in promoting the unity of peasant and democratic parties and movements in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. The Congress demonstrated both the unity of Party ranks and the firmness of the worker-peasant alliance.

In our trade unions, attention focuses on the public activity and labor of workers and employees, on their participation in economic management and in government. The socialist emulation movement is better organized, and so is ideological, political and cultural work among the masses.

The Party devotes special attention to the youth, to their ideological, patriotic and internationalist education. Our people are rightly proud of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, of our young men and women devoted to communism. However, we had to point out at the Congress that the organizing work of YCL committees and organizations shows serious weaknesses and shortcomings which tell on their activity. Specifically, we are concerned about the fact that some of our young people adopt a consumer attitude to life, seek a petty-bourgeois kind of prosperity and shun work. To be sure, the overwhelming majority of our youth are worthy sons and daughters of their socialist epoch with bright minds and pure hearts, with sound ideas and moral principles. Nevertheless, YCL leaders do not always rely on them to create an atmosphere of public intolerance of attitudes virtually expressive of bourgeois views and morals.

Young people are more sensitive to injustice, indifference, or self-seeking than adults. They find it hard to distinguish between things of secondary importance and things that really matter, between the typical and the accidental and transient, between the new, which is gaining the upper hand, and that which is doomed to disappear as our social progress goes on. If left to their own resources, they are likely to form incorrect notions of life, society or human nature. That is why the Young Communist League, to which great credit is due for communist education, should work harder to impart a scientific world outlook and moral integrity to young people. It should teach them never to tolerate violations of the moral and human standards of the socialist way of life and inspire them with the desire to join in building the new, just, socialist society.

One of the League's key tasks is to help young people to make the best use of their free time and provide suitable recreational facilities. Undoubtedly, this is also a task of Party, government and non-government bodies and organizations, of economic and administrative executives.

In speaking of socialist democracy, of providing the most extensive

rights and freedoms, we must alwo bear in mind the other aspects of the matter, the fact that these rights are inseparable from one's duties and obligations to the state. Socialist democracy implies that all citizens equally fulfill their duties to society. This is a requisite of carrying forward democracy itself.

The arts, culture, and the mass information and propaganda media play a big role in establishing the socialist way of life in People's Bulgaria. Our finest writers and artists have created works which truthfully and impressively represent the main aspects of life in our country, the problems of the new man's growth. These valuable manifestations of our socialist culture confirm the fruitfulness of the method of socialist realism and the correctness of the decisions of the CC BCP plenum in April 1956, which fully restored the Leninist standards of Party life and the Leninist principles of leadership, including guidance of the arts and letters.

We must stress, however, that the apparent shift toward contemporary problems has yet to produce a corresponding shift in mastering contemporary themes in all their historic magnitude and significance. There is an obvious desire to develop truthful, communist, partisan art. There is also a desire to create ideologically and artistically significant works dealing with our epoch. An there is no dearth of talent among creative artists of all generations. The main obstacles to materializing lofty aspirations and designs seem to lie in an inadequate knowledge of life and in underestimation of the need to achieve high standards of artistic skill.

It is gratifying to note that the artists themselves, as well as unions of creative workers and the Committee on Art and Culture, a public-state body, are becoming increasingly aware of these weaknesses. In recent years, district Party committees and government bodies, for their part, have been giving art workers serious help in studying problems of life. This is a new development showing how deeply our society is interested in the appearance of noteworthy works of art on contemporary themes.

Creating national artistic values and acquainting oneself with the artistic achievements of our peoples should not be an end in itself. These values and achievements should be made available to as many people as possible. This is why we are working on a program of nationwide aesthetic education.

The Party's efforts to mould the socialist individual and promote the socialist way of life would be inconceivable without active participation of the mass media. The press, television, radio, news agencies and publishing houses are the main channels for dissemination of socialist spiritual values and political education of the masses. They do not merely supply information on events at home and abroad or

report the people's efforts but take a direct part in organizing those efforts. Our country has 85 national and district newspapers published in a total of over five million copies, and 207 periodicals brought out in 3,200,000 copies. In 1975, we published 19,900 books in a total of 230 million copies. There are more than 1.5 million TV sets and around 2.7 million wireless receivers, transistors and plug-in radios. The television and radio network has an audience ranging between five and six million. The task now is to raise the ideological and, above, all, professional standards of the mass media.

The Party considers that in building a developed socialist society, it is necessary, as well as perfecting socialist democracy, to promote criticism and self-criticism. In a society which is free from antagonistic contradictions and has achieved unity of the fundamental interests of all classes and groups on the basis of the historic goals of the working class, criticism and self-criticism are an indispensable and effective means of promptly revealing new problems, reappraising outdated social forms and mechanisms, eliminating the old and encouraging the new, and preventing departures from socialist standards. Unlike all previous revolutions, Marx pointed out, proletarian revolutions 'constantly criticize themselves.' Socialist society cannot renovate itself without constantly exposing and removing shortcomings. This is why the extent of criticism and self-criticism is a measure of the maturity of socialist society.

In stressing the importance of this objective law, which will play a still greater part during the transition to communism, the Party knows that the state of criticism and self-criticism in Party organizations has a decisive impact on the attitude to them in all other spheres of public life. Obviously, criticism and self-criticism would not be possible without the initiative, example and support of leading bodies.

The Bulgarian people's growing material and spiritual standards of life and their advance to developed socialism have lately been going on in a climate of détente and assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence. This process is due primarily to the change in the alignment of forces between the two opposed systems in favor of socialism, a result of the socialist community's consistent peace policy.

The trend toward détente has been politically and legally recognized in a system of treaties and agreements signed by socialist and capitalist countries. Of particular importance are the agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States — they constitute a real step toward eliminating the threat of nuclear war. The successful outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was a historic event in international relations.

However, we realize that lately the enemies of détente have step-

ped up their intrigues in an effort to halt or even turn back the process of creating a healthier international climate. This makes it incumbent on all champions of peace and international security to intensify their activity. It means that the peoples themselves must influence foreign policy more strongly than ever. There can be no doubt that dissemination of the ideas set forth in the foreign policy program of the 25th CPSU Congress will lead to an uptrend in the struggle for these noble goals, which meet the interests of all mankind.

We have stressed more than once, and we said again at the 11th Party Congress, that credit for the success of the policy of détente is due to hundreds of millions of people all over the world, diverse democratic forces and movements and the ruling quarters of those capitalist countries which took a realistic stand on the issue of war and peace in the world of today. The socialist community, which put forward the idea of the Helsinki Conference and worked hard for its success, plays a role of the first importance. But we have no doubt that the Soviet Union and the CPSU made the decisive contribution to the effort to create and establish a new climate on earth.

The ideological struggle is particularly important today. The 11th Congress stressed that a key task of central ideological bodies and every Party branch is to carry on an uncompromising ideological offensive against every manifestation of bourgeois ideology, against right- and 'left'-wing revisionism, Maoism and anti-Sovietism, bar them from our country and cooperate on a growing scale and ever more fruitfully with the CPSU and the Communist parties of other fraternal socialist countries in the field of ideology.

A most important feature of the present stage of building socialism is the growing integration of fraternal socialist countries and the fact that ever closer relations are developing between Bulgaria and other members of the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union. The more headway the brother countries make in developing their productive forces and the greater their scientific and technological progress, the stronger the natural need for their integration. At the same time conditions are more and more favorable for steadily translating integration into reality. Meaningful effort by the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties must play a highly important part in this. We consider that at this stage it is most essential to work out and agree on a long-range strategy for the social and economic policies of the CMEA countries, a strategy reflecting the main development trends of each country and the community as a whole.

Closer relations in every field and integration with the Soviet Union and deepening cooperation and integrational links with other socialist countries play a big role in raising productivity of social labor and economic efficiency as a whole. They confront us with major theoret-

ical and practical problems of economic management, the elaboration of synchronized normative systems, and the content of educational work.

We are particularly happy that since the 10th Congress we have reached a new stage in developing our friendship with the Soviet Union, a stage characterized by a qualitatively new content of all-round cooperation and closer bonds between our countries and peoples. From the platform of the 11th Congress we said once again that we Bulgarian Communists, the working men and women of our country, the Bulgarian people as a whole, cannot conceive of building a developed socialist society and then communism in Bulgaria other than shoulder to shoulder with our Soviet brothers and sisters, by closely cooperating in every field with Lenin's Party, in conditions of increasingly organic relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We take a new approach to the problems of the internationalist and patriotic education of the Bulgarian people. In our view, patriotism today is not merely love of one's country but love of one's socialist country and is therefore socialist patriotism in which loyalty to communist ideas and the internationalism prompted by it are inseparable.

The content and forms of internationalism continuously undergo qualitative changes. With the rise of the revolutionary working-class movement, internationalism assumed a definite class character clearly formulated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in that magnificent slogan of the *Communist Manifesto,* 'Workers of all lands, unite!' We consider that after the victory of the October Revolution it was fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union, the first state of workers and peasants, that became a characteristic of proletarian internationalism. Georgi Dimitrov defined the attitude to Lenin's great country — the hope of working mankind and the bulwark of the world revolutionary process — as 'the touchstone of internationalism.'

World War II made a further breach in the capitalist world. As pointed out at the Congress, on the basis of proletarian internationalism there developed socialist internationalism — an expression of the common interests of the working class and the peoples of countries following a socialist path. Progress in socialist construction and integration processes in the spheres of defense, the economy, science, culture, ideology and politics carried forward the unity and cohesion of the countries of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. With the transition to the stage of building a developed socialist society in our country, especially after the adoption of the new BCP Program, socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism began to merge and to enrich one another. To our country and people, this is by no means a matter of theoretical research but a living reality,

part of our very existence. We have reason to say, for example, that in the sphere of Bulgarian-Soviet relations, the Bulgarian people are developing a new patriotic and internationalist consciousness and that a new type of patriotism is developing and asserting itself in which love of Bulgaria and love of the Soviet Union complement and enrich each other and fuse into one sentiment and one consciousness.

This is why the BCP will continue steadfastly to promote fraternal Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the socialist community, with Communists and progressives throughout the world, and will work to ensure that every Bulgarian develops a high degree of class, Party, patriotic and internationalist consciousness.

These are some of the fundamental problems raised by the 11th BCP Congress and dominating the life of every Bulgarian today.

On the 20th anniversary of the April plenum of the CC, which was of historic significance to the Party and country, we look back with deep satisfaction at the results achieved. Gains in every social, political, economic and cultural sphere have confirmed beyond doubt the correctness and vitality of the Party's April line. A Leninist, creative line, it was carried forward and found expression in both the Party Program and new Party documents, the decisions of the 11th Congress. All these decisions will unquestionably be put into effect, for the Congress, in turn, showed that the Bulgarian Communist Party is the real vanguard of the working class and the recognized leader of the people and is closely united. As our advance continues elements typical of the communist phase will gain ground in our socialist society, as will the prerequisites of the gradual transition to building communism. There is no insurmountable wall or historical vacuum between the further progress of socialism and the construction of communism. The two make up one continuous process — a law-governed transition from the lower to the higher phase of communist society.

France's future: socialism

Paul Courtieu
French CP representative
on *WMR*

The 22nd Congress of the French Communist Party will remain an important event in the history of the Party and in national political life. The preparations for it and its proceedings vividly demonstrated the Party's growing unity. The draft document drawn up for the Congress by the Central Committee sparked an unprecedented extensive, lively, and serious debate. Out of 22,705 delegates who took part in federation conferences only 12 voted against it, and 85 abstained. At the Congress all 1,522 delegates unanimously endorsed the document with amendments.

The Congress had the task of reaffirming, enriching and particularizing the Party's political strategy of many years. It had to answer questions concerning the nation's future and outline a correct political perspective.

France's social, economic and political realities have placed the question of radical change on the order of the day. French society is in the grip of a deep, protracted global crisis affecting all spheres: economic, social, cultural, political, ideological and moral. Its sources must be sought in the fact that the big bourgeoisie has appropriated the nation's resources and the fruits of the people's labor, sacrificing them to the profit interests of economic and industrial magnates. Today, 25 financial and industrial groups dominate French society. They are effectively directed by no more than 250 persons; some 30 of these hold directorships in one or more of the most powerful groups.

The Giscard government's internal policies, placed wholly in the service of big capital, draw the country deeper and deeper into the throes of the crisis. Those policies, which benefit several major capitalist companies, compel the masses to tighten their belts still more: prices, rent and taxes keep rising, the purchasing ability of wages and social security payments is declining, unemployment and semi-employment are up, farmers' incomes are down, more and more artisans and shopkeepers face ruin.

Giscard d'Estaing's foreign policy, which places France's independence and sovereignty in mortal jeopardy, also contributes to the

deepening of the crisis and to deteriorating living standards. It is fully in line with the global strategy pursued and inspired by the United States. As Georges Marchais said in his report at the Congress, that policy 'represents a new type of Atlanticism.'

The crisis gripping France calls in question the functioning and very survival of the capitalist system characterized by the domination of a small but all-powerful caste of billionaires over the economy and the state. It is indicative of a *profound discrepancy between society's economic, social and political structures and the exigencies of economic progress and national development, the vital needs of the working people and the nation.*

The Communists are conducting a ceaseless struggle in all spheres against the consequences of those policies, to limit their baneful effects, and achieve the maximum possible in present conditions. What is needed to take the country out of the crisis, tangibly improve the conditions of everyone and assure a new national revival is *real* and *profound* change, a change in *policy*, a change in *power*, a change in *society*.

This demand has been at the hub of the political and ideological struggle in France for the last few years. That struggle sharpened considerably following the 1974 presidential elections, when the popular movement embraced about 50 per cent of all French men and women. More and more people are joining the drive for change. The March 1976 cantonal elections further weakened the government's position.

Working people, all democrats increasingly seek economic and social transformations. The bulk of the French people ask: What kind of society does France need? How can the needed transformations be effected? Our answer is: The new society France needs is a socialist society; we offer our people a democratic road to socialism under the colors of France.

To build socialism as proposed by our Party, one essential condition must be met: usher in a new era of democracy and freedom. A small bunch of private multinational industrial and financial groups holds the main economic levers in its hands. It seeks to deprive the people of any opportunity to intervene in, or control, economic life, systematically reduces their rights and liberties to provide conditions for merciless exploitation of the working people and plundering the nation. The working people, the masses are barred from decision-making on issues concerning their daily life and the destinies of the nation. The Giscard administration is steadily building up authoritarianism. This is a situation fraught with grave consequences from every point of view. 'Today democracy is on the order of the day of the national struggle,' said George Marchais.

Economic democracy requires that the banking groups and industrial monopolies dominating economic activity be transformed from the private property of a small egoistic caste into national poverty. It is also necessary to assure worker participation in economic decision-making, in particular in running nationalized enterprises and in planning.

Social democracy requires that all working people genuinely enjoy the fruits of their labor and stop being subjected to injustice and discrimination, that the income of every citizen make it possible for him to enjoy a worthy life in keeping with the quantity and quality of the work performed, that every person has access to positions of responsibility; to this end the right to advanced general and professional education must be guaranteed.

Political democracy should assure all citizens the possibility to choose, decide, control, manage. It is necessary for the working people to be able to take part in the direction and management of national affairs on all levels — enterprise, community, region, and the government itself.

Naturally, this new modern democracy — simultaneously economic, social, and political — which alone is capable of making the economy dynamic and effective, assuring the well-being of worker families, and giving back the country its freedom of initiative in international affairs, cannot be achieved by the big bourgeoisie, which is the enemy of democracy and liberty and strives to restrict them, insofar as they threaten the very system.

The working class, a class which more than anyone else is interested in doing away with exploitation and oppression, is in the vanguard of the struggle for democracy and freedom. This is a class struggle. The Party of the working class, which marches in the front ranks of that struggle, is wresting from the hands of the bourgeoisie the banner of freedom it still attempts to wave about to camoflage the profound injustices of its system. By rallying the broad masses of the people to the democratic struggle the Party helps isolate big capital and its government and create the conditions needed to do away with the domination of big capital over the economy and the state, without which no progress along the road of democracy can be achieved. 'Democracy and freedom,' said Georges Marchais, 'have become the main sector of the class struggle, the revolutionary struggle.'

Implementation of the Common Program of the Left will mean a great step forward along the road of democracy and fundamental reconstruction of national life. Communists view the Program not as a marriage of convenience, not as a means of improving the existing system, but as a complex of reforms aimed at profoundly altering the country's economic, social and political structures. Implementation

of the Common Program will allow France to achieve advanced economic and political democracy — a democracy the country has never known before. The position of working people will improve considerably. They will receive greater opportunities for effective participation in national affairs. The positions of big monopoly companies will be weakened. All of which will assure more favorable conditions for continued advance. Communists are convinced that this experience will enable the French people to proceed still farther along the road of economic and political democracy and embark on a more profound, socialist transformation of society.

Communists do not regard the Common Program as an ultimate objective, they struggle and will continue to struggle for 'democracy to the end,' for socialism. But only the people themselves can freely and sovereignly decide by popular vote whether or not they wish to proceed from advanced democracy to socialism.

Public ownership of all the main means of production and exchange and representative political power of the working people are the two basic characteristics of the new society — socialism — the FCP offers the French people.

There can be no socialism if the principal means of production and exchange are not made public property. This is indicated by the practice of Social-Democratic parties which, having retreated from the principle that an end must be put to the control of big capital over the country's main resources, have never succeeded in building socialism in the countries where they have been or still are in power. The socialism we propose has nothing in common with what reactionary propaganda calls 'collectivism,' by which it means universal expropriation, uniformity and constraint. Nothing could be more alien to our notion of socialism than so-called 'barrack-room communism,' implying total uniformity and conformity.

The radical transformations in economic and social life, without which socialism cannot be built, require *changing the nature of power*. The key issue in the struggle for socialism is the participation of the working people and their representatives in running the affairs of the country, assuring them access to the management of society. Defining this new political power, which in the view of the FCP is essential to assure the construction of socialism in France, Georges Marchais stated: 'The power that will head the socialist transformation of the society will be *the power of the working class and other categories of the working people* — manual laborers and intellectuals of town and country, that is, the overwhelming majority of the people.

'This power will be constituted and will operate on the basis of free choice expressed by popular vote; its task will be to assure the

broadest democracy in national economic, social and political life.

'Its duty will be to respect and compel respect for the democratic choice of the people.'

The document adopted by the Congress makes no mention of dictatorship of the proletariat. The Congress decided that dictatorship of the proletariat should not figure among the Party's objectives and accordingly instructed the Central Committee to submit amendments to the preamble of the Party Statutes to the 23rd Congress.

The Congress considered it necessary not to define by this term the political power in socialist France unsofar as it does not correspond to what the FCP offers the country. As George Marchais pointed out, 'the word "dictatorship" automatically evokes memories of the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco, i.e., the very antithesis of democracy. That is not what we want.

'As for the proletariat, today the term denotes the nucleus, the core of the working class. Although it plays an important part it does not represent the whole of the working class, still less all working people for whom the socialist power we envisage will speak.'

In defining our stand on this issue we proceed from the principles of scientific socialism elaborated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, who set two essential conditions for the victory of socialism:

1. The need for the working class to play a leading political role in the struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

2. The need for the revolutionary struggle of the masses to foil the maneuvers of the big bourgeoisie.

The document adopted by the Congress states that the working class — the leading force in the struggle for a new society — should occupy an appropriate place in the socialist state and play a determining part in it.

The big bourgeoisie has never voluntarily renounced its rule or privileges. Along with democratic traditions there is in France the tradition of the *Versaillaise*. The FCP harbors no illusions concerning the stand of the big bourgeoisie or its readiness to respect the results of a popular vote. Accordingly, the Congress document emphasizes that the working people, the masses as a whole, should pool their efforts at every stage of the road to deep democratic transformations and socialism and expand the struggle aimed at preventing reactionary attempts of resorting to lawlessness, subversion and violence.

At the same time we proceed on this question from the consideration that new historical realities in our country justify the conclusion that it is possible for the working class and people of France to advance toward socialism in a democratic way in conditions of civil peace and liberty. Never before have the peoples possessed such great opportunities to decide their own fate. This is a consequence of

the change in the world balance of forces, of the continued progress of the socialist countries, whose existence is of decisive significance; it is a consequence of development of the struggle of the working class and popular masses in capitalist countries, of the rise and qualitative transformation of the national-liberation movement.

Events in Chile and Portugal go to show that the reactionaries readily resort to violence, a factor which should not be forgotten or underestimated. But they also show that the reactionaries can only resort to violence if the correlation of forces favors them. The main lesson we have drawn from those events and take into consideration in our struggle is that the decisive prerequisite of success in carrying out democratic and socialist transformations in the best conditions is *the existence and consolidation of a sufficiently broad popular movement encompassing a large majority of the people and firmly committed to the objectives of those transformations*. We can say that there are favorable conditions in our country for the creation of such an alignment. The crisis strikes at the interests of the bulk of wage and salary earners and other sections of the working population. Unprecedented possibilities exist for attracting the majority of the people to the cause of transforming society, for forging a broad movement of the majority around the working class, which would be capable of carrying out democratic and socialist transformations and ensuring that they are respected. We consider that these opportunities must be utilized.

We reject the idea that at some moment or other the political will expressed by the majority of the people might be usurped by 'especially active groups' or repressive measures. In the struggle for socialism, in our time, in a country such as ours, nothing can replace the will of the majority democratically expressed through popular vote and through the struggle for the triumph of democratic and socialist transformations.

The democratic way to socialism proposed by the FCP envisages the creation of the best conditions for the development of that indispensable movement of the majority and giving it the scope, power and effectiveness necessary to overcome all obstacles. Here is what Georges Marchais said in his report: 'By fighting today for the democratic transformations envisaged in the Common Program we are creating the best basis for a union of the broad masses of the people capable of replacing monopoly power by a new, democratic power. Tomorrow the implementation of democratic reforms will weaken the positions and possibilities of the big bourgeoisie and at the same time strengthen the positions, and accordingly the possibilities of the struggle, of the working class and the people. Subsequently, as economic, social and political democracy advances and individual

and collective liberties expand, the popular movement will consolidate and the socialist power will ensure itself support and necessary participation. At the same time the mass struggle will change the correlation of social and political forces in favor of the working people, all popular strata.

' . . . The question is not to deprive the minority reactionary forces of freedoms but to provide them for the working people constituting the great majority of the nation. . . .

' . . . Drawing on these liberties, the working people will expand the struggle, force the big bourgeoisie to retreat and defeat it. This broad struggle will make it possible for the socialist power to compel the reactionaries to respect the choice freely expressed by the great majority of the people.

'What all this means is that, without renouncing socialism or putting off its construction, we offer the best and shortest way toward its realization.'

The 22nd Congress defined an original way to socialism. There is, after all, no universal model of socialism. Socialism is born in the real movement of history, in the real struggle of the people, in the context of their traditions and aspirations. Socialism emerges and develops in response to the objective, concrete, specific requirements of the country. Consequently, the response should be concrete, taking into account those specifics.

Socialism in France will be based on the realities of France, it will mean the preservation and enrichment of democratic gains, rights and liberties won by our people in the course of stubborn struggles.

As we see it, socialism and democracy, socialism and individual and collective freedoms, are inseparable. Economic and political democracy is a prerequisite of advance toward socialism, its consolidation and development. In practice, the general laws and universal principles of socialism inevitably acquire specific forms. The conditions and traditions of every country inevitably give socialism specific traits in every sphere, whether in respect of political institutes and political life, economic structures and economic organization, or public and cultural life. The same can be said of the ways leading to socialism and the methods of struggle. Insofar as the national and historic conditions of class struggle are different in different countries, each country inevitably follows its own course of struggle for socialism.

While advocating the French way to socialism and French socialism we remain loyal to the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The affirmation of an original, independent way to socialism in no way contradicts the fulfillment of our internationalist duty. As in the past we shall maintain solidarity with all peoples, democratic and

revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism, for independence and peace, for democracy, socialism and communism. Fraternal bonds link us in the first place with Communist parties, many of which have successfully led their countries to socialism. We are in solidarity with the parties pursuing that great undertaking. We are aware that it is thanks to the existence, development and influence of the socialist countries that we can elaborate our advance to socialism in France along the democratic way. We shall strive to develop that solidarity and resolutely oppose anti-Sovietism and the lies and slanders to which the socialist countries are constantly subjected.

We realize that the influence of every Communist Party 'is indisputably enhanced by the militant solidarity displayed by the vanguard parties of the working class of all countries,' as George Marchais declared. '...This reciprocal solidarity is a reflection of the proletarian internationalism that equally unites all Communist parties. Proletarian internationalism is by its very nature indivisible. We know of no superior form of internationalism and we shall never accept regional divisions of internationalism. It is the reciprocal character of that solidarity, the universal character of our internationalism that makes its possible for us to speak of the international communist movement.' Differences arising between communist parties on certain issues should not prevent dialogues or joint actions against imperialism in pursuance of common goals. In the present situation the FCP holds that joint action for achieving the principal common objectives in such spheres as peace, collective security, disarmament, international cooperation, or solidarity with the victims of repression and imperialist aggression is of primary importance for the cohesion of the world communist movement.

The union of left forces occupies a constant and important place in our policy. Without the unity of of the great majority the democratic forces cannot win. That is why our Party is working to establish a union of the people of France, an alliance of all victims of monopoly policy against the small caste that dominates our country.

This union can be formed, naturally, only on the basis of objectives diametrically opposed to those of big capital, in other words, on the basis of the Common Program. It can resolve the tasks facing it only in the course of stubborn class struggles against the oligarchy occupying dominant positions in the economy and the state.

As we see it, the union of the people of France should incorporate different social classes and sections, with all their diversity: the working class, the bulk of salary earners (employees, technicians, engineers, civil servants), peasants, intellectuals in various spheres, artisans, small traders, small and medium businessmen, who share the common essential interests, as well as various philosophical and

spiritual trends that reflect the history and realities of the French nation and contribute to its progress.

The Congress gave special attention to the rapproachement between Communists and Christians. This question has acquired new significance insofar as the economic and social consequences of the crisis draw all working people, believers as well as atheists, into the daily struggle. A great number of Christians would like to see their faith translated into policies, which brings them into the struggle for democratic changes, for a socialist society.

The diversity, independence and identity of all the forces in the union of the people of France, far from being an obstacle to success, is a factor contributing to its strength, scope and victory, provided, of course, that these forces act together for common objectives. The working class plays a special part in the struggle for democracy and socialism, that of its vanguard. That role of the motive force of social development is reaffirmed today in France in the struggle against the big bourgeoisie and its reactionary policy, for the victory of the Common Program. That is the role the working class will have to perform tomorrow in the course of implementing the Common Program and building socialism.

Experience shows that when the working class is barred from the direction of national affairs the losers are France and its people. The time has come for it to occupy the place it deserves in running the country. There can be no democracy, no socialism in France, there can be no liberation of the working class or other social groups that have become the victims of the rule of big capital, if the working class does not perform its vanguard political role. The decisive condition for the triumph of our strategy is for the working class to occupy the place that belongs to it by right. It is important for working people to be able to participate in the political life and struggle at the places where they work. That is why the Congress emphasized that at the present stage Party activity and organization on the factory floor is one of the prime requirements of the struggle.

The agreement reached between the parties of the left on the basis of the Common Program is the pivot for uniting the majority for which we are fighting. In our country cooperation between democratic parties is one of the prerequisites for successfully changing society. That is why the bourgeoisie has no intention of meekly submitting to the alliance of the working class and democratic forces and is sparing no effort to split it. The pressure from the bourgeoisie, international pressure, has not gone without response in the Socialist Party. It is a reformist party, and its history, the absence of a coherent theory, the social composition of its leadership and its lengthy practice of collaboration with the right continue to influence its behavior. The experi-

ence of France, the experience of countries where Social Democratic parties are influential and Communist parties are weak invites the conclusion that the Socialist Party will revert to class collaboration if the balance of forces within the left shifts in its favor and it manages to win dominant positions.

Consequently, the union is a scene of constant struggle. It cannot be realized, maintained or advanced if the working people and democrats are not vigilant and do not help it by their participation. A strong union capable of carrying out its commitments to the people needs a stronger and more influential Communist Party. The expansion of that influence will depend on whom the working people and democrats will favor in comparing the far-sightedness and devotion of different parties of the left, their resolve to fight against the Giscard administration, for the realization of the transformations provided for in the Common Program. The Communists strive to be in the forefront of that battle. They resolutely head the struggle of the working class and popular masses, they are most active in defending their interests and do everything to assure that best possible solutions. In taking the necessary initiatives they strive to promote the joint struggle and oppose reformist ideas and practices.

The Communists call for long-term and equitable cooperation between democratic parties, with equal rights and commitments for every partner. This in no way clashes with their desire to excert decisive influence on the struggle for the transformation of society. The possibility of building socialism in France depends on the ability of the Communist Party, the party of the working class, to head the popular movement.

The Communist Party is the motive force of change, it is the prime guarantee that the changes will be of the kind the majority of the French people desire. A stronger Party is needed to achieve the unity of the broad majority, just as the union of the people of France is indispensable for victory. Only such a party can strengthen the union of the left and turn it into a dedicated, militant alliance.

The working people and France now have a strong Communist Party. But to open the door into the future the Party must be still stronger and still more influential. This idea is taking root among the masses.

Equipped with the ideas of the Congress, winning over the masses, the Communists are sparing no effort to ensure that the seeds they have sown yield a good harvest. Thus the Party expands its influence among the masses, consolidates its own forces, and contributes to the formation of the conscious, fighting alliance of the majority indispensable for victory.

Party experience

The economic front of the revolution

Carlos Costa
Member of Political Commission,
Portuguese CP

Early in April our correspondent met with Comrade Carlos Costa and put a number of questions to him. Below is the transccript of the interview.

