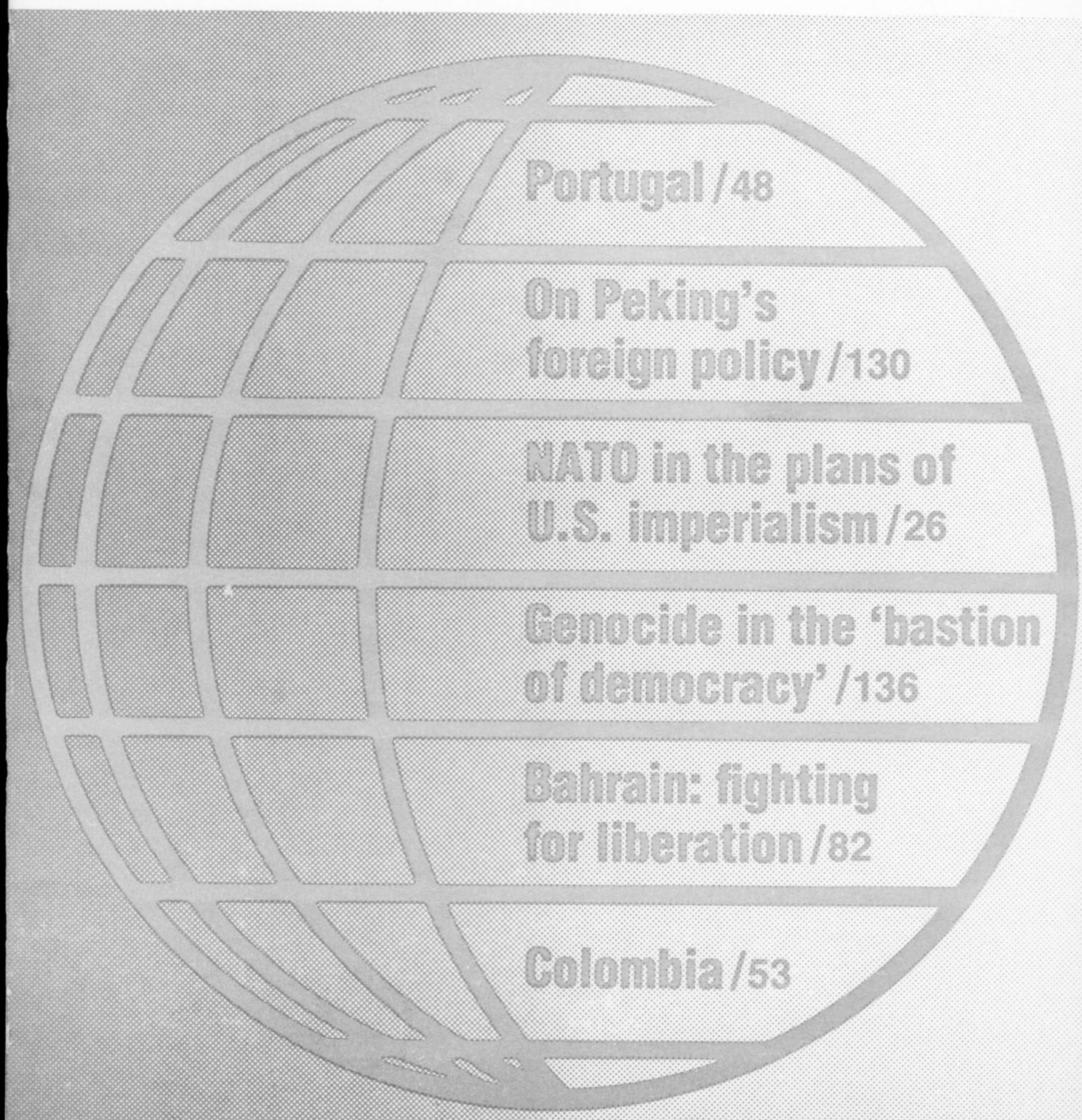
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International and national factors in cooperation among the socialist countries

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There are periods in which history moves with extraordinary momentum. This applies to our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The main factor determining the character and pace of the revolutionary processes taking place on our planet today is the world socialist system, the world's most dynamic economic force, and the guarantee that the fraternal countries will reach their economic and social goals is their growing all-round cooperation, which has become a powerful catalyst of progress and a source of new strength.

1

Analysis of the vast experience of cooperation among the socialist countries has led the ruling fraternal parties to a conclusion that undoubtedly represents a major advance in Marxist theory, namely, the conclusion that increasing cooperation and ever closer ties between the fraternal countries have become a regular feature of development. This conclusion was amply substantiated in the CC Report presented to the 25th CPSU Congress by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. The communists of Mongolia fully subscribe to that conclusion of Lenin's party. The general line of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, our 17th Party Congress (1976) pointed out, is 'to expand and deepen cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries in every field and expand the participation of the MPR in socialist economic integration.'

We Mongolian communists attach such importance to the conclusion about increased cooperation and closer relations primarily because it provides us with a clear guideline for developing relations between the socialist countries in all spheres and indicates the key trend in these relations. However, an essential condition for its application is that we should give careful consideration to the dialectical interaction between this feature and another important feature of socialism, the all-round progress of socialist nations, which can only

be brought about through close cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance.

In studying this dialectic, our party proceeds from Lenin's thesis on two historic trends in international relations: the trend toward their formation, toward the rise and consolidation of national states, and the trend toward 'internationalization of the economy, of politics and culture, toward the break-down of national barriers' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 27). Lenin investigated these trends on the basis of the concrete historical evidence of the capitalist epoch. However, we have every reason to say as we assess Lenin's comprehensive doctrine on the national question and the experience of its application by the CPSU, our party and the fraternal parties of other socialist countries, that his methodology is a dependable instrument for the study of the processes at work in the world socialist system today.

Its application shows that these two trends — the trend toward internationalization of production and other spheres of public life in the socialist countries, and the trend toward the development of each socialist nation, toward consolidation of their statehood — are also present in the relations taking shape between the peoples of the socialist community. Paraphrasing a famous statement of Lenin's, we may describe them as a 'universal law' of socialism (see Vol. 20, p. 27).

The more than 30 years of the socialist community's existence and the Mongolian people's own experience warrant, in our view, quite definite conclusions about the dialectical interaction between the two trends. The most noteworthy feature of this interaction is the absence of any antagonism between international and national factors in the development of the world socialist system. The basis for any antagonism has been removed by the similarity of our social and economic systems resulting from fundamental, revolutionary changes in the economic sphere: the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, the guaranteed predominance of social property, and the victory of socialist production relations. In the final analysis this is the foundation for the unity of interests of all the socialist countries, which finds expression in the internationalist policy of the communist and workers' parties in power.

Under capitalism the antagonism between international and national factors leads to the uneven development of countries and peoples, a widening gulf between rich and poor countries and nations, and the domination of underdeveloped by developed countries, of the weak by the strong. In the socialist world, however, relations between countries and peoples develop along qualitatively different lines. While laying no claim to completeness, we may list the following characteristics resulting from radical changes in social relations:

— establishing, in practice, of complete independence and equality of all socialist countries and peoples; guaranteeing the truly free advance of nations along their chosen path; establishing relations of fraternal friendship, confidence, mutual understanding and assistance between them;

— gradual elimination of the social, economic and cultural inequality inherited from the old system, with developed nations and states extending varied and disinterested assistance to nations and states lagging behind;

— growing cooperation; ever more varied relations in the spheres of economy, science, technology and culture;

— mutual support in defending the peoples' socialist gains; an agreed common policy on the world scene;

— harmonious combination of the international and national interests of the socialist countries and peoples, with emphasis on the common, fundamental interests and goals of the socialist system as a whole;

— achieving ever closer links between countries and nations in various public fields.

We consider the gradual growth of the role of the international factor a notable aspect of the dialectic of the national and the international in relations between the peoples of the socialist countries. This is not merely a subjective desire but an objective process generated both by the internal requirements of the fraternal countries and by international factors. It expresses itself in the further consolidation of the socialist community, the steady growth of its unity and cohesion and improved forms of cooperation. A most important means of using the potentialities of the new system is to bring out the international essence of socialism and intensify interaction between the socialist countries on the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

2

Opponents of Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism argue that these principles cannot be consistently applied without curtailing the sovereignty of socialist countries and limiting their national interests. Yet Engels noted as far back as 1893 that 'without restoring autonomy and unity to each nation, it will be impossible to achieve the international union of the proletariat, or the peaceful and intelligent cooperation of these nations toward common aims' (Marx and Engels. *Selected Works* in Three Volumes. Vol. 1, p. 107). 'We want a *voluntary* union of nations,' Lenin wrote, carrying forward this idea on the basis of the concrete experience of building socialism, 'a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another, a union

founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 30, p. 293).

The whole history of the formation and development of the socialist community testifies to the practical observance of democratic standards guaranteeing the independence of each country. These standards are respect for the sovereignty and equality of every country, non-interference in its internal affairs, and mutual benefit. By contrast, societies based on exploitation tend to infringe these principles, particularly in the case of relations between strong and weak states. It is an achievement of socialism that it not only guarantees full application of general democratic principles in relations between the socialist countries but also makes a decisive contribution to their establishment as the basis for international relations generally.

However, the formation and progress of the socialist countries has also shown that their mutual relations go beyond the bounds of general democratic principles, that they are richer in substance. These principles remain, but they acquire a new quality stemming from the common fundamental interests and goals of the working class, which is the leading class in the socialist countries. This new quality is socialist internationalism, which is nothing else but proletarian internationalism operating as a principle of relations between socialist nations and states. Socialist international relations are characterized by solidarity and cooperation, mutual support, fraternal mutual assistance, and joint defense of the gains of socialism.

Socialist internationalism is not some kind of 'regional internationalism' intended to ensure solidarity of action in defense of interests running counter to the common interests of the international working class. The socialist countries have no such interests. Their working class uses all the opportunities it has gained through its command of state power and its economic, military and other strength to pursue a home and foreign policy determined by the historic mission of the international working class — building communism throughout the planet.

The increasingly close ties between our country and the Soviet Union are proof of the fruitfulness of the principles of socialist internationalism. The relations of fraternal friendship linking the two countries and peoples have deep historical roots. The Soviet Union gave us invaluable help in shaking off the foreign yoke and defeating the Japanese invaders. It was the first to recognize our country's freedom and independence and to offer our people disinterested aid. For nearly six decades now, our fraternal peoples have been marching together, building a new life. In these years Mongolian-Soviet relations have acquired a new content and have become an indestructible political alliance. And now our two countries are drawing closer

together, a process made possible and objectively indispensable by the victory of socialist production relations throughout the Mongolian economy, by the development of an integrated socialist economic system in our country. The similarity of the two countries' social and economic foundations leads to internationalization in the economic, political, cultural and other spheres.

The traditional sentiments of fraternal love and affection linking our peoples have been enriched by a profound belief in the need for growing ideological and political unity, cooperation and mutual assistance in striving for socialism and communism. This new stage in the development of our relations found reflection in the documents which a Mongolian party and government delegation signed in the Soviet Union two years ago. Our people are well aware that the further expansion of Mongolian-Soviet cooperation under the current five-year plan (1976-80) and the more than twofold growth of Soviet economic aid to the MPR in the same period are powerful factors in accomplishing the historic tasks set by the 17th MPRP Congress in building the material and technical basis of socialism.

We stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union in the international arena as well. The socialist countries' cooperation in foreign policy is aimed primarily at strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence, furthering détente, stopping the arms race, bringing about radical disarmament measures, developing equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation and ending inequality and discrimination in any form. These tasks, set by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, have won the unqualified approval and support of the socialist-community countries and have found reflection in documents of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. They are backed by all progressive, democratic forces and realistic-minded people in the capitalist world, for they meet the vital interests of mankind.

I would like to stress that drawing closer together in the foreign-policy sphere does not result in completely identical positions, for each socialist country pursues its foreign policy according to its own particular interests as well as the common interests of the socialist community. Mongolia, for instance, being an Asian country, has its own special interests in this region. It consistently fosters good-neighborliness and extensive cooperation with other Asian countries and makes a notable contribution to peace and security in this part of the globe.

We are making every effort for normal cooperation and good-neighbor relations with China. At the same time our party emphatically rejects reactionary Maoism, which openly opposes international peace and cooperation. It is a fact that Peking's great-power, expan-

sionist policy poses a very grave threat to the peaceful effort of Asian peoples. The Chinese leadership sees its main goal in establishing its supremacy over the continent and subsequently over the rest of the world, and is actively preparing for a war to achieve this aim. Its policy of aggression could have serious consequences for world peace and security. We therefore strive to help the peoples of our continent realize the danger presented by China's great-power, hegemonist policy and become clearly aware of the anti-popular nature of Maoism and its foreign policy.

The Mongolian people have considerable experience of fighting for freedom and independence. They have drawn lessons from the past and know who their real friends are. They have been confidently following the socialist path for over half a century and have repeatedly foiled attacks from without. We have always received disinterested, truly internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union. We firmly resist all Chinese encroachments on our freedom and independence. We derive strength from our people's deep love of their socialist country and from the fraternal friendship and support of the mighty Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole.

There is complete identity of views and unity of action between our country and the Soviet Union on all international issues. Our party has on more than one occasion said that we regard it as a great privilege and our historic responsibility to make common cause with the country which progressive mankind considers the standard-bearer of the struggle for peace and disarmament.

This orientation of ours remains unchanged. Now that reaction is trying even harder to reverse détente and throw the world back to the cold war, we are particularly vigilant and firm. We fully support the Soviet Union's numerous constructive proposals aimed at ending the arms race and creating a healthy climate in Europe, Asia and elsewhere. I would like to point especially to the significance of the Soviet proposals submitted to the UN General Assembly's Special Session on Disarmament and to the points made by Leonid Brezhnev in his Minsk speech. We fully subscribe to his statement that 'the vital interests of the working people of all countries make it imperative to prevent the nullification of the positive achievements of recent years in the world arena and to go on to a really lasting peace for all peoples. This goal can — and we trust will — be achieved by the joint efforts of all peace forces.'

3

While internationalization of production and other spheres of public life in the socialist countries has become the leading trend, it would be wrong to infer from this that the other trend — the development of

nations and national states — is now of secondary importance, an anachronism that does not have to be taken into account in politics. We consider that nations and national peculiarities are factors playing a tremendous part in the development of socialist countries. They reflect objective real aspects and conditions of their development, particularly the fact that the socialist community is composed of sovereign socialist states each of which commands an independent national economic complex with its own historical peculiarities, that each country has a distinctive public life, a culture of its own, and so on. They also reflect such subjective factors as that the states controlling these complexes shape their decisions to suit national interests, but, of course, take into account common interests as well. Incidentally, these subjective and objective factors account for the occasional discrepancies that are still to be found between national and international interests within the socialist system, discrepancies which are gradually eliminated in the course of cooperation among the fraternal countries and peoples with due regard to common interests.

However, it is wrong, we believe, to go to the other extreme of accentuating national aspects in the development of a socialist country while playing down such a powerful stimulus to progress as cooperation with other fraternal countries. Experience shows, for instance, how greatly socialist construction and the peoples' interests are injured by the policy of the Chinese leaders, who disrupt the unity of the socialist countries by putting their own selfish, great-power interests before all else.

Both positive experience and negative phenomena in the development of the socialist countries invite the conclusion that only a harmonious combination of maximum use of internal resources and potentialities with steadily growing cooperation between the fraternal countries leads to the full development of each socialist nation and furthers the socialist cause as a whole.

Cooperation is of great benefit to all socialist countries. For decades now, it has also benefited our country, which started its socialist construction from the lowest economic and cultural level. When it won freedom from the Chinese invaders and White Guards, who were mere tools in the hands of Japanese militarists and other imperialist forces, Mongolia had no industry, up-to-date transport or reasonably developed agriculture. It was a country of poverty and almost complete illiteracy and its trade and economy were dominated by foreign capital. Had it not been for the Great October Revolution, whose 61st anniversary will soon be celebrated by the Mongolian people in common with the Soviet and other fraternal peoples, with all progressive humanity, Mongolia would have remained for years a

mere raw-material appendage to developed capitalist countries, with the painful prospect of capitalist development in conditions of political and economic dependence on foreign powers and imperialist monopolies, a development involving untold sacrifice and suffering. It was the Soviet Union, the aid given by its workers and peasants, that enabled Mongolia to put its political independence on an economic basis and achieve rapid all-round progress.

The Mongolian people's life and their gains in building socialism are the best refutation of the malicious falsehoods of bourgeois and revisionist ideologists and Maoist slanderers, who allege that Mongolia is still a 'backward country' in a state of 'semi-colonial dependence' on the Soviet Union. Varied fraternal assistance from the world's first socialist state and friendship and cooperation with it helped us to win and consolidate our economic and political independence and come out of the darkness of feudalism into the daylight of modern civilization. Life has shown that as a result of our party's policy of increasing cooperation with socialist countries, Mongolia's economy and culture have made rapid progress, raising our country to the level of medium-developed countries. It should be noted that the Mongolians' standard of living is superior to that of most Asian peoples and many times higher than that of the Chinese. Our people are confidently carrying on their peaceful labor. They are free from all sorts of 'leaps' and upheavals and, more important still, from an atmosphere of war hysteria and hatred. Their daily life teaches them the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of the planet.

Here are just three facts that give an idea of how Mongolia has changed under people's rule. It now takes our country just five minutes to produce as much as it produced in the whole of 1922. Life expectancy has more than doubled in this period and today averages 65 years. In 1925 there were only two doctors in Mongolia. Today we have 21 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants, or more than such developed capitalist countries as Britain, France, Italy or Japan.

We owe every socio-economic or cultural gain to our people's devoted effort. This is the only basis for the most effective use of the advantages of cooperation with fraternal countries and of economic integration. It is our opinion, as I have already mentioned, that the assistance of fraternal countries should be used for stepping up our people's own effort, for mobilizing our own material and financial resources. By accelerating the progress of our country, we are contributing to the common achievement of the whole socialist community.

The history of the world socialist system indicates that the common cause of the socialist countries can be prejudiced both by disregarding

national interests and by ignoring common goals, or subordinating them to national goals. As we see it, this means that one of the important obligations of every party in guiding its country's socialist development is to harmonize national and international interests and devise more effective forms of cooperation, forms more in keeping with the stage through which both the country and the socialist community are passing at the time.

As we have also learned from experience, growing cooperation among the socialist countries has nothing to do with effacing cultural distinctions or curtailing independence. Nor does it mean artificially hastening or forcing their political and economic fusion, which should and does take place as an objective natural process. The notable headway made in recent years toward closer relations between the countries of the socialist community has in no way detracted from the diversity of the concrete historical forms of their socio-economic, political and cultural development; indeed, it has lent that diversity new shades.

4

Bourgeois and anti-communist propaganda sometimes claims that growing cooperation among the socialist countries is not an objective law but a purely political and ideological postulate. A look at the actual state of affairs is enough to refute this allegation.

To begin with, it cannot be maintained that growing cooperation and closer ties have no objective prerequisites. As we have said, they are based on the internationalization of production. The present economic level of the socialist community necessitates maximum utilization of the advantages inherent in the international socialist division of labor, in the collective use of achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. The objective need to internationalize the socialist countries' economies is met by their all-round economic cooperation, whose highest form today is socialist economic integration.

What is the significance of socialist economic integration, as our party sees it? First of all, integration makes it possible to use the material resources and production capacities of every socialist country more effectively and creates vast opportunities to save social labor and speed technological progress. Economic integration and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are decisive external factors for Mongolia's social and economic development, for the attainment of our party's strategic goals in completing socialist construction. Without them we would have been unable to step up our economic development, transform Mongolia into an industrial-agrarian country and raise our people's material and cultural standards still more.

It is fair to say that virtually the entire Mongolian economy is developing under the beneficial influence of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries. We joined the CMEA a mere 16 years ago. Yet by late 1977 our fixed production assets had increased by 380 per cent, industrial production per capita had doubled and gross industrial output showed an annual growth averaging 8.1 per cent. In the last few years alone, we have built a number of new industrial and agricultural complexes, railways and highways, cultural establishments and other projects with help from CMEA.

Mongolia takes part in the work of CMEA and its main bodies: the Executive Committee, Secretariat, Committee for Cooperation in Planning, Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation and Committee for Cooperation in Material and Technical Supply. We also cooperate in both banks functioning within the framework of the Council — the International Investment Bank and International Bank for Economic Cooperation. As for the Council's standing commissions, the member countries have complied with our request for participation in only those commissions which are of particular interest to us. Today Mongolia is represented on 17 standing CMEA commissions out of a total of 23. They include the commissions for agriculture, coal, food, light industry, transport, standardization and geology (the latter has its headquarters in Ulan Bator).