The new life in Portugal is being built in difficult conditions. The country faces grave problems awaiting urgent solution. Some were inherited from the former, fascist regime, some are due to the breakdown of the old order, some to mistakes made in the charged atmosphere of the revolutionary process.

The abolition of the fascist state, an offspring of monopoly capitalism, is an historic gain of the Portuguese revolution which, at its first stage, gave rise to a political authority independent of the economic power of the monopolies. At its second stage, following the abortive counter-revolutionary coup of March 11, 1975, it mounted an offensive against the economic power of monopoly groups, nationalizing banks and big companies in the main branches of the economy and launching an agrarian reform.

Among the deep-going positive changes mention should also be made of decolonization and the swift growth of the democratic movement.

This radical breakage is taking place in a country which has just begun to drag itself out of the morass of backwardness and stagnation formed during the half-century of fascist tyranny, in a country where hostility not only to communism, but to everything new and progressive in general, was hammered into people's heads for years.

Small wonder therefore that in two years the young Portuguese democracy has suffered more than one crisis and had to contend with many acute problems, threats and risks.

To this day direct and indirect economic, political and ideological consequences of the past weigh heavily upon the country. The following are some of the socio-economic characteristics of Portugal prior to April 25, 1974: nearly two million migrant workers out of a total

population of slightly over nine million; a gaping foreign trade deficit caused, among other things, by the fact that, besides many raw materials, the country had to import half its food supplies; a primitive structure of exports and heavy economic dependence on developed capitalist countries; fabulous profits for a dozen financial-industrial groups which controlled the country, and poverty of the exploited sections of the population; a monstrous apparatus of repression; the burdensome and costly colonial wars.

One can easily imagine the problems that confronted the country with its nascent political, economic and social democracy. They could only be solved through radically rebuilding the old socio-economic structures and effecting profound changes which would destroy the system of exploitation and oppression formed over the ages. But this met with frenzied resistance from the reactionaries — capitalists whose factories were nationalized, bankers who lost thier banks, latifundia-owners whose lands, quite often abandoned by them, were taken over by cooperatives. Their resistance takes diferent forms: attempts to block the 'battle for production' and dislocate the economy with the complicity of international imperialism, notably, through the 'fleeing of capital'; blocking credits to farm cooperatives by banks and curtailing output of farm machinery at a time when the Portuguese countryside badly needs it; sowing discord among the left parties, in the Armed Forces Movement, etc.

Last summer reaction had recourse to 'armed criticism' especially in some regions of the center, north and northwest where, along with small holdings, structures of the old system assuring the rule of big landowners and clericals predominate. Some 50 premises of progressive organizations were besieged, looted and set on fire.

Developments have clearly demonstrated that the waves of violence are part of an overall plan of reaction drawn up with the assistance of external forces. Hence, defense of the revolution implies struggle on two closely interrelated fronts — internal and external — and includes the struggle for national independence.

Although the governments that held office after April 25 conducted a moderate policy, although they respected the interests of citizens of other countries and did not infringe foreign interests in carrying out nationalization, the imperialist forces immediately took a hostile stand vis-à-vis Portugal. NATO strategists dreaded the prospect of weakening the southwestern flank in the system of 'defense of the free world.' Reactionary propaganda spared no efforts to present a distorted picture of the revolution. It depicted the socio-economic changes in the country in negative terms, as a consequence of evil Communist influence, and relations between the AFM and the Communist Party as relations between a political party and its 'military

apparatus.' The nature of the AFM as a political movement within the armed forces was thus distorted, while the old Portuguese army, the traditional stronghold of fascism and colonialism, was depicted by the bourgeois press as having turned into a 'revolutionary' army overnight. Persistent attempts were made to bring diplomatic and political pressure to bear on the revolution. And needless to say, economic levers of pressure were set in motion too. Some West European concerns reneged in fact on their plans of making investments into Portuguese industry, which caused serious economic difficulties as industrialization was financed mainly by foreign capital. These acts of sabotage and boycott were justified by reference to the 'economic chaos' allegedly caused by 'socialist experiments.' This tactic, it will be recalled, had been earlier applied by the multinational corporations in Chile.

In the specific historical conditions that took shape in Portugal and around it, the deepening and extension of the process of social change resulted in the speeding up of the class polarization of society and, as a consequence, in a sharper aggravation of the political situation. The deep and protracted crisis besetting the country has not been overcome to this day. The sharp class confrontation currently under way may produce unexpected twists and turns. The intensity and outcome of the struggle depend in many respects on how economic problems will be solved.

The country faces a dilemma — either build a new, socialist-oriented economy or give the capitalists their property back and lose the main socio-economic gains of the revolution, which inevitably entails the aggravation of the working people's conditions and abolition of democratic freedoms. The working people realize more and more clearly which of the two roads meets their interests. It has been amply demonstrated that the people have no intention of allowing themselves to be robbed of their victory, that the working class and laboring peasantry realize their strength and role and are becoming increasingly active in the search for cardinal solutions. This is borne out by the emergence of worker and neighborhood commissions, consumers' committees and residential area councils which defend the interests of the common people. The work of these organizations, born of the working people's initiative to combat reactionary attempts to dislocate the economy, bears witness to the fact that the revolution has released enormous forces latent in the people.

Even without going into details of the economic situation in conditions of the zigzag development of the Portuguese revolution, it is safe to say that the policy pursued by the provisional governments after April 25, 1974, and especially after March 11, 1975, has been marked by signal achievements. An end was put to the galloping inflation

inherited from the fascist regime, and prices were stabilized. The working people's living standards rose appreciably with the establishment of a minimum wage and its general growth. The resultant expansion of the home market, state control over many enterprises, nationalization, workers' administration, the dedicated efforts of hundreds of thousands of people, financial aid to factories from nationalized banks, the correct policy of the Labor Ministry — all this, despite adverse conditons, made it possible to prevent the closure of hundreds of factories and contain the growth of unemployment. The fact that Portugal's industrial output in 1974 dropped much less than in the Common Market countries (by 3-4 per cent according to figures available to us) should, beyond doubt, be seen as a major success. As to agricultural production, it increased substantially last year in areas where the agrarian reform had been carried out. For the first time in many years we did not have to import wheat. The foreign trade deficit decreased by eight million contos in 1975 compared with the previous year.

Thus, the allegations about 'economic chaos' spread by Spinola and the Popular Democrat leader Sa Carneiro, and later taken up by the Socialist Party leadership in its attacks against the fourth and fifth provisional governments, have in fact proved a clumsy propaganda figment. One can say without sinning against the truth that before the resignation of the fifth government, conditions had been created for genuine restructuring of the national economy and embarking on the road to socialism.

The events of November 25, 1975,* however, were followed by a shift to the right. Progressives are being removed from the state apparatus, both at top and local levels. Positive structures are being abolished. Democrats on local authorities are being retired. All this stengthens the positions, in the state apparatus, of the bureaucracy severed from life and far from understanding the working people's interests.

All bodies which ensured the normal supply of the market and kept prices down have been either abolished or doomed to inaction by the Popular Democrat Minister. Progressive and competent managers have been dismissed. Prices have soared, the market is being depleted. Products are being requisitioned from the peasants. The country is returning to the times when big capitalist middlemen were flourishing. Wages have been frozen, which, coupled with growing

*The separate uncoordinated actions undertaken on that day by some military units influenced by leftist pseudo-revolutionaries, were used by definite military circles to remove from command posts in the armed forces not only leftists, but also those who fought consistently for the further advance of the revolutionary process. — *Ed.*

prices, leads to a sharp decline in living standards. The number of jobless is rapidly growing: there are about 300,000 today, including 70,000 repatriates from the former Portuguese colonies.

Banks are being turned over to minions of their former owners, and the same is happening with nationalized enterprises. Attempts are made to return enterprises controlled by the state or run by the workers to their former owners who had brought these businesses to the verge of bankruptcy — averted only by the actions of the previous government and the dedicated efforts of the working people. If, on the other hand, this transfer does not come about because of the working people's resistance (and this is universal), administrative and financial difficulties are artificially created for such enterprises. The policy of returning property to the capitalists will, in the present conditions, inevitably lead to the closure of many factories, unrestrained inflation, still greater unemployment and economic collapse.

There is a mounting campaign backed by big landowners and their underlings against the agrarian reform, although it is perfectly clear that in the few months since the inauguration of the reform the working people in Alentejo Province did much more for agriculture and the country as a whole than the landowners throughout their entire life as exploiters and parasites. In the past agricultural production in the province declined from year to year. Now areas under crops are being steadily expanded and output is growing — a result of the abolition of big landed estates and the establishment of cooperatives and other farms in their place, a result of the creative efforts of people who have rid themselves of exploitation.

An agrarian reform worthy of this name is a revolution. It is carried out not by a bureaucracy but by the working people. And that is why it cannot be halted. It will be carried on, the latifundia will be completely abolished, and their lands, up to the very last square metre, passed over to the tillers.

In foreign economic relations the policy of subservience to imperialism is being revived, its grave consequences being felt already now. Short-term loans are granted by our imperialist 'benefactors' with security in gold — this the country had not known even under fascism. As a result, it has already virtually lost one-third of its gold reserves. (As of September 30, 1975, the state still possessed foreign exchange reserves rated at 12.5 million contos and an unexpended gold reserve of 860 tons; bearing in mind the real cost of gold, these reserves would make it possible to hold out for four years in an unstable situation even if the balance of payments deficit remains at the 1975 level of 26 million contos.) Specialists maintain that if it continues along the present road Portugal will have neither gold nor foreign currency by the end of 1976. With an enormous balance-of-

trade deficit, this is bound to result in extreme starvation. Such are the fruits of the 'remarkable competence' of the present Finance Minister from the Socialist Party and of the 'aid' from its friends who are so willing to give us loans.

To resist this policy means to fight for national independence. The Communist Party does not want Portugal to be isolated from capitalist countries. It favors cooperation withe Common Market countries and the USA, as well as foreign credits and investments needed to overcome our difficulties. But it opposes credits on shackling terms, endangering the country's sovereignty. Our people will not sell their revolution for marks or dollars, however great the sums offered in exchange. For Portugal independence means that the people, and the people alone, will formulate the policy of their country and will themselves decide their future.

The imperative need today is a swift reorganization of all banking and nationalized industries to make them more productive and efficient. The state-controlled enterprises, nationalized enterprises and enterprises run by the working people must define their legal status more clearly so as not to fall back into capitalist hands. It is imperative to strengthen worker control at factories as a means of combating economic sabotage, and as a form of training managerial personnel. It is necessary urgently to solve the problems of credits and technical aid to agricultural production units so as to enable them to produce as much as possible. And it is necessary to enforce the laws on land tenure and fallow lands, to take steps for buying the peasants' products at prices fixed in advance.

Drawing on their organizations and with the connivance of provocative groups composed of Portuguese Maoists — the so-called movement for the reorganization of the proletarian party, the worker-peasant alliance and the sham Communist ('Marxist-Leninist') Party of Portugal — the reactionaries are trying to infiltrate the ranks of the working people and subordinate the popular struggle for better conditions to their own interests. It should be perfectly clear that these maneuvers pursue exceedingly dangerous political objectives. The nurses' strike, which lasted several days and during which patients were refused help in medical institutions, affords an example of how the reactionaries ar trying to capitalize on existing difficulties in pursuance of their ends. That strike was provoked by both the adventurist attitude of the nurses' union leadership and the neglect of the working people's interests and intransigence on the part of the Social Security Ministry controlled by the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party. While supporting the just demands of the working people, the PCP tells them that such forms of struggle as switching off electricity or water supplies, work stoppages on the city transport, or

strikes of civil servants, cause a feeling of insecurity and frustration among the population. In the present conditions strikes of this nature only play into the hands of reaction.

It is in the best interests of the working people and the nation as a whole to support and consolidate order and revolutionary discipline everywhere, in all areas of public life, in production and, first and foremost, in the armed forces. The question is, of course, not of the discipline of the old type, but of a conscious discipline, a discipline serving the interests of the people and revolution. The formation of repressive forces from among reactionary elements will not ease but, on the contrary, aggravate the situation still more, imperil democratic freedoms and the very revolutionary process.

The danger of fascism remains. It is necessary to face this menace squarely and take steps prompted by the situation. The reactionary forces overthrown by the revolution have not laid down their arms. The terrorists from the clandestine fascist 'army of Portuguese liberation' are raising their heads more and more openly. The danger is all the greater in view of the fact that certain parties and circles are trying to buttress their positions by acting not for the revolution but against it.

At the same time virtually nothing is being done to implement the government program for combating counter-revolutionary activity. More, all sorts of measures are undertaken against the progressive forces. As before, attempts are made to reduce Communists' participation in government to the minimum or force them out altogether. And yet the Communists remain in the government — not because they support the policy of the Socialist-Popular Democrat coalition, a policy of turning to the right, but to fight attempts to call in question the important gains of the revolution — nationalization, agrarian reform and the social gains of the working people.

The alliance of the Socialist and Popular Democratic parties in the present government has exacerbated and deepened the crisis in the country. The desire of these parties to dictate their will has aroused profound indignation and an intensification of the people's struggle. It was the PDP in alliance with the Social Democratic Center party and other avowedly reactionary groups that was the initiator of violence and terror against the Communists. It was that party that demanded that Communists be expelled from the government. The PDP actions leave no doubt as to its reactionary nature. This is why we continue to say: there is no place for this party in the government, its participation means that the revolution has an enemy in the government itself.

One cannot but regret the attitude of the Socialist Party leadership, which has allied itself with rightist and reactionary forces. The PSP leaders, who mounted an anti-communist campaign under the pretext

of defending democracy, bear a large measure of the responsibility for the counter-revolutionary situation in the country, for the split in the Armed Forces Movement and the democratic movement generally. Whereas the Communists have repeatedly called upon all forces with a stake in furthering the revolutionary process, for a dialogue and negotiations, the SP leaders invariably advance preliminary conditions for such negotiations and are trying to impose their terms on other parties. But today more and more rank-and-file Socialists and local branches are coming to the conclusion that there is an imperative need for unity with the Communists, that the future of democracy in Portugal largely depends on the understanding and cooperation between both these parties. Every day witnesses pronouncements by Socialist Party members in support of united action. Both party and youth organizations of the PCP and PSP adopt numerous joint resolutions. There is no need to stress the significance of this tendency. In the conditions of our country Communist-Socialist unity is an historic necessity and it must force its way through. History knows many examples of repressive regimes coming to power because of divisions and differences among the left. The Portuguese revolution must draw a lesson from the reactionary onslaught of recent months.

The Communist Party takes a stand against the threat of civil war and for the political settlement of problems. As before, it maintains that this calls for unity of all political and social forces interested in defending the democratic freedoms and other gains of the revolution. The Party wants the AFM again to join hands with the progressive political forces and the people's movement. Participation of the Armed Forces Movement and all democratically- and patriotically-minded servicemen in the country's political life is, along with the struggle of the popular masses, one of the surest guarantees against a fascist comeback.

A major contribution to the consolidation and defense of the democratic regime was made by the adoption of the new Constitution by the Constituent Assembly. It guarantees extensive democratic freedoms and basic rights for the working people, legally formalizes the abolition of monopoly, the agrarian reform, institutionalizes (albeit not always consistently) nationalization, worker control at factories, and local organizations of the masses and directs the country's development along the road to socialist society. Although it has not fully reflected revolutionary dynamism of the popular masses, we salute the Constitution, pledge to respect it ourselves and insist that others do likewise. The adoption of the Constitution was the result of the struggle of working people and all popular masses, the result of the alliance between the people and the Armed Forces Movement.

However, it would be a dangerous mistake to believe that the

proclamation of the Constitution alone is enough to defend freedom and democracy and guarantee the socialist perspective. Strengthening the foundation of democracy and consolidating the revolutionary gains depend in many ways on the results of elections to the republic's Assembly.* The Communists have called for the establishment of a left bloc in the Assembly, inasmuch as dominance of the Social Democratic Center party and the Popular Democratic Party in it would mean the installation, in no time, of a reactionary dictatorship. Although the Communist and Socialist parties have, through the fault of the latter, not formed an alliance and not secured united action in the elections, they are both in favor of defending the Constitution, the political and socio-economic gains of the April 1974 anti-fascist revolution. The immediate future will show what Portugal's political course will be tomorrow and how the revolution will progress further.

An alliance of like-minded Communists

Rula Kukulu
Political Bureau member, CC
CP of Greece

We continue publication of the series on problems of building a mass Marxist-Leninist party begun in issue No. 4 of our journal.**

Our correspondents asked Rula Kukulu, Political Bureau member, CC CP of Greece, about the experience in building a mass Marxist-Leninist party in Greece, particularly in regard to solving this task when going over from illegal to legal activity, about the replenishments of the Party and how the admittance of new members is organized, as well as work among them. Below we print the interview with Comrade Kukulu.

*Almost 15 per cent of the popular vote and 40 deputies, 10 more than in the Constituent Assembly — these are concrete indicators of Communist gains in the April 25 parliamentary elections. The Communist Party not only held its positions but improved them, especially in proletarian districts and provinces where the agrarian reform is being carried out. The Socialist Party received 35.01 per cent of the ballot, losing several seats, the Popular Democratic Party won 24.01 per cent, and the Social Democratic Center Party, 15.87 per cent. — *Ed.*

**A series on this theme was introduced by Atos Fava's article, 'The class character of a mass party,' see *WMR*, April 1976, page 81.

Building a mass Marxist-Leninist party is a matter of urgency for us Greek Communists. It is directly linked with our present practice, the tasks of reorganizing and reactivating the Party after 27 years of clandestinity. That is why we closely follow articles in *World Marxist Review* devoted to the questions of building a mass party. We want a militant mass party strong both in numbers and in its political, ideological and organizational unity based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the revolutionary transformation of society.

That is how the question was posed at the Ninth Congress of our Party (February 1974). Though the congress was held in conditions of clandestinity, it was clear that the junta's days were numbered and that problems linked with enlisting new members would shortly acquire prime importance. On the one hand the long years of clandestinity had taken a heavy toll. Our losses were particularly high during the past seven years of military-fascist dictatorship. They had to be made up for. After winning legality, we had to prepare for a rapid growth of the Party and its organizations. On the other hand, we knew from experience that in the maturing revolutionary situation the struggle between the Communists' line — a line of revolutionary action — and that of the reformists and opportunists, would flare up with new force. The opportunists attempted to divert the working-class movement from revolutionary action onto the path of reformism. Therefore the further growth and strengthening of the Party posed a double-pronged task — that of a correct relation between the quantitative and qualitative growth of our ranks.

We need, congress declared, 'a well-organized and strong Communist party with deep roots in the working class, the working peasantry and all working people, a party capable of leading the Greek people to victory.' It was stressed that we would build the Party as a Leninist type party, as a militant alliance of like-minded Communists. Its ultimate aim is the revolutionary transformation of Greek society by abolishing capitalism and building socialism and communism. The Communist Party, congress emphasized, is an internationalist party, inspired by the principles of proletarian solidarity proclaimed by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto,* which are the source of strength and earnest of victory of the working class. A contingent of the world communist movement, our Party is firmly linked with all revolutionary forces of our epoch and holds that its national-patriotic tasks should not be divorced from its internationalist tasks.

It is not by chance that the important propositions of Lenin, fundamental to building a party of the new type, were cited in congress documents. The Greek Communists knew them well. But a critical examination of our experience showed that the Party could

have been much more successful had it not at certain periods departed from these principles. History teaches us that such a departure is impermissible, even though at a definite moment it may seem justified by the specific situation or the struggle for an important tactical objective.

Shortly before the end of World War II, for instance, when victory over fascism was a matter of days and many thought that the Communists would soon participate in government, the standards for admittance of new Party members were lowered. In a country with a population of less than eight million, Party membership reached 400,000. People came to the Party, seeing it as the initiator and main organizer and leader of the national Resistance, the most influential force in the country. Many of these people fought against the fascist invaders and against the internal reaction in the postwar period. They fought against the military intervention of the British, and later U.S., imperialists, against turning our country into a bridgehead of U.S. imperialism and NATO, for democracy and progress. In this struggle, in which tens of thousands of Communists died the death of heroes, the Communist Party demonstrated its profoundly popular and patriotic character. At the same time, by far not all of those who had joined the Party at the surge of the revolutionary struggle were capable of standing the test of defeat, retreat and clandestinity. As is known, open intervention by British troops interrupted democratic development in the country, resulting in civil war in 1946. The Party was declared illegal and thousands of Communists were jailed and executed. At this time, those who were unable to withstand the class enemy's attacks, left the Party. It can also be said that the lowered standards in admitting new members after the defeat in the civil war (1949) negatively affected the work of building and strengthening the Party in conditions of clandestinity.

Working underground, the Party directed its efforts at organizing the economic and political actions of the working people, at uniting the democratic forces. However, in 1958-68, when many in the Central Committee and in the leadership adhered to right-opportunist views, the Party leadership decided not to pose the task of increasing membership, or of setting up new Party organizations and committees and strengthening the existing ones. Party organizations were dissolved, and it was proposed that the Communists join the coalition of left forces (EDA), in the belief that they would influence it, win it over to the political platform of the working class and transform it increasingly into a pro-Communist and Communist organization.

This policy greatly harmed the Party, resulting in its virtual self-dissolution. It harmed the EDA as well, which had done much that was positive and could have done more. But after the dissolution of

the Party organizations, the Communists lost the opportunity of purposefully influencing the EDA by relying on the strength, experience and prestige of their Party. Moreover, some of them were influenced by the alien ideology and evolved from militant Communists into well-intentioned philistines; this created favorable grounds for the emergence and growth of opportunist trends. As a result, the working class and other working people were disarmed in face of reaction's onslaught. The lack of Party organizations was one of the main reasons why the Party was unable to organize popular resistance to the 1967 fascist coup.

This bitter experience convinced us of the futility and danger, in mastering the science of revolution, of disregarding experience, of ignoring the international achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought, the lessons of our own history. An analysis of the Party's past experience, including its mistakes, a study of the experience of the fraternal parties made it possible, immediately after the fall of the junta, to begin vigorously reactivating and reorganizing the Party, a task set by the Ninth Congress and specified, in the light of the new conditions, at the Second Central Committee Plenum in January 1975.

The sharpening class struggle and surge of the strike movement in Greece created new opportunities for drawing forward-looking workers and other working people into the Party. Party ranks are replenished from among those who, together with the Communists, are fighting for the working-class cause, against imperialism and the monopolies, for a better life, for the right to work, against growing prices and worsening living standards. We concentrate on enlisting workers, primarily from the workbench and young workers and women. We direct our efforts at increasing the share of industrial workers among the Party membership. Practice has shown that the more active our Party organizations, the closer their links with the masses, and the more effective the Communist-led struggle of the working people, the more successfully will this serious task be carried out. It is in the course of this everyday struggle for the working people's interests that the Communist Party is winning new members.

But we are also mindful of the other side of the matter. Efforts to replenish our ranks do not imply that the doors to the CPG are open to all and sundry. No, everyone without exception who applies for Party membership must be screened to ascertain whether the person is ready, whether he is worthy of becoming a member of the Communist Party.

How do we go about this? I will tell you about a woman worker, the wife of a Communist. After the overthrow of the junta, she first helped her husband's comrades by canvassing for the Communists' candidate to Parliament. Later she herself was nominated as a candi-

date to the local council. She was elected, coped with the job well, and comrades recommended her for Party membership. At the meeting where she was admitted as a candidate member, she was assigned the task of organizing the local housewives in the Democratic Women's League. Having fulfilled this as well as other tasks, and proved that she is joining the Party consciously and through conviction, that she wants to seriously study Marxism-Leninism, she was admitted to the Communist Party.

That is a typical example. However, not all new members come to the Party in this way. Many come to us from the Communist Youth Organization. In its ranks thousands of young people learn the ABC of political struggle and communist ideology. Many fine people come to the Party from the trade unions and other mass organizations, where they pass the test of serious class battles. But in this case, too, an individual approach, recommendations and a probationary period are imperative.

These statutory requirements are stringently followed in all Party organizations. Communists are exacting toward newcomers. The majority of Party cadres and activists have gone through a hard school of struggle, have been subjected to arrests, spending 15-20 years in prisons, concentration camps and in exile. These are steeled Communists. They upheld the Party in the difficult struggles against opportunism. During the period of the split they fought in concentration camps and prisons and in the trying conditions of clandestinity for the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, to preserve the Communist Party as a party of the new type. Their own experience, as we have earlier mentioned, convinces them of the need to defend the ideological and organizational cohesion of the Party, to see that its quantitative growth accords with the task of tis qualitative strengthening.

The existence and practice of a group calling itself the 'CPG-internal' is a constant reminder of the consequences of departing from the Leninist principles of a new type of party. Its divisive practice is used by the government and the bourgeois parties in their struggle against the Communist Party of Greece. This group is now preparing to hold its congress. The theses note that its delegates will be elected not only from the 'CPG-internal,' but also from among supporters who agree at least in the main with its minimum program. One of its leaders writes in this connection that in the conditions of Greece the 'CPG-internal' must include all left forces of Marxist orientation who followed the old EDA in the period of its legal existence. Its amorphous ideological and organizational structure suits the group because it corresponds to its tactics and itself gives rise to such tactics, which is expressed, in particular, in the nationalistic, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet

activities of the leaders of the 'CPG-internal' and in the attacks against Marxism-Leninism.

One thing is clear: our views are diametrically opposed to this group. But it still retains some influence over the trade unions, among the youth, etc. By exposing the essence of this trend, we help those who have been deceived by its revolutionary phraseology to break with the ideology and practice of the 'CPG-internal.'

In our efforts to build a new mass party we, naturally, come up against difficulties. And not only the objective ones faced by every Communist Party in a capitalist country, but also subjective ones. Twenty-seven years of clandestinity could not but be reflected in the established style and methods of Party work. We, for instance, are not used to holding meetings: in illegality everything was built on the personal contacts of the clandestine members. So currently meetings are often dull. The fact that many Communists were active for years in the old EDA, whose style of work differed sharply from the style of a Leninist type party, has also made its imprint on Party work. We must overcome all these negative tendencies inherited from the past.

The third plenum of our Central Committee held last November summed up the first stage of reactivating and reorganizing the Communist Party, which was largely successful, and posed the task of overcoming existing shortcomings. At the new development stage, it is important, while not slackening efforts aimed at increasing Party membership, to improve the work of the primary organizations set up after attaining legality, because that is where the Communists, the new members and the youth in particular, are educated. The primary organization is for them the first Party school of class struggle, where vital questions are discussed, objectives are posed and where criticism and self-criticism are practised. That is where the first lessons of Marxism-Leninism are learned. That is where, in the process of practical ideological struggle, Communists become ideologically steeled.

We want to make our primary organizations the living cells of our Party. The primary organization should do more than just carry out the tasks set by a higher body or committee, it is called upon to study and solve topical issues, which concern not only its own inner life. We want our branches always to have a clear idea of problems of concern to working people, to lead and coordinate their struggle, while seeking satisfaction of their demands and furthering the unity of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

An important feature of a mass party of the Leninist type is the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory, the capacity for scientific foresight. In our work we are always mindful of the fact that a good knowledge of theory makes it possible for the Party correctly to

combine the struggle for the long-range aim — the revolutionary transformation of society — with the struggle for intermediate goals at various stages of the revolutionary process. The study of Marxism-Leninism, raising the ideological and theoretical standards of the membership, is the foundation of the Communists' ideological unity. In organizing Marxist-Leninist studies we often have to begin from scratch. During the years of illegality these studies were conducted in rather peculiar conditions. Jails and concentration camps were then the universities of Marxism-Leninism for revolutionaries. That was where the best educated Party members passed on the knowledge to the young comrades. However, carrying on their everyday revolutionary work at large, the Communists often lacked the time and conditions for further study.

Now we have been able to arrange that in towns the Communists gather once a week at their locals for lessons on Marxism. At these lessons, which are conducted by senior, theoretically well-grounded comrades, ideological questions are discussed. So far, we have not been able to organize such lessons regularly in the provinces. But with the training of new cadres and when the necessary conditions have been provided, this work will be expanded.

We are sometimes asked: Are we correct in insisting on the ideological unity of the Party? It is suggested that by posing the question in this way we alienate those who are prepared to work together with the Communists for the common political aim — for the extension of democracy and for socialism. To this we reply: One should not confuse the Party, an alliance of the like-minded, the organized vanguard of the proletariat, with the broad alliance of forces which, while adhering to different ideologies, pursue a common political aim and participate in the common struggle.

Our Party exerts great influence across the land. We have active supporters, with whom we have close ties. They take an active part in the meetings organized by the Party, in the everyday battles for the working people's interests, and participate in the mass organizations, trade unions, etc. They are no less active than the Communists, though for various reasons they have not yet joined the Party. We also have less active supporters, who participate only in various mass campaigns, particularly election campaigns. We are strengthening our ties with them as well.

Our aim is to become advanced fighters whose voice is heard in all mass organizations, the trade unions in particular. We are striving to win over the majority of workers and other working people. We want to instill the communist ideology in them and to draw them into the struggle for the immediate and long-range strategic aims of the

Party, for a new democracy, for socialism. In this way, we are gradually creating an army of the revolution.

At the same time we propose active cooperation to all left democratic forces. Recently the Communist Party published a special declaration in this connection. It calls for the cohesion and unity of the democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly forces in the struggle for consistent and broad democratic changes, to free Greece from dependence on imperialism, from the subjugation of its interests to the interests of multi-national monopolies. As the initiator of this cohesion, the Communist Party is aware of its historic responsibility for the destinty of its people, for the development of the revolutionary process in Greece.