Our membership in the CMEA helps to spread the most efficient managing methods evolved by the socialist community throughout our country. We should add that currently the fraternal countries' economic interaction is by no means restricted to economic cooperation as such. Closest attention must be given to continued exchanges of experience in organizing and managing production, in socialist management generally. There are many particularly effective forms and methods of management that have proved their worth in this or that country and go beyond national boundaries. They include goal-oriented planning, the movement for the adoption of reciprocal plans (proposed by workers), competition for the title of socialist work teams, social planning, etc. Experience has shown this to be a very important potential for speeding the socialist countries' progress.

Another problem which the fraternal countries' communist parties are now concentrating on is that of perfecting methods of planning and socialist management at the international level. The key task in this respect is to work out long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs (LGCP) carrying forward and specifying the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration. The 32nd CMEA Session (Bucharest, 1978) made an appreciable contribution by extending to 1990 LGCPs for power, fuels, raw materials, agriculture, the food industry and mechanical engineering.

The advantages of the socialist countries' economic cooperation are particularly evident today. The capitalist world has yet to recover from its recent economic crisis, the worst since the war. It was inevitable that the effects of the crisis would tell on the economy of the socialist countries. But unlike the capitalist world, the socialist community overcame the difficulties without slowing down economic development or the rise in the standard of living.

Socialist economic integration does not imply minimizing the role of national states, nor does it limit their autonomy; it is developing within the framework of state and nation, with every socialist country retaining its independence and sovereignty. The state, with its agencies and organizations, has always been the principal instrument of economic policy in the socialist community of working out and implementing specific integration measures. This means that economic cooperation among the socialist countries does not imply at this stage, or in the foreseeable future, that they should conduct a common economy erasing the national boundaries of socialist production.

Nevertheless, I would like to stress again that growing and improving economic, scientific and technological cooperation and closer links between the fraternal countries' economies are a *law-governed process,* consciously and methodically regulated by the communist parties and governments of the socialist countries. This process is generated by the objective requirements of continuous growth of the economic power of each socialist country and the socialist community as a whole, of winning the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. It is also a result of the fact that the growth of the productive forces has now gone beyond the bounds of individual countries and that modern production is becoming more and more concentrated. And it should be perfectly clear that the trend toward inter-state socialization of production and property, toward shifting the emphasis with regard to economic relations in general and integration processes in particular to the production sphere, including the formation of international production complexes, joint construction and exploitation of enterprises, will intensify from year to year. There can be no doubt that socialist economic integration in the production sphere and in other fields will become the material foundation for building up the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and fostering the law-governed process of establishing closer ties between their peoples.

Gradual equalization of the economic development levels of the socialist countries is a most important objective factor leading to their closer cooperation and influencing its pace and forms. The policy of equalizing levels remains the principal activity of the CMEA. The 32nd CMEA Session made a new contribution to the fulfillment of this

task. The Mongolian people welcomed the statement of the session about the need, in carrying out LGCPs, to give thorough consideration to the task of gradually achieving closer relations and equalizing the economic development levels of the CMEA countries and to support and assist Cuba and Mongolia in speeding their development and raising the efficiency of their economies.

Our party, like the ruling parties of other fraternal countries, considers that differences in development level are no insurmountable obstacle to growing cooperation. The nature of international socialist division of labor and the relations of fraternity and mutual assistance linking the socialist countries obviously require other basic criteria of the progress made in establishing closer relations than such 'classical' indices as output of key items, national income or per capita consumption. Without denying the importance of these indices, we believe the main criterion of equalization is approximation of the conditions in which national economic complexes function. It depends, first of all, on ensuring the predominance of socialist production relations, their victory in every sphere of the CMEA countries' economy; updating the economic structures of what were once less developed countries and improving their technological equipment; rapid improvement of the standard of living; approximation of the conditions in which CMEA countries participate in the international division of labor; and a steady growth rate of the national income. In other words, the important thing for achieving ever closer relations is not only the purely quantitative changes in the socialist countries' national economic complexes but the character of these changes and the degree of interaction between national economies.

The objective process of increasing cooperation and promoting closer relations between socialist nations and states confirms the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, of the ideas and message of the Great October. Admittedly, the collective experience of the socialist countries shows that achieving ever closer relations is an intricate and protracted process in which the objective and subjective prerequisites for their economic and political fusion will develop. However, we have no doubt that in the long run the internationalization of production will lead to what Lenin called the formation of a 'universal economy as an integral whole,' the abolition of national state barriers and the rise of new forms of human community in which there will be no state frontiers and, in due course, no national distinctions. We see the road leading to this in the further progress of socialist nations and the strengthening of sovereign socialist states, in closer relations covering every field, in friendship and cooperation between fraternal countries and peoples.

The scientific nature of Marxism and the importance of the concept of Marxism-Leninism in our day

Rodney Arismendi
First Secretary CC, CP Uruguay

At times one feels like thanking our adversaries for calling things by their proper names and not embellishing their ideas with devious formulas or obscuring their intentions by pleading that their sole aim is partial modernization of a theory, which, in fact, is the target of their attacks.

That has been the method of Maurice Duverger, the French sociologist and political commentator of *Le Monde*. He has been at pains to persuade the French labor movement and left forces to shift to the reformist positions of classical social-democracy. Naturally, the theoretical basis for such a shift is a changed attitude toward Marxism. Felipe Gonzalez has invited the Spanish socialists to delete from their program and statutes all mention of Marxism. Duverger made this the subject of his article 'Socialism Without Marxism?'[1] And unlike the social democrats in Germany and several other countries, who solved the problem by resorting to surgery, Duverger — as I have mentioned in another article[2] — deigns to assign Marx a place in the genealogy of science, to which he made one of many contributions, but with the proviso that Marxism shall not be mentioned as a source of inspiration or — God forbid — as a great revolutionary scientific theory.

Worldwide laboratory

Duverger's article is part of the intricate political and ideological struggle now being fought out in France, and from that angle it does not require our criticism. Nor can it lay claim to a meaningful part in the more general theoretical discussion. Its author's reformism stands out for all to see. In philosophy as in history, his approach is frankly positivist, or to be more exact, neo-positivist. He rejects strict definitions, alleging that they lead to cut-and-dried classification, a

method used by the above-mentioned philosophical trends in order to appear as faithful and objective servants of science and oracles of critical thought. They regard the evolution of human knowledge, the progress of science and the criteria of scientific truth from patently relativist positions.

For Duverger 'scientific theories are no more than a collection of hypothetical and ephemeral ideas that will be replaced by others, and these by still others without end. There is no reason to believe that the social sciences are not subject to this logic. *To consider Marxism a science is to approach it unscientifically and lay undue emphasis on myth and ideology'* (My italics. — *R.A.*).

That brazen assertion is characteristic of our neo-positivist critics, with their relativist view of scientific truth based, in the final analysis, on idealistic, or at any rate agnostic, epistemology and the 'disparagement of theory.'[3]

And so, scientific theories are no more than collections of 'hypothetical and ephemeral ideas,' a fiction of science rather than evidence of its progress? This is a gross distortion of the history of science, an attempt to reduce it to the level of scientific delusion.

But Marx demonstrated that the history of human knowledge, man's fight to disclose and master the laws of reality, represents a constant movement toward absolute truth through the disclosure of a multitude of relative truths. As a result, the endless process of cognition is equated with the history of mankind. In drawing a line between the philosophical category of matter and the level of its physical knowledge at any given period (and simultaneously showing the contradictory unity which, in the final count, reflects the unity and differentiation of concrete science and philosophy), Lenin left us a classical definition of truth[4] and delimited the relation between materialist dialectics and relativism.[5]

Actually, none of this is new and it might seem superfluous to revert to it. However, it is precisely in this area that Duverger — probably much to his regret — has rendered us a great service. For he has drawn into the discussion, and in a polemical and crude form, a question of special interest to all of us: the scientific validity and permanent topicality of Marxism (and, we can add, Leninism); the contradictory unity of the continuous development of Marxism and its historic importance; the relation between principles and the possibility of their creative development; the need for uninterrupted development of Marxism as a condition of its scientific nature, which has made it the foundation of revolutionary thought. In other words, we are dealing with Marxism as created by Marx and Engels, who combined critical perfection of the most advanced thought of their time with a concrete study of capitalism (as a natural historical

process) and its development laws, and also with a critique of political economy and the conclusion drawn therefrom about the role of the working class and the historical need for socialist revolution and the advance to communism. We are dealing with Marxism as it was applied by Lenin in his titantic work of accomplishing the dual task of re-establishing and upholding the principles of Marxism and their continuation and development in the new conditions. Yes, this was continuation, but on what a scale! Lenin's contribution to theory and his practical activity, expressed above all in the Russian revolution, opened the epoch we are living in. His ideas are finding confirmation in the many forms of the international socialist revolution which has brought together all the currents of the contemporary revolutionary movement.

We are dealing also with the manner in which, at different theoretical and political levels, other followers of Marx and Lenin have approached, or have tried to approach, or are now approaching, Marxism. Even mistakes, dogmatic or other distortions, or simply experiments and incomplete studies by some individuals, or by the movement as a whole, particularly at certain stages, do not negate, but rather serve as critical signposts in reasserting the substance and creative principles of Marxism-Leninism, which by its very nature is antagonistic to every anti-historical or para-historical approach, to all proclamations of absolute, immutable truth. This is so because the outstanding feature of our epoch is the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, in accordance with which gigantic historical transformations are being carried out before our very eyes. And when Duverger contends that Marxism is an ideology elevated to the rank of science and that 'by its very nature it does not allow for experimental vertification, which is the essence of science,' he forgets that in this particular case the laboratory is world history itself. The actions of millions led by the working class — the main force of our epoch — by the communist and workers' movement, have in the 60 years since October 1917 made socialism a reality and a realistic perspective for the whole of mankind. Marxism-Leninism has thus become the leading spiritual force of our time. And world realities, manifested in infinitely different forms (and richer in content than any theory which, Lenin pointed out, is always approximate) furnish clear proof of the scientific nature of Marxism. And proof, too, that our doctrine is being constantly perfected, for it requires theoretical generalization of all new experience. Such is the main role of practice as understood by Marx.

The greatness of Lenin lies primarily in applying the teachings of Marx and Engels to the problems of the imperialist period. This, and his analysis of the nature of the Russian revolution, enabled him to work out

the theory of socialist revolution applicable on a world scale and lead the peoples of the former tsarist empire to the victory of socialism.

As Luigi Longo has so aptly said, the cornerstone of modern civilization was laid in Russia. And the Russian revolution continues to be the historical axis of the processes at work in the present-day world.

Every day adds to the realities of that world. The years since the defeat of German fascism have seen such developments as the final victory of socialism in the USSR and other countries; the dismantling of colonial empires, with many peoples opting for the socialist orientation; the growing role of the international working class; the evolution of state-monopoly capitalism; continued aggravation of the crisis of the capitalist system, etc. And most important, the enormous sweep of the communist and workers' movement despite certain difficulties, some of them of a tragic character (of which the events in China are the most glaring example).

This new reality poses new problems for every communist and workers' party, every Marxist-Leninist, reminding them that the purpose of our theory is not simply to explain the world, but to change it. Hence, being a consistent follower of Marx, Engels and Lenin implies a concrete approach to these new problems, reacting to them and translating into practice in every country the oft-cited maxim that Marxism-Leninism is a 'guide to action.'

General propositions are not, of course, a substitute for 'concrete analysis of concrete situations.' Book learning and juggling with quotations can only distort Marx and Lenin. More, they can slander them, presenting them as authors of logical constructs imposed on reality, as inventors of some panacea against all social ills. All the more so, since, in our age of the socialist and scientific-technical revolutions, many unparalleled and unusual problems have come to the fore, as have also many phenomena and processes that were unknown to Marx and Lenin or were not fully explored in their time.

Philosophy, science, politics and the party

Marxism cannot discard — without also discarding its scientific and revolutionary character — what Togliatti called *absolute historicism*.[6] Let us recall what Engels wrote about Hegel in his celebrated 'Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.'

The philosophy of the great German thinker suffered 'from an internal and incurable contradiction. Upon the one hand, its essential proposition was the conception that human history is a process of evolution, which, by its very nature, cannot find its intellectual final term in the discovery of any so-called absolute truth. But, on the other hand, it laid claim to being the very essence of this absolute

truth.' Engels comments: 'A system of natural and historical knowledge, embracing everything, and final for all time, is a contradiction to the fundamental law of dialectic reasoning.'[7]

Consequently, Marxism does not claim to be the *science of sciences*. It wrought a revolution in philosophical thought, laid the foundations of the science of history, elaborated a method of approaching reality premised on reality itself and its development, seen in the multiformity of its interrelations, i.e., in all its concreteness and historicism, in its endless motion. By its concrete analysis of capitalism Marxism disclosed the revolutionary role of the modern working class and foresaw that, having discharged its mission of hegemony in the fight for political power and in building socialism and communism, the working class will wither away along with other classes, politics and the state which for thousands of years served the class struggle and reflected social and human relations. There can be no exception to his contradictory historicism. For instance, scientific socialism, a historical form of working-class thought, does not spontaneously emerge within the working class, but is the result of joining together socialism and the proletariat through the complex and difficult process of converting the working class from a *class in itself* to a *class for itself*.

The discharge by the working class of its mission and the historically-conditioned victory of socialism presuppose the changeover from utopia to science and from science to action, as Gramsci wrote, thereby emphasizing the very essence of Marxism and Leninism. Marx and Lenin, Gramsci says, represent an organic unity and continuity of activity at consecutive, similar and dissimilar stages of this dialectical connection of science and action, i.e., world view, method and revolutionary practice.

We can now pass directly to politics, its fundamental role in implementing social change; to politics that cover a broad and concretely delimited sphere and is the main form of revolutionary action. But it has not lost its link with philosophy; on the contrary it acquires an integral scientific character.

This brings us to the doctrine of the party. History does not, of itself, create anything; history is made by man, as Engels repeatedly emphasized. Hence, all automatism, simplification, schematism, and fatalism are totally alien to it. Politics is, above all, an expression of the class struggle and the role in it of the various parties. That is the only scientific approach to politics. However, what appears to be correct in abstract theoretical terms assumes a thousand contradictory forms in practice. For politics is infiuenced by individuals, with all their virtues and delusions, by all manner of fortuity and its consequences, by past ideologies, including the most primitive

mythology and the least developed religious beliefs (of which there are many examples in contemporary revolutionary processes), i.e., all the intricate manifestations of a concrete socio-historical phenomenon.

The world view and method of Marxism-Leninism are being enriched by a wealth of national and international experience, which is being multiplied with the march of history by all the communist parties. Every party can critically assimilate this experience, though, speaking in the abstract, this is no safeguard against mistakes. At the same time, no mistake can justify the conclusion that our theory and method are completely or partially inadequate. According to Lenin, politics is both a science and an art. It must be based on principle, i.e., take into account the common interest and not merely short-term successes. But it must also be the 'art of the possible' and this, too, is part of the scientific approach, which reckons with reality. That is why politics cannot be 'absorbed' by ideology just as the multiform reality cannot be expressed by abstract formulas. Politics reflects, or should reflect, mainly the universality of the Marxist method. We have a brilliant example of this in the life and work of Lenin, the architect and leader of the greatest of all revolutions.

The relation of sectarianism to scientific socialism. Marx wrote, is like that of alchemy to modern chemistry. This, however, should not be taken to mean that by proclaiming themselves adherents of Marxism-Leninism, individuals and parties miraculously shed idealism, dogmatism and sectarianism, those characteristics of pre-Marxian philosophy. This applies even if sectarianism and dogmatism are generously garnished with quotations from Marx and Lenin.

Lenin's demand that policy must be scientifically substantiated, set out in the first of his 'Letters on Tactics,'[8] could be illustrated by endless examples of Lenin as a political strategist. The triumph of a policy is measurable only by its ability to translate into mass action and — as experience has shown — exert a revolutionizing influence on reality. The question now is *how* to convert the communist party into a real political force. The question is central to the tactics of Marx and Lenin and a host of citations could be produced to prove that. But it is best to address ourselves to the history of our epoch, with its victories and setbacks, successes, deviations and periods of stagnation for one or another contingent of the international communist and workers' movement. Since the Russian revolution the world has really changed fundamentally.

Lenin enriched Marxism by indicating the direction history is now following. The development of Marxism continues, though in many respects the process is still incomplete and is sometimes marked by

contradictions, survivals of dogmatism or attempts to distort or revise its underlying theoretical principles.

The concept of scientific socialism introduced by Marx and Engels, with its negation of the utopian and speculative with regard to both method and philosophy, has stood the test of time and has retained its validity and effectiveness. For scientific socialism represents the unity of scientific cognition of objective reality and revolutionary practice.

Duverger's view of what can be borrowed from Marxism, from 'theories elaborated in the 19th century by this genius,' if accepted in fragmentary form, could at best lead to the positivist, vulgar sociological or economistic degeneration so characteristic of the Second International. This is precisely what Lenin and the Leninists fought against and what Antonio Gramsci, one of Lenin's most talented and creative followers, so ably criticized. If we followed Duverger's advice, historical materialism would turn into economic determinism, and the theory of socialist revolution — a revolution delayed to the Greek calends — would disappear, replaced by fatalist awaiting or imitations of reformism.

Marx considered the value of his theory to lie in the fact — as the young Lenin wrote — that it is in its essence critical and revolutionary. 'The irresistible attraction of this theory, which draws to itself the socialists of all countries, lies precisely in the fact that it combines the quality of being strictly and supremely scientific (being the last word in social science) with that of being revolutionary, it does not combine them accidentally and not only because the founder of the doctrine combined in his own person the qualities of a scientist and a revolutionary, but does so intrinsically and inseparably' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 1, p. 327).

It fell to Lenin to develop the doctrine of the party as the unity of theory, practice and organization. Separation of these interconnected but not coinciding three elements can only distort the character of the party and undermine its role.

And here, too, Duverger has a definite purpose. His advice to the socialist parties, given in tones reminiscent of a royal counsellor, is but a thin cover for his attack on the communists, who regard Marxism as a scientific world view constantly enriched by new scientific discoveries. 'That attitude,' he says, 'is fundamental. It is one pillar of the monolithic communist parties, another is their structure.'

Duverger is rending us no mean service by this frank talk. Like Shylock, he is asking not for any pound of flesh, but for the heart. And what would remain of the communist parties if they gave up their Marxist-Leninist theoretical basis and their organizational structure,

so essential for revolutionary action? What would be the difference between the communist and social-democratic parties?

Can one be a Marxist without being a Leninist?

What Duverger says can, to some extent, be used as a starting point for an exposition of fundamental ideas bearing on the subject. We often use the term 'Marxism-Leninism,' whereas Duverger confines himself to 'Marxism.' But we are not infringing the rules of polemics. We simply believe that the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin are essentially identical and that Leninism is, in its essence, the Marxism of our epoch. For if it is true that Leninism cannot be reduced to Marxism (inasmuch as Lenin enriched Marxism by a number of theoretical propositions and the revolutionary practice that ushered in the new epoch), then no one has yet proved that he 'revised' the fundamentals (cornerstones, to use Lenin's own words) of the doctrine of his great teacher. It is often hard to single out what comes from Marx and Engels and what from Lenin. Some prominent Marxist-Leninists, Togliatti for one, have correctly, though somewhat one-sidedly, noted that Lenin's contribution to Marxism is the theory of capitalism at its imperialist stage, the theory of revolution and, consequently, of the state, and the theory of the party.

That is beyond doubt. But these propositions of Lenin, seen in their implementation and further development in the 20th century, notably after 1917, and not in their narrow implications, express the main content of our epoch and the main trends and directions of historical development. The unity and diversity of the theory of socialist revolution which Lenin tested as the leader of the Russian Revolution, includes long-range prognostications. For our generation these apply to the more or less foreseeable future of mankind. But this ability to look into the future presupposes development of the underlying Marxist proposition on the historic role of the proletariat. In the new conditions we need to conceptualize the theory and practice of proletarian hegemony and proletarian alliances, to establish the historical actuality of socialist revolution.

We have in mind working-class hegemony in the democratic revolution and in the transition period to socialist revolution, in other words, what Marx called *permanent revolution*. We have in mind also the objective historical unity of the revolutionary, multiform process in colonial and dependent countries and the process of world socialist revolution, with due account to the role of the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union immediately after 1917. One aspect of this concept is non-capitalist development, which can be effectively applied in Asia and Africa.

The doctrine of the party, elaborated by Lenin on the eve of the

1905 revolution, is likewise a component of the theory of socialist revolution. The doctrine was not, of course, influenced by Blanquism, as Rosa Luxemburg, whom we all admire, was led to believe, nor does it contain the embryo of bureaucratic involution. Lenin's doctrine of the party is profoundly dialectical. It envisages building the party in conditions when the political leadership and hegemony of the proletariat require a strong organization: the party serves the cause of the revolution. As for organizational relations the interconnection between centralism and democracy is not something set for all time but depends on circumstances, i.e., is dialectical. It envisages the creation of a mass party with extensive contacts with the working class and the entire people. This theme is closely related to many others.