In hard and intense struggle, we are building our Party and its organizations on the basis of the tried and tested Leninist principles. We are confident that we are building the Party in the correct way, and that it will be capable of bringing about a better future for its people.

We are for the unity of action of all democrats

Following is an interview with Bernardo Leighton, founder of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile.

The main problem which the democratic forces of Chile are tackling today is to achieve unity of action of all the parties and population groups opposed to the dictatorship. Isolated actions cannot lead the country out of the deep economic, social and political disarray it has been reduced to by fascism. This task can only be accomplished if the overwhelming majority of the people join in struggle to restore democracy and freedom. 'What enables the military junta to stay in power is not so much armed force as anti-fascist disunity,' says the Communist Party of Chile.[1] In view of the importance of the struggle for unity, *WMR* last year published a collective interview with leaders of the Popular Unity parties.[2] A growing body of Chilean public opinion is coming to the conclusion that efforts for unity should be carried on, along with Popular Unity parties, by other political and social forces, primarily by the Christian Democratic Party, which is very influential among Christ-

ians, the middle strata and part of the working people. *WMR* believes the reader will be interested to know what that party's founder had to say about the matter in an interview with Hugo Fazio, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the journal.

Of course, Bernardo Leighton's views do not entirely coincide with those of the Popular Unity. They show, however, that he is searching for effective means of fighting the dictatorship.

Following is a brief transcript of the interview.

How is the struggle for unity going on in Chile?

Those members of both the older and the younger generation who helped for years to establish a democratic regime must now contribute to the restoration of democracy, meaning, of course, a democracy perfected with due regard to the experience we have gained. The effort to achieve unity should be pressed forward on the principle of mutual respect, with a view to working out coinciding criteria for the restoration of a democratic regime.

As for the organizational forms that the process of achieving unity could take, Leighton repeated the opinion he had expressed before, when he said: 'It isn't easy for the Christian Democrats to sign an agreement on a pact or front. But I believe time will settle the issue. The important thing is concrete action. The task is not to fight against one another but against Pinochet. He is our enemy. However, he is a symbolic enemy, for actually it isn't he who is the enemy but the system set up by him and others.'[3]

Therefore, Leighton said during the interview, it is not now a question of searching for the specific forms a pact or front (the names may differ) should take. The drive for unity requires that all Chileans living abroad (it is them I have in mind) should pool their efforts, as we are all agreed on the main thing, that the democracy which existed in Chile in the past must be restored. That is how the process of achieving unity can be furthered and it is what we have been working for — with some success — and will continue to strive for.

What common goal makes for mutual understanding?

First of all we must be genuine democrats, that is, conceive democracy according to the doctrines that have guided us for years and will continue to guide us. The common goal is to re-establish the foundations of democracy but, I repeat, of a renovated democracy, for the present usurpers of power, the so-called Chilean government, have destroyed it, in particular because it wasn't renovated in time (many didn't want it, either). This common goal will make for mutual understanding among democrats to the extent that every Chilean accepts

the idea that every person is entitled to his opinion. The Christian Democrats' ideology is associated with Christ, whom we continue to see as the founder of the Christian religion. But reality is changing and this means that we cannot always say, 'You must do as Christ taught us.' Christ spoke of man — but mankind, undergoing evolutionary change, puts the Christian doctrine, which came into being 2,000 years ago, in the service of the present day. Of course, this is the Christian view. And being a Christian doesn't at all mean possessing exclusive rights in regard to others. We merely want to express the profound idea of our spiritual world, the idea of serving man. I think the same is true of other doctrines, such as Marxism, which Christians should treat in the same way as their own doctrine, that is, as a world outlook that come into being in the course of history. Both Christianity and Marxism recognize the value of the individual. Hence the common goal that will help democratic forces to achieve mutual understanding must proceed from the fact that the desire for democcracy is a manifestation of human nature. In advocating our ideas, however, we shouldn't make a dogma of them.

What prevents unity of action?

That is a timely question, for in the past unity of action for democracy encountered difficulities.

Even before the coup, many Chileans holding different views sought unity of action to preserve democracy but failed. The question at the time was not of seeking unity with the government or the opposition, but of attempts to achieve all-round mutual understanding on how democratic order should be maintained. Salvador Allende, whose death I deeply mourn to this day, declared, for his part, in favor of preserving democracy. Many of us who were not in the government respected his policies because we were a democratic opposition. But there were difficulties. Between us and government spokesmen and between them and opposition leaders. This is why the issue of united action is still relevant although I think that for those who are abroad, it is less pressing than before. Inside Chile, however, the problem is still complicated.

That is why Chileans living abroad should, first of all, take steps to come to terms on all the problems they can solve jointly, with due regard to Chilean conditions, for our compatriots there are exposed to much greater risks than many of the exiles. While today's difficulties are less serious than before, they raise obstacles to unity of action.

I think we should all be analysts. I've been in Europe for over two years and I know agreement can be reached with people holding different views — Socialists, Communists, Radicals, members of various small groups (some of them include former Christian Demo-

crats) — an agreement to the effect that all who championed democracy before September 11, 1973, are entitled to participate in the restoration of democracy in Chile.

Something most noteworthy is going on in Chile. Indeed, the questions you've asked me and I've answered are also being discussed in Chile. That applies probably to the armed forces, the carabinero corps and all who cooperate with the dictatorship. Many wonder what they are to do and what lies ahead, since they have so far proved unable to solve the problems and, indeed, the situation has worsened.

Many of those who welcomed the coup, wrongly believing they were serving democracy, have long since come to realize that the dictatorship must not be backed. They are now thinking of the need for unity, all the more because they don't have to renounce their views to that end but must merely respect the views of others, so that broad-based democracy can be restored in Chile by joint efforts, a democracy which existed before but whose shortcomings were not removed in time.[4]

There are ways and means of overcoming the difficulties on the road to united action — witness the experience of Chileans living abroad. In Chile, even those who supported the dictatorship at first realize, as the Chilean press indicates, that the path the junta is following will never lead to what they had hoped to achieve out of good intentions.

What government should come after the dictatorship?

The issue of the future government is very important and I will try to state my ideas about it in specific terms. I believe it should comprise those who adhered to democratic positions when, on September 11, democracy was abolished and the dictatorship took over. Why should they participate? So that the government might accomplish its tasks? I hope to God it will be so. I do hope it will. All who hold such views must make tremendous efforts to put them into effect. The government should comprise those who before the coup advocated democratic changes, that is, members of the opposition and cabinet members, people equal to the tasks they will be faced with.[5]

We know very well who should *not* be included in the future government. Those who had helped the dictatorship and had remained loyal to it throughout. The government should include people who have never collaborated with the dictatorship and were opposed to it. It is they who will have to assume the responsibility for building a new democratic order in Chile.

1. *Unidad Antifascista*. Edicion clandestina. December 1975.
2. See *WMR*, October 1975, page 44.
3. *La Gazzetta del Popolo*. September 11-12, 1975.

4. 'Large social and political sectors that first backed the dictatorship for one reason or another have changed their position and are now fighting openly against the fascist junta's policies and methods,' Leighton has said earlier, and the idea ran through the interview. 'In the Christian Democratic Party, which is my principal source of information, this trend is quite manifest. Some influential circles, which had maintained that the dictatorship could not last and that a constitutional democratic regime would soon be re-established, now see that the situation is entirely different. They take a resolute stand against the dictatorship's policy and the dictatorship itself, for they consider that is is in the nation's interest to eliminate the present regime as speedily as possible' *(La Gazzetta del Popolo,* September 11-12, 1975).

5. Last year Bernardo Leighton stated similar views in speaking of the political forces that should join in the struggle for unity. 'I think,' he said at the time, 'all the political forces interested in restoring democracy will remain aloof of the struggle or join in it depending on the options they choose. Ideology or allegiance to doctrine has nothing to do with this. Everything depends on concerted action. No one should have a feeling that he is admitted to the struggle or barred from it beforehand. We must all take part in the struggle for a common goal. We must join efforts, showing loyalty to one another, respecting one another's points of view and seeking a broad firm and just agreement. The point is that no force should impose its will and that if it tries to do so, it should be firmly resisted by other forces — those opposed to hegemonism, sectarianism and dogmatism. This broad agreement must become today's goal' *(Chile-America,* 10-11, 1975).

A life given for the people's cause

PAGES FROM THE BOOK OF COURAGE

In September 1975 the working people of El Salvador lost their true friend and leader — Rafael Aguinada Carranza, General Secretary of the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador, a genuine representative of the people in the country's Legislative Assembly, a worker, a Communist.

He was assassinated in the evening of September 26 in the very center of San Salvador, four blocks away from the police headquarters, at a crossing which is always crowded at that time of day. The assassins following Rafael Aguinada caught up with the car he was driving and opened fire with submachine guns. They fired from such close range that the coroner found traces of gunpowder on the dead man's body. The killers committed the assassination with impunity: after firing their submachine guns one of them came out of the car to finish off their victim with a pistol in full sight of customers of nearby cafes.

The funeral of Rafael Aguinada Carranza became a mighty demonstration of solidarity of the trade union, public, democratic

organizations of El Salvador and other countries with the struggle he had led. For three days there was an endless stream of workers, students, office employees and peasants marching to the building of the Trade Union Federation to pay their last tribute to their leader and express indignation at the atrocious murder. The workers of various enterprises in San Salvador and Santa Ana declared Saturday the 27th and Monday the 29th of September non-working days. Most of the country's trade union federations condemned the foul murder of the revolutionary worker.

All this was the Salvadorian people's convincing reply to their enemies and butchers. During those mournful days the masses demonstrated their readiness to continue their struggle and reaffirmed their determination not to be intimidated by the terrorism unleashed by the fascists in the government and security agencies. The actions of the Salvadorian people in those days showed their deep gratitude to the man who wanted to free their country of the exploiters — the cause for which he gave his life.

Our correspondent managed to convey to Carranza'a widow, Zoila Bertha Deras, the editors' request to say a few words about the life and struggle of her husband. Below we print the story she sent us. We also give excerpts from the speech made at the funeral ceremony by Shafic Jorge Handal, General Secretary of the Communist Party of El Salvador. We hope these will supplement the story about the slain hero and give an idea of the courageous struggle of the Salvadorian Communists.

WHY THEY KILLED MY HUSBAND

Zoila Bertha Deras

My husband, Rafael Aguinada Carranza, with whom I lived for 20 years, was born in the town of Sonsonate. He was the sixth child in the family of Mariano Aguinada and Antonia Carranza, who had 12 sons. Rafael became a carpenter's apprentice at the age of 13, immediately after finishing primary school. In 1945 he took a job at the carpentry shop of the Western Railway owned by a British company. The following year the railwaymen of the company struck for higher wages and better working conditions, and 15-year-old Rafael distinguished himself in collecting funds for the strikers.

In those days it was very difficult for those in the provinces who, like Rafael, had to start work early because of material difficulties, to continue studies, all the more so as there were no evening schools. So Rafael went to the capital, San Salvador, where he worked as carpenter in the building industry and attended the National School of Fine Arts in the evening. In that school he and his friends set up in 1952 a draughtsmen's organization, which united both the school's

students and graduates. On finishing the school he received a draughtsman's diploma. In 1956 Rafael participated in establishing the Lamatepec Youth Association, and in 1959 — the November 5 Youth Organization, which he represented at the World Youth and Students' Festival in Vienna.

Eager to learn, Rafael entered secondary school, but soon left it to devote himself entirely to revolutionary work. For some time he engaged in the activity of the April and May revolutionary party uniting representatives of left forces. The party was subjected to constant repression, so Rafael was forced to go underground.

In March 1960 Rafael joined the Communist Party of El Salvador. He had long considered himself a Communist, having been convinced that that Party, during its four decades of struggle, expressed the aspirations of those who wanted to build a better life for their people.

At the Party's Fifth Congress held in February 1964 Rafael was elected member of the Central Committee. Thanks to the participation of the Communist Party and the Left forces in the 1967 presidential election campaign, it became possible for the first time to carry on a broad discussion of demands for radical changes of an anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist nature. In that period Rafael was arrested but soon released due to the strong political ferment.

As a delegate of the building workers' union Rafael attended the Seventh Congress of the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador — one of the country's most powerful trade union confederations. At that congress he was elected the Federation's Secretary for Education, the Press and Propaganda, and was subsequently re-elected three time to that post, Rafael performed his work energetically, organizing courses, seminars and lectures for workers. The Federation's newspaper *Unidad* (Unity) began to come out again.

On September 14, 1972, National Guard agents in mufti broke into our house and took my husband to jail. The National Guardsmen had long been notorious for their brutal cruelty. For eight days they kept him in a toilet of 70 by 90 centimetres, handcuffed, naked, blindfolded with plaster and cotton wool, his head enclosed in a plastic bag. From there he was led away only to be interrogated and tortured. On the ninth day of imprisonment Rafael and eight other prisoners were sent by plane to Nicaragua and handed over to the army. To this day I cannot forget the outrageously cynical statement made by the President of the Republic to journalists who asked about the fate of the arrested. He told them: 'They are not being exiled, but just having a change of residence in our vast Central American homeland.'

Rafael always held that a revolutionary's place is in his own country. Since childhood he had been stubborn and persevering; his mother told me this many a time. After 40 days of exile in Nicaragua

he illegally returned to El Salvador to join in the struggle again and continue his work in the trade union movement and in the Party. On May 10, 1973, six months after his return, he was re-arrested and again exiled to Nicaragua, this time to the town of Esteli far in the north. As before, the Salvadorian Communist found solidarity and support among his Nicaraguan brothers-in-arms. Twenty days later he returned home to carry on the fight.

In November 1973 a campaign began for the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly and municipal councils. Rafael participated in it as a candidate from the National Opposition Union (NOU).[1] Of the 52 deputies elected to the Legislative Assembly in March 1974, 15, including Rafael, represented NOU. Obviously, work in the Assembly was not easy. The right-wing deputies, who formed the majority, rejected all proposals coming from the opposition and refused to let its members take the floor. And when the opposition did manage to speak out, the yellow press glossed over its speeches. Nevertheless, it succeeded in presenting several bills, including one on higher pay for factory and office workers and higher pensions.

Rafael addressed the Assembly more than once. He came out against the export law, which enabled foreign capital to penetrate the country, against the shackling credits granted by the United States, against repressions and restriction of freedoms. The working people saw a defender of their interests in Rafael, the deputy and trade union leader.

In September 1974 Rafael was elected General Secretary of the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador. The year 1975, the last in his life, was one of intensive work to strengthen the unity of the trade union movement, especially that of the three biggest federations.[2] Nationwide meetings of trade unions were held, which also included some controlled by the government.[3] At these meetings common demands which might serve as a platform for joint action were formulated. When a united confederation of Salvadorian working people was about to be set up, the government, alarmed by the growing unity of the working people, did all it could to split the trade union movement.

The reactionaries struck on September 26, when the struggle to set up the confederation was at its height. Thirteen large-calibre bullets riddled the man who had devoted his life to the revolution, to his Party. Rafael was one of many who gave their lives for the victory of our people.

Rafael was the second son in his family to fall in the battle for the cause of the revolution. The other, Rafael's brother Oscar Gilberto Martinez Carranza, was killed earlier by National Guardsmen during

a strike in support of the teachers' demands for higher pay; he, too, was a Communist and trade union leader.

Our children, Rafael, Dinora, Tania and Galia have lost their father. But the know that he died fighting for a just cause.

He was murdered for his tireless efforts for working-class unity. His murderers hoped his death would prevent the working people from achieving unity. But they miscalculated. Our people are increasingly realizing the urgent need to fight for their full emancipation.

San Jose, Costa Rica

HE DIED FOR A NOBLE CAUSE

Shafic Jorge Handal
General Secretary, Communist Party of El Salvador

Rafael Aguinada Carranza, our dear *Chele,* was shot dead by base assassins while he was hurrying to fulfill his duties as leader of the workers.

Chele Aguinada was an ardent and devout champion of trade union unity. The organized workers of the country are well aware that the unity of their movement was the chief goal toward which he aspired, and of his deep conviction that only unity would make it possible to defend their vital interests, secure better living conditions, and make the decisive contribution to the Salvadorian people's historic battle for a truly popular government.

We vow to continue our comrade's struggle to unite the working-class movement and join it in an inviolable fraternal alliance with the peasant movement. . .

We are living through hard times. But the struggle must go on in spite of the fact that assassins are lying in ambush. And it will continue despite the endless threats of repressions against the people's organizations and despite the danger of fascist encroachment upon the country's constitutional laws and our already meager democratic liberties. In our fight today we must learn to be as courageous, persevering and staunch as Comrade Rafael Aguinada was. This is the best way of paying homage to him, because his murderers want to intimidate and demoralize the whole working-class and popular movement.

We vow that we shall not allow ourselves to be intimidated, that we shall be unyielding and merciless in the struggle against the fascists, that we shall step up our discipline, our work, our militancy.

In March 1974 Rafael Aguinada Carranza was elected deputy to the Legislative Assembly, where he fulfilled with honor his duty as an incorruptible revolutionary, a worker-politician. Many a time working

people came from towns and villages to the Legislative Assembly, requesting it to resolve their vital problems and seeking protection from employer or government harassment. And they always found Rafael Aguinada to be one of the most resolute defenders of their interests and felt that his voice was their own voice.

The fact that he was elected deputy for the National Opposition Union (NOU), the biggest alliance of popular forces in the country's history, from the outset showed him to be a convinced advocate of unity of all progressive forces in a common front — which is indispensable for achieving the democratic, national-liberation revolutionary goals of the present stage in El Salvador's history.

During his work in the Legislative Assembly, Comrade Rafael proved his loyalty to the cause. He was always able to distinguish, even among deputies representing the government, between the watchdogs of the fascists and other reactionaries, and those who voted for the worst things against their will, because of their political affiliation; between those who were blinded by hatred and flagrantly trampled on the working people's interests, and those who were willing to hear them out and reach agreement with them; between those who acted from selfishness or under somebody's orders as arch-reactionaries and rogues, and those who are to a certain degree able to consider new ideas, which are sweeping our planet today.

Rafael Aguinada Carranza insisted that the Legislative Assembly should distinguish between the handful of reactionary and pro-imperialist officers performing traitorous and repressive functions from honest military men who opposed using the army as a gendarme against their own people and endeavored, together with them, to liberate and reorganize the country.

We vow to continue to be faithful to the cause of further strengthening our unity and turning it into a broad front that would include all the forces, organizations, groups and individuals, whether civilian or military, whether of the opposition parties or the ruling party, whether religious or secular, and regardless of their philosophical views — all those who are convinced of the necessity to defend freedom, the political, trade union and human rights and bar the way to fascism.

We believe, as Rafael Aguinada did, that this broad democratic front should be centered on the unity of the working-class movement, on its alliance with the peasants and the more active and organized middle strata.

This vile crime was committed by members of gangs organized by the fascists with the direct support and participation of the security forces. These gangs are directed by an organization comprising big capitalists and military men in the employ of the CIA. It is the big

business sector (which preaches extremist policies), the CIA and its foreign and local agents in our country who inspire these gangs to terrorist activities. It is they who engineered the predatory and foul murder of Rafael Aguinada.

The lamentations of Colonel Molina[4] and his condemnation of violence 'wherever it may come from' have not been confirmed by punishment of the assassins 'whoever they may be.' When Jorge Alberto Moran Cornejo, another trade union leader, was assassinated last year, Molina made a similar statement: he promised that a serious investigation would be carried out and the assassins would be punished. Today, a year later, it is obvious that the murderers were not exposed, mush less penalized. Colonel Molina knows full well that they do not have to be looked for because they are inside the security service itself, and that one cannot assign the investigation of a crime to the very people who have committed it.

El Salvador is experiencing grim days, and it must realize that the fascists responsible for this situation will pay no heed to protests or appeals to reason, that they will not give up their criminal designs of their own free will. The only way to restrain the fascists is to crush them and form a truly democratic and popular government.

Deliberately but firmly we shall carry on the struggle against fascism; we shall defend the people's organizations, their leaders and activists; we shall defend our meager liberties and constitutional rights, and pave the way for the establishment of a government that is acceptable to the people.

We shall fight for the noble cause for which Rafael Aguinada, the peasants of La Cayetana and Tres Calles, and the students shot on July 30 laid down their lives.

At the funeral of Rafael Aguinada Carranza, the participants in the procession carried posters with the words: 'When a person is murdered because of his ideas, it means that his ideas have begun to threaten the murderers.' This pronouncement is a verdict on fascism and reaction, which resort to bloody terror to postpone the hour of their doom.

1. The NOU includes the Christian Democratic Party, the National Democratic Union (A Left-wing party), and the National Revolutionary Movement — a party which, though small, enjoys quite a high prestige among intellectuals.
2. The Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in the Food, Clothing, Textile and Related Industries, the National Federation of Salvadorian Workers, and the United Trade Union Federation of El Salvador.
3. Belong to the General Confederation of Trade Unions. — *Ed.*
4. Arturo Armando Molina — President of El Salvador, assumed office in 1972. — *Ed.*

viewpoints

CMEA and EEC: opportunities for cooperation

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The internationalization of economic life is one of the most characteristic features of the world today. The deepening of the process, especially apparent in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, has led to the emergence of international integration groups based on close ties between the national economies of their participants. Integration processes have advanced farthest in Europe. More than 80 per cent of the trade between the socialist and capitalist worlds is between European socialist and West European countries.

Internationalization of the economy is a universal development, though its rate, forms, and social consequences differ substantially in conditions of socialism and capitalism. This is also true of the formation and functioning of integration groups. To the two opposing social systems correspond two types of international economic integration. From the class point of view West European integration is a process of increasing profits, strengthening the positions of the big bourgeoisie and aligning its combined strength against the working class, the international Communist movement and the socialist world system.

As opposed to this, the supreme purpose of socialist economic integration is faster growth of national living standards and satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements. Socialist economic integration helps strengthen the positions of the socialist community in the world economy and favorably affects economic competition with capitalism.

The point of departure and basis of West European integration is a merging of national markets. The market mechanism is the mainspring of integration processes, though it should also be borne in mind that the spontaneous character of economic processes in the capitalist world is today restricted by the growing regulating role of the state. This is of course true not only of internal economic life in

the developed capitalist countries but of the totality of their foreign relations as well.

The contradictions inherent in the capitalist system are equally apparent in economic integration. Its mechanism is burdened down by them. Attempts to stabilize Western Europe's economic situation with the help of the European Economic Community (EEC) are of no avail. the crisis now affecting the economic foundations of West European countries and other developed capitalist states is so deep that it is compared with the greatest economic crisis of the capitalist world in 1929-33.

The socialist countries present an entirely different picture. Recently tallied results of their five-year plans show convincingly that the socialist economy is characterized by high and stable rates of development, that the mechanism of planned management, both on the internal and international scale, offers a decisive advantage over market mechanisms, even those in which the capitalist state intervenes. In contradistinction to economic integration in the EEC framework, the center of gravity of socialist economic integration lies, from the outset, in the sphere of material production. Trade between CMEA member-states and the corresponding commodity-financial categories are subordinate to production integration. Coordination of economic plans and joint planning economic measures are fundamental to the mechanism of socialist integration.

Five years ago the CMEA countries adopted their long-term Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration, which heralded a new stage in the development of cooperation between the fraternal nations, its rise to a higher level providing for joint development of natural resources, joint construction of industrial complexes to meet the needs of all the partners, and long-term cooperation between enterprises and whole industries. Successful implementation of the Comprehensive Program has significantly deepened the interaction of national economies and made them mutually complementary; it paved the way for the next step forward, notably in the implementation of joint long-term programs for specific objectives. The coordinated plan of multilateral integration measures first adopted at last summer's session of the CMEA and the state economic plans for 1976-80 drawn up on its basis indicate that the CMEA countries are embarking on a period that has rightly been called the 'first quinquennium of integration' designed to enhance the strength and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community. 'Deeper economic integration of CMEA member-countries,' Edward Gierek said in his report to the Seventh PUWP Congress, 'is an objective development at the present stage of socialist and communist construction. Poland favors

the expansion of that process and the introduction of higher forms of cooperation on an ever broader scale.'

The opposite nature of social systems and the consequent differences between integration processes in the two parts of Europe should not, however, prevent the development of mutually beneficial economic relations.

Expansion of business contacts is favored primarily by the fact that the socialist community does not seek economic autarky. Socialist economic integration is by its very nature open, it does not fence itself off from the rest of the world. The socialist countries' foreign policies are, as is known, peace-loving and permeated with the desire to consolidate and expand international détente. Thanks to this, growing economic cooperation between states with different social systems is a powerful factor in the continued promotion of positive processes in world affairs.

'Struggle to consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence, to assure lasting peace, to reduce, and in a longer term to eliminate, the danger of another world war,' L.I. Brezhnev noted in his report at the 25th CPSU Congress, 'has been, and remains, the main element of our policy toward the capitalist states. It may be noted that considerable progress has been achieved in this area in the past five years.'

Of major importance in addition to political factors are the reciprocal economic interests of socialist and capitalist countries. Business relations between them derive from the expediency and benefits of international division of labor; they facilitate the formation of economic economic structures providing a stable base for long-term mutually beneficial trade and production cooperation.

The socialist countries possess rich reserves of raw materials and fuel and an expanding assortment of manufactured goods, as well as a well-developed scientific and technological potential West European experts realize that wider use of the scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, could in many way close the technological gap between Western Europe and the United States.

The socialist countries are in turn interested in purchasing West European machinery and technology, primary and semi-finished products, consumer goods and some types of raw materials in exchange for their exports. At the same time, thanks to the scope of economic construction and the high growth rates of national income and consumption, they possess exceptionally large and stable markets attractive to West European countries, not least because of marketing difficulties, which have been, and remain, one of the main headaches of the capitalist economy.

Finally, the continent of Europe is an indivisible geographic entity.

Economic development today confronts the opposing social systems with a number of common problems, notably such as environmental protection, joint sponsorship of large-scale and costly research programs (space and deep-sea research, the study of geological processes, health and longevity problems, etc.), joining of waterways and power systems, construction of oil and gas pipelines. In short, there are ample opportunities for economic cooperation.

Considerable progress has been achieved in economic ties between European countries in the last few years. Trade and credit relations have expanded substantially, further steps have been taken toward industrial cooperation.

The rate of growth of trade between CMEA and capitalist countries should, of course, be viewed in close connection with trade among member-states within the CMEA. Generally speaking, it can increase faster, or slower, or in proportion to, the expansion of their trade with developed capitalist countries.

Short-term comparisons reveal all three trends. Most recently, for example, trade between Eastern and Western Europe grew somewhat faster than among CMEA countries. The reason was an effort to make use of formerly unavailable opportunities and of the better international climate. However, long-term observations of the process, which alone can reveal general trends, indicate that the latter two of the above-mentioned relationships are more typical. It does not, of course, follow that the volume of trade between Eastern and Western Europe must necessarily decline. The socialist countries seek to maintain and expand trade as far as possible. The point is that the development of trade among CMEA countries should not in the long term lag behind the growth of trade between them and developed capitalist countries.

The dynamic growth in trade among CMEA countries is explicitly stipulated in the program of socialist economic integration. It promoted the division of labor among them and greater specialization of national economies. Speaking of such specialization, we primarily have in mind intra-industrial specialization involving the manufacture of finished items and their components. At the same time, the CMEA countries also favor inter-industrial specialization necessitated, among other things, by the geography of power and raw-material reserves, farmlands and whole countries.

The deepening of planned, regulated international socialist division of labor and specialization of production implies an accelerated growth of trade between CMEA countries. Such trade promotes production, its concentration and centralization, its scale, better quality, lower costs and, in the final analysis, better satisfaction of public demand. The growing flow between CMEA countries can be fully in

harmony with growing trade in commodities and services between the East and West of Europe. The CMEA countries coordinate their economic relations with Western Europe and, in a sense, subordinate them to the overall economic strategy, including the purposes and tasks of socialist integration.

In programming the relationship between the growth rates of trade between East and West, on the one hand, and among CMEA countries, on the other, it should be borne in mind that at least one-quarter of the total trade of CMEA member-states is with EEC countries; the share of CMEA countries in the latter's total is at best one-third that amount. The gap cannot be overcome quickly, but in future the socialist countries will doubtlessly strive to close it and increase mutual trade as compared with trade with developed capitalist states.

There are still difficulites and problems in international economic relations between European countries that require solution. Key among them, as I see it, are structural barriers in trade and the difficulty of institutionalizing economic relations between the EEC and CMEA.

One of the structural barriers is that exports from CMEA countries to Western Europe do not correctly reflect national industrial structures of economic development. Since the war the CMEA countries have increased their economic potential several times over, and their former lag behind West European countries, especially in industry, has been largely overcome. Thus, taking per capita industrial output

Share of GNP (per cent)

Country	*Industry* 1950	1974	*Agriculture and Forestry* 1950	1974*
Bulgaria	36.8	52.3	42.5	20.7
Czechoslovakia	62.5	64.1	16.2*	9.8
GDR	47.0	61.7	28.4	10.6
Hungary	26.5	44.6	47.7	16.6
Mongolia	9.8	25.0	59.4	21.0
Poland	31.8	51.2	47.9*	14.5
Rumania	43.4	57.3	27.6	16.4
USSR	57.5	52.7	22.2	18.3

*Only agriculture

Sources: Narodnoye khozyaistvo stran-chlenov Soveta Ekonomicheskoy Vzaimopomoshchi. Statistichesky sbornik. Moscow, 1974, pp. 56, 57; Statistichesky yezhegodnik stran-chlenov Soveta Ekonomicheskogo Vzaimopomoshchi, Moscow, 1975, p. 42.

of EEC countries for 100, the index for CMEA countries rose from 50 in 1950 to 81 in 1970.* Changes in favor of the CMEA countries continued throughout the first half of the 70s. The socialist countries are advancing confidently whereas West European countries are gripped by an acute crisis.