Leadership of the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state, formulation of the theory of the socialist revolution at the imperialist stage, the rise of the international communist movement — all this justifies the definition of Leninism as the Marxism of our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

The historic victory of Lenin's ideas has changed the very image of the world we live in. It is therefore hard to understand those — we believe they are in error — who tend to belittle the epochal importance of Lenin and Leninism. They see Leninism as having only relative value and do not develop it. And this despite the fact that Lenin has given us a correct method in establishing the relation between principles and creative activity. His inspiring example should help us see the link between Leninism and the new phenomena and problems posed by contemporary international revolutionary practice. That does not mean that we should be guided by decisions of one or another party. The problem is an important one, concerns all of us and we should therefore have the opinions of all. In speaking of the principles of Marxism we are not falling into dogmatism. Negating the efficacy of these principles harbors the risk of falling into relativism or into the mistake Gramsci described as reducing the 'philosophy of practice' to empericist historical research.

For all their thematical range, Lenin's works — including outlines and notes for future research — do not furnish ready-made solutions to all the problems posed by the revolutionary practice of our time. Nor will they be found in the Marxist-Leninist research conducted after Lenin, even in the most recent work. And that is not only because the communist movement is self-critical, revealing erroneous and incomplete theoretical propositions and practices, but also because we often are late in conceptualizing practice, largely due to the world revolutionary process being accelerated by Leninism. Besides,

both Lenin and Marx advanced ideas of a transient nature: due to changed historical conditions or lack of data for a final judgment, the course of some political processes (and these involve human effort) differed from what could, in the main, have been foreseen.

But that is no reason to belittle the *epochal importance* of Leninism. To do that would be tantamount to minimizing the scientific character of the Marxist world view and method because of certain mistakes by Marx noted by Lenin, or to accusing Marx and Engels of not having 'given thought' to the possibility of a revolutionary breakthrough at the weakest link of capitalism, i.e., of not having elaborated a theory relating to the imperialist stage of capitalism, and so on.

We have already discussed the views of those who consider it proper and fitting refer to the ideological heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin without using the political and philosophical category of 'Marxism-Leninism,' which is the customary expression of their ideological heritage, and which was given preference even in an important international document.

Let it be said, first of all, that dogmatism is an uncritical method of thought, so that one can think and act dogmatically, even create new dogmas, whether or not the term 'Marxism-Leninism' is used.

Besides, if it were only a matter of semantics, there would be little reason for concern. To express the anti-dogmatic and creative essence of Marxism and Leninism we always use a term that applies to the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, 'Marxism-Leninism.' And we do this, among other things, to avoid futile discussions, such as the present one on whether we should use 'Marxists' or 'Marxians.'

This intellectual sophistry can turn into a comedy of errors, for it is open to different interpretations. We have every right to say that 'Marxism-Leninism' represents the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, while those who reject that term can only claim that they have won the battle against dogmatism by avoiding that term.

The expression 'Marxism-Leninism' gained currency after Lenin's death. And the fact that in a certain period of our history it was used dogmatically is no reason to negate its Marxist and Leninist, i.e., militant anti-dogmatic essence.

The more serious objections to 'Marxism-Leninism' are based on two or three arguments, which we have refuted, albeit indirectly, in the first part of this article. These arguments can be summarized as follows: (a) the principles of Marxism and the ideas of Lenin cannot be defined as a philosophy; (b) Marxism-Leninism is not a comprehensive doctrine or totality of ideological propositions; (c) the term 'Marxism-Leninism' does not suggest that revolutionary thought and struggle are being constantly enriched and developed.

Let us note, in reply, that Marxism-Leninism is not only a

philosophy, though it is based on a definite philosophy as has been demonstrated by Marx, Engels and Lenin and by many prominent past and present theoreticians, in particular Antonio Gramsci. For him the expression 'philosophy of practice,' evidently borrowed from Antonio Labriola, denotes the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. And that he does not accentuate its practical and critical aspects, emphasizing man's cognitive and transformatory activity is meant as a counterweight to the vulgarizing and damaging essence of positivism. Gramsci was the first in Italy, Togliatti wrote, 'to assert that Marxism is a fully autonomous doctrine and world view, a new, revolutionary vision of reality, a new guide to action.'[9] Togliatti defines Marxism as a world view that abides by absolute historicism, and Gramsci unites Marx and Lenin as revolutionaries. And it is not superfluous to repeat that Marxism-Leninism is not a closed doctrine, this has been stressed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. This has to be re-emphasized so as to encourage criticism of old and new dogmatic propositions, and discourage the belief that everything has already been set out. This is necessary to stimulate the study of new problems, now lagging, partly due to fear of new phenomena which the classics could not have foreseen, or of unique developments, and inject more daring in theoretical research and in formulating our strategy and tactics. But putting the blame for past mistakes and lags on the term 'Marxism-Leninism' is not going to rectify them and is more likely to cause confusion.

In addition to these, more serious arguments, there are others, less serious: from assertion by some commentators that Marxism-Leninism is a catalogue of Stalinist propositions, and to the demand to expel philosophy from the 'republic of scientific thought.' The authors of that piece of reasoning are oblivious to the fact that they are reviving positivism, with all its limitations, which can only impoverish all thought.

The need to comprehend the reality of our time, with all its peculiarities and features, cannot be reduced to relativizing and disparaging the importance of Leninism or quibbling over terms. There has to be a new stage in creative development, and this is possible only in an atmosphere of cooperation, fraternal collective discussions based on the unity and multiformity of the tasks confronting the international communist movement. This will help us to study and generalize new international experience, which is inseparable from the nature of the processes at work in each country, and make full use of the creative theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

1. *Le Monde*, May 28-29, 1978.
2. Rodney Arismendi. *Acerca de historicismo y vigencia creadora del marxismo-leninismo*. *Estudios*, No. 68, June 1978. pp. 24-30.

3. 'Relativism thus becomes a common feature of different, in many cases contradictory, philosophical trends. The very first acquaintance with authors representing the many varieties of neo-positivism and pragmatism will bear that out. They have to cope with problems from philosophical positions that presuppose acceptance of scientific experiments, though their theory of knowledge still abides by agnosticism, if not idealism, and their approach to historical development is likewise idealistic. All of this suggests a modernized empiricism, armed with all the tools of modern scientific research, but looking for a haven in relativism instead of endeavoring to establish — with the help of these tools which make it possible to extend the boundaries of cognition — the orbit of philosophy and science, as is being done by materialist dialectics. In other words, they are using the philosophical idea to negate philosophy. As a result, they narrow their own scientific concept and this prevents them from overcoming the idea of "limited experiment," so characteristic of empiricism' (Rodney Arismendi. *Lenin, la Revolucion y America Latina*. Ed. Pueblos Unidos, Montevideo, 1970, p. 48).

4. Cf. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 135.
5. Ibid., p. 137.
6. Palmiro Togliatti. *Gramsci*. Editori Riuniti, 1967, p. 125.
7. Marx and Engels. *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 131.
8. Cf. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 43.
9. Palmiro Togliatti. *Gramsci*, p. 118.

Weapon of expansion and diktat

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NATO IN THE PLANS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Last summer America's *Time* magazine, commenting on the latest outburst of belligerence from the Atlantic camp, recalled the advice of President Theodore Roosevelt to 'speak softly, and carry a big stick.' Obviously it had its reasons for quoting something that was said at the beginning of the century. By comparison, the modernized version of the same principle of imperialist diktat, produced by the present incumbent, sounds even tougher: 'Speak sternly, and carry a stick just big enough to show them you mean business.'[1] The North Atlantic bloc, which will celebrate its 30th anniversary next April, is the big stick behind Washington's policy.

No matter who has been at the helm of Washington's policy through these stormy years — Harry Truman, who hoped the Germans and Russians would destroy each other, and later became the architect of the cold war, or Dwight D. Eisenhower, who exchanged

his general's insignia for the President's seal, or John F. Kennedy, forced by circumstances to undertake an 'agaonizing reappraisal' of official foreign-policy concepts, or Lyndon B. Johnson, caught in the quagmire of the Indochina gamble, or Richard Nixon, branded with shame by Watergate, or Gerald Ford, who tried in vain to retrieve the moral prestige of the country's ruling élite — all of them, Democrats and Republicans, 'realists' and 'idealists,' 'conservatives' and 'liberals,' all saw the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as an instrument of U.S. imperialism's postwar policy of expansion. A policy designed to preserve the capitalist system as a whole, on the one hand, and to ensure Washington's dominant military and political positions in the capitalist world, on the other.

Today's President, Jimmy Carter, the smooth-talking champion of 'inalienable human rights,' has not changed these principles either. His advocacy of 'a fair deal for everyone' has not prevented him from proclaiming the Atlanticism generated by the imperialist interests of the U.S. ruling class the heart of White House foreign policy. The top-level NATO Council session in Washington at the end of last May cardiogrammed Atlanticism, which is still the alpha and omega of imperialist reaction's most aggressive elements.[2] Expressing the view of the majority of political commentators, the Associated Press, for example, qualified the Carter line in Washington last May as 'a throwback to the cold war era.'

But can one even speak of NATO 'returning' to the cold war glaciers? Of all the military-political and economic structures that emerged in the capitalist world in postwar years the Atlantic bloc has been the least susceptible to the trend of recent years toward a fundamental repatterning of international relations. The advocacy of Atlanticism is the refuge of those very forces of reaction, militarism and revanchism that reject the need for détente and go all out to instigate conflict, whip up the arms race, throw doubt on the sovereignty of states and inviolability of frontiers, and are ready to pull all the tricks known to imperialism for the achievement of their goals.

There is nothing surprising in this. Only the very naive could expect NATO to 'fit' into the system of détente. The concepts of Atlanticism — military, political, ideological — are not to be compared, say, to atomic energy, which can be made to serve both creative purposes and the all-destroying moloch of war. By its very nature, this military-political bloc can be only one thing — a weapon of expansion and diktat.

The North Atlantic alliance differs from all the alliances between capitalist states that preceded it. Generated, as they were, by inter-imperialist contradictions, the previous alliances were groups of

countries of the same socio-political and economic order confronting each other. NATO, on the other hand, is an association of imperialist states set up against their class adversaries — the socialist community, the organizations and parties of the working class and all other working people, and the national-liberation movement. This formidable task, which is to decide the fate of capitalism, forces the members of the North Atlantic bloc to at least temporarily reconcile the contradictions that are tearing them apart.

However, the laws of imperialist rivalry cannot be abolished by such magic words as 'Atlantic solidarity' and 'common aspirations.' This is why the Atlantic bloc has, from the very first, been an arena of fierce conflict.

The NATO propagandists try in vain to present the round table at NATO headquarters in the Brussels suburb of Evere as a symbol of the relations within the alliance. This table has some very sharp edges and it is no secret that Washington is cock of the walk there.

The Federal Republic's role in the bloc is no secret either. With the help of U.S. monopoly capital, which from the earliest postwar years banked on the militarist and revanchist circles of West Germany, it has become one of the most economically and politically influential states in the world capitalist system. 'As the strongest West European military power and America's main ally in Europe, it holds key positions in NATO and wields significant influence on the strategy of this aggressive military bloc,' states the Draft Program of the GCP at present under discussion.[3]

One does not have to look far for evidence of how this influence is used and for what purpose. Bonn is a fervent supporter of the North Atlantic bloc's unrestrained arms drive. It encourages its partners to build up NATO's military might. It is one of the most vocal advocates of the neutron bomb. Our country's ruling circles make no secret of their interest in maintaining large contingents of U.S. forces in Europe, including the territory of the FRG. The West German Bundeswehr features constantly in all the 'demonstrations of strength' that NATO stages with clockwork regularity along the borders of the socialist community. (More than 30 major military exercises involving over 200,000 officers and men, some of whom will be airlifted from the U.S. are planned for August to November this year alone.[4]) All this is in blatant contradiction to the interests of our people, and the other peoples of Europe and the world.

When it was whipping NATO together, Washington saw the bloc as a means of ensuring its leading place in the world, as one of the instruments for instituting the Pax Americana that, according to Washington's plans, was to have been forged in the crucible of World War II. As was bound to happen, however, this plan turned out to be

no more than a figment of the imagination. But the desire to maintain its dominant position in what is left of the capitalist world continues to be the moving force of U.S. imperialism's foreign policy.

Western Europe remains and will continue to remain in the foreseeable future the basic target for Washington's economic, political and military efforts. What the Atlanticists like to call 'altruistic affection for Europeans' is not the reason that has brought a 300,000-strong U.S. army to our continent. As is sometimes admitted in the Washington corridors of power, the U.S. forces are there not for purposes of political charity, but to serve precisely calculated 'national interests.'

For U.S. monopoly capital Western Europe is a fertile field of producing multi-billion profits. In addition, it is the United States' biggest economic rival, a rival that has always to be kept within bounds. On the political plane the states of Western Europe must provide a bulwark for Washington in its global strategy. From the military standpoint, Western Europe is a springboard from which military and psychological pressure can be applied to the socialist countries and, if the most bellicose circles of the main country of imperialism dare undertake such a move, for the development of armed forces destined to strike a direct military blow eastwards. And finally, for American strategists Western Europe is an 'unsinkable landing craft' anchored off the shores of Africa and the Middle East.

The role assigned to Western Europe in Washington's strategic plans gives particular cause for alarm. For the Pentagon the West European area is a buffer to protect the territory of the United States in the event of its launching an aggressive war against the socialist countries. Are not the plans for the possible use of the neutron bomb in the European theatre a case in point? The assumption behind them is that the country attacked with such a bomb, which is a tactical weapon, would answer the aggressor at the same level, that is, with tactical weapons. And the United States is safely out of range of the tactical weapons that could be used in Europe. At the cost of millions of lives of its allies the Pentagon hopes to protect the U.S. from just retribution.

No matter what NATO's numerous doctrines are called — 'deterrent strategy,' 'balance of terror,' 'massive retaliation,' 'flexible response,' 'counter-force strategy' or 'front-line strategy' — the bloc's military machine has always been spearheaded against the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole. Of course, one no longer hears the outright appeals for 'liberation of Eastern Europe from socialism' that were made when NATO was in its infancy. Times have changed! But has anything really changed if the leaders of the Washington military establishment still cling to their former

strategic principles and still demand the creation of a 'decisive first-strike potential' with the Soviet Union as the target?

The alarming thing is not only that such demands are being made, but that in some quarters they gain support. For instance, the chairman of the Bundestag's Defense Commission Manfred Wörner, has joined actively in the campaign for an expansion of NATO military preparations to the point of readiness for 'preventive' war against the socialist countries.[5]

Admittedly, every attempt is made to disguise these plans. And, for this purpose, a lot of funds are lavished on anti-communist mud-slinging. Outbursts about the 'Soviet menace' have become the stock-in-trade on the Atlantic propaganda market. But the authors who dreamed up the myth of Soviet 'tanks ready to roll over Western Europe' can't even be said to be making a mountain out of a molehill. Even their molehills are purely synthetic.[6]

However, from the very beginning the North Atlantic bloc was conceived in Washington not only as a means of pressuring its socialist adversaries and capitalist allies. In a comment on its origins the American diplomat Dean Acheson, who was U.S. Secretary of State when NATO came into being, wrote in his book *Power and Diplomacy:* '... a respectable ground force in Western Europe was necessary to prevent subversion.'[7] Any revolutionary activity in any of the bloc countries, he warned threateningly a few days before the signing of the Atlantic Pact, would be regarded as subversion of the whole system of NATO countries and would be dealt with accordingly.

The founders of NATO did not forget to provide themselves with legal loopholes for interference in the internal affairs of the member countries. Article 2 of the treaty, for example, contains an outright demand that the signatories must defend 'free institutions,' as the bourgeois apologists elegantly call the capitalist system. Article 4, providing for 'consultations,' virtually creates the mechanism for such interference. In both the spirit and letter of the treaty, Washington, with the help of some of its allies, and particularly Bonn, has imposed on the other NATO partners the so-called Operations Plan 101-1, which allows the U.S. command to take repressive action in West European countries on a unilateral basis in the event of 'internal disorder' arising there.

These and other documents, which so openly define the relations between the 'independent' states of the 'free world,' have not remained mere declarations. They have been embodied in specific agreements and taken the form of quite definite measures. For instance, the *New York Times* has admitted that in NATO countries there are blacklists of persons who 'in an emergency' would be liable to arrest by the U.S. military police. The French press has reported

that when NATO headquarters moved from France to Belgium, the Belgian government was offered the assistance of American troops in the event of communist or simply anti-American and anti-military 'subversive activity.'

Some people may object that all this happened a long time ago. Let us take a recent example. At the end of July, 1978 the Belgian Catholic weekly *De Nieuwe* carried a photocopy of a letter in which NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns informed the U.S. permanent representative on the NATO Council that 'with the help of my friends in the Belgian Ministry of National Defense, it has been possible to compile a list of journalists who take a negative attitude to the neutron bomb and certain aspects of the policy of the (Atlantic — *G.K.*) community and your country.' Luns went on to assure the Washington proconsul that his friends would influence Belgium's Ministry for Foreign Affairs in favor of deploying neutron bombs in Western Europe. Luns also recommended feeding 'loyal journalists' the right kind of materials to help them 'interpret community policy in our mutual interests.'[8]

We have cited only a few facts. But how many similar examples lie buried in NATO's secret archives? Even the scraps that sometimes float to the surface give us an idea why, in summing up the results of NATO's May get-together, the influential *Washington Post* felt it should assure its readers that apart from NATO 'no other instrument is available to maintain the military balance essential to . . . the inner equilibrium'[9] of the member countries.

It is hardly necessary to explain what the paper means by 'inner equilibrium.' This is obvious enough from what we have already said about the political guidelines of Atlanticism. It is also obvious from the declarations of the leaders of the top NATO countries and the statements made by NATO's military leaders. They are certainly not worried about any threat to democratic institutions from the right. Luns himself, for example, has claimed that the fascist dictatorship that previously dominated Portugal 'did not run counter' to the interests of the alliance.

It need only be added that, as the facts show, the dictatorial regimes — and not only in Portugal but in Spain and Greece as well — certainly did not 'run counter' to NATO interests, but went all the way with them. How else is one to explain the fact that NATO always supported Salazar in his colonial policy in Africa and established and developed military contacts with the Franco regime? And was not the Black Colonels' seizure of power in Greece carried out in accordance with the Prometheus plan evolved at Atlantic headquarters?

The ideologists and practitioners of Atlanticism have never concealed their concern over the balance of the progressive forces in

capitalist countries and the successes of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. One has only to recall NATO's confusion in 1976 when it looked as if the communists might really share power in Italy and France.

To avoid such a 'disaster,' Washington and Bonn, London and Paris were ready to go to any lengths of political, economic and even military blackmail. Blatantly interfering in the election campaigns of independent states, U.S. General Alexander Haig, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, repeatedly declared with blimpish outspokenness that he 'would not like to see' communists in the government of West European countries and that in general he was against any strengthening of the left forces in that area. Washington and other NATO capitals began to talk about economic sanctions. In an interview that appeared at the end of last May in the Italian newspaper *Republica,* a high-ranking official of the secret police admitted that the intelligence services of the NATO countries, including the West German Bundesnachrichtendienst, were making energetic joint efforts to 'keep the Italian communists out of the government.' To ensure this, the NATO bosses would make a pact with the devil himself, let alone the right- and left-wing ultras.

One of NATO's main concerns has been to expand and consolidate. NATO backers have long since extended their operations beyond the West European theatre. NATO reached out beyond Europe almost the day after the treaty was signed. It helped France in its colonial war in Algeria. The intervention against Congo, which had just thrown off its Belgian colonizers, was carried out with the virtual approval of NATO. The national-liberation fighters in the Portuguese colonies were gunned down with NATO weapons.

These are not chance episodes in the history of the North Atlantic bloc, they are real manifestations of the basic policy formulated at the 1961 session of the NATO Council. This was when the NATO leaders first voiced the need to devote special attention to 'threatened areas' in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

The keynote was as usual sounded by Washington. The *New York Times* wrote that the decision to extend the Atlantic alliance's sphere of activity by converting it from an organization whose chief aim had been to 'defend' Europe, into a 'great united front' was taken on the initiative of the United States. In full accord with this principle the Pentagon intends, as reported at the beginning of the year, to prepare the U.S. armed forces for 'waging "one-and-a-half" wars simultaneously, for participating in a major conflict in Europe, for example, while fighting on a smaller scale in some other part of the world, such as the Middle East.'[10]

Over past years this trend in NATO policy has gained momentum, witness the military intervention in Zaire, NATO's first open collective interference in the affairs of the Black continent. This operation was no amateurish improvization. It was carefully coordinated by NATO HQ under General Haig. Paris and Brussels were detailed to supply the manpower. Washington organized the logistics. The FRG and other bloc members provided the political and propaganda smokescreen. At the recent Washington session the NATO Council dropped any pretense at camouflage and made the problems of Africa one of the central points on its agenda. In response to an appeal from the same General Haig to involve Africa more actively in its plans, they decided to set up 'inter-African strike forces.' These are virtually a NATO 'expeditionary corps' for combating the national-liberation movements on this continent.