Rapid economic growth in the European socialist countries was accompanied by changes in national economic structures. Relying on internal sources of development and mutual economic assistance — especially from the USSR — formerly backward countries carried out socialist industrialization.

Structure of exports from CMEA countries to developed capitalist countries (per cent)

	Machinery and Equipment		Raw Materials, Fuel, Primary Products		Farm Products and Foodstuffs		Manufactured Consumer Goods	
	1950	1973	1950	1973	1950	1973	1950	1973
CMEA	5.3	8.9	60.7	59.9	24.1	18.7	9.9	12.5
Bulgaria	0.2	8.9	20.8	39.7	73.9	41.9	5.1	9.5
Czecho-slovakia	14.9	16.2	46.8	46.7	15.7	12.4	22.6	24.7
GDR	12.8	16.3	49.3	41.4	13.6	19.6	24.3	22.7
Hungary	3.7	4.4	30.9	38.2	48.2	37.7	17.2	19.7
Poland	1.9	12.8	43.5	42.4	47.5	32.5	7.1	12.3

Source: Sprawy Miedzynarodowe, 1975, No. 9, p. 59.

The socialist countries' industry is expanding and modernizing. Industries decisive for technological progress (engineering, chemicals, power) occupy almost as prominent a place in the economy as in West European countries. Thus, in 1974, the share of the three industries named above in gross industrial output was 35.3 per cent in Bulgaria, 42.2 in Czechoslovakia, 47.7 in the GDR, 44.4 in Hungary, 39.6 in Poland, and 43.3 in Rumania.

The changes taking place in the industrial structures of a country should, naturally, be adequately reflected in its exports. In the socialist countries synchronization of structural changes in production and export was effected smoothly, according to plan, without difficulty. The share of industry in exports increased together with its share of the GNP. Similarly, the proportion of machinery and plant on the world socialist market increased together with their share in total

*See *25 Years of CMEA — Results, Tasks, Perspectives.* Moscow, 1974, p. 113.

industrial output. Thus, the proportion of machinery and equipment exported by Poland to other CMEA countries increased from 13.6 per cent in 1950 to 53.4 per cent in 1973.

Such synchronization of changes in the structure of production and exports takes place naturally in other CMEA member-countries. Trade relations with developed capitalist countries, however, present a different picture.

It will be observed that the structure of exports from CMEA countries to developed capitalist states is changing extremely slowly and continues to be typical of suppliers of farm produce and raw materials despite the fact that the industries manufacturing machinery and equipment obviously predominate in their economies. It is indicative that in 1973, for example, the proportion of raw materials and primary products, as well as farm produce and foodstuffs, in the exports of CMEA countries to developed capitalist states was almost 80 per cent, as against less than 10 per cent for machinery and equipment. For comparison, the share of the latter in trade among CMEA countries was almost 50 per cent in 1973, an increase of almost 2.5 time over 1950.

Raw materials, farm produce and food industry products continue to occupy an important place in the exports of CMEA countries to West European markets. But the development of other exports to bring them into alignment with the structure of production in our countries is an objective necessity. The overall expansion of trade between Eastern and Western Europe, in which all parties are interested, depends in large measure on the solution of that important problem. It can best be resolved by promoting industrial cooperation, credit relations and eliminating the survivals of discriminatory trade policies of West European countries against CMEA member-states. Last but not least, we must see to the quality of our products.

While planning and coordinating their economic policies within the CMEA framework the member-states cannot, of course, neglect coordinating relations with EEC countries. It is noteworthy that in promoting trade relations with individual CMEA countries the latter tend to ignore the important fact that they are not isolated entities, that their economies are drawing closer, that they are involved in the process of socialist integration. Some EEC leaders perhaps hope that CMEA countries will fail to grasp the economic and political meaning of their ideas of cooperation. But the problem is obvious. It is an attempt to weaken the unity of the CMEA countries and align the combined economic strength of the EEC against individual CMEA countries in the expectation of economic and political benefits. Such an approach would enable economic groups in West European countries to maximize their profits, influence the formation of unbalanced

industrial structures in CMEA countries, hold back their economic integration, and differentiate between them economically, politically and ideologically. Such expectations, however, are doomed. The CMEA is here to stay, and it is hard to imagine the further expansion of equitable economic relations between the East and West of Europe without recognition of that objective fact; failure to do so would, of course, also run contrary to the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, as well as to the objective demands of internationalization of economic life.

With that in mind, in February 1976, the Chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee, on behalf of the governments of all member-states, forwarded a proposal to the EEC chairman suggesting that the CMEA and its member-states, on the one hand, and the EEC and its member-states, on the other, should sign an agreement governing relations between them; he also submitted a draft of such an agreement.

Among prime measures it was suggested that both sides do everything possible to expand trade on the basis of most-favored nation treatment. The general accord could provide for special bilateral or multilateral agreements between CMEA member-states and EEC bodies, and between EEC member-states and CMEA bodies, as well as between their respective economic organizations.

The proposal stipulates that the CMEA and EEC, acting in the spirit of the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, will maintain contacts with a view to improving conditions of trade, promoting cooperation in environmental protection, standardization and statistics. The CMEA has expressed readiness to discuss outstanding problems of economic cooperation, exchanges of information on the activities of both organizations, etc.

An agreement between the CMEA and EEC would be their joint contribution to the expansion and consolidation of equitable, mutually beneficial economic relations. It would also promote the materialization of détente, the consolidation of European peace, and the implementation of broad, equitable all-European cooperation. Recent events give hope that realism will prevail in all-European cooperation, that unrealistic notions and schemes will be abandoned, and the ideas of the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference will gain the upper hand.

Spain at a historic crossroad

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Santiago Alvarez, as previously reported, spoke to a meeting of the *WMR* Editorial Council about the situation in Spain. Following is an abridged transcript of his remarks.

Government policy failures

The present government of Spain is a product of compromise between two alignments that fought for power after Franco's death. One of them, closely linked with extreme rightists, is made up of Francoist conservatives. Its key figure, now heading the government, is Arias Navarro, who held the post under Franco. The other group comprises so-called reformers, or people who would like to adapt the regime to the new situation. Its leaders include Fraga Iribarne, Minister of the Interior, and Jose Maria de Areilza, Foreign Minister.

Several months have passed since the government was formed and it is safe to say that it cannot solve any of the problems facing Spanish society. Experience has proved the Communists' right in saying that there is no going over from fascism to democracy without breaking with the past, that is, without a political revolution that would sweep away the institutions of the Franco system and make it possible to set up new, democratic institutions. Yet the government has not ventured to effect even the most elementary reforms meeting the people's aspirations for democracy, if only to some extent. It refuses to amnesty political prisoners or allow political exiles to return, which is one of the prime demands of the democratic forces.

The domestic political crisis interlocks with a deepening economic crisis. Inflation is growing and the unemployment rate is close to a million. In view of the general insecurity, the employers are reluctant to make new investments, and this tends to aggravate the situation. The government has devalued the peseta and imposed a wage freeze, sparking an unprecedented strike wave.

The official political strategy, too, has miscarried. It was intended to win over certain opposition forces — the Socialists, Social Demo-

crats and Christian Democrats — by promising reforms, and to isolate the Communist Party as a result. The Communists are the most active participants in the struggle going on throughout the country and no big national problem can be solved without them. This is why the opposition, including people far removed from the communist ideology, insist that the CPS be legalized along with other parties.

The government also suffers setbacks in trying to expand its international relations. One of the Spanish bourgeoisie's main objectives is to join the Common Market. But the EEC countries refuse to consider the matter until democratic freedoms are re-established in Spain.

Deepening crisis of the regime

More and more, Spanish public opinion realizes the total inability of a government entirely made up of men who served Francoism to carry out the most pressing reforms. The political situation is tense.

The growing working-class and general democratic movement is probably the most typical aspect of the situation. In the past two years, Spain has come to the fore in capitalist Europe in the number of strikes. Last January alone strikes caused the loss of twice as many work-days as in all of last year, and in February there were even more strikes.* Many strikes begin with a demand for higher wages, better working conditions, an end to dismissals and other economic demands. But as strikes are banned and the authorities often try to crush them by force, they inevitably become political actions against the regime.

Early in March, the events in Vitoria, capital of the Basque province of Alava, drew universal attention. A metalworkers' strike there was backed by a demonstration of 30,000 people. After the demonstration, 5,000 strikers assembled in a church. Police first used tear gas against them and then opened fire, killing five workers and injuring over a hundred. The opposition called for a general protest strike, which involved the whole Basque Country and the neighboring province of Navarre. Over 700,000 people joined the strike, and moreover, hundreds of thousands struck in solidarity in Madrid, Barcelona, Galicia, Andalusia and elsewhere. As a result, what was an ordinary economic strike took on the dimension of a major political struggle involving, in one way or another, virtually the whole of Spanish society.

*The strike wave did not subside in later months. Early in April, telephone employees went on strike all over the country and won all their demands. Workers at Michelin have been on strike for over two months now. On the eve of May Day, building workers called a general strike. Over 20,000 metalworkers walked out in Barcelona. — *Ed.*

In addition to the workers, who have always fought for their rights, the strike movement has now spread to social strata that had shrunk from this form of protest. Special mention should be made of the strike of postal employees and municipal guards in Barcelona. Dissatisfaction with, and opposition to, the regime is on the rise among civil servants. Some time ago over 2,500 officials, including many high-ranking ones, demanded amnesty for all political prisoners and declared for a democratic state. Several years ago, lawyers opposed to Franco founded Democratic Justice, an organization forming part of the opposition to the regime.

All this is evidence of erosion of the state machinery, one of the regime's main pillars. It also affects the armed forces.

A group of army officers charged with membership of a clandestine military organization was put on trial recently. A major and eight captains were sentenced to terms of up to eight years in prison. The trial had widespread repercussions at home and abroad. It showed how deep-rooted opposition has become in the armed forces. The Democratic Military Union, the organization to which the convicted officers belonged, was founded about two years ago, shortly after fascism in neighboring Portugal had been overthrown. It comprises about a thousand officers belonging to the military elite. Most of them are commanders of army, naval or air force units.

After the trial, the Democratic Military Union stated that it did not intend to carry out a military coup in order to take power. But, it added, if the opposition forces reached agreement among themselves, formed a provisional government and then appealed to the armed forces on the people's behalf to overthrow the dictatorship, the Union would undertake to accomplish the task.

Of course, the officer corps is not composed of democratically-minded military men alone but is divided into numerous political currents. A group of extreme right-wing generals longs to carry out a coup of the Chilean type. But the democratically-minded military are a serious obstacle to plans of this nature. Lastly, very many military men believe that the present system may gradually evolve into a Western-type parliamentary democracy.

Anti-fascist unity

The growing popular movement, on the one hand, and the decay of the fascist system of power, on the other, make the issue of democratic unity highly relevant. Evidently, no real changes can be brought about in the absence of such unity, without agreement on a political alternative to the existing regime.

The Communist Party seeks the broadest possible alliance of all forces opposed to fascism and championing democratization of the

country. Two years ago, its efforts led to the formation of the Democratic Junta, an alliance comprising, an addition to the Communist Party, the workers' commissions and a number of parties and political alignments. But the Democratic Junta did not succeed in uniting all opposition forces and several months later another coalition, Democratic Convergence, came into being and was joined by the Spanish Socialist Labor Party, Christian Democrats and some other opponents of the regime. Besides, there were opposition forces, organized on countrywide or national-regional level, which do not belong to any of these associations.

The Communists saw their task in helping to adopt a program of social and political changes acceptable to the entire opposition. The matter was discussed by spokesmen of the Democratic Junta and Democratic Convergence, who as a first step agreed on coordinating the actions of the two coalitions and to set up a committee to that end. Late in March the organizations belonging to the two blocs decided to form an opposition alignment which they called Democratic Coordination.

The new broad-based coalition has a common program containing the following basic demands: immediate release of all people jailed or detained for political or trade union activities; the right of all exiles to return; restoration of the rights of all people deprived of them for political reasons; recognition and respect of human rights laid down in international legal documents; legalization of all political parties without exception; recognition of trade union rights and dissolution of the present official trade unions; recognition and respect of the rights and freedoms of different nationalities and regions of Spain; a uniform and independent judiciary.

As for the armed forces, the Communist Party and some other opposition forces call for their neutrality. The armed forces should respect the people's will. Their mission is to defend the country against foreign aggression.

The participants in the coalition have decided that their alliance should operate until a democratic break with the present system is effected and a general election announced. The Democratic Coordination leadership has appealed to all opposition parties and groups outside the coalition to support its program and join efforts in order to put it into practice.

The authorities took a stand on the new organization by banning a press conference at which Spanish and foreign journalists were to have been acquainted with the organization's program, objectives and tasks. The organizers of the conference, including Marcelino Camacho, the trade union leader, were arrested and are threatened with long terms of imprisonment.

But police repression cannot stop the unification of opposition forces.* Anti-fascist unity, which the Communist Party has championed for years, is becoming a reality in today's Spain.

The Communist Party considers that the united democratic opposition could, on the basis of the program it has adopted, start talks with certain groups in the armed forces, the church and in business circles with a view to bringing about a democratic change that would lead the country out of its impasse. We are in favor of enabling government officials who call themselves 'reformists' but are under the pressure of extreme right-wing and conservative elements to join in the talks. This would confront them with the alternative: either support the program of the democratic forces, or completely expose themselves in the people's eyes as defenders of the regime.

The plan proposed by our Party might have seemed utopian a few months ago but is perfectly realistic now that the mass struggle is on the rise and the regime is disintegrating.

For a mass Communist Party

Thus, the Party's line at the moment is to contribute fully to the struggle of the working class and other working people and seek a broader alliance of opposition forces on the basis of the approved program. But there is also the need to strengthen the Party and make it a really mass party.

The government tolerates some political opposition organizations by allowing them to hold meetings, rallies and congresses. These organizations, needless to say, take advantage of the situation to build up their strength and assert themselves on the political scene. As for us Communists, we are prohibited from engaging in any activity. But we refuse to wait until the government legalizes our Party by decree. Ignoring bans, Communists state their views at mass rallies, students' meetings, meetings of professional societies, in the press and wherever else they can.

Equipped with the Marxist-Leninist theory, we Communists have greater opportunities than any other working-class party to lead the struggle of the working class and its allies. We realize that to use these opportunities effectively and be the center of the democratic coalition, the Communist Party must be a mass party. We aim at increasing our membership to 300,000 in the immediate future. If we succeed we will become a major party in terms of both political prestige and numerical strength, which are indispensable if we are to cope with our tasks.

*The merger of the opposition forces of Catalonia, Galicia and Valencia was announced recently. — *Ed.*

Our goal: socialism

Our party believes that when freedoms have been won and the fascist dictatorship has given way to democracy Spain will be able to take one of two roads.

One road is neo-capitalist. It is sought by forces that are opposed to the regime but socially conservative none the less. They are, first of all, the so-called new bourgeoisie, which looks to Western Europe for guidance. It hopes that it can stave off a socialist revolution by developing modern capitalism in Spain.

The other road, which the Communist Party advocates, is that of social and political democracy, which implies far-reaching anti-monopoly changes. The Program Manifesto of our Party says that on the road to the socialist revolution there objectively exists an intermediate phase which enables the working class to assume the leadership of the people and form an alliance with the broadest anti-monopoly social strata in order to overthrow the political and economic power of monopoly groups and thereby take a decisive step toward its emancipation. We define this phase as one of political and social, or anti-monopoly and anti-latifundium, democracy.

Which of the two roads Spain takes will ultimately depend on the ability of the progressive forces to unite and to win the people's support.

Santiago Alvarez also answered questions by *WMR* Editorial Council members.

Betty Sinclair, member of the National Executive, Communist Party of Ireland, and CPI representative on the journal: How far is Spain industrialized? How widely are the peasants involved in the struggle going on in the country?

S. Alvarez: Spain is an industrial-agrarian country. The bulk of its economically active population, or over 70 per cent, is engaged in industry, including the service industry.

After 1960, modern industries sprang up, such as automobiles, chemicals, metalworking and electronics. Spain leads Europe in tourism — it is visited by 25 to 30 million foreigners annually. This stimulates the growth of the service industry and infrastructure.

We still have backward regions, of course, but then, many others have reached a fairly high economic level. They are Catalonia, the Basque Country, Madrid and vicinity. Once, towns like Vitoria or Valladolid were capitals of agricultural areas but now they are major industrial centers. The number of workers has tripled in comparison with the period before the civil war. They are concentrated where social battles may be of decisive importance. In Madrid, for example, there are 150,000 metalworkers and as many building workers. The

working class is plainly the force destined to play the leading role in the country's development.

The rural population has diminished noticeably of late. However, even now there are about three million agricultural workers and small and medium peasants. The regime has been unable to 'pacify' the countryside — rural Spain, too, has roused to action.

What the peasants demand first of all is higher prices for their produce. Aragon peasants staged massive protest actions last January. They blocked all roads in the province with their tractors to protest low prices for maize, which they cannot sell, while the government purchases up to three million tons from the United States every year. Characteristically, the action began on the initiative of peasant organization set up by the regime itself, but the peasants went further than the leaders were willing to go. With the help of comrades from our Party they formed committees that continued to lead their struggle.

Agricultural workers in southern Andalusia, where there are many latifundia, carry on a stubborn fight through strikes.

Communists are active in the peasant movement. On the one hand, we work in cooperatives, agrarian trade unions and other officially recognized organizations. On the other, we help to build up peasant associations formed against the will of the authorities. We strive to ensure that the peasant movement links up as closely as possible with the struggle of the working class.

In reply to a question by *John Pittman,* Political Bureau member, CC CPUSA, and member of the *WMR* Editorial Board, about the reaction of Spanish public opinion to the recent treaty on U.S. bases, *S. Alvarez* said that the U.S. had always helped Franco and that after the dictator's death it had backed the establishment of the monarchy. Today the U.S. helps the government but does not rule out the possibility of a turn toward democracy. This explains why the White House is in touch with certain opposition forces. It apparently feels that if Spain cannot avoid changes they should at least be effected under the control of the financial and landed oligarchy. One of the admitted political objectives of the U.S. in regard to West European countries is to bar Communist parties from governments. That policy dovetails perfectly with the desire of the ruling quarters of Spain to isolate the CPS by confining it to a political ghetto.

As for the treaty on U.S. bases, democrats criticize it primarily because it was concluded behind the people's back, at a time when the people could not express their opinion.

The desire to abolish the U.S. bases is very strong and is even expressed among the bourgeoisie. But it is not shared by all opposition forces. The demand to remove the bases could therefore not be

included in the joint program. From the practical point of view, the problem is rather secondary, for the main issue is that of abolishing the dictatorship. Its solution will become possible after a democratic regime has been set up.

John Pittman also asked *S. Alvarez* about the CPS program on the nationality question and on how national distinctions express themselves in the Party's structure.

S. Alvarez: The Communist Party insists on recognizing the multinational character of the Spanish state and the right of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia to self-determination. Our Party's Program Manifesto stresses that the Communists favor a free union of all the peoples of Spain within a federal republic.

Under the Republic, Catalonia and the Basque Country enjoyed autonomy. The people of Galicia, for their part, declared for autonomy in a plebiscite but the civil war prevented that solution.

As regards the Communist Party, it is a party of the whole Spanish people. Operating within its framework are two autonomous Communist parties, those of the Basque Country and Galicia. Both parties have national leaderships and a press of their own. They adhere to the general line of the CPS, which they apply according to their conditions. Due to historial circumstances, Catalonia has an independent party, the Catalonian Socialist Party, which follows the same policy as the CPS.

Wilton Mkaba, representative of the South African Communist Party on the journal: The CPS is fighting for extensive democratic freedoms. Does that mean that freedom of action will also be granted to fascist elements?

S. Alvarez: The Communist Party does not at the moment call for a ban on fascist organizations because that would be pointless. After all, Spain is still virtually ruled by a fascist dictatorship. The fascists act brazenly and hold their meetings and other actions openly. When the freedoms have been won the democratic forces will be in a position to expose the fascists' intentions and activities and to carry on anti-fascist propaganda. The Communists will do everything to paralyze fascist influence. But if the fascists begin to conspire against the democratic regime, steps will naturally have to be taken against them, to the point of outlawing their organizations.

Hugo Capurro, representative of the Peruvian Communist Party on the journal: Is there no contradiction between the demand for the neutrality of the armed forces made by the opposition and the statement of the Democratic Military Union, which has offered to join in overthrowing the government?

S. Alvarez: There is no contradiction. Indeed, the opposition officers stressed that they would never take unilateral action of any kind

without the consent of civilians. The demand for neutral armed forces implies that they should not prevent the people from freely expressing their will. It does not rule out the possibility of the military helping to effect changes in the country. The important thing is for them to act with the people's consent and in accordance with their will.

We Communists, said *S. Alvarez* in conclusion, do not conceal our goals from our allies in the democratic coalition. We consider that the perspective of developing the country presented in our Party's program documents also makes for the unity of the masses in struggle to solve the paramount problem, that of winning political freedoms. The workers, other working people and all democrats know that after the fascist dictatorship has been overthrown the Communist Party will respect the people's will by fighting for our country to advance to a socialist society.

Reunification of a free people

Fanny Edelman
General Secretary,
Women's International
Democratic Federation

A delegation of the Women's International Democratic Federation visited Vietnam in the second half of March. The trip coincided with an important period in the Vietnamese people's life — preparation for elections to the National Assembly of the whole country. The elections, held on April 25, were the culmination of the people's courageous fight for independence and demonstrated their will for the reunification of North and South Vietnam on revolutionary and democratic principles. About 20 million Vietnamese voted for the unity of their country, peace and socialism.

WIDF General Secretary Fanny Edelman, who led the delegation, gave our correspondent her impressions of their stay in Vietnam.

We accepted with deep emotion an invitation of women's organizations of North and South Vietnam to acquaint ourselves with the Vietnamese people's life. The trip is over now and we are full of impressions, of course. No one who has been to that country can remain unmoved. Meetings with Vietnamese people showed us that mankind's advance to a radiant future is irreversible and that those

who are guided by the tried and tested laws of revolutionary struggle are equal to overcoming any obstacle.

Only a short time ago Vietnam lay in ruins gutted by bombs and shells. Today its people are working to build up a prosperous socialist country. For the first time in years, they feel secure.

Peace was won at the cost of enormous sacrifices and suffering, through colossal physical and moral effort, and this makes it so much more precious, so much more valuable and wonderful.

It seems like a dream, Vietnamese mothers told us, that we must no longer part with our husbands, sons or brothers, never knowing for how long and fearing that it might be forever. We now know that our homes will not be bombed or shelled either today, tomorrow or the day after, that they will not be razed to the ground by a bulldozer of the invaders, that our children can sleep peacefully and smile.

True, not everyone in the South welcomes the new life. Those who made profit from the war and could not escape or who deliberately stayed behind after the neo-colonialists and puppet authorities were thrown out are trying hard to prevent stabilization. But they have no chance of succeeding. The liberation forces and the worker-peasant militia stand guard over the people's gains and fight against CIA agents to preserve the security and sovereignty of Vietnam.

To fully appreciate the impressive victory of a people who have added one of the most glorious chapters to the history of the national-liberation movement against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and internal reaction, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the trials Vietnam had to endure and the formidable problems facing it today.

Vietnam had to wage one of the longest wars in history. It went on from 1945 to 1975, dying down at times, only to flare up again. It may be described as the Thirty Years' War of our time. Millions were killed or starved to death, millions more were crippled, countless children were orphaned.

In the North, the war against the French colonialists and then against the U.S. neo-colonialists resulted in the destruction of five million square metres of dwelling space, 4,000 villages, 3,000 schools, 1,500 hospitals and all power stations, roads and bridges. No exact data are available at the moment about the devastation caused in the South. However, the aftermath of the war includes about three million jobless and almost four million illiterate people, half a million hectares of land and millions of hectares of forests damaged by defoliants.

The working class was the decisive force in that long struggle, the force that enabled the people to overcome all their trials and now leads Vietnamese society's advance to socialism.

We could see that for ourselves at a textile mill in Nam Dinh province in the North. The mill, one of the biggest in Southeast Asia, employs 10,000 workers, including 6,000 women. Over 1,500 bombs were dropped on it by U.S. planes in 200 raids causing enormous destruction, yet production never stopped. The mill was reconstructed three years ago; it has three kindergartens, a health home and a medical center.

The workers of Saigon, a city which now bears Ho Chi Minh's name, are known for their revolutionary traditions. They took an active part in the Resistance. And now they are carrying out new tasks.

Most of the city's plants were built by foreigners when neo-colonialism felt strong in Indochina. An infrastructure was set up to cater for the half a million -strong U.S. expeditionary corps, the huge puppet army and police force and the comprador bourgeoisie. Labor power was cheap and was used at assembly plants supplied from abroad.

We visited the Sinco sewing-machine factory, where we could see the workers' genuinely creative approach to their jobs and their inventiveness. Like other factories it is now cut off from its source of machine parts, spares and fuel. But the workers organized production of the needed parts, and fuel and other supplies were provided from the North and from other socialist countries. The factory owner had fled and the workers' council which took over organized a socialist emulation movement and raised output to the former level. The workers, mostly women, are proud of their achievement and are expanding production.

The desire to reorganize and improve production as soon as possible and to contribute to economic growth and the standard of living is also typical of other enterprises of Ho Chi Minh City, especially those managed by workers' councils and managers appointed from the more experienced and respected specialists. Productivity is growing in such enterprises and they exceed their assignments, which is also due to the fact that engineers, designers and other specialists are on the people's side.

It should be borne in mind, however, that many enterprises and shops are still owned by the national bourgeoisie. To rehabilitate and develop the economy as rapidly as possible, the new authorities allow private enterprise and the formation of mixed enterprises. In the rural areas of the South, collective labor on farms is only just beginning in the form of mutual aid teams operating in communes.

The economic structure of the now united country is differentiated inasmuch as in the North industries are owned by the state and agriculture is based on cooperative ownership while the South is still

characterized by capitalist production relations. This, of course, gives rise to both theoretical and practical problems. The Working People's Party of Vietnam (WPPV) tackles them with due regard to the interests of all, with characteristic loyalty to principle, wisdom, prudence and flexibility.

The Vietnamese people realize the advantages of the reunification of their country.[1] They know that they cannot achieve rapid and steady social and economic progress without making planned use of the resources and potentialities of every region of the country.

The two parts of Vietnam cover an area of more than 320,000 square kilometres. They have over five million hectares of cultivated and several million hectares of uncultivated fertile land and a 3,200-kilometre coastline with numerous harbors and with favorable conditions for fishing. The North is rich in minerals. The South has a tremendous agricultural potential and can produce large quantities of rice, rubber and other industrial crops. Geological surveys have revealed appreciable oil deposits.

To say nothing of the substantial opportunities for economic and cultural progress that reunification affords, the situation itself necessitates acceleration of the process. Moreover, it is primarily the South that needs it. The commentators of some bourgeois newspapers, who invent stories about the 'absorption of the South by the North,' do not trouble to consider the state in which imperialism and neo-colonialism left their former domain, of the condition to which they reduced it through their administration. Let me cite a few examples.

Before 1954, the South produced four million tons of rice a year. That was enough to meet the needs of the South and supply a number of Northern provinces; moreover, some of it was exported. Under the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their puppets, peasants were evicted from the land and forcibly settled in 'strategic hamlets' or made to migrate to the towns.[2] The sole aim was to create a vacuum around the Liberation Army and the guerrillas and deprive them of their natural base. Rice production declined steadily, and rice was shipped from the United States and distributed as a hand-out.

In response to the Party's call, the population of the North gave fraternal help to the South. In the first eight months after liberation, it rendered the Southerners aid worth 100 million dongs.[3] sending them thousands of tons of food, fuels, chemical fertilizers and other essential goods. The South gets substantial aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Steps are being taken to restore rice-growing in the Southern provinces. First of all, it is necessary to rid the soil of defoliants which the invaders sprayed to destroy all useful plants. Secondly, thousands of peasants must return to those areas.

This process has begun. Over 300,000 people from the towns are settling lands which the Liberation Army, having become a real army of labor, helps them to rehabilitate. In the first six months, these people are supplied with free food by the revolutionary authorities, which also help them to build houses and supply them with farm implements and tools. In this way, new economic areas are brought into being that will expand as more people whom the war forced to leave the countryside come back.

Former Saigon is a city of stark contrasts, with sumptuous villas in one part and slums in others. The city is short of hospitals, maternity homes, schools, kindergartens, housing. These and other problems can only be solved through the efforts of the whole nation and with international aid, first of all from socialist countries. The working people of the South know this well.

When we told our Vietnamese friends how nice it was to see the clean streets and squares of Ho Chi Minh City, they smiled. 'We wonder,' they replied, 'what you would have said if you'd found yourselves in Saigon, say, two years ago. It was one of the world's filthiest cities in both the literal and figurative meaning of the word.' The U.S. neo-colonialists and the politicians of some other capitalist countries making common cause with them had wanted to make Saigon a showcase of the 'free world' in Southeast Asia. What they achieved was to turn it into a showcase of corruption, vice and moral degradation. The invaders left behind over half a million prostitutes, hundreds of thousands of drug addicts and homeless children and over 100,000 small profiteers known as 'air peddlers.'

Norma Spector, a member of our delegation, said she always felt ashamed in Vietnam because she was an American. All that her country had brought those people was suffering and corruption, she added, all in the guise of defending democracy and freedom.