Europe is also a target of the efforts to expand and consolidate NATO. Foremost are the attempts to enlist Spain, which is already indirectly committed through its agreements allowing American bases on Spanish soil. A report of the U.S. Defense Department for 1977 stressed, for example, the need to facilitate Spain's entry into NATO by every possible means.

Unfortunately, these plans contain an element of reality. This year Spain's Foreign Minister Marcelino Oreja Aguirre called a policy of neutrality dangerous and utopian and declared that joining NATO was the only possible course. This may be encouraged by the parliamentary line-up, in which representatives of the Democratic Center Union and the neo-Francoist Popular Alliance, all dedicated Atlantic backers, have 181 seats while the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and the communists, who are firmly opposed to the intrigues of the NATO supporters, muster only 144.

The bosses of the North Atlantic bloc are methodically trying to force France back into the NATO integrated command structure, from which it was withdrawn in 1966 by General De Gaulle. Although he acted with an eye to strengthening the positions of the French monopolies in the contest for European leadership, this was, objectively, a positive step. The Washington 'fishers of men' count on the fact that in recent years the French President's opposition to NATO has somewhat faded in the light of the 'new' Franco-American relations and there has been a more and more obvious swing in French foreign policy toward a 'reconciliation' with the bloc.

When considering the ways of extending and consolidating the North Atlantic alliance, its leaders sometimes ignore even the realities of geography. 'From the military viewpoint,' General Gundersen, Chairman of NATO's Military Committee, has stated, according to newsagency reports, 'it would be an advantage if NATO were more

able to project its military interests more outside the present boundaries decided by the NATO Treaty.'

So now, a plan has appeared for a new bloc — the South Atlantic. For Washington, which is the driving force behind it, this new aggressive alliance should preserve NATO control not only over the sea routes around Africa, but also over Africa's vast territories lying between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, and also on the other side of the Atlantic.[11]

Today, NATO organizers are looking for allies along the shores of another ocean — the Pacific. This summer Britain's representative in the Western European Union, Conservative MP Fred Bennett, actually suggested exploiting Peking's position 'in defense of Western democracy.' Speaking at a session of the assembly of this 'political branch' of NATO, Bennett declared without batting an eyelid that there was complete coincidence of views and interests between China and Western Europe on joint action against the Soviet Union. As for General Haig, he already regards China as 'NATO's sixteenth member.'[12]

Bennett and Haig are not loners in the NATO stable. There are plenty of others, and of much higher rank, who are enchanted by the anti-Soviet melodies emanating from Peking. Such figures are also to be found in Bonn, and not only among the rightist opposition. They believe that the best bait for hooking the Peking leaders on Atlantic policy is tanks and aircraft, tommy guns and artillery.

Of course, the capitals on both sides of the Atlantic are right in assuming the anti-Soviet direction of the present policy followed by Peking, which has proclaimed, as China's Defense Minister Hsu Hsiang-chien, a CC CPC Politbureau member, did recently, that the Soviet Union is 'China's main enemy.' They are also right in affirming Peking's sympathy for NATO. But these people should remember the words of another member of the CC CPC Politbureau Keng Piao, who stated: 'At the present moment let the United States defend us against the influence of Soviet revisionism. . . . When we consider the time has come, we shall say to Uncle Sam: "Now kindly pack your bags".'

What next? A partial answer is to be found in the *U.S. News and World Report*. 'China's maximum goal,' says this voice of the U.S. monopolies, is to 'help create conditions that would lead to nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the U.S.'[13] Does it take much imagination to picture what would happen to the nations of Europe as a result of the 'mutual attraction' between the NATO and Peking leaders?

The dangers latent in NATO policy should never be underestimated. Today it is the main barrier to the deepening of political

détente and making it irreversible. It is this policy that tempts the world to 'balance on the brink of war.'

The communist parties play a key role in the struggle against the dangerous plans of the Atlantic bosses. And particularly the communist parties of the countries belonging to NATO. Each of them is solving its own specific problems and evolves its own tactics. But the decisive factor is that Atlanticism is the common enemy. For them it is the embodiment of the forces advocating a return to the cold war, which has split the continent into two opposed blocs.

A special responsibility rests on the German Communist Party, operating as it does in a country whose ruling circles have harnessed themselves to the North Atlantic war chariot. On this assumption, our party, as indicated in its Draft Program, 'resolutely opposes the attempts to extend NATO and set up new aggressive military blocs.'[14] In the view of the FRG communists, the division of the continent into opposing military blocs can be overcome only by consistent continuation of détente and practical steps to limit arms and to disarm. FRG national interests demand that our country should give up its dangerous connections with U.S. imperialism and imperialist bloc organizations. 'The GCP is opposed to sacrificing sovereign rights to NATO. . . . It is fighting for a Europe of peace,' states the GCP Draft Program.[15]

The relevance and vital importance of this statement of the problem were brought to the fore by the May session of the NATO Council, which gave a new impulse to the military build-up. It was at this get-together, as Hermann Gautier, Deputy Chairman of the GCP, stressed at the June Plenum of the GCP Board, 'that the federal government, acting against the national interests of our country, pledged itself to finance jointly with the United States the greater part of the arms program.'[16]

We are not alone in our struggle against the NATO danger. 'Communist parties and other democratic and peace-loving forces have fought against and continue to fight against these policies (i.e., NATO policies — *G.K.*),' the participants in the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe stated unanimously in June 1976. They see this as an urgent task whose solution is vitally important for all peoples of Europe, for all peoples of the world.

1. *Time*, June 12, 1978, p. 18.
2. See the article by Boris Ponomaryov, *WMR*, August 1978.
3. Entwurf. Programm der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei. Neues, 1977, p. 16.
4. *Neues Deutschland*, August 22, 1978.
5. See Deutscher Bundestag. Stenographischer Bericht. 39 Sitzung. Bonn, September 8, 1977, p. 2991.

6. For further details about this myth of the 'Soviet menace,' how it was created and the purposes it serves, see commentary by Kemal Kervan in *WMR,* September 1978.
7. Dean Acheson. *Power and Diplomacy.* Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 86.
8. *De Nieuwe,* July 28, 1978.
9. Quoted from *International Herald Tribune,* June 1, 1978.
10. *Die Welt,* January 24, 1978.
11. See the commentary by Essop Pahad in *WMR,* March 1978.
12. Quoted from *Horizont,* No. 34, 1978, p. 9.
13. *U.S. News and World Report,* July 17, 1978.
14. Entwurf. Programm der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei, Neuss, 1977, p. 37.
15. Ibid.
16. *Unsere Zeit.* Eigenbeilage, June 22, 1978, p. 16.

THE NATO WAR MACHINE

In 1976 the armed forces of the NATO countries had 5,329,000 officers and men plus over five million reserve troops. The U.S. had the biggest force, 2,102,000-strong; Turkey had 674,000 troops, France, 585,000, the FRG, 495,000, Italy, 480,000 and Britain, 346,000.[1]

Late in 1977 the U.S. had 490,000 troops abroad, or 27,000 more than a year before, 313,700 of them being stationed in West European countries or manning ships of the Sixth Fleet (in the FRG there are 224,300 U.S. troops, or 15,800 more than at the end of 1976).[2]

The NATO High Command in Europe has in peacetime 66 divisions, 3,100 planes based on 200 airfields, and thousands of tanks. In the European theatre the Pentagon has 7,000 tactical nuclear warheads mounted on more than 3,000 carrier aircraft, missiles and guns.

The NATO countries' military spending is steadily growing:

Table 1[4]
Spending on armaments in NATO countries ($m)

	1949	*1970*	*1974*	*1975*
USA	13,503	77,854	85,906	90,948
European NATO countries (without Greece and Turkey)	4,531	23,460	44,052	51,951
NATO (without Greece and Turkey)	18,406	103,281	132,884	145,974

Many states of the NATO Eurogroup, which comprises Belgium, Denmark, the FRG, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, the

Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Turkey, maintain sizable military contingents abroad. For instance, roughly one-third of Britain's ground forces and nearly one-third of all of Belgium's armed forces are stationed in the FRG. Over 20 per cent of all the armed forces of these two countries and the Netherlands are deployed in other NATO countries. Also stationed in the FRG are two French divisions which do not come under NATO command.[3]

In 1977 NATO held over 30 maneuvers in Europe and the adjoining seas; 10 of the biggest maneuvers took place in the FRG. The exercises involved about 500,000 troops, thousands of tanks and aircraft and hundreds of warships.

In 1977 the NATO countries' expenditures on armaments went up again — to nearly $175,000m. The U.S. had the biggest military budget — $113,000m. — and was followed by the FRG with $16,602m., France with $13,740m., Britain with $11,214m., Italy with $4,416m., the Netherlands with $3,357m., Canada with $3,348m., Turkey with $2,653m., Belgium with $2,476m., Norway with $1,194m., Denmark with $1,103m., Greece with $1,100m., Portugal with $508m., and Luxembourg with $28m. Five bloc members earmarked over 20 per cent of their budget expenditures for military purposes: Greece 26.0 per cent (1976), the U.S. 24.4, the FRG 22.9, Turkey 21.1 and France 20.4 per cent.[5]

Altogether the NATO countries have spent $1,300,000 million for war preparations over the past ten years.

The past five years have also seen a substantial increase in per capita military spending:

Table 2[6]

	1972	*1977*
USA	372	523
Norway	127	295
FRG	146	263
France	142	256
Belgium	104	253
Netherlands	117	241
Denmark	97	217
Britain	141	201

In the fiscal year 1979 the U.S. military spending will increase to $128,400m., which is due primarily to a more active U.S. military presence in Europe. The additional allocations are to be used for equipping more effectively the NATO-assigned U.S. armed forces for the eventuality of a conflict using conventional arms.[7]

Early last January, President Carter announced plans for the transfer of another 8,000 U.S. troops to Europe. Large numbers of the most up-to-date U.S. aircraft are to be deployed in Europe.[8] Tanks and other heavy weapons are to be withdrawn from the arsenal of reserve troops in the U.S. and transferred to Europe. Marine units are likewise to be transferred to Europe.

West Germany, too, is fast increasing arms expenditures (they increased by 85.9 per cent between 1970 and 1976). The 1977 Federal budget provides for military expenditures (including expenditures for West Berlin) amounting to 50,700m DM (this means a 5.6 per cent increase over the previous year).

Of the 188,600m. West German marks to be spent in 1978, 35,000m., or 2,100m. more than in 1977,[9] will go to the Defense Ministry. Coupled with the so-called aid to West Berlin, arms spending in 1978 will amount to 54,000m. marks.[10]

The effort to equip the Bundeswehr with weapons of the new generation is being pressed forward. In 1978 appropriations for this purpose will be roughly 19 per cent higher than under the previous year's budget. Expenditures for military technological research and development are being doubled as against last year.[11]

Other NATO countries are also beginning to equip their armed forces with second generation weapons systems. In May 1977, NATO's Defense Planning Committee approved guidelines for the period up to 1984. They are intended to draw up 'a balanced program of perfecting the armed forces' which will lay the emphasis on 'conventional armed forces,' on a 'real (i.e., with due regard to inflation) increase of the military budgets' of all NATO countries by roughly three per cent, and on 'raising the effectiveness of military expenditures.'[12]

At its Washington session in May 1978 the NATO Council adopted a program for building up and modernizing the bloc's armed forces. Specifically, it envisages measures to develop a joint air defense system, radically to improve anti-tank weapons and anti-gas equipment, increase the mobility of the armed forces and modernize electronic means of warfare. This program will cost the NATO countries $80,000m. in the next 10 to 15 years. U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown has admitted that, in view of the scale of the build-up, a three per cent increase in the military budgets of the bloc's countries may prove insufficient. As to the United States, it intends to raise its military budget to $172,700m. by 1983.[13]

In October 1977, ministers of the states in the NATO nuclear planning group met to discuss U.S. plans for the manufacture of new nuclear weapons and missiles and to equip their armed forces with them. These plans include cruise and intercontinental missiles, sea-

based ballistic missiles and the neutron bomb,[14] which is intended for use as a warhead for the American Lance missile deployed in the FRG and other European NATO countries.

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1. *NATO-Brief*, No. 1, 1977, p. 31.
2. *U.S. News & World Report*. December 26, 1977/January 2, 1978, p. 49.
3. *The Military Balance 1977-1978*, London, 1977, p. 17.
4. *NATO-Brief*, No. 1, 1977, p. 30.
5. *The Military Balance 1977-1978*, London, 1977, p. 82.
6. *The Military Balance 1975-1976*, London, 1975, p. 76; *The Military Balance 1977-1978*, London, 1977, p. 82.
7. *Die Welt*, January 24, 1978.
8. *International Herald Tribune*, January 17, 1978.
9. *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, January 25, 1978.
10. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, February 7, 1978.
11. *Wehrtechnik*, December 12, 1977, p. 34.
12. *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, No. 54, Bonn, 1977, p. 497.
13. *Die Welt*, 4/5. February 1978.
14. *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*. No. 102, Bonn, 1977, p. 934.

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Party experience

Cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and friendly parties

Dr. Klaus Sorgenicht
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The record of the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries is evidence of the key role of the working class' policy of alliance with other population groups in fighting for power and then in strengthening and perfecting it. It requires the joint efforts of the workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, handicraftsmen and other groups to build a developed socialist society and prepare the ground for a gradual transition to communism, which is the task facing the GDR today. Accordingly, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany always bears in mind the problem of comradely, creative cooperation between the workers and other working classes and strata.

The party's policy of alliance takes into account both the interests of the working class and those of its allies. This finds expression primarily in the unity of economic and social policy and in the increasing commitment of workers, cooperative farmers, engineers, scientists, women and young people of all professions and age groups. The socialist emulation movement in honor of the 30th anniversary of the republic, to be celebrated in October 1979, is perhaps the outstanding example.

Interaction with friendly parties is at once an important principle and an instrument of implementing the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliance. Mutual confidence between the SUPG and the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany (DPPG), Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPG) and National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPG) arose 30 years ago and has been growing ever since. These parties constitute the Democratic Bloc formed in 1945. Speaking of its role at the Ninth Party Congress, Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the CC SUPG, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, said: 'The Socialist Unity Party of Germany appreciates the weighty contribution of the friendly parties to the formation of the socialist civic character of their members and the population groups close to them. And our party will continue, in step with social development, its tested policy of comradely coopera-

tion with the friendly parties and mass organizations, a policy that benefits the people and is implemented within the framework of the Democratic Bloc and National Front of the GDR.'[1]

The friendly parties, which have about 370,000 members, are a significant factor in our public life. United in the National Front, they are conducting important political and ideological work, in particular among the classes and strata allied with the working class. They are working in cooperation with the more than two million-strong SUPG, mass organizations and people with no party affiliations. All the DB and NF parties and mass organizations are united by joint responsibility for the common cause, hold similar fundamental views on home and foreign policy and have an active part in framing policy.

However, the ideological and political work of each party has its distinctive features, shaped by its traditions and the population groups with which it is associated. Much of their work is done in collaboration with the SUPG. The DPPG, for instance, concentrates on popular initiatives in raising farm output, while the CDU, LDPG and NDPG are concerned mainly with raising productivity in the community services to meet rising requirements. All the friendly parties hold that the interests of their memberships and the strata they rely on for support can be met and the ideals of peace and progress, which the more enlightened bourgeois humanists and Christians share, translated into reality only in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class. Cooperation among the DB and NF parties and mass organizations is based on recognition of the leading role of the SUPG and on equality and mutual respect.

The GDR is not the only socialist state with other parties beside the Communist Party. However, this should not be seen as a general development law of socialism and its political system. The existence of such parties in the GDR as in some other socialist countries is due to the historical conditions in which the transition to socialism was effected and which required a new approach to political alliance between the working class and the non-proletarian strata.

In accordance with the popular front policy evolved by the Seventh Comintern Congress (1935) and the Brussels and Berne conferences (1935 and 1939), the Communist Party of Germany, by its theoretical and practical work, its underground anti-fascist struggle and on the Free Germany National Committee, laid the groundwork for extensive cooperation among all anti-fascists and democrats. Immediately after the country was freed from Hitler fascism, in June 1945, the CPG offered a basis for united action by all anti-fascists. It set out, first of all, to achieve united action by the working-class parties as 'the nucleus of a broad alliance of all anti-fascist democratic forces.'[2] But it had to bear in mind that due to bourgeois parliamentary tradi-

tion, which Hitler fascism had only broken off for a time, bourgeois democratic parties might soon re-emerge alongside the CPG and Social Democratic Party. It was very important to draw them from the outset into struggle for the definitive abolition of fascism, Germany's development on anti-fascist democratic lines and the establishment of friendly relations with all peoples, primarily the Soviet people. In other words, cooperate in the urgent measures needed to rehabilitate the country on the above principles. Therefore the CPG, SDPG, CDU and LDPG united in a bloc of anti-fascist democratic parties in July 1945, each party fully retaining its organizational and political independence. Shortly afterwards, the bloc was joined by democratic mass organizations and in 1948, by the newly founded NDPG and DPPG.

In the early years cooperation of the DB parties within the bloc and in democratic government bodies understandably involved difficulties and clashes, including some very serious ones. This was due above all to the contradictory character of the CDU and LDPG at the time. The key posts in these parties were originally held by persons who were in favor of preserving big landownership and monopoly capital even though they had opposed Hitler. They put the blame for the hardship caused by the nazis and war on the CPG and then the SUPG rather than on the bourgeoisie. This was done to foment nationalist sentiments. The result was a sharp controversy with reactionaries both on the DB committees formed at every level of government as vehicles of cooperation and inside the CDU and LDPG. Staunch supporters of democracy and consistent anti-fascists searched in good faith and perseveringly for a collective solution of the difficult problems of building a new life for the people. (All DB decisions are by consensus.)

The SUPG bloc policy differs fundamentally from the coalition policy of the social democrats. To begin with, the bloc was not conceived as an alternative to the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, but as an instrument of exercising this role. Secondly, it is a durable alliance and not a temporary alignment to win a parliamentary majority. Its member parties, realizing their joint responsibility for building the new, democratic and socialist society, have always accentuated what unites them and not what sets them apart. Thirdly, at no stage has the bloc restricted its activity to parliament or the government. Its chief aim has always been to draw the largest possible population groups into anti-fascist democratic changes and subsequently into socialist construction through the member parties.

Bloc policy and coalition policy symbolize the fundamental difference between socialist and bourgeois democracy. As far back as 1910, August Bebel warned against the consequences of a coalition policy:

'If I enter into an alliance with bourgeois parties as a social democrat,' he said at the Magdeburg Congress of the SDPG, 'I will bet a thousand to one that the winners will be the bourgeois parties and not the social democrats; we will find ourselves on the losing side. It can't be helped, for such is the law of politics: wherever rightists and leftists form an alliance the leftists lose and the rightists win.'[3] This statement aptly reveals the nature of coalitions through which attempts are made to split the revolutionary class movement and integrate working-class organizations, if only in part, into the machinery of the bourgeois state. The German social democrats ignored the warning. Having entered into a coalition with parties of the big bourgeoisie, they helped the capitalists in the Weimar Republic, as they help them today in the Federeal Republic, find a way out of political crises. And to justify this policy they plead the need to 'reckon with their coalition partners.' At the same time they reject, in a 'perfectly democratic manner,' the legitimate demands of the bulk of their electorate, the workers and progressive intellectuals.

Such a coalition policy has always helped to hoodwink the masses politically, which means that it benefits reaction. In contrast, the bloc policy has not only helped to build socialism and win over the non-proletarian strata for socialist forms of production and a socialist way of life. It has also made thousands of members of every class and every stratum aware of their vital interests and thus encouraged their social commitment. This means that the consistent policy of the SUPG and the progressive forces' struggle inside the other DB parties for recognition of the leading role of the SUPG in the bloc, far from limiting democracy as our opponents claim, have carried it forward, establishing genuine popular rule, something unthinkable in any capitalist country.

Cooperation of the DB parties and mass organizations in government, primarily in representative bodies, is one of the more important forms of the SUPG alliance policy. As elected organs of state power, these representative bodies at all levels, ranging from the commune to the People's Chamber, symbolize the alliance of all the social and political forces of our people led by the working class. According to our Constitution, they form the basis of our government structure.

Deputies to all government bodies are elected in accordance with a joint electoral appeal and a joint list of NF candidates in free, general and equal elections and by secret ballot. The