But the Vietnamese, as if in reply to Norma Spector — a representative of the organization Women for Racial and Economic Equality, a WIDF affiliate — always stressed that they saw very well the difference between the U.S. imperialists and Americans like Angela Davis or Jane Fonda, who had campaigned for an end to that dirty, disgraceful war.

Libia de Moya, member of the Secretariat of the Federation of Cuban Women, said that U.S. imperialism had tried to treat Cuba in the same way as South Vietnam, that is, to transform it into a recreation resort for people with fat pocket-books and without moral principles and, of course, to pump huge profits out of the country by every means. The Cuban revolution had upset those plans. Libia de Moya listened with keen attention to the story of how victims of neo-colonialist 'culture' are being re-educated. She found in this

sphere and in others much that was similar to processes typical of Cuba in the early years after the revolution.

The education of a new man free from the moral standards and values propagated by messengers of the overseas 'democracy' is a tremendous task. The ideological and cultural spheres are a matter of special concern for the revolutionary authorities, for it would be hard to advance along the chosen path without bringing about changes in these spheres.

The people, whose patriotism and revolutionary energy were devoted for decades to fighting the aggressors, are now concentrating on efforts to assure the progress and unity of the country. These are important factors for the entire process of change. The Vietnamese comrades we met stressed that they regarded unity as an earnest of the rapid development of modern industry, farming, culture, science and art. Besides, reunification is taking place on a qualitatively new basis, in the climate of freedom and independence, with friendly peoples helping generously.

Before liberation, the very concept of socialism was discredited and distorted in South Vietnam. Now, contrary to what has been said and written about socialism, the population of the South sees the disinterested attitude of the peoples of the DRV and other socialist countries, their readiness to give all the assistance needed to overcome difficulties.

During the war, national-liberation fighters taken prisoner were executed, jailed or sent to concentration camps, where they were brutally tortured. The revolutionary authorities' treatment of members of the former puppet army will surely be remembered by present and future generations. Only those who had committed serious crimes against the people were punished. As for the bulk of former soldiers, they are being patiently re-educated, are granted civil rights and enabled to return to their families and engage in peaceful labor. The moral power and humanity of socialism and the opportunities for social change it provides win the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese.

I was asked by many on my return what had impressed me most of all. That is no easy question. I saw and experienced many things I will never forget. Still, the most impressive fact is, probably, the people's gratitude to the Soviet Union for its great solidarity with their struggle. All the Party leaders, statesmen, leaders of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, plant managers, educators, leaders of local women's organizations and ordinary working men and women we met spoke with heartfelt gratitude of the Soviet Union's sincere fraternal aid during the war and now, in this period of post-war rehabilitation. Valentina Titova, a Presidium member of the

Committee of Soviet Women and a member of the WIDF delegation, remarked that she had never felt so proud of her country as in Vietnam. I can understand her.

During our stay in Vietnam we strove to grasp the elements that make up the people's achievements, to see what their great and promising plans of transforming their country into a prosperous socialist state are based on.

Summing up our impressions, I can say that the Vietnamese people owe their victories to patriotism, political consciousness and international solidarity. These factors are inseparable. They are the main sources of the strength of a people that fought for 30 years and are now, with characteristic resolution, building a new life. In North and South alike, the people have become masters of their destiny. The Party founded by Ho Chi Minh, which has now set the goal of building a peaceful, united, independent and socialist Vietnam, awakens and coordinates the energy of the people all over the country.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam is recognized by the people as the organizer, inspirer and leader of the splendid accomplishments initiated by the revolution of August 1945. It is now preparing for its Fourth Congress, which will approve a five-year plan (1976-80) one of the main targets of which is socialist industrialization of the whole country. Successful fulfillment of the plan will also depend on the extent and effectiveness of internationalist support for the cause of Vietnam.

As to the Women's International Democratic Federation, its Secretariat resolved, on hearing the report of our delegation, to launch a new international campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. In Hanoi we saw the fruits of previous efforts of the Federation's national organizations. A mother and child center is being built with the funds collected by them. It will forever remain a symbol of the solidarity and friendship linking women all over the world with their Vietnamese sisters. But this is not enough. We must go on doing our utmost to make new contributions to the effort to heal the deep wounds inflicted on Vietnam by the war, to its people's effort to build a new life.

Vietnam has become nearer and dearer to us than ever. On the eve of the first anniversary of the complete liberation of the South, the people of Vietnam, by electing the country's National Assembly, took a most important step toward reunifying the country at state level. The terms 'North' and 'South,' used for years as primarily political, social and ideological symbols, have regained their original, geographical meaning. President Ho Chi Minh's prophetic words —

'There is one Vietnam and one Vietnamese nation' — are coming true.

1. The temporary demarcation line between North and South was drawn along the 17th parallel in 1954 under the Geneva agreements on Indochina. They provided for elections to be held throughout the country within two years. They were torpedoed by the puppet authorities of the South, who took their cue from U.S. reaction and wanted to perpetuate the partitioning of the country so as to stem the national-liberation movement in both South Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists were set on turning South Vietnam into a bridgehead against socialism in Asia, into a new type of colony.

2. We were told that this policy resulted in the urban population of South Vietnam growing in the neo-colonial period from three to nine million.

3. 100 DRV dongs = about $40. — *Ed.*

4. Speaking to the 25th CPSU Congress, Le Duan, First Secretary of the CC WPPV said: 'Creatively applying Marxist-Leninist teachings in Vietnamese conditions, our Party raised aloft two banners — the banner of the national-democratic revolution and the banner of the socialist revolution — and combined the vast scope of the movement for national independence with the power of socialism . . . It linked the forces of the nation with the revolutionary forces of today, internal with internationalist forces . . .' (*Pravda*, February 26, 1976). — *Ed.*

From the first Stockholm Appeal to the second

John Takman
Member of Parliament,
Left Party — Communists
of Sweden

The new Stockholm Appeal launched a year ago in the Swedish capital by the World Peace Council was widely supported by world opinion and has contributed to the struggle for deepening the positive changes in the world and complementing political détente with military détente.

The present campaign takes place in conditions which, by and large, differ from the time when the first Stockholm Appeal was launched more than 25 years ago. But the continuity of the ideals and methods of struggle is one of the specific features of the peace movement. That is why today, too, use is made of the traditions born in that period, of the experience and tempering we gradually acquired in the fight for the triumph of peace and democracy.

The world was entering the second half of the 20th century. The Second World War was still an agonizing memory. There were coun-

tries, especially the Soviet Union but also Poland and a few others, where virtually every family mourned their mother, their father, their wife, their husband, their children, victims of fascist warfare or fascist extermination policy.

People well remembered the indescribable destruction and suffering caused by the atomic bombs dropped over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and Nagasaki three days later. These bombs were senseless from a military point of view, as imperialist Japan was already collapsing. In effect, they were not even the last military operation of the Second World War. They were, as the famous British nuclear physicist P.M.S. Blackett put it, the first major operation of the cold war against the Soviet Union. Another famous British scientist, John D. Bernal, stressed the fact that they 'marked either the beginning of the end of war, or that of humanity.'* The results of the atomic bombings showed what was in store for all mankind unless peace-loving peoples and governments joined forces to outlaw the new weapon.

In 1950, in the midst of the cold war, the Standing Committee of the World Congress of Peace Partisans (later to become the World Peace Council) held a session in Stockholm. The session, in which I happened to be a participant, ended with the adoption of the Stockholm Appeal on March 19. It takes less space to reproduce this historic resolution than to describe it:

'We demand the absolute banning of the atomic bomb, weapon of terror and mass extermination of populations.

'We demand the establishment of strict international control to ensure the implementation of this ban.

'We consider that the first government to use the atomic weapon against any country whatsoever would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.

'We call on all men of goodwill throughout the world to sign this appeal.'

I have a vivid memory of the furious propaganda campaign of the warmongers against us peace partisans but also, and above all, of the tremendous dedication and untiring efforts of people everywhere who collected signatures in the streets, in the factories, in universities and churches. In Sweden alone we collected 330,000 signatures, in spite of the fact that all big mass media were attacking and slandering our work. By June 1, 1950, one hundred million signatures had been collected around the world, and at the end of the year there were half a billion. This was an unprecedented mobilization of international public opinion.

*J.D. Bernal. *World Without War*. London, 1958, p. 7.

The worldwide mass movement for the Stockholm Appeal became an exceptionally effective factor for peace. Along with the growing might of world socialism, it contributed greatly to making the use of nuclear bombs in Korea and Vietnam into a politically impossible enterprise. And it formed the firm mass basis upon which the World Peace Movement could proceed to become the powerful force it is today.

Today the situation in the world has changed radically. The idea of peaceful coexistence, put forward by Lenin and the CPSU, has finally won the acceptance of nearly all governments. For decades this idea was combated and slandered by the imperialists and ultra-leftists. Now even those who belong to the most aggressive imperialist circles have to admit, however reluctantly, the necessity of peaceful co-existence, simply because there is, in the nuclear era, no alternative. Either peaceful coexistence or no existence at all, these are the alternatives.

And yet this seemingly indisputable truth has not been fully grasped by some politicians. James Schlesinger, former U.S. Secretary of Defense, tried to have recourse to nuclear blackmail. Senator Henry Jackson, notorious for his extreme line — nationalistic, anti-Soviet — on foreign policy, also engages in 'saber rattling.'

These and similar examples might be called extreme ones, but they show, beyond doubt, that periods of heightened risk of nuclear war can still be produced. Moreover, not all countries have yet signed the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and this is fraught with the danger of their spread. All this adds credence to the comment of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institue (SIPRI) that there is always 'the great and ever present danger that nuclear war will come about by accident, miscalculation or madness.'*

To rule out any possibility of accident, so that this and coming generations should move as far as possible from the abyss of nuclear war, there must be continuous struggle to bring about a further limitation of arms and a final end to the arms race. From there, the world can proceed to attain the great aim of general and complete disarmament.

Throughout the years since the World Peace Council was founded, one of its basic contentions and convictions has been that it is *necessary* to stop the arms race. That is why the World Peace Council Presidential Committee decided on June 2, 1975, at its meeting in Stockholm, to launch a mass campaign to collect signatures to a new Stockholm Appeal. Its aims are summarized in the following lines:

'To make détente irreversible — *stop the arms race*.

**World Armaments and Disarmament: SPIRI Yearbook 1974*. p. 70.

'To move forward rapidly toward a New International Economic Order — *stop the arms race*.

'To defend the peace and build a new world — *stop the arms race*.

'*Together* for Banning All Nuclear and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction!

'*Together* for General and Complete Disarmament!

'*Together* for the Calling Without Delay of the United Nations World Disarmament Conference!'

The Conference of Representatives of National Peace Movements, held in Leningrad in November 1975, called upon all peace movements to start a mass campaign to collect signatures to the new Stockholm Appeal. The campaign will continue until the end of August 1976. WCP delegations will present a Memorandum and the new Stockholm Appeal to the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and to other relevant UN bodies in New York and to UNESCO in Paris. During September and October the signed Appeal will be presented to the heads of government in all countries.

In October-November 1976 a World Peace Council delegation will present the results to the 31st United Nations General Assembly.

The national campaign committees pool the efforts of different political movements and organizations in the struggle to stop the arms race. Although the primary objective is the collection of millions of signatures, other forms of action, corresponding to the situation in each country, are also used. The Appeal has been endorsed at meetings of trade unions, political organizations, youth and student clubs in both capitalist and socialist countries. MPs and other leading figures take an active part in our campaign. About 200 members of Parliament in India representing different political parties signed the Appeal. In Britain it was signed by many Labour MPs and leaders of practically all the national trade union centers. The French Peace Movement decided to hold at least 200 public debates on problems of disarmament in the next few months.

In every part of the world the campaign for the Appeal is linked with the most urgent questions facing the peoples: the fight against militarism and fascism, colonialism and racism, the elimination of the sources and causes of tension and conflicts, the fight against inflation and the economic crisis, the struggle for the right of peoples to control their natural resources and put an end to the rapacious power and policy of the monopolies and multinational corporations, for equal and mutually beneficial relations between the peoples.

Now the mass peace movement is so strong that one can say, with confidence, that it is *possible* to stop the arms race. A limited objective, yes, but a realistic one, and a necessary first step on the way to general and complete disarmament.

After the victory of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola

SOUTHERN AFRICAN PANORAMA

Party leaders and statesmen of the People's Republic of Angola and People's Republic of Mozambique and leaders of the national-liberation movements of the South African Republic, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia have been interviewed by *WMR.*

Three years ago we carried an interview with leaders of the national-liberation organizations of the same five countries entitled 'Southern Africa: Armed Struggle Against Imperialism' *(WMR.* May 1973). The peoples of Mozambique and Angola are free now. How has the situation changed in the south of the continent? The new tasks facing the countries that have won independence and those still fighting for it differ, of course. But all these countries hate oppression and racial regimes whose existence still poisons the life of the peoples of Southern Africa, and want to build a new and better society. This is the principal message of the statements published below.

GROUNDWORK FOR PEOPLE'S RULE

Alves Bernardo Batista, CC Political Bureau member, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Minister for Internal Administration, People's Republic of Angola.

Our army, linked with the people by close bonds, has achieved an impressive victory over the forces of imperialist aggression, first of all over the army of the racists of the South African Republic, who tried to impose on Angola the rule of flunkeys of international imperialism. We owe this victory to the clarity of our political goal — the revolutionary transformation of society — to the will and determination of our fighting men and to our army's high-standard equipment. The important thing is, however, that the battle for Angola was a battle of the whole of Africa and, indeed, the progressive forces of the globe. It was the moral, political and material support of these forces, of socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and Cuba, that made our victory possible. Their stand and actions were a concrete man-

ifestation of the policy of proletarian internationalism steadfastly pursued by them. The Angolan people, the MPLA and our government will never forget it. I said so from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress expressing, on behalf of the CC MPLA and the Angolan people, gratitude, respect and appreciation to the CPSU, the Soviet people and the socialist community.

The imperialist world has been carrying on a vicious slander campaign unprecedented in scale against the Soviet Union and Cuba. But our people, who have experienced imperialist aggression in practice and not in theory, know who is right. The criterion is simple in this case. The countries that helped and continue to help us are friends of the Angolan people. Those countries, however, that backed our enemies, the South African racists and other reactionaries and their underlings in Angola, are no friends of the Angolan people. And we are certain that no one on earth can deny the right to solidarity with the national-liberation movement, to proletarian internationalism, or condemn actions flowing from this right.

It is most deplorable that at a time when our enemies were trying to liquidate our republic and movement, a socialist country, instead of being with Angolan people — a victim of aggression — joined up with the imperialists and racists and gave traitors of the Angolan people moral and material support, specificially by supplying them with arms. We wonder what has become of that country's internationalism. History will answer this question.

We think the most important lesson of our victory is that in today's international situation the masses can, if well organized, led by a consistent national-liberation movement and supported by the progressive forces of the world, defeat an alliance of home and foreign reaction, whatever the sacrifices involved. As for the situation in other Southern African countries, the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola see their primary duty in identifying themselves with liberation movements everywhere.

Our republic has just come into being. It must now give priority to organizing its administrative system, rehabilitating its economy and building a new society.

The aim of the MPLA is to establish a people's democratic regime that will determine the nature of the administraive system. The most cogent proof of the genuinely popular character of power is effective participation by the workers and peasants in government. How do we apply these principles?

Angola's Revolutionary Council has passed an important law establishing popular rule. The law defines the political aspects of state power and provides for a very simple structure of government at all levels. At present the Ministry of Internal Administration is drafting

an appropriate reform. All government is to be based on the principle of democratic centralism.

The primary administrative unit in urban areas is the *barrio* (neighborhood) people's committee of 15 elected by a meeting of all residents from 18 years of age upwards. Some of these committees are functioning already. The committee performs political functions and makes decisions on all problems of the *barrio,* including medical care and education. It may be described as a neighborhood legislature. Executive power is vested in a government coordinator appointed by his immediate superior, the municipal commissar. *Barrio* committees jointly elect the urban municipal committee.

In rural areas as well, all citizens over 18 elect people's committees. The coordinator there is appointed by the communal commissar. Rural committees elect communal committees and the communal commissar is appointed by the Ministry of Internal Administration. Several communes are united in a *municipium,* and the assembly of delegates from their committees elects the municipal committee. Both urban and rural municipal commissars are appointed by the Ministry of Internal Administration.

Urban and rural municipal committees send delegates to the provincial assembly, which elects the provincial committee. The executive authority at this level is headed by the provincial commissar recommended by the MPLA Political Bureau and appointed by the Revolutionary Council.

In setting up this administrative system we have used the experience gained by liberated areas during the war of independence. Preparations are under way for an administrative reform on this basis.[1] The entire system is to be established within five years. We expect to have its initial elements throughout the country two years from now.

Will this confront us with the problem of tribalism? The MPLA considers that to solve this problem, we must, first of all, eliminate the very basis of tribalism, which means reshaping the people's life on a new material production basis. To be specific, we must reorganize farming on modern lines, set up industrial complexes within a planned economy, impart a new social consciousness to the people (social consciousness, as we all know, reflects relations taking shape in the production process), and lastly, promote public education and health, which we want to reach every corner of the country. These are tasks of historic magnitude and we are going to accomplish them gradually, step by step.

We have inherited a plundered and devastated country. The main economic problem is completely to release it from the stranglehold of monopoly and establish fruitful cooperation with all countries on the principles of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity,

non-interference and mutual benefit. We attach primary importance to comprehensive relations with socialist states.

At this stage, the country's leadership regards farming as the basis of the economy, and industry as the decisive factor for mechanizing it. Economic development must be planned according to rigid scientific standards. But we must start from the material basis left us by capitalism and colonialism. And we realize the complexity of the problems facing us, especially the problem of trained personnel. In solving this problem, the republic intends to seek aid from socialist countries.

In accordance with the character of the present period of transition, Angola's economic system rests on three types of property: state property,which must become the basic type, cooperative property and private property.

The republic is taking charge of industrial enterprises abandoned by the Portuguese. Incidentally, some of them are back in operation in spite of the flight of engineers and other specialists. This is an accomplishment of the workers, who have taken management into their own hands.[2] The state sector in industry will go on expanding.

In the countryside, production cooperatives are to be set up. They have already sprung up in some areas and unite considerable numbers of poor peasants. The big farms once owned by the Portuguese will become the basis for state property. The problem of land nationalization is being dealt with.

Private property, too, will be protected in the interest of national reconstruction — we want no over-hasty solutions. However, the expansion of the private sector will be checked.

In the political field, our pressing task is to strengthen the MPLA organizationally and pave the way for transforming it into a political party equipped with a scientific revolutionary theory.

The working class, which is linked with the peasants, has interests incompatible with either those of the exploiters — the big landed proprietors and members of the national bourgeoisie — or those of the non-revolutionary part of the petty bourgeoisie, that is, the one that took no part in the revolutionary struggle. Unlike the period of battles with colonialism, the present period, one of revolutionary transformation of the production system, is characterized by a struggle against every form of exploitation that must be carried through to the end. We must ensure the participation of the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in government and specify the social basis of the revolution. It is no longer possible to maintain unity among adherents of opposed views within one and the same organization. We need an ideology and policy in keeping with our revolutionary objectives.

This is why we intend to organize the workers, peasants (the latter within the framework of cooperatives) and revolutionary intellectuals in order to form party branches. The criteria of selection will be more exacting, and appropriate party discipline will be introduced.[3] Thus it will no longer be a broadly-based alignment of the type of a national-liberation movement but a class party. Led by it, the Angolan people will be able to cope with the historic tasks facing them. We are aware of the tremendous difficulties in store for us, but we are resolved to overcome them.

FORMATIVE PERIOD

Jorge Rebelo, CC and Executive Committee member of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), Minister of Information, People's Republic of Mozambique.

June 25 marks one year since Mozambique was declared independent, a year of sustained effort to launch the country along the road toward a new life.

In the years of armed struggle the main task was to replace the structures set up by the colonial regime by progressive, democratic structures. In the areas freed from the Portuguese colonialists, the population, under the leadership of FRELIMO, proceeded to build a new life; this was, moreover, a condition for the further expansion of the armed struggle. In those years FRELIMO was responsible for both military-political and administrative leadership. It existed as both a party and an administrative system. It is headed by a Central Committee and an Executive Committee. The latter was virtually a government in charge of the economy, public education, cultural activities and trade.

The goal of our revolution was to establish popular rule. And as more areas were liberated, its power structures were expanded and consolidated. FRELIMO saw to it that popular rule was really exercised and that everything served the good of the people.

Two principal government bodies developed in the liberated areas: the provincial council and the provincial committee. The provincial council had legislature functions. Most of its members were elected by the population. The provincial committee, which had executive functions, was likewise an essentially elective body. Its duty was to carry out decisions of the provincial council. A similar system existed at district and local level. At the lowest level government was embodied in a Secretariat under a secretary named by the FRELIMO agency concerned.

In the towns and in southern provinces, the administrative structures established by the colonialists to maintain their interests con-

tinued to function. With the country's liberation completed, it became our main task there to destroy those structures. As they were stronger than in the war-ravaged areas, their replacement by people's power structures is more difficult than elsewhere. We realize, however, that the revolution cannot succeed unless we do this. The experience of liberated areas tells us that colonical structures cannot be used in the people's interests. Nor can we restrict change to merely replacing the staffs of the administrative apparatus set up by the colonialists. The Party has therefore called for the establishment of a new state apparatus, which we are now doing.

We are trying to extend the administrative system that has proved its worth in the liberated areas to the whole country. This will certainly take time. There is more to it than setting up local councils — the important thing is to decide who should be on them. This also applies to the administrative apparatus we are now forming. State structures no longer merge with party structures. And a task of primary importance is to ensure that the executive agencies and the state apparatus as a whole firmly follow the Party line.[4] We therefore give much attention to checking up on those who are assigned jobs in it.

Mozambique is a large country of about 10 million people. To manage its affairs at all levels is a formidable task requiring a large body of trained personnel. Most of the educated received their education under the colonialists' direct influence. They belong to the privileged stratum of Mozambique's African society with an essentially petty-bourgeois mentality and little concern for the people's interests. In the past, those who studied to become, say, doctors or teachers did so to obtain financial and social advantages. At present, however, what anyone learns must not be used for his narrow aims but for the good of the people, must become a means of serving the people. This is no easy task to accomplish.

Right now the republic follows two main lines in solving the problem of trained personnel. One is to train our own people. Late in 1975 we opened a central Party school. It enrolls people who showed a revolutionary spirit during the war, whom the Party trusts and who will really uphold the people's interests. We also plan to organize short-term courses that will offer basic knowledge needed for the performance of definite political and administrative functions. The other line is political work among people educated under the colonial regime. Its purpose is to enhance their political consciousness.

As regards the Party itself, FRELIMO retains the character of a front but is changing gradually. And while it is open to all irrespective of religion, class, and even political views, there is this fundamental condition: to be admitted to FRELIMO, one must be against the exploitation of man by man. This means that those who would like to

become capitalists and make profit are barred from the Party. The policy line of FRELIMO was defined by its First and Second congresses. The Third Congress, due to meet in December 1976, will decide on its long-term development.[5]

And so, our aim is to establish popular rule at all levels. Its core is taking shape already. It is made up of 'dynamic groups' formed in every ministry, factory or farm and on the territorial principle, as in urban neighborhoods. They comprise politically trained persons who mobilize the people for the implementation of Party slogans and supervise economic activity and the work of administrative bodies.

Since independence, the people's state has been gradually assuming control over the basic sectors of national life. It has become the owner of all banks and credit institutions. The health services, public education and legal aid are all under state control. All rental houses were nationalized early in February 1976.[6] (No one in Mozambique today lives off rent as a house owner). The land has been returned to those who till it. The big landed estates have been transferred to the state.

The capitalists and planters retaliated through active subversion, by destroying machinery and damaging fields, even by provoking discontent over food shortages. 'Dynamic groups' acting with determination put an end to subversion and brought about the resumption of production. We are now establishing worker control in the enterprises.

The Constitution of the republic says that farming is the basis of the economy while industry plays the role of a dynamizing factor.

Our country's main asset is its people, most of whom live in the countryside. Progress in agriculture is being fostered by creating 'communal villages.' The rural population is scattered over large areas — a result of colonial rule. This makes it difficult to organize the peasants, plan production or solve educational problems (indeed, we cannot very well build a school near every house). Living conditions are very bad and this is precisely the reason for creating 'communal villages' on the principle of 'collective work and collective life.' Production cooperatives are set up on the basis of these villages, and people see how the new system is improving their life. In other words, FRELIMO wins over the peasants by means of concrete examples.

Not long ago southern Mozambique was hit by heavy floods. Many people lost their homes and the overall damage was great. The Party tells people that this might not have happened if they had lived together in suitably chosen areas. The peasants' social consciousness is a big problem, of course. But we try to explain things to them and hope to make headway through political work.

Armed liberation struggle was an important factor in achieving

unity among the diverse ethnic groups. They were all oppressed by the colonialists and united by a common desire for freedom. In the course of struggle, people learned to understand each other, and tribalist and regionalist sentiments fomented by the colonialists gradually disappeared.[7] This was also a result of the political work carried out by FRELIMO. We told people that the differences between them were artificial and had been maintained by colonialism to oppress them all. We said there were distinctions but no contradictions and that the only way to win was by fighting in common. As a result, the problem of tribalism and regionalism in Mozambique is no longer as acute as in some other African countries, and this helps FRELIMO in implementing agrarian policy.

Most of Mozambique's industrial enterprises were set up and operated with the aid of investments made by Portuguese state banks and credit institutions, which after the victory of the revolution became the property of the republic. This means that virtually all industry belongs to our state. We can take over any enterprise at any time. But we are short of people who can manage production. After the nationalization of public education, the health services and rental houses, and other government measures, engineers and technicians began to leave the country. The result was a sharp drop in production. The republic therefore asks socialist countries for technological aid while at the same time training specialists of its own.

We know our internal difficulties are enormous, nor do we forget the intrigues of our external enemies. An attempt at rebellion was foiled in Maputo in September 1975. The investigation is not over but its early findings show that the action was planned by imperialists. It was carried out by a small group of army officers who had simply been bought over. Our enemies know that the army firmly supports FRELIMO and remains the mainstay of the revolution. This is why they tried to undermine its unity by forming an organization linked directly with imperialist powers. But their conspiracy failed dismally.

Taken as a whole, the present situation in the south of Africa is, we think, most favorable to the liberation struggle. The winning of independence by Mozambique and Angola dealt a powerful blow to the racist Vorster and Smith regimes. Special mention should be made of the failure of South Africa's aggression in Angola. The South African army had been made out to be invincible on the continent and the Pretoria racists had boasted that they could overrun Africa all the way to Cairo in a few days. Their defeat in Angola and the MPLA victory exploded that myth by showing the RSA to be vulnerable. This fact also came home to its ruler, who sounded the alarm.

Ian Smith, the Rhodesian racist leader, was alarmed in turn. After independence had been declared by Mozambique, on which Rhodesia

depended heavily for the transit of its exports and imports, Smith resorted to maneuvering. He released the leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation movement and began talks with them, hoping to gain time and delay African majority rule indefinitely. But the national forces of Zimbabwe, realizing that the racist regime will never relinquish power to the Africans of its own free will, are stepping up their fight.

As to FRELIMO, it has always honored its internationalist duty to liberation movements. The Zimbabwe people's struggle is also our struggle. FRELIMO has backed the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and will back it to its victorious conclusion.[8]

International solidarity was an important factor for our victory. What I mean is the solidarity of African countries, first of all Tanzania and Zambia, the Organization of African Unity, the socialist countries, the progressive forces of the capitalist world.

Worthy of special note is the role of socialist countries. They were FRELIMO's main source of military supplies, and we also had their unqualified moral and diplomatic support. The socialist countries are our natural allies. Their aid to the national-liberation struggle also makes for strengthening their own positions. Why? Because our gains and victories weaken imperialism and thereby add to the strength of the socialist world. Support from the revolutionary forces of the globe contributed to the victory of the national-liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and this, in turn, created new possibilities in Africa for the triumph of socialist ideals.

We need that supprt as much as in the past, for our country is virtually ruined. The rule of a thoroughly corrupt colonial administration and 10 years of war were bound to tell. To consolidate political and economic independence, we must develop relations with other countries. Until recently, Mozambique based its economy on relations with imperialist powers only. Of course, the main condition for setting up an independent national economy is to mobilize our own internal forces, but we cannot be isolationists. We must reorientate our economy from the capitalist to the socialist world. Capitalism in developing countries wants nothing but profit. By contrast, the socialist countries help disinterestedly to consolidate revolutionary regimes. They realize that if our countries are strong the basis of the anti-imperialist struggle will broaden. Mozambique develops relations with many socialist countries, specificially with the Soviet Union, in such fields as the economy, education, public health and information.

The socialist countries' policy of détente has contributed to gains in the national-liberation struggle. This is the right way to develop international relations. Our country has taken an explicit stand on this issue which Samora Machel, President of the People's Republic of

Mozambique, stated in a message expressing support for the Helsinki Conference.

We realize that it is in the interests of socialism to develop relations between countries with different social and political systems. Imperialism is becoming weaker as it suffers reverse after reverse, while socialism is growing stronger. The victory of the peoples of Indochina and the liberation of Portugal's colonies confirm this. Détente creates opportunities to strengthen socialism and change the alignment of forces still more in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism and imperialism.

VORSTER'S DOUBLE STRATEGY

Alfred Nzo, General Secretary, African National Congress of South Africa.

The changes taking place in the South of Africa are a direct consequence of the general crisis of capitalism and the further strengthening of the international positions of the forces of progress fighting against imperialism, oppression and reaction. This is the situation in which the peoples of the national-liberation zone have achieved a series of major victories, most notably, the historic victory of the Vietnamese and other peoples of Indochina, as well as the increased activity of forces opposed to imperialism and Israeli aggression in the Middle East, and the growing islolation of Israel. The collapse of the Portuguese colonial system and the rise of new states led by revolutionary democratic parties struck a crushing blow at the unholy alliance of racists and fascists in the south of Africa. The supporting flanks of the alliance — the one-time Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique — fell apart.

These changes make Africans more keenly aware of the inherent unity of the three main streams of the world revolutionary process — the socialist countries, the working-class movement and the struggle of other democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement. The interaction of these streams has already borne fruit on our continent and is paving the way for complete liberation of its southern part from the evils of racism. The fascist regimes of Southern Africa find themselves in a blind alley and are threatened with destruction.

The Vorster regime — the mainstay of fascism and racism in the south of the continent — has for years been compelled to use a double strategy. On the one hand, it persists in its traditional policy, stinting not effort to protect the economic interests of multinational monopolies[9] and the well-to-do white minority, as well as the strategic

positions of imperialism. On the other, Vorster is constrained to take initiatives of some sort to stem the offensive of free Africa and preserve the system of class exploitation and racial oppression. His principal maneuver, designed to make a show of renouncing his former 'tough' policy, was the creation of so-called bantustans.[10]

Vorster's propaganda machine comments a lot on the coming 'independence' of the Transkei bantustan, to be granted in October. In particular, it carries numerous reports on the training of Transkei diplomats who may be described more correctly as black propagandists of apartheid on the international scene. But the people of Transkei do not benefit in any way from this propaganda campaign. Indeed, their living conditions are going from bad to worse as poverty, land hunger, disease and other old problems gain in acuteness. The Transkei population is becoming more active politically. However, the authorities intimidate people by using the emergency decree issued back in 1960 to prevent them from joining the working-class movement. In infringing the people's interests, the racists use the services of local puppets.

The ANC has always stressed that the apartheid policy is intended to divide the African population on tribalist principles, weaken it, distract it from the struggle for national independence, divert it from the revolutionary path and make it believe in the illusion of 'independence in bantustans.'

Another major trend of Vorster's maneuvers is to emphasize the vaunted policy of 'dialogue' with free Africa adopted in the mid-60s. Ever since then, the national-liberation movement of our country has exposed this policy, which is aimed at splitting the Organization of African Unity, preventing the establishment of a united front of African states against the fascist regime and easing the regime's isolation while trying to isolate progressive forces, primarily the African National Congress, from their African allies, and ensure that African countries stop supporting the ANC.

The new stage of this strategy is the policy of 'détente,' Vorster style. Although the fascist regime under Vorster resists international détente in common with the most reactionary forces of the world, it knows that the idea of détente is very popular. It tries therefore to capitalize on it, expecting African countries to believe that the regime is changing and accepts international standards of life based on détente. Unfortunately, some African countries have fallen for this ruse, imagining that the 'new direction' taken by the fascist regime can produce something useful.

The fact is that Vorster has no intention of improving in any way the plight of South Africa's non-white population or renouncing the

expansionist aspect of his foreign policy. This was demonstrated in, among other places Angola. The racist regime's undisguised aggression against the new republic showed again that no 'initiative' of the regime can be attributed to its leaders' realization that they must keep pace with progressive changes on the continent. While trying to mislead African countries and progressive forces throughout the world, the Vorster regime perseveres in its policy of national oppression and of defending the interests of imperialism and domestic reaction against a revolutionary offensive.

South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola fully revealed the fascist nature of the Vorster regime. It was a further proof that the ANC is right in saying that racist South Africa, endangers the revolutionary processs in Africa and provides a bridgehead for imperialist aggression on the continent. A second lesson of Angola is that it confirmed once again the imperialists' intolerance of every manifestation of economic or political independence on the part of an African country. Thirdly, the events in Angola showed that the imperialists are prepared, as they were in Vietnam, to commit open aggression to make up for losses and protect their political and eocnomic interests. They do not shrink from resorting to arms if they think it will help them to isolate the African revolution, above all from socialist countries. This is why the aggression in Angola was accompanied by widespread and fierce propaganda against the MPLA, known to the whole world as a genuinely revolutionary movement, and in still greater measure against the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, against all progressive forces of the globe.

The events in Angola also fit perfectly into the U.S. imperialist policy of 'destabilizing' progressive regimes. This means that the defeat of the South African fascist regimes in Angola was also a setback for that policy. It gives a new impetus to the revolution in Africa. Its anti-imperialist content is deepening. The OAU assembly on Angola confirmed this conclusion. In spite of imperialist propaganda, many African countries unambiguously declared their support for the stand of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries, their aid to Angola and their contribution to revolutionary progress throughout the African continent. By sending delegations to socialist countries, especially to the Soviet Union, to seek aid for African national-liberation movements, the OAU Liberation Committee confirms the necessity and solidity of the alliance of two contingents of the world revolution — the socialist system and the national-liberation movement — and reveals the highly important fact that Africa appreciates the role of the Soviet Union and other socialist

countries in its fight for independence. Our delegation emphasized this at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The defeat of the South African army in Angola aggravated the isolation and internal crisis of the Vorster regime. The regime's reaction is typical. The South African government calls for efforts to strengthen the country's 'defenses' and militarize its economy still more. It has approved a record military budget — $1,600m.[11] The strength of the army is to exceed 200,000. All this is bound to increase economic difficulties and lower the standard of living, with a growing strike movement and greater popular discontent as a result. It affords new opportunities for the liberation movement of the oppressed population of our country.

In 1955, the ANC and other progressive and democratic forces of South Africa proposed a revolutionary national-democratic alternative. Set out in what is known as the 'Freedom Charter,' the proposal is more relevant than ever. The preamble to the Charter says: South Africa belongs to all who live in it — blacks and whites alike. No government may rule the country unless it has a mandate from the people. The South African problem cannot be solved without genuine democracy. To carry out this program, the ANC and other progressive forces are doing all in their power to intensify the struggle to the popular masses.

Inside the country we intend to carry on our propaganda campaign with still greater perseverance, also with regard to the white minority, to which we want to reveal that its genuine interests do not lie in supporting the racist regime but in isolating and destroying it. In working among the black majority, the ANC stresses the need for closer unity of all groups of the population. It is very important to bring about an alliance of the diverse communities of the country and unite all revolutionary forces in order to smash the system of apartheid.

The ANC considers it necessary, therefore, to develop its political work, using all legal possibilities. Even more important, it is improving the methods of its underground activity and intends to step up its armed struggle. It has never made an absolute of this method, but neither has it ever renounced it. Our goal is, now as in the past, to destroy the regime by every means.

Our movement pins great hopes on international solidarity. The events in Angola showed once again the importance of the progressive world forces' support of the revolutionary forces of Africa. This support benefits the people concerned, the revolution on the continent, and progress, democracy and peace throughout the world.

DESPITE INTRIGUES, FOR THE UNITY OF FIGHTERS

Jason Moyo, Chairman, External Administration of the Zimbabwe African National Council (Rhodesia); *George Silundika*, Member of the External Administration, African National Council.

The Zimbabwe national-liberation movement has become an appreciable force in spite of racist and imperialist intrigues aimed at dividing it. Enemy propaganda plays up the difficulties and differences that crop up as the movement develops!

The history of these intrigues dates from the early 60s. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), founded by Joshua Nkomo in December 1961, gained noticeably in influence at the time. In 1963, ZAPU was split, not without aid from outside, resulting in the rise of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) under the Rev. N. Sithole. In 1971, further intrigues led to a small group of splitters breaking away from ZAPU and assuming the name of the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI), with J. Chikerema as its leader.

At that time (early 1972) the so-called Pierce commission was appointed to determine the Zimbabwe people's attitude toward the proposals for a settlement of the Rhodesian problem worked out by the self-appointed Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, and British Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home.[12] It was necessary to give the patriots a political weapon against those proposals. But the national leaders of Zimbabwe, including Joshua Nkomo, were either in prison or in enforced residence. It was in those circumstances that a legal organization, the African National Council (ANC), was founded on Nkomo's initiative. Bishop Abel Murorewa was appointed its head and it soon became a mass movement. The campaign against the Home-Smith collusion was crowned by complete success.

In 1974, following the victory of the liberation war in Mozambique, the presidents of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique obtained under the Lusaka Manifesto,[13] the release of Joshua Nkomo and other Zimbabwe leaders. On December 7, the Unity Declaration was signed in Lusaka announcing the unification of ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI within the framework of the ANC. Agreement was reached that a congress would be called in four months to elect the ANC leadership and decide on its policy. However, seeing that the overwhelming majority of ANC branches in the country supported the line of the ZAPU and Joshua Nkomo, the leaders of other alignments began to block measures for the convocation of the congress and when the congress was nevertheless held (September 1975), they

stayed away from it, saying they they refused to recognize either its decisions or the leadership elected by it.[14]

What are the arguments of the breakaway elements? They claim that they are backed by the majority of the population. They have also tried to prove it by gathering crowds in Salisbury. However, the underlying idea of their actions is to foment tribalist discord among the African population. Their claim to a 'majority' is based on the fact that most of them belong to the Mashona people, the country's most numerous.

Actually tribalist sentiments are not typical of the Zimbabwe people, first of all because the development of capitalism has resulted in the formation of a sizable working class.[15] The workers do not give so much thought to their tribal origins as to the need to fight in common against capitalist exploitation. Those who try to impose tribalism on our people are doing so for selfish reasons, in an effort to come to power by hook or by crock. This is not to say, of course, that the danger of tribalism can be dismissed.

External reactionary forces are certainly doing all they can to aggravate the conflict. The imperialists do not want a repetition of Angola, where a progressive movement has come to power, in our country. As is known, Joshua Nkomo and his followers visualize the future of Zimbabwe in terms of the ZAPU 'Ideological Concept'[16] and that Nkomo is for a party expressing the interests of the working class and the people as a whole. Our opponents, however, believe in an organization of a few members of the elite who would take decisions 'in the name of the people.' It is hardly surprising that when Nkomo said that it was for the people to make decisions they replied that the people were not mature enough. Still, we consider that ideological differences should not be an obstacle to joint struggle.

Another argument of our opponents concerns their interpretation of the talks between Joshua Nkomo and Smith. Muzorewa, Sithole and others affirm that Nkomo declares for agreement with Smith whereas they are for armed struggle.

The fact of the matter is that Nkomo decided on armed struggle in the early 60s and has never retreated from that position.[17] As for the talks with Smith, they were begun in accordance with the policy of the Organization of African Unity as defined by the Lusaka Manifesto. In April 1975, the OAU Council of Ministers, meeting in Dar es Salaam, approved a declaration reaffirming the principle of negotiations if suggested by the racist regimes. Furthermore, it stressed that OAU members' contacts with them should not imply 'détente' in their relations and that the only subject of negotiations should be the terms of transferring power to the African majority. The Declaration was confirmed by the OAU Summit at Kampala (July-August 1975).

In line with this decision, talks were held in August 1975 on Victoria Falls Bridge between an ANC delegation led by Abel Muzorewa, on the one hand, and Smith and Vorster, on the other. The talks were broken off over technical differences. But a beginning had been made. The event aroused widespread response among the population. It was necessary to make Smith take a stand on the substance of the matter, that is, on the issue of African majority rule, and exclude South Africa from the talks as an outsider.

It was in this spirit that new ANC Executive Committee decided to hold talks. Account was taken of the fact that the white community was divided. On the one hand, there are the bankers, industrialists, businessmen, some military men and small proprietors, who want the problem to be solved — on neo-colonialist lines, to be sure. On the other hand, there are the farmers, big landowners, highly placed engineers and other specialists and skilled craftsmen, who cling doggedly to the existing order. It was precisely because he realized that the white community is split that Smith proposed what seemed like a peaceful settlement. The world know this and wanted to know the Africans' reaction.

We are not fighting to kill. If we are offered a peaceful solution we agree to talks, even if we have virtually no hope of a favorable outcome. The important thing is that everybody, including white Rhodesians, should see that we want a peaceful and fair solution which is not what Smith wants.[18] This will aggravate divisions among the whites and create more favorable conditions for our armed struggle.

The talks are no alternative to armed struggle, nor can they hinder it. The liberation war is going on. The Zimbabwe people's army was formed late in 1975 and has been operating ever since. It comprises former ZAPU and ZANU fighters.[19] The point is, however, that every armed struggle requires adequate preparations. Our organization has said in a statement that there are those who play with the dangerous idea that the Zimbabwe people must be ignored and that the solution of those who have the arms should be imposed on the whole population. 'These are elements, internal and external, who are, in fact opportunists and adventurists who want the world to believe that revolution is the gun and that the man with the gun is the sole revolutionary to the exclusion of the masses. This is treachery and corruption of the revolution. The people of Zimbabwe with or without guns are a single revolutionary whole in struggle.'

The situation today is more favorable to our people. After all, the Zimbabwe problem is not an isolated one. It is part of the problem of the south of the continent, of all countries of the area, of all peoples fighting for liberation, whether in Indochina or the Middle East, part

of the common struggle of progressive forces against the forces of reaction. These problems have been solved in Indochina, Mozambique and Angola. As to the south of our continent, a solution has yet to come. However, the victories achieved in Mozambique and Angola mean that the enemy has become more vulnerable.

Angola has taught the imperialists a harsh lesson. The South African army was defeated and will henceforth suffer similar defeats. As to the Rhodesian army, its inefficiency has long since been proved.

The only force the racist Smith regime can lean on is the equally racist Vorster regime. Imperialist press comments alleging that Vorster is willing to leave Smith in the lurch are intended to mislead world opinion. There is no question that to preserve his rule in South Africa, Vorster has urged Smith to make some insignificant concessions to the African people of Zimbabwe. He would like the same in Namibia and in South Africa itself, but on the only principle acceptable to him, that is, provided the white settlers retain power everywhere. For if Vorster was willing to accept African majority in Zimbabwe, why did he attack Angola!

Vorster's 'initiatives' are merely an attempt at bargaining to obtain something of a moratorium from free Africa. But this will never happen. A racist regime is as unacceptable to the South African people as it is to other African peoples. Vorster is an oppressor and fascist. He is directly responsible for the deaths of hundreds and thousands of our brothers. The days of his regime, like those of the Smith regime, are numbered.

Every liberation struggle, including the struggle in Zimbabwe, can be successful if, first of all, the people show proper determination and readiness for sacrifice. But much depends on international support as well. Nor do I mean material support only. Our struggle is part of the struggle of the oppressed and exploited of the world, part of the struggle of the international working class. We are inspired by the solidarity of our brothers, both those who are free and those who are fighting for liberation.

We are deeply grateful to the socialist countries, first of all to the Soviet Union and to the CPSU, for their assistance and their policy based on proletarian internationalism. The peoples of South Africa greeted with enthusiasm L.I. Brezhnev's statement at the 25th CPSU Congress that the Soviet Union would continue to render that assistance.

The struggle of African people of Zimbabwe is widely appreciated and supported. This was confirmed by the meetings which our delegation had with representatives of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of the world during the 25th CPSU Congress. The African National Council, for its part, does its best to contribute to the

solidarity of fighters against imperialism. In days that were crucial for Angola, we shared with the MPLA the little we have.

Our people are resolved to step up their struggle and they look forward to practical manifestations of international solidarity, to material and moral support from friendly forces. The assistance of socialist countries, African states, progressive regimes, fraternal liberation movements and solidarity committees throughout the world will contribute substantially to the ultimate victory of the African people of Zimbabwe.

FOR A STATE OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

Moses Garoeb, Member of the National Executive Committee and Administrative Secretary, South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

The winning of independence by Mozambique and Angola means that free Africa has moved right up to the borders of South Africa, that Rhodesia has become more vulnerable and that from now on, Namibia will have a progressive state as its neighbor in the north. This greatly weakens the positions of the racist Vorster and Smith regimes.

The so-called policy of détente in Africa, announced by the Vorster regime when the revolutionary national-liberation movement was preparing for a decisive offensive, is dead. It will be recalled that some African countries took the bait at first, thinking that the racists were changing. In Zimbabwe the policy of 'détente' was thought to be bearing fruit. In Namibia too, there was a visible decline in the activity of the progressive forces even though it did not stop altogether, as the hostile press claimed. By now everyone in Africa and elsewhere has seen that the 'initiatives' taken by Vorster and Smith were merely intended to gain time and that fascist regimes never change. And this means that the fight against them will intensify.

SWAPO is convinced that armed struggle is the only realistic way to free Namibia. It has become more effective in recent months. Our fighting men, operating in groups of five or 10, thrust deep into the country, operating within 45 miles of the capital, Windhoek. The guerrillas' main targets are the military-political upper stratum and reactionary farmers. The strength of the National Liberation Army of Namibia has increased considerably and its combat and political training has improved. The army has been much more active since early 1975.

At the same time, SWAPO is stepping up its efforts for politically organizing the people and consolidating its organizational structure.

Illegal meetings are held all over the country, underground cells inform the people and spell out the meaning of developments to them. No national-liberation movement can do anything without the people's support. We have succeeded in bringing many people into our movement.

It must be stressed that SWAPO does not in principle rule out the possibility of solving the problem of Namibia through talks. The organization has always said that it is willing to hold talks — on our terms. SWAPO regards three of its conditions as preliminary ones that must be accepted before any talks can begin:

— first, South Africa must publicly recognize the right of Namibia to independence, a right which is not negotiable;

— secondly, Namibia must achieve independence as a united nation;

— thirdly, SWAPO must be recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Besides, we put forward the following conditions as indispensable to any agreement:

— South Africa will withdraw its occupation forces — army, police, security forces — from Namibia:

— South Africa will release all political prisoners held in prisons or concentration camps in both South Africa and Namibia;

— all people who were forced to leave Namibia will have the right to return, with guarantees against arrest or persecution;

— no Namibian will be prosecuted on charges of 'terrorism,' 'murder,' etc., for actions in the course of the liberation struggle.

If the Vorster regime accepts these conditions, SWAPO will join in talks. But they must deal with specific details of the peaceful transfer of power to SWAPO. It can only be a question of the technical aspects of transferring the ministries and other agencies. If Vorster is a realist he will have peace, if not, we shall fight, even if it means fighting for another five or ten years.

You will see that the SWAPO proposals have nothing to do with the much-advertised 'constitutional negotiations' initiated by the Vorster regime with its Namibian puppets.[20] Their purpose is to impose division along tribal lines and set up a system of bantustans, with all riches handed over to the whites. Every tribe and the whole people of Namibia reject this 'solution.' As to the so-called tribal chiefs, who are said to back Vorster's policy, they are paid by the South African government.

Having announced his 'declaration of independence of Namibia,' Vorster would like the world to believe that he is retreating. But everyone realizes that he means 'independence' controlled from Pretoria. This was shown by the unanimous condemnation of the negoti-

ations in question by the Security Council meeting in January 1976, at which I had the honor to represent Namibia.

SWAPO firmly believes in a united Namibia whose people will govern the country by themselves. To be sure, the existence of tribes is an African reality. All the main tribes — the Ovambo, Damara, Nama, Herero and others — are represented in SWAPO and in the National Liberation Army of Namibia. Our radio broadcasts in five native languages (apart from English). SWAPO is a nationwide organization and the population knows that we are fighting for the interests of the whole people.

Ours is not a tribal struggle but a political struggle inspired by a well-defined ideology. SWAPO sees the future of Namibia in a state ruled by the people themselves, by the workers and peasants, who constitute the base of our struggle. At present workers and peasants of Namibia are exploited by an alliance of racists, South African capitalists and multinational monopolies. SWAPO's goal is to end this and build a new society ruling out exploitation.

We also know that in an number of African countries the colonialists have been succeeded by a local black elite. The workers and peasants have been forgotten. SWAPO does not want anything like that to happen in Namibia.

All this unites us with our northern neighbor — free Angola. Hence it is absurd on the part of the imperialist press to allege that SWAPO, which is supposedly backed by only the Ovambo tribe, supported in Angola the tratorous UNITA alignment under Savimbi linked with tribes related to the Ovambo. Ideologically, SWAPO and the MPLA are at one and our struggle is part of the common struggle of the progressive forces of Africa. SWAPO also identifies itself with the fraternal national-liberation movements of Zimbabwe and South Africa.

There is also the important fact that, as SWAPO Chairman Sam Nujoma has repeatedly stressed, our organization is not fighting against the white population as such but against racist leglislation and practices, against a system of exploitation and oppression for complete liberation and the establishment of a state in which all blacks and whites will enjoy equal rights.

Our people and our organization are being increasingly supported by the progressive forces of the world, which are stepping up both moral solidarity and direct material aid. At the 25th CPSU Congress, I said that 'the African people's resolve to win freedom, plus the support and solidarity of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, make the final defeat of the racist regimes merely a matter of time.'

In capitalist countries, SWAPO is campaigning on a large scale to

mobilize public opinion. 'Groups for Namibia' spring up in Western Europe, the United States and many other countries. Meetings and demonstrations take place, protests are organized, pressure is exerted on governments to make them revise their position on our national-liberation movment. And whereas these groups lacked prestige some five years ago, they are now heard by influential political parties and by governments, and SWAPO representatives are officially received by cabinet ministers.

A very important achievement of SWAPO in the past five years is its recognition by the Organization of African Unity and the UN as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. SWAPO has been granted observer status with the United Nations. I would also alike to point to the International Conference on Human Rights in Namibia held early this year in Dakar.

Our gains are due in no small measure to the favorable situation created on the international scene by the policy for peace and détente pursued by the socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union. This policy, which certainly has nothing in common with 'détente, Vorster style,' is not intended to preserve the social and political status quo in the world, as some ill-intentioned people allege. Oppression is incompatible with détente. The policy for peace and détente contributes to the success of national-liberation movements.

Indochina now has peace, achieved with the support of socialist countries and meaning a victory for détente as well. Peace has also been established in Angola, where the imperialist forces were defeated, and that, too, benefits détente. The gains of the national-liberation movement make, in their turn, for détente and peace on earth.

1. President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola, speaking at a mass rally in Luanda early in April 1976, stressed that in forming organs of people's power, it was necessary to lean on the more socially conscious part of the working people, weed out disguised enemies, bureaucrats and politically unstable elements, and take the most resolute steps to defeat imperialist intrigues. — *Ed.*

2. Workers' commissions have been set up at enterprises. The leadership of the National Union of Angolan Workers is organizing seminars for them. — *Ed.*

3. 'Many consider themselves activists of the MPLA,' said MPLA General Secretary Lucio Cara, 'yet it is not those who hold a membership card that are activists but those who really and actively participate in the everyday work of the MPLA. . . .' — *Ed.*

4. At the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee (Maputo, February 11-27, 1976), the state apparatus, its officials and work were sharply criticized. — *Ed.*

5. At the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the FRELIMO Central Committee Samora Machel, FRELIMO Chairman and President of the PRM, called for measures to rid the Party of alien elements, bar ideas and views propagated by the capitalist world, strengthen and step up the activity of FRELIMO organizations at all levels, democratize working methods, improve collective leadership and proceed to form and develop mass democratic organizations of women, working people and youth. — *Ed.*

6. Without generally investing capital in production, the Portuguese specialists and traders living in Mozambique invested their savings in housing and made profit from rent. The immovable property owned by them in Maputo alone are estimated to have been worth $150m. — *Ed.*

7. It happened quite often that a man fought outside his native province and yet was welcomed as a friend. Sometimes, men from the south who fought in the north married there. Custom requires bride-money but the bridegroom could not pay it and in many cases local inhabitants helped him by putting up the money.

8. On the night of February 22-23, 1976, the Smith regime attacked Mozambique. On March 3, President Samora Machel announced the closing of the frontier with Rhodesia, the confiscation of its property and the application of UN sanctions. — *Ed.*

9. And they reciprocate. In June 1975, a group of industrialists and bankers held a seminar in London on increasing investments in South Africa. In January 1976, a decision to this effect was taken by 16 major American corporations at a secret meeting in Sands Point, N.Y. — *Ed.*

10. See O. Tambo, 'Faith in Victory,' *WMR*, December 1975, p. 87, and Y. Dadoo, 'The Crisis of Apartheid,' *WMR*, February 1975, p. 104. — *Ed.*

11. During Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976, the press hinted at the possibility of military cooperation between South Africa's racists and the Israeli Zionists. — *Ed.*

12. The proposals did not really provide for the transfer of power to the African majority in the foreseeable future. — *Ed.*

13. Adopted at a conference of African countries in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1969, the Manifesto allowed for talks with the Vorster and Smith regime to establish African majority rule in South Africa and Rhodesia. — *Ed.*

14. The congress elected a new ANC Executive Committee, with Joshua Nkomo as Chairman. — *Ed.*

15. At the same time according to the 1969 census, 63 per cent of Rhodesia's Africans live in rural reservations, and hundreds of thousands more work on farms owned by Europeans. — *Ed.*

16. See *WMR*, May 1973. — *Ed.*

17. For a description of the armed struggle led by ZAPU, see *WMR*, May 1973. — *Ed.*

18. The talks were broken off March 19, 1976, over Smith's intransigent position — his rejection of the proposal for immediately establishing African majority rule. At a press conference following the breakdown of the talks, Nkomo said: 'It is clear that Smith has declared thereby that he is willing to wage war. It was he who did it, not we.' — *Ed.*

19. Since January 1976 the army has sharply stepped up its operations. The press reports the formation of a joint command composed of former ZAPU and ZANU members — nine from each. In March 1976, N. Kezwana, the London representative of the ANC, said: 'We try to bring about a situation in which the armed forces will continue to function under the control of an elected political leadership.' — *Ed.*

20. The 'constitutional conference' convened by South Africa has been in session at Windhoek since the autumn of 1975. The participants are spokesmen of the white population and the 'chiefs' of 10 African tribal groups. — *Ed.*

What Honduran reaction wants to revert to

Milton Rene Paredes
Member of CC, CP of Honduras

A year ago, a coup in Honduras replaced the military government under Lopez Arellano by a military government under Melgar Castro. Imperialism and the domestic ultras were dissatisfied with the activity of the previous head of state, who had announced a national development plan with agrarian reform as a key provision. They conspired to win back the political positions they had lost after the December 1972 coup* and nullify the Honduran people's democratic gains. They launched a vast propaganda campaign to cause discord between Lopez Arellano and his cabinet and fanned social conflicts aggravating the country's economic crisis. Many strikes were inspired by opponents of democratic change, who copied the methods the CIA used in Chile against the Popular Unity government. Under pressure from reaciton, the Lopez Arellano government began to vacillate and abandon its democratization policy.

The resolute stand taken by the advanced sections of the working class foiled many of reaction's maneuvers. Thereupon imperialism and reaction openly attacked the head of state, whom they accused of 'dividing the people' and 'importing class struggle.' Their aim was to sow in the army distrust for Lopez Arellano as Commander-in-Chief. They succeeded, with the result that medium-ranking army officers launched a 'purge,' of the Army (the so-called Movement of March 31, 1975), demanded that the functions of Commander-in-Chief and head of state be separated, and forced a large group of high-ranking officers out of the government. However, this was less than imperialism and the ultras were after. They wanted to remove the head of state because of his tolerance of democratic elements. The upshot was the fall of the Lopez Arellano government.

The Melgar Castro government, which emerged on April 23, 1975, did not turn out to be what the reactionaries had bargained for. Imperialism and the oligarchy had sought a fascist-type regime that would promptly do away with the people's democratic gains. Yet the

*The coup brought down the Ernesto Cruz government which upheld the interests of the landed oligarchy and U.S. monopolies. — *Ed.*

Melgar Castro government is not quite living up to their expectations and all that it is doing at the moment is to provide conditions for the restoration of oligarchic power. We Communists define this government as a compromising and transitional one. It is under double pressure, so to speak. On the one hand, foreign and home reactionaries are engaged in new political maneuvers aimed at achieving victory for right-wing forces. On the other, the more politically conscious elements in the armed forces that want to prevent a swing to the right are again assuming the political initiative they lost after March 31, 1975.

The government is torn by serious antagonisms. Nor could it have been otherwise, for it is the product of a loose compromise between forces aspiring to power. This means that the near future may see an exacerbation of antagonisms and, indeed, a new deep political crisis.

After the coup, the functions of the government and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces were separated. The former lost much of its power and became, in effect, a purely administrative agency. As for the latter, it began to make decisions on fundamental home and foreign policy issues. Real power today is no longer wielded by one man but by a body of 27. We regard this as a favorable development since today problems of 'big' politics are discussed and not settled at the whim of one man.

Politically, the Supreme Council is a heterogeneous body. Some of its members are more or less agreeable to structural changes intended to end poverty, backwardness and dependence. Others, with conservative backgrounds, hold rightist views. Most of the officers on the Council plainly lack political experience and know little about social problems. And although many of them are essentially men of integrity, reaction contrives to use them for its own designs.

This situation cannot last, of course. There is bound to be a polarization of forces in the state apparatus. Many of the army officers who now have hazy ideas of the meaning of the problems under discussion will in the end make up their minds as to whether the armed forces should again play the role of executioners in the service of the oligarchy and imperialism or side with the people.

Our Party considers that the Supreme Council holds real power and has thereby assumed a serious historic responsibility to the people. And while we Communists do not accept every provision of the government's appeal of April 22 to the people, we take a favorable view of its declared intention to lead the country along the road of progress, independence and sovereignty, carry out the national development plan and enforce the agrarian reform law. On the other hand, we are aware that the Council has no intention of relying on the people, which explains the inconsistency of its measures.

The people cannot be indifferent to what goes on in the Council. They follow its activity with close attention and back those officers who show readiness to defend the democratic gains. It is essential to bring about changes strengthening the hand of progressives on the Council. This is one of the tasks facing the more advanced section of the Honduran public today.

The ultras use two basic tactics to prevent democratic changes. One of them — direct action — is aimed at first causing social disarray and then setting up a fascist-type regime. The other — indirect action — is based on political pressure. At present the ultras are doing their utmost to impose elections which they could exploit to further their interests. Stripped of power in December 1972, the traditional parties, which express the views of the bourgeois and landed oligarchy, will do anything to achieve their ends.

The ultras' growing political activity follows from the criminal plan they wanted to put into effect after the April 1975 coup. Its miscarriage compelled the reactionaries to change their methods but not their aims.

Today the ultras are talking of a 'return to constitutional order.' What they really want is to regain their lost positions. But the people reject the demagogic appeals of leaders of the traditional parties, rightly seeing them as a bid to preserve outdated economic and political structures. The people demand structural changes first and constitutionalism afterwards.

This is not to say that genuine democrats and patriots are against establishing constitutional order. It simply means that the more enlightened and progressive sections of the people, well remembering past events, want to prevent a new travesty of elections. They seek a political regime backed by a popular majority and providing conditions for real democratization. And this cannot be achieved so long as the present social and economic structures exist. The need is for fundamental social changes raising the level of the people's social consciousness, organization and discipline and making their participation in decision-making at state level a reality. Unless this is done, a 'return to constitutional order' would mean perpetuating social injustice.

In one of his latest public appearances, General Melgar Castro said that constitutional order could be re-established in 1979. He stressed, however, that he did not mean a revival of the former system, which had failed in 1969 with the downfall of a bipartisan government, nor nominal democracy, but the need to promote an alternative ensuring the eventual formation of a genuinely representative government. Unless this statement is left at that, it may imply a new trend in the

government's policies in contrast with the intentions of those who want an immediate return to constitutional order.

The working people of town and countryside increasingly realize that only by rallying together can they bring about the solution of economic and social problems aggravated by the government's inconsistency. We regard the abolition of the regime of concessions dating from 1903 as a major gain for the people. It was a direct result of a long, bloody struggle against U.S. imperialism in which the Communists played a major role.

The peasant movement intensified last year because the authorities refused to allot land in spite of their promise of an early agrarian reform.* 'Food shortages in rural areas,' the Communist Party stated on November 8, 1975, 'cause growing hunger and poverty, and disease is becoming widespread. Yet the state shows little or no concern for the working people.'

In the closing months of 1975, members of the National Peasant Association and the National Peasant League began to seize the lands of big proprietors in 16 departments. They formed a National Front of Peasant Unity to campaign for immediate and real agrarian reforms.

The workers identify themselves with the peasants at this crucial juncture in the nation's life. The biggest unions affiliated to the Trade Union Federation of Workers of the North (FESITRAN) have demanded that the Confederation of Workers of Honduras (CTH) convene a national assembly of workers and peasants to discuss urgent tasks and forms in which pressure could be exerted on the government to break the resistence of the oligarchy and imperialism.

We Communists have scored substantial gains in organizing the struggle for structural changes. We concentrate on building up working-class unity. Leaders supporting ORIT have been expelled from the major trade unions. As a result of years of patient effort in the Tela Railroad Co., trade union (SITRATERCO), this big and influential trade union center now holds class positions. The democratic coalition won the latest elections to the new Executive Committee of SITRATERCO. This success was so significant as to cause a real political upheaval in the country. It means that now the four trade unions of banana plantation workers have a real opportunity to achieve unity, and makes it possible to radically change the situation throughout the trade union movement. The task of the working class is to support trends toward unity since the working people's enemies are out to split the trade union organizations and isolate the more democratic-minded and militant leaders.

Honduran Communists see their duty in contributing to the forma-

*A few hundred big owners and two U.S. banana companies hold almost 90 per cent of the land, while 70 per cent of peasant households hardly own any land.

tion of an anti-imperialist front. They work for mutual understanding with all the social and political forces willing to unite in order to demand that the government implement the positive provisions of its national development plan, effect an agrarian reform and safeguard democratic gains and, moreover, to seek anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist solutions to the problems posed by the national crisis. This makes it imperative to end disunity among the democratic and left forces. We must show breadth of vision, combat sectarianism and persevere in our drive for united action by all progressive political forces and democratic organizations. This is a first step toward setting up a democratic anti-imperialist front. At the same time, we must firmly support those in the armed forces and the government who really want the process of social change to go on.

To fight for democratic unity does not mean renouncing the Party's ideological independence or withholding criticism of its allies' inconsistencies or mistakes. In supporting actions for specific democratic goals, we Communists persevere in the struggle for a democratic, anti-imperialist, agrarian and popular revolution which alone can pave the way for the growth of the productive forces in the people's interest — after U.S. neo-colonial domination has been ended and the pillars of the bourgeois and landed oligarchy undermined.

In view of the importance of the tasks facing the people and a highly fluid domestic political situation, the Party must be prepared to work in any conditions, however unfavorable, promote Leninist methods of Party work, steadfastly apply the principles of democratic centralism, improve the illegal and legal forms of its work and strengthen its links with popular organizations.

We must go on reinforcing our ranks apace. Only a strong party pursuing a correct and clear-cut policy can win greater influence among the people. The political context in which we are operating makes it imperative for the Party to have able and devoted cadres prepared to lead mass actions. We need this if we are to exercise our role as vanguard of the democratic and revolutionary forces.

Israeli violation of human rights

Felicia Langer
Israeli lawyer

The Israeli occupation of the Arab territories in the wake of the June 1967 war is almost nine years old. Israeli ruling circles have pretended all these years that it is the most liberal occupation in history. But there are by now very few people in Israel and outside it who believe in this apologetic description of the occupation. The truth about the nature of the Israeli occupation is very persistent and stubborn, and I should like to scrutinize it in the light of law, and practice.

It is universally recognized that 'the rules of warfare' are part and parcel of international law. Their main purpose is to draw a clear line of distinction between occupation resulting from warfare and the demands of any right with respect to the occupied territory through unilateral annexation. These laws emphasize the temporal character of armed occupation, their other purpose being to carry out the norms regarding the relations between the occupying state and the population of the occupied territory.

One of these laws — the Hague Convention of 1899 — has been accepted by the overwhelming majority of states. In fact, it has been recognized by Israel too. The General Staff of the Israeli Army asserted in 1961, in a document entitled 'Powers of the Army in an Occupied Territory,' that though Israel is not a partner to the Convention, she has to be regarded as committed by the regulations established by it in the same measure as she is committed to carry out the rules of usage of international law. The second convention is the fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 regarding the protection of civilians in wartime, to which Israel is a signatory.

The Hague Convention is safeguarding the rights of individual and his property, forbidding absolutely any collective punishments 'because of acts by individuals, since the population cannot be responsible for them collectively.' The Geneva Convention is forbidding to enact new laws in the occupied territories, prohibiting the use 'of physical or moral coercion,' in particular to obtain information. Any acts of forcible transfer or deportation are prohibited, regardless of their motive. The Convention prohibits any transfer of the population of the occupying power to the occupied territory. Any destruction of property is also prohibited.

The Israeli law courts (and authorities) have always stressed that, in all verdicts, they adhere to international law and all related conventions. But is it so?

The laws applied by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories are the Defense (Emergency) Regulations of 1945, inherited from the British mandatory rule in Palestine, and orders, enacted by the military government there. However, the Defense Regulations were abolished in Jordan,[1] and therefore their application in the West Bank constitutes a violation of the Geneva Convention.

At one time the Regulations of 1945 were bitterly attacked by present-day Israeli rulers. Mr. Jacob Shimshon Shapirah, who later became Israeli Attorney General and Minister of Justice, had the following remarks to make in 1946 as regards these same laws: 'The system established in Palestine since the issue of the Defense laws is unparalleled in any civilized country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany. It is our duty to tell the whole world that the Defense laws passed by the British Mandatory Government of Palestine destroy the very foundation of justice in the land.'

According to these laws thousands of Palestinians and other inhabitants of the occupied territories were and still are victimized, day by day, with an outspoken cruelty.

Since the occupation 27,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned and some 4,000 are still in prison. Tens of Palestinian patriots, Communists and others, are administratively imprisoned, for two years, without any charge.[2] The workers and intellectuals, young and old, are in prison only because of their love for their homeland and non-compliance with the occupier. This administrative detention is often called by the prisoners 'a life term,' because its duration is unlimited.

Israeli authorities confiscated more than a million and a half dunams[3] in the West Bank, more than one-sixth of the total area of the West Bank, and one-third of the Gaza strip. Thousands of Bedouins were forcibly evicted from their land. The total area confiscated there is around 100,000 dunams. The so-called 'thinning out' policy in the refugee camps entailed mass expulsion of refugees, many thousands of destroyed houses in Jebaliah and Shaati camps.

The same activity of the occupiers is shown also in Arabic Jerusalem — confiscation of 22,000 dunams of Arab land in the city and its suburbs and forcible eviction of tens of thousands of Arabs who used to live and work there. I shall never forget the old widow Salaime who said that she preferred to die in her house instead of leaving it. After the demolition of 800 Arab buildings 13 new Israeli sectors were built — 'a ring around Jerusalem' as the authorities are calling it. As a result, a serious demographic change occurred —

forcible decrease in the number of Arabic inhabitants from 140,000 in 1948 to 70,000 in 1974.

The demolition of houses is one of the most cruel punishments, imposed administratively by the military governor (according to the Defense Regulations). The victims are always the innocent families of the detained, not knowing even in what sort of 'crime' their son or brother is suspected. The last destroyed house I have seen was in the refugee camp Breig in Gaza in December 1975. Ten children, their parents and grandparents remained roofless, because of the suspicion against one of their sons of subversive activity. No arms were found, no proofs. They were only one of the many thousands of victims of demolished houses. In eight years (June 1967–June 1975) special Israeli punitive units destroyed more than 19,000 houses, including 10,900 in the Gaza strip, over 3,000 in Samaria, 2,000 in the Golan Heights and 1,800 in Latroun region. Behind these numbers I have seen the completely demolished Golan Heights, have heard the silent outcry of Kouneitra, have seen hundreds and thousands of homeless. On the ruins of the three peaceful villages in Latroun area, Yalu, Amuas and Beit Nooba, destroyed by the Israeli army in 1967, a Canadian Jewish investor had built a park and recreation center. I wonder who can enjoy the beauty of flowers growing on the ruins of someone's house.

Another measure of institutionalized terror is deportation. Thousands of Palestinian patriots and political leaders have been expelled in order to deprive the Palestinians of their leadership and moral supporters.

The colonization of the occupied territories by Jewish settlers is going on along with confiscation of Arab lands and forced deportation. Near Rafah a Jewish city is under construction. There are more than 50 new settlements, including 18 in the Golan Heights. One of the new settlers was questioned in a TV program from where he came here and he answered: Houston, Texas. Yes, it is symbolic — Houston, Texas, settling in Golan, while its legal inhabitants are living nine years in refugee camps near Damascus!

Such is the policy of 'creating new realities' in the occupied territories. Those who had robbed for 28 years, and are continuing to rob in these very days, the lands of Galilee and the Triangle[4], have been robbing for the last few years the Arab lands in the West Bank, in the Gaza strip, changing names into Hebrew ones, hoping mistakenly that they are able to change the map of the Middle East.

In addition to confiscations, demolitions of houses and deportations there is another means of intimidation — military courts which have imposed many thousands of years of imprisonment on Palestinians, without any possibility to appeal against the judgments.

Not only those who hold arms and fight — to which they have a right as a sacred privilege to fight against foreign occupation — are sentenced in those courts: there is nothing lawful in the eyes of the authorities — a peaceful demonstration, spreading a leaflet, giving a glass of water to a son or husband or daughter or father suspected of 'subversive activity.'

Now in accordance with a law enacted in 1972 the Israeli punitive forces have the 'right' to kidnap Palestinians from neighboring countries and bring them for trial before military courts in Israel, and it can be merely for membership in any Palestinian or other organization which is considered by the Israeli authorities to be dangerous to the security of Israel. Ten Lebanese, Syrians and Iraqis were kidnapped two years ago and sentenced to six years each according to that law, contrary to all sacred maxims of the law of nations.

Not long ago the Military Court in Ramallah sentenced a young man, an Arab, to five years' imprisonment, for a minor offence without any act of violence, but as an act of vengeance, because he was a Communist. Hundreds of youngsters are brought to trial for demonstrating their support for the rights of the Palestinian people and against the occupation, without any violence, too. They are fined thousands of pounds, which they are not able to pay, so their fathers have to go to jail for their sons, or to pay. . . . And the fathers are mostly poor refugees, not having so many thousands, requested by the authorities. . . .

The use of torture during the investigations is a method, and I declare it as a lawyer who has dealt with thousands of cases. I have seen marks of torture on the bodies of my clients and the recent ones were Hadigah Abo Arkoob, the heroic Palestinian woman, Soleiman el Najab, Housny Hadad, Khalil Higazy, Gamal Fretah, Gihad Saada in Hebron prison. I know prisoners who went mad as a result of tortures, as Abdul Matalib Abu Armeli, Ibrahim Kemook and Siad el Aza from Biet Ishem, who was half paralyzed after 'treatment' by electric shocks in Hebron prison, and was hospitalized after his release for nine months in a Moscow hospital. Tens of people died in prisons as a result of tortures.

But despite all these terroristic measures, the struggle against the occupation is going on,[5] because its roots are in the love for the homeland, which is invincible. Thousands prefer prison cells, prefer to die, and not to surrender to the occupiers. During all these cruel and dark years the authorities did not succeed to 'produce' even one quisling, despite their numerous attempts, using sometimes the well-known imperialist method of the 'stick and carrot.'

The nation has to pay in tears, blood and sky-rocketing cost of living for the adventurism of the Israeli leadership. Israeli dependence

on U.S. imperialism is growing constantly, while the Israeli ruling circles are ready to render it every service, whether in Angola or Lebanon, according to its request. As a 'bonus' Israel is obtaining from the USA the most sophisticated means of killing.[6] The Israeli economy has been fully subjugated to a policy of arms race and war. Inflation is galloping, prices of consumer goods go up by hundreds of per cent, taxes increase and unemployment is growing constantly. Children no longer get lunch in the school. Distress and poverty hit at the widest strata of the population, including children and old people.

The Israeli progressive forces do not cease the struggle against the occupation and for peace. They are fighting the oppression in the occupied Arab territories, the trampling of the human rights and the violation of international law. Nowadays new voices are heard in Israel against the government's policy warning that it leads our country to a catastrophe. More and more people are coming to the conclusion that there is no other solution than the withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967, and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, its right to self-determination, which includes the right to establish a sovereign state in the territories occupied in 1967, the rights of the Palestinian refugees to chose between returning to their homeland or receiving compensation. It will lead to the recognition of Israel by the Arab world.

The occupation is a disaster not only for the occupied, but also for the occupiers. Whoever wants to build a safe future in the Middle East has to choose the way to peace and mutual understanding, to which occupation and oppression are alien.

1. The British Emergency Regulations of 1945 were never recognized as international law in Palestine.

2. They are jailed without trial or hearing. For instance, Mohammad Saada from Daharya village near Hebron is now 24 months in prison. He is very ill, and there is a danger to his life.

3. 1 dunam = 0.1 hectare (approximately a quarter of an acre).

4. Galilee, a region in north-western Israel, where like in the Triangle (central part of the country) Arabs make up the bulk of the population. The Land Defense Committee, formed last October to combat government plans for confiscating Arab lands to build Jewish settlements in their stead, proclaimed March 30, 1976, Arab Lands Day and called on the Arab population of Israel to hold a general strike and protest demonstrations against the authorities' plans to confiscate 20,000 dunams in Galilee. These plans are part and parcel of the Judaization program, i.e., changing Galilee's population pattern, transforming it from a region with a predominantly Arab population into a region populated mainly by Jews.

5. Powerful mass actions against the occupation regime flared up anew in January 1976. — *Ed.*

6. In March 1976 the U.S. Senate approved a bill granting the Israel military $2.6 billion in aid. — *Ed.*

Way of life — a class concept

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The historic process of transition from capitalism to socialism and of consolidating the foundations of the new system has led to radical changes in the mode of life of millions and to the formation of a qualitatively new, socialist way of life. Its essential features and their interconnection crystallized most clearly during the stage of building developed socialism and in communist construction. At this stage the further growth of the productive forces is geared to the socialist countries' main task — meeting people's material and cultural requirements in increasing measure, raising the standard of life and fostering the all-round development of man — and depends to a tremendous extent on how effectively this task is accomplished. Naturally, problems of the socialist way of life, above all the key problem of how every individual or social group, and socialist society as a whole, work and live and how they spend their leisure hours, are of particular theoretical, social and political importance.

Recent congresses of the Communist parties of several fraternal socialist countries devoted much attention to these problems. The 25th CPSU Congress described one of the main tasks as 'steadfastly developing the socialist way of life' and stressed the need 'to continue elaborating the theory of creating the material and technical base of communism, perfecting social relations, moulding the new man, and fostering the socialist way of life.'

One of the reasons for the mounting interest in problems of the way of life is that they have become a focal point of the struggle between Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois ideology. At this stage of the historic contest between socialism and capitalism, the way of life is increasingly becoming the touchstone of the viability of the two opposed systems, of their rationality, humanism and moral perfection. Détente enables the working people to compare without bias the manner in which the socialist and the capitalist world solve fundamental problems of man's existence: ensuring the harmonious development of the individual, meeting the material and cultural requirements of

everyone and creating living and working conditions fit for man, including the natural environment.

Marxist-Leninists, especially those of socialist countries, have lately done a great deal to study the socialist way of life. In the course of exchange of opinion, discussions and joint research, scholars of fraternal socialist countries arrived at common or similar positions on its main features and the laws of its formation and development, defined the nature of the more important theoretical and practical problems and decided on the main lines of further research. However, there are still discussions and arguments over many important problems.

The purpose of this article is to acquaint the reader with the Marxist-Leninist concept of the way of life and tell him about the efforts of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to perfect it.

What Marxist-Leninist science means by 'way of life' is the totality of man's activities in the sphere of labor, in politics and other public fields, in the family and the sphere of personal consumption. A social concept, the way of life is indicative of the substance and quality of people's life, their main interests and needs, their behavior, their relations with other people. The way of life is determined by the character of production relations, the economic system of society and, in the final analysis, by the given socio-economic formation's mode of producing material benefits. Marx and Engels wrote that the mode of production is not simply 'the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals' but rather 'a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1968, p. 32).

Specific knowledge of the real conditions of people under a different social system, of the material and spiritual benefits they enjoy, of their living and working conditions, rights, duties, prospects, etc., often have a stronger impact on the mentality and social consciousness of the 'average' man than general statements about the principles and advantages of this or that system. Bourgeois and Social Democratic ideologists know this and try to impose on the people the 'Western' way of life as a model, with its 'consumer society' standards and ideals, 'quality of life' concepts, and so on. All these theories call for the preservation of the basic 'values' of capitalism and emphatically reject socialism and the way of life created by it. This makes it our duty to publicize the socialist way of life more vigorously, for its achievements and advantages are becoming an ever more forceful argument in favor of socialism. 'Already today,' said L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress, 'socialism exercises a tremendous influence on the thinking

and sentiment of hundreds of millions of people all over the world. It assures working people freedom, truly democratic rights, well-being, the broadest possible access to knowledge, and a firm sense of security.'

The working people of the capitalist world show a growing interest in the qualitative aspects of life in socialist society. Underlying it is the deep dissatisfaction of millions with the capitalist social system and their desire to find a real and effective alternative. This dissatisfaction has been accentuated by the deep crisis affecting every aspect of life in capitalist society. More and more people realize the inability of capitalism to use the productive forces it has brought into being for the good of the individual, for his all-round development. It cannot by its very nature meet the people's growing requirements and assure lasting prosperity for all. In some cases it even makes it difficult for them to meet such vital needs as housing, education or medical care. It is becoming ever more obvious that the interests of big capital and monopoly dominate everything. Maximum profit and perpetuation of power and might, are the two commandments guiding the monopoly bourgeoisie and the institutions through which it imposes its will. As a result, a society which has created productive forces that under a different, socialist system would have been sufficient to assure the well-being and harmonious development of all, preserves exploitation, inequality and poverty, encourages perverse, artificial requirements and cultivates violence, self-seeking and immoral behavior.

The working people counter the mounting pressure of big capital by stepping up the struggle for their rights. They fight for greater opportunities to receive an education and improve their knowledge and skills, for the reorganization of the health system and social security, for better living and working conditions for youth. The monopoly bourgeoisie is constrained to take these demands into account, both because it dreads social upheavals and because they reflect the real needs of society as a whole. Meeting them is necessary to reproduce a work force meeting the requirements of scientific and technological progress, of organizing and managing the economy. Production processes in capitalist countries on the whole contribute to the worsening of working conditions. The growing intensification and monotony of labor exhausts people both physically and mentally and compels the ruling classes to devote more attention to the replenishment of the work force. Nor is it for humanist reasons that the bourgeoisie and its ideologists now talk of the 'quality of life.' Their aim is to hold the working people even more tightly in the economic vise of reproduction of capital, to subordinate all their activity to the capitalist mode of production.

This inhuman quality of the capitalist system is in sharp contrast

with life in socialist countries. The Communist parties in power in these countries direct all their activities toward the good of man and subordinate technological and social progress to the requirements of his all-round development. Socialism shows people in the capitalist world that unemployment, inflation and social insecurity are not inevitable evils. Although the socialist countries have not yet overtaken developed capitalist countries in some indices of material production, the progress made by socialism so far enables it to meet people's basic requirements more effectively in terms of quality. Socialism eliminates exploitation and social bondage, guarantees the spiritual progress of the individual, makes all people socially equal and puts men and women on an equal legal footing. It materializes man's great social rights: the right to work, education, knowledge and culture, free medical care, social security in old age and in case of illness. All this lays qualitatively new foundations for the life of the individual, the collective and society.

A distinguishing feature and key objective law of socialist development is planned use of the material and spiritual resources of society for all-round development of the individual and increasingly meeting people's requirements. What determines the formation and main features of the socialist way of life are not abstract moral or 'universal' principles but real economic, political and cultural development aimed at meeting the working people's interests and needs. The formation of the new way of life is influenced by the whole system of socialist society, by every sphere of its life. This is why Communist and Workers' parties strive for the balanced development of all spheres, while ruling out undue haste, rash, ill-advised decisions and measures.

Fully meeting man's material and spiritual requirements has always been the declared goal of socialism. However, the possibilities for this, especially economic conditions, do not appear at once. Only the building of a mature socialist society and a full-scale scientific and technological revolution can produce a strong material base for the all-round development of the individual. This is why the SUPG, like the Communist and Workers' parties of other countries of the socialist community, proceeds from the unity of economic and social policy and regards growing economic efficiency and labor productivity as the basis for steadily raising the people's material and cultural standards. '... The decision to establish a still closer relationship between economic and social policy, between growing production and our people's improving standard of living,' said Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the CC SUPG, 'has always been in keeping with concrete requirements. This interconnection, which should continuously be strengthened, facilitates advances in both spheres — building

up economic power and raising the standard of life.' Thus the socialist countries' main task mentioned at the beginning of this article operates as 'a catalyst of social and economic development.'[1]

The inseparable unity of economic development and social policy derives from the fact that all the SUPG's efforts are geared to the fundamental requirements of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the working people. The Party Program, which generalizes the experience of building a socialist society in our country, stresses that the social, political and ideological content of the socialist way of life is determined by the fundamental interests of the working class. It is the working class that translates this way of life into reality and helps, through its leading role, its political activity and its work, to extend it to the whole of society and establish it in every decisive sphere of life.

The socialist way of life is characterized above all by everyone's desire to become a full-fledged member of a collective and give expression to his individuality through it. Socialist collective labor gives rise to new interests and new spiritual and cultural requirements. Public and private life intertwine ever more closely. They are based on comradeship, cooperation and genuine collectivism. Fruitful social and personal relations develop on the factory floor as well as in residential neighborhoods, in the family, in political activities.

Work, useful employment are man's basic activities. The process of promoting the way of life depends on the extent to which a society is capable of using labor for the all-round development of the individual. The nature and organization of labor are a most important indicator, a criterion of a society's humanism and progressiveness. The new content and new place of labor in socialist society serve therefore as the main standard of distinction between the socialist and the capitalist way of life. Where exploitation has been abolished and the fruits of labor benefit both the individual and the nation, labor does not merely serve as a means of subsistence but becomes increasingly a vital requirement. With the victory of the socialist revolution, for the first time after centuries of work for others, it becomes possible to work for oneself and there sets in, Lenin wrote, a 'great change from working under compulsion to working for oneself, to labor planned and organized on a gigantic, national (and to a certain extent international, world) scale' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 26, p. 408).

Under socialism, one of man's most important rights — the right to work — also means job security. This right has been formalized by law and is universal. Every able-bodied member of socialist society is always certain of obtaining a job according to his abilities and educational standard.

An essential feature of the socialist way of life is that mental and

physical labor draw gradually closer together. Labor under socialism gradually becomes a free activity by people striving consciously for high efficiency. This new attitude to labor expresses itself in widespread socialist emulation, the movement of production innovators, and other initiatives. To give an example, innovation proposals put into effect in the GDR's economy in 1975 saved about 3,600m. marks.[2] Our socialist state does everything to allow scope for the people's initiative, improve the nature of labor and add to its creative content. It spends millions of marks on measures to improve working conditions, industrial safety, medical care and cultural services. Out-patient hospitals and cultural institutions are part of today's socialist enterprise. Much is done to mechanize operations in which the share of manual, arduous physical or unskilled labor is still great.

The Eighth SUPG Congress (1971) called for efforts to raise the cultural level of socialist labor and extend this process to every aspect of production relations. Culture in labor does not imply high moral qualities alone, although these are important, but also an atmosphere of comradely mutual aid and friendly criticism. Labor rich in spiritual and creative content, and the workers' rising ideological, political and educational standards are factors directly influencing the results of labor and making it more productive. People with high cultural standards work more actively and with keener interest, and are more aware of the significance of comradely cooperation, of the meaning and aesthetic value of socialist labor.

Work and relations between people at work are of fundamental importance to the socialist way of life. At work people both create the material means of improving the standard of life and develop and consolidate advanced, socialist moral standards, fostering respect for the individual and other workers and pride in their achievements. Socialist standards in work, life and studies are three fundamental, closely intertwining apsects of the people's activity. Their dialectical unity is a feature of the socialist way of life. Conscientious work for the good of the people, and hence for one's own good, is a criterion of one's prestige among one's fellow work team and in society and determines the extent to which one is respected. More and more people realize that their labor is something more than merely a source of income. They regard labor full of deep social meaning as a most important sphere in which they can prove their worth, develop and use their physical and mental abilities and establish better relations with others.

The rulers of West Germany and other capitalist states try to mislead the people by promising them an excellent economic future (while at the same time forecasting a continued high rate of unemployment and semi-employment and hypocritically urging the

workers to 'learn to live amid a crisis'). By contrast, the SUPG sets tasks whose human value requires no proof. Between 1976 and 1980, for instance, 256,000 young specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education will take jobs in the economy and other spheres[3] and a million secondary-school leavers will receive good vocational training and become skilled workers.[4] In the sphere of preschool education, our socialist society aims at providing kindergartens for all children, where they are prepared for school.[5]

The foregoing shows that for the working class of a socialist country, a harmoniously developed personality is not a speculative model based on purely ethical principles. Indeed, the working class is already providing all requisites for the real development of the individual. Thereby it serves the fundamental interests of socialist society and the overwhelming majority of its members.

In shaping and perfecting the socialist way of life under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, the working class seeks to ensure the confidence of every working person in the security of his social position, in his present and future. The struggle for social security is part of the revolutionary working-class movement. To the working people of a capitalist country, this means, first and foremost job security. Socialism considerably extends the content of social security. 'Man's fundamental right to work, job security as an essential aspect of his social security, is a natural component of everyday life in the GDR,' said Kurt Hager, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the CC SUPG. 'Equal pay for equal work, ample rights and development opportunities for young people, the all-round assistance they enjoy in their work and their studies, in sports and other leisure activities, are as much a living reality here as society's tangible effort to meet the needs of its older members. Real socialism is an impressive panorama of the people's steadily rising material, spiritual and cultural standards, which go up in step with the growing possibilities of society.'[6]

Social security under socialism is guaranteed by all the advantages of the socialist system, primarily by the domination of socialist production relations and by the political power of the working class. Every member of socialist society has a secure position, which he owes to the very nature of the social system, and is confident of his future. This confidence stimulates people's activity and initiative and makes them feel socially protected. However, social security is neither a gift nor something immutable. It is an achievement of the people themselves, who provide it by their daily effort.

Under socialism, people also feel socially protected outside the production sphere. This is seen in the human relations that have taken shape in socialist society and are based on mutual trust, unity and

solidarity, both between individuals and between the main social groups, in the working people's deep conviction that socialist society and a collective will always help a person faced with difficult problems.

It is safe to say that social security and the feeling of being socially protected are among the most remarkable direct manifestations of the new type of relations between individuals, the collective and society, relations which are typical only of socialism and the socialist way of life.

The situation is entirely different where production is based on capitalist relations. There the working people are forever in dread of losing their job completely or partly, of finding themselves without a livelihood. This dread is justified. The rate of unemployment, the highest in the postwar period, has stayed high for years in many capitalist countries. Unemployment is not merely a loss of income. It is a tragedy for millions of people and their families, who feel they are not wanted in a society in which money, profit, wealth is the highest criterion of value of the individual and the main indicator of his social prestige. Social insecurity, inherent in capitalism, grows especially in period of aggravated crises. It becomes a feeling of alarm and even desperation besetting millions.

Progressive are particularly alarmed by growing unemployment among youth. In West Germany it went up by 210 per cent in the 1973-75 period. This is the highest index registered in any European country.[7] Hundreds of thousands of young people are not certain they will be able to learn a trade or improve their skills. Many school-leavers begin their active life with a painful search for employment.

And now for some examples from life in a society with a different social and economic system. In the GDR, 206,800 school-leavers were able to learn their chosen trades in 1975.[8] Socialist society guarantees young people both thorough vocational training and work according to their inclinations and educational level. Socialism knows no unemployment among youth and shapes young people's way of life in a manner assuring a dignified and interesting life, the development of their abilities and the materialization of their creative plans.

Against this background, it is perfectly clear that social insecurity, helplessness and fear of the future, unemployment or semi-employment, low standards of vocational and general training or even illiteracy are not 'sun spots' of capitalism as its defenders allege, but ineradicable evils that are also inherent in the developed capitalist countries of today. Only those who preach inhuman morals and despise working people can speak, as bourgeois ideologists do, of 'only slightly more than a million jobless' in West Germany or 'only a few tens of thousands of homeless.'

It is particularly hard for bourgeois ideologists and propagandists to deny the fact that only socialist society is in a position to surround *every* person with care and attention, to use its entire production potential for the good of the working class, of *all* working people. This is evident in both the record of existing socialism as a whole and the experience of the first worker-peasant state on German soil.

The ruling Communist parties of fraternal countries maintain that the process of consolidating and carrying forward the socialist way of life is inseparable from the working people's growing material requirements. However, they are far from interpreting this process in vulgar materialist terms. Our Party gears its social policy in both achieving a higher material standard of living for the people and meeting the demand of the working class and the people as a whole for socially useful activity, crative labor, education and culture, full and varied human relations in the community. The population of the GDR has already reached a noteworthy standard of material well-being and culture. This finds expression, among other things, in increased appropriations for education and culture, growing book publishing, especially fiction, the fact that households are to a substantial extent with up-to-date appliances and that per capita consumption of high-calorie food has reached a high rate.[9]

Unlike the capitalist world, where inflation and prices are growing, the GDR has for years had unchanged food prices, utilities charges and rent. The draft guidelines for the republic's economic development in the 1976-80 period provide for selling the population 120 to 122 per cent more goods while ensuring stable retail prices.[10]

With regard to perfecting the socialist way of life, the SUPG sees its main task in linking up with the growing material standard of life still more closely with the growth and satisfaction of the people's spiritual and cultural requirements. The way of life of the working class in socialist society leaves no room for doubt that material well-being and personal property have never been an end in itself but merely serve as a means, if an important one, of improving life, meeting spiritual and cultural requirements, perfecting people's creative abilities, and assuring the all-round development of man. This is what guides the Communist parties of socialist community countries in setting guidelines for developing and meeting people's requirements. Achieving a harmonious ratio between the growth and satisfaction of people's requirements, and fostering their creative abilities is a fundamental objective of SUPG policy in perfecting the socialist way of life. This policy releases new creative forces and makes for high achievements in labor being combined with the enjoyment of everyday life, of material and spiritual values.

The formation and development of the socialist way of life are a

splendid result of the struggle of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. The SUPG has been working steadfastly to impart to the working people correct ideas of a way of life fit for members of socialist society. It fights for the working people's solidarity, for the effective participation of everyone in the effort to improve public and private life, for the development of the whole gamut of harmonious, morally sound relations between people, for the education of the younger generation in the spirit of socialism, peace and friendship among nations, of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

1. *Zur Durchführung der Parteiwahlen 1975/76.* Aus dem Referat des Genossen Erich Honecker. Tagung des ZK der SED. Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1975, p. 24.
2. 'Mitteilung der Staatlichen Zentralverwaltung für Statistik über die Durchführung des Volkswirtschaftsplanes 1975.' *Neues Deutschland,* January 20, 1976, p. 4.
3. 'Direktive des IX. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands zur Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR 1976-80.' Entwurf. *Einheit,* Nr. 2/1976, p. 233.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.,* p. 232.
6. Kurt Hager, *25 Jahre DDR. Aufstieg des Sozialismus im Bruderbund mit der sowjetunion.* Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1974, p. 37.
7. *Aktion Essen,* 1975, 9/10, p. 3.
8. *Mitteilung der Staatlichen Zentralverwaltung für Statistik,* p. 5.
9. Cf. *Statistisches Jahrbuch des DDR 1975.* Herausgegeben von der Staatlichen Zentralverwaltung für Statistik. Staatsverlag der DDR. Berlin, 1975, p. 309 and foll.
10. 'Direktive des IX Parteitages,' p. 181.

The Maoist concept of 'increasing factors for war and revolution'

Gabor Abri
Hungarian historian

Chinese foreign policy has changed substantially over the past quarter-century. Ever since the late 50s, Mao Tse-tung and his followers have been revising step by step the strategic principles of the revolutionary working-class movement and the foreign policy of the socialist state. After the Maoists broke China's ties with the Soviet

Union and other countries of the socialist community and the world communist movement, Mao's great-power guidelines became the official expression of Chinese foreign policy. The 10th CPC Congress (1973) finalized the Peking leadership's volte-face in favor of a bloc with imperialism and an overall anti-socialist reorientation of Chinese foreign policy, and the January 1975 session of the National People's Congress (NPC), which adopted a new Constitution, gave these changes legal form.

This foreign policy line of Peking was received with apprehension by even those who regarded the Maoist principles introduced in the 'cultural revolution' years as passing deviations arising from the domestic situation and were inclined to believe that when the inner political storm had abated sober views prompted by the actual state of affairs would prevail.

No such thing happened, however. The deformation and degeneration of China's foreign policy went on. Today this policy is based on principles hostile to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It replaces the class approach to international affairs by geopolitical concepts of the world as an arena of struggle for hegemony and a redivision of spheres of influence. Besides, the form used by the Peking leaders to express their aims and aspirations is insulting, intolerant of objections and extremely aggressive, all of which is thoroughly alien to the standards of relations established in the communist movement.

There is no ignoring the gravity of the situation, for the present Chinese leadership heads a country of over 800 million. No one can be indifferent to the foreign policy of a country inhabited by so many people. Hence the significance of examining the ideological foundations of Maoist foreign policy to gain a deeper insight into the actual content of Peking's activity. Many Maoist foreign policy principles are indicative of immediate and long-range objectives.

We must note from the outset that the Maoists' ideological formulas bearing on foreign policy perform a twofold function: substantiating and masking Peking's actual interests in the world. This also applies to Maoist estimations of current international developments.

Judging by Chinese official party and government documents, 'disorder' or 'chaos' (Maoist terms for 'increased international tension') is the salient, most important aspect of the present world situation. 'Relaxation is a temporary and superficial phenomenon, and great disorder will continue,' said the CC CPC in its report to the 10th Party Congress (*Peking Review*, No. 35-36, September 7, 1973, p. 22). 'The present international situation ... is characterized by great disorder under heaven,' the NPC stated at its session in January 1975. ' ... The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. The peoples

of all countries must get prepared against a world war' (*PR*, No. 4, January 24, 1975, pp. 7-8). 'The people of the whole country and the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army' are constantly urged by the Peking politicians and ideologists 'to firmly implement Chairman Mao's principle: dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere' and to be ready to 'wipe out any enemy' (*ibid*, p. 8). Hence there is good reason to state that few other political currents in today's world uphold more persistently — a persistance verging on fanaticism — the idea of stepping up international tensions that threaten another world war.

The Maoists strive stubbornly to create the impression that they approach the meaning and trends of international relations from Marxist-Leninist positions. But even the Maoist theses we have quoted show how far removed their estimations of the international situation are from a genuinely Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective laws and real factors determining the trend and nature of world development. The Maoists' views are not based on scientific analysis of lasting international factors, such as the change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism, the powerful uptrend in the working-class and national-liberation movements, the extension of the social basis of the general democratic struggle in capitalist countries, the manifest crisis of 'power politics' in international relations, or the scientific and technological revolution in the military field, which has created weapons of enormous destructive power. They are based on prejudiced interpretation of particular events and facts.

While seats of tension still persist and the likelihood of more tensions arising can hardly be ruled out in view of imperialist intrigues, the process of détente is a reality. It is not a passing or superficial phenomenon. The socialist community, the international working class, democratic and peace-loving forces have already imparted considerable stability to international relations which largely reduces the possibility of local conflicts developing into a world war.

By analyzing contemporary world development trends, Marxist-Leninist thought has come to the conclusion that international relations can be reshaped on the principles of peaceful coexistence and that world war can eventually be excluded from the life of society. Peace 'is not a utopia — it is a fully feasible aim. Mighty social and political forces exist in the world today which oppose war and work for a relaxation of tension and broad international cooperation,' the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized (*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*. Prague, 1969, p. 48). Such is the scientifically based opinion of the world communist movement on a cardinal problem of our time.

Peking has a different idea. It asserts that peace all over the world

cannot last throughout the lifetime of a generation and that every generation must have a war of its own. What the Maoists say about the sources of growing tension and war menace leaves no room for doubt that they do not merely misunderstand or misappraise the balance of forces between peace and progress, on the one hand, and reaction and militarism, on the other.

Peking views the destiny of war and peace in terms of its doctrine of 'superpowers' and tries to squeeze international relations, despite their great complexity and multiformity, into the artificial pattern it has created. The two 'hegemons,' the Maoists claim, meaning the Soviet Union and United States, are out to divide the world, to redivide it into spheres of influence. Rivalry between the 'superpowers,' they declare, is becoming fiercer and should logically lead to war; 'either they will fight each other, or the people will rise in revolution' (*PR*, No. 16, April 19, 1974, p. 7). Losing all sense of reality, the Maoists affirm that 'today it is the country which most zealously preaches peace that is the most dangerous source of war' (*PR*, No. 49, December 5, 1975, p. 8).

The tendency of these interpretations of the sources of war is obvious. Indeed, by linking the 'fatal inevitability' of world war with the coexistence of opposed social systems and the mythical 'aggressiveness' of the Soviet Union, the Maoists are whitewashing imperialism, the real source of the war danger. It is imperialism and its inherent antagonisms and contradictions and not coexistence that endangers peace. The dialectics of history are such that it is due to changes in the alignment of forces in favor of socialism that imperialism can no longer shape the peoples' destinies and that war can really be averted. Experience shows that existing socialism is a source and guarantee of world peace. The Peking ideologists abuse the peoples' hatred for imperialism as the principal source of wars and conflicts by trying to extend that hatred to existing socialism.

Moreover, the spurious Maoist slogan of fighting against the 'two superpowers' is also clearly lopsided. After the Ninth CPC Congress (1969), its anti-American component was assigned a secondary place and the emphasis was shifted to the struggle against the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community. More and more often, Peking refrains from even a verbal condemnation of the U.S. imperialists' foreign policy moves. It talks readily about the decay of imperialism, only to stress that it is being succeeded by 'social imperialism,' which is 'more treacherous' than the imperialism of the old type (*Jenminjihpao*, March 23, 1975).

All this invites the conclusion that the Peking leaders' attitude to problems of war and peace and to the sources of the war danger is markedly anti-socialist.

The Maoists try to justify their insistence on the 'inevitability' of a new world war by claiming that they want to further the cause of the world revolution. The revolution cannot triumph in the absence of tension and war, they contend. Every 'genuine' revolution must, or so they say, go through the purgatory of war. 'Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favorable to the people,' the NPC stated in January 1975 (*PR*, No. 4, January 24, 1975, p. 24).

The question naturally arises: What is to be the content of the revolution which Peking's policy is allegedly aimed at accomplishing? But first a few words about the interconnection of war and revolution.

Marxism-Leninism has never held that revolution is predestined to 'grow' our of war. War and revolution are qualitatively different social phenomena with no direct one-to-one link. From the Marxist-Leninist point of view, the real connection between war and revolution is that the interests of the socialist revolution are linked with the struggle against wars of imperialist conquest. Behind the Maoists' pseudo-revolutionary demagogy lies a lack of confidence in the possibility of defeating imperialism in the climate of peaceful coexistence.

The theoretical basis of Maoist interpretations of the revolution includes the concepts of 'two imperialisms,' 'three worlds' and 'struggle against the superpowers.' A common feature of these concepts — borrowed, incidentally, from bourgeois ideology — is that the contradiction between the 'superpowers' and all other nations is alleged to make up the basic content of contemporary international relations. This definition will be found, for example, in the documents of the 10th CPC Congress (*PR*, No. 35-36, 1973, p. 26). According to the theory of 'three worlds,' the United States and Soviet Union make up the 'first world' and are confronted by developed capitalist countries, as well as by socialist countries, except China, which form the 'second world,' and by the developing countries and China, which belong to the 'third world' (see *PR*, No. 16, 1974, p. 6).

Furthermore, it is only the developing countries that are seen as a force that can, by 'radiating the powerful revolutionary energy of chaos,' 'free' capitalism and safeguard socialism against 'degeneration.' Peking declares that the revolution 'deciding the fate of the world' in Asian, African and Latin American countries will be a replica of the 'classical, Chinese revolution.' This probably explains why China has declared itself a 'developing socialist country belonging to the third world' (*PR*, No. 4, 1975, p. 24).

The main defect of the Maoist conception is not, however, that it demagogically overrates the role of the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process. While describing the developing countries as the 'the main force in the fight against imperialism and

colonialism,' the Maoists urge them to unite with the 'small' and 'medium' imperialist countries, looking on the one-time colonial powers as 'allies' of the newly-free states. It is hardly accidental that immediately after the Sixth Special UN General Assembly (1974) which the Maoists took advantage of to announce for the first time their 'three world' concept, Peking began to promote the thesis of 'coincidence of the interests' of the developing countries and such imperialist powers as France, the FRG, Japan and Britain.[1] Peking urges the developing countries to increase their economic dependence on the economic alignment of imperialist powers[2] and declares for extending relations between them to politics.

This circumstance alone is an unmistakable indication that the 'international front against the superpowers' which the Chinese leaders would like to bring about has a definite class content. As Peking strives to draw the developing countries into its projected alliance with imperialism, it should be clear that the Maoists' anti-imperialist demagogy is a mere propaganda device. Actually its 'fight against imperialism,' rather than weakening the front of imperialism and other reactionary forces, tends to strengthen it.

It should also be evident that the 'revolution' Peking's politicians and ideologists seek so eagerly is not anti-imperialist. Indeed, the 'three world' pattern does not imply struggle by Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialist, neo-colonial policies but a loose bloc of the imperialist part of the 'second world' and the developing countries, a bloc that is, moreover, unnatural from the class point of view.

Incidentally, this conglomeration of states is anything but homogeneous, since classed as 'developing' are countries with a socialist orientation, countries going along with imperialist powers, and countries where the choice of social and economic development is still a matter of sharp controversy. Most sober-minded politicians of the developing countries see through the Maoists' 'anti-imperialist' hypocrisy and their false doctines of 'three worlds' and of uniting the 'poor' countries against the 'rich.'

The negative attitude of most leaders of the developing countries to Maoist concepts was exemplified by the outcome of the fourth conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries (Algiers, 1973) and by the meeting of the foreign ministers of these countries (Lima, 1975), which rejected Peking's attempts to insert Maoist theses into their documents.

Whom should the peoples of the world unite against and why? This is the next question, which must be answered if we want to understand Maoist notions of the content and character of revolution and which arises in examining Peking's latest ideological formulas. On the

face of it, the Maoists want the peoples to unite for 'joint struggle against hegemonism.' But if we bear in mind that Peking imparts an essentially anti-Soviet content to this thesis and has repeatedly stressed the need to distinguish between the 'chief enemy' (the Soviet Union) and 'secondary enemies' and 'unite with secondary enemies' in order to 'defeat the chief enemy,' it is obvious that the thesis serves the Maoists as both ideological camouflage for the virtual betrayal of the interests of peoples fighting for national liberation and a means of concealing the anti-socialist nature of Peking's policy.

The Maoists regard whipping up anti-Sovietism as the main line of the 'anti-imperialist' struggle. Every genuine revolutionary will see that existing socialism is unthinkable without the Soviet Union and that there has never been and never will be an anti-Soviet socialism. *'There is no socialist country,'* said Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, *'which can say that its existence does not depend on the first socialist state, just as there is no country whose stable prospects of socialist development and security are not protected by the existence, internationalist policy and might of the Soviet Union'* (*1969 Meeting*. Prague, 1969, p. 332).

The Maoists would like to set up a united front of opponents of world socialism, in particular by provoking anti-social sentiments and discontent among the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Peking leaders have repeatedly appealed to the peoples of socialist countries to this end. The CC report to the Ninth CPC Congress quoted the following statement by Mao Tse-tung: 'The Soviet people, the mass of Party members and cadres ... want revolution ...' (*Peking Information*. Special Issue, April 28, 1969, p. 28).

The reason why the Maoists talk about 'increasing factors for war and revolution' is that they want to dissemble their policy, which runs counter to the fundamental interests of the revolutionary forces. Whereas the Maoists' reliance on war in the past was prompted by their belief that armed struggle was the only means of defeating imperialism, their current policy of building up international tensions and advocating war is directed against the socialist community, the international working-class and communist movement, all fighters for national liberation. 'Maoism,' said CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall in his speech to the 25th CPSU Congress, 'is a classical example of where opportunism can lead unless resisted. On the bottom of the muddy bog of opportunism is counter-revolution. And Maoism has touched that bottom' (*Pravda,* March 2, 1976; retranslated).

The delight with which the Maoists greet every international conflict shows that the CPC leadership regards its objectives as attainable

only in an atmosphere of international tension reminiscent of the worst cold war days, nor do they rule out the use of armed force.

We think this line is prompted, among other things, by some traditions of Chinese society. Pre-revolutionary China was characterized by oft-recurrent periods of tension and war. Their memory is still fresh in Chinese society. The Maoist leadership deliberately revives past experiences in so far as this helps it to lean on the force of tradition and at the same time to represent tension as something of a 'natural condition.' Thus, the 10th CPC Congress repeated, Mao's thesis: 'Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years' (*PR*, No. 35-36, 1973, p. 30). It is clear that the policy of whipping up international tensions is a peculiar foreign policy projection of the principles guiding the Peking rulers at home. In August 1958, speaking to a CC CPC Political Bureau meeting, Mao said that 'tension is profitable to us and less profitable to the West.' He saw another 'advantage' of international tension in the fact that it 'sets in motion all active forces. . . . We can produce more iron, steel and food' (see *Noveishaya istoria Kitaya*, Moscow, 1972, p. 317).

Entirely in keeping with the traditional diplomacy of Chinese emperors, who strove to use 'the struggle between two tigers' in their own interests, the Maoist leaders want to provoke a deterioration of Soviet-American relations. They would like the Soviet and American peoples to clash in a nuclear war, which they believe would pave the way for carrying out China's 'historic' mission. There is no escaping the conclusion that Peking wants to build up its leverage at the price of the sufferings of other nations.

Behind the 'world revolution' and similar goals advocated and sought by the Maoists are primarily their great-power, hegemonist aspirations and interests. Peking's talk about 'increasing factors for war and revolution' betrays its desire to make China a strong power imposing its will on other nations.

Great-power chauvinism and hegemonist ambitions are at the heart of Maoist ideology and policy. Hence the search for means and allies that can be used for achieving these aims, for China's military and economic potential plainly falls short of the ambitions of its leaders. They try to fill this gap through unprincipled maneuvering so as to drag their real or imaginary enemies into a mutually devastating war to Peking's political advantage.

The Peking rulers promote their hegemonist designs all over the world. They carry on subversion against the socialist community[3] by systematically staging provocations, in particular on borders, against their socialist neighbors. Peking's allegation that the 'German problem is unsolved' and its approval of the West German revanchists'

wild plans to annex Poland's western territories are an outright challenge.

Dreams of hegemony in the 'third world' and new territorial acquisitions at the expense of neighbors are among the motive forces of China's policy toward the developing countries, which is aimed at weakening and disuniting their progressive forces and at isolating them from the socialist community and the international working class. A revealing example in this respect is Peking's stand on the Angola events. Peking found itself on the same side of the barricades as imperialist and domestic reaction and the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, which wanted to crush the struggle of Angola's patriots for independence. Equally revealing is the history of the Chinese-Indian border dispute provoked by the Chinese leadership to discredit India's policy for peace and materialize its territorial claims to that country. From time to time, Peking publishes maps showing parts of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and other countries as belonging to the PRC.

Hegemonist aspirations also pervade Peking's policy toward the international communist and working-class movement. Mao and his group furnish proof of a complete break with proletarian internationalism. Peking has cynically betrayed the Communist parties of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. The true nature of the Peking advocates of 'revolution' is also seen in their support of the bloody fascist regime in Chile. In many countries, the Peking leaders are engaged in divisive activities against the Communist parties. They set up and openly back pro-Maoist groups and organizations in contrast to the world communist movement.

Maoist ideology and policy are prompted by a bid for expansion and by a claim to the role of world leader. They are at variance with the objective requirements of social progress and hostile to the fight for peace, socialism and national independence.

Maoism discredits itself more and more. Nevertheless, the serious danger which Maoist policy presents must not be underrated. We in Hungary, for our part, regard unrelenting struggle against Maoist ideology and policy as a most pressing task.

1. See *Jenminjihpao*, May 5, 1974. The leader of the Chinese delegation to the 30th UN General Assembly described relations between imperialist countries and the 'third world' as a 'dialogue' and added that 'ties between the second and third worlds have grown stronger. This is a welcome development in today's international economic life' (see *Jenminjihpao*, September 27, 1975).

2. Contrary to facts, Peking claims that relations between the developing countries and the EEC are based on 'equal rights and mutual benefit' (*Jenminjihpao*, July 13 and August 3, 1974).

3. Ignoring elementary facts with remarkable ease, Peking decalres that 'as a result of the emergence of social imperialism, the socialist camp, which existed for a time after World War II no longer exists' (*PR*, No. 16, 1974, p. 6).

Laws to justify lawlessness

Kevin Boyle, Tom Hadden and Paddy Hillyard. *Law and State. The Case of Northern Ireland.* Martin Robertson, London, 1975. 194 pp.

Northern Ireland has been in the headlines all over the world for many years now. The situation is as tense as ever, and the protracted crisis repeatedly erupts into violence.

Much has been written about the events, they have been discussed from various angles. The authors of *Law and State. The Case of Northern Ireland,* are three young Northern Ireland lawyers who seek, despite the narrowness of their liberal notions, to reveal the role and impact of the legal system on the situation in this area of Ireland. They want an honest answer to the question: 'To what extent and in what way is the law as a specific institution able to contribute to social order?' (p. VIII).

They start out from the year 1921, when British imperialism forcibly wrested the six northeast counties from the rest of Ireland to set up an artificial state gerrymandered to include one million Unionists — supporters of union with Britain (mostly Protestants) and 500,000 anti-Unionists (mainly Catholics) who favored union with the rest of Ireland.

The authors note that the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, or, as it became known, the Constitution, made specific provisions 'declaring void any law ... which gave privilege, preference or advantage or imposed disability or disadvantage on account of religious belief. The reality was otherwise' (p. 7). For the guarantees of equality irrespective of religion were effectively annulled by the provisions of the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act of 1922.* As Lord Craigavon, first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, declared, the country had 'a Protestant Parliament for Protestant people,' a promise effectually fulfilled through the 'continued stranglehold of the exclusively Protestant Unionist Party in the Parliament at Stormont' (p. 7). The Unionist Party controlled the affairs of central and local government, the courts and judiciary, the police and the dominant sectors of

*The 1922 Act was passed by the Northern Ireland Parliament (Stormont) and was, as the authors note, more draconian than any legislation enacted by the Apartheid government of South Africa. In 1973 it was superceded by the Northern Ireland Constitutional Act passed, it should be noted, by Westminster.

industry and commerce (which meant the allocation of jobs in every sphere). What this meant in practice is aptly illustrated by instructions issued by Sir Dawson Bates, first Minister of Home Affairs in the Northern Ireland cabinet, to the effect that no Roman Catholic (even the lowest-paid typist) was to be employed in his Ministry. This became the general practice in all Ministries.

The authors of the book note that though the Special Powers Act of 1922 was not 'formally directed against Catholics and Republicans,* ... it was common knowledge that it was against them and them alone that it was directed and used' (p. 7). This, it should be said, is not wholly true. Its victims included not only Catholics. It would be more correct to say that legislation in Northern Ireland, as indicated by many facts cited in the book and examples of recent history, is as a rule used to justify or camouflage both social and religious discrimination. In 1932, for example, the 1922 Act was used to quell the great unemployment struggle for 'bread or work' when some 100,000 jobless Catholic and Protestant workers marched and demonstrated together in support of their demands. The Act was used again in 1933 and 1934 against members of the Communist Party, dozens of whom were sent to jail for 'preaching subversion.'

After detailing the pogroms instituted against the Catholic people in Belfast, Londonderry and other cities in order totally to intimidate the civil rights movement, the authors go on to question 'the failure of the civil rights leaders to make any sustained attempt to obtain a legal remedy for their grievances ... Why was it that in Northern Ireland this essential safety valve of legal redress was not there to avert the confrontation which developed?' (p. 10). They explain 'this failure of the law and the lawyers' on the absence 'of any formal guarantees in the British and Northern Ireland constitution of the basic civil rights' (p. 10).

That is correct, but not the whole story, for Britain, as well as Northern Ireland, never had, at any time, any form of written constitution. The safeguard was always thought to reside in Common Law. There are numerous examples that reaffirm that Common Law is usually interpreted against the poor, the Catholics and anti-Unionists. That is why to reduce the problem of Law and State in Northern Ireland to the 'failure of the law and the lawyers' begs the whole matter at issue. It is hardly accidental that none of the four major tribunals of inquiry into the events in Northern Ireland 'achieved anything positive or specific. Their prime significance is probably the fact that they were held at all' (p. 130). This is a conclusion fully shared by the author of this review, who testified for five hours before the Cameron Commission on discrimination policies

*That is, supporters of union with the Irish Republic.

of the Northern Ireland regime against its political opponents, against the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. During the hearing the policies and work of the NICRA were dealt with but, in the main, questions and answers were concerned with the role of the Northern Ireland regime. And though the various commissions ascertained facts of physical or moral torture by security bodies and established the illegality of internment without trial, the violaters were not punished, and internment was preserved as a 'necessary measure.' It is also indicative that no British government since 1965, Labour or Tory, has agreed to set up a commission to determine whether the Government of Ireland Act offered adequate guarantees of freedom to the citizens of Northern Ireland.

Totally unjustified are the authors' attempts to cast 'blame,' like other liberals, on each side in the conflict. But where they analyze events on the basis of a wealth of factual material their work is extremely useful in gaining an understanding of the role of the law imposed by British imperialism as a fig leaf for lawlessness. The abolition of the Stormont Parliament and institution of direct rule from Westminster; military security and police persecution; the screening system; internment without trials, with interrogation 'in depth' and torture; Commission hearings (with no real defense for those detained, right of evidence or right of appeal) — this is a far from complete list of practical applications of the 'legal system.'

It is the authors' (correct) contention that Northern Ireland cannot be taken as a 'simple colonial model': the Unionist majority have always had sufficient economic and military force at their disposal to make continued coercion of the Catholic minority a practical proposition, but the 'minority is large enough to ensure a continuing degree of instability within the state . . .' (pp. 180-181). The crux of the problem is that it is not just a matter of 'two communities'; there is also the position of the British government, whose Prime Minister Wilson stated shortly before his resignation that the unity of Ireland was 'light years away.'

London is concerned with resolving the 'Irish problem' in a way that would satisfy the interests of British monopoly and Irish capitalists and prevent the unity of the working class. That is why the Northern Ireland authorities endlessly violate existing legislation, while legislation introduced by the British authorities is inherently unlawful.

Betty Sinclair

Felix Ojeda

The working people and Communists of Puerto Rico and the world have suffered a great loss with the death on April 22 of Comrade Felix Ojeda, veteran of the world communist and working-class movement, General Secretary of the Puerto Rican Communist Party.

Felix Ojeda was born in Naguabo, Puerto Rico, on March 15, 1903. Under the powerful impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, he became a Marxist-Leninist and devoted his life to selfless struggle for the interests of the working people, for the liberation of his country from U.S. colonial domination.

He was a member of the Socialist Party for 27 years and was one of its leaders; he organized major strikes and other actions in defense of the working people's rights and interests. In 1952 he withdrew from that party in view of the anti-Soviet line adopted by some of its leaders and joined the Communist Party.

A talented journalist, Felix Ojeda was editor-in-chief of *El Pueblo*, the CC PRCP newspaper. He wrote many articles which offer an example of revolutionary propaganda and of creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in Puerto Rican conditions. In 1965, he was elected Secretary of the PRCP Executive Committee and five years later he became the Party's General Secretary, a post he held to his death.

It takes courage to be a Communist in Puerto Rico. And to be a leader of the Communist Party is to be a hero. Felix Ojeda was a hero and patriot. Defying police surveillance, he led the Communists' struggle to strengthen the Party and step up its activity, their fight for the interests of the working class and all working people, for democracy, independence and social progress. He consistently championed unity and cohesion of the world communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

An ardent patriot and internationalist, Felix Ojeda was a great friend of the Soviet Union. He saw existing socialism as a bulwark of the peoples fighting for liberation from colonial and capitalist bondage. His name is familiar to Communists throughout the world. He led PRCP delegations to various forums of fraternal parties and to the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Felix Ojeda's death is a heavy loss for the Communists. But the Puerto Rican Communist Party is alive and goes on fighting, loyal to the behests of its General Secretary, to Marxist-Leninist principles. Fighters for freedom, independence, peace, democracy and socialism will never forget the courageous Puerto Rican and Communist.

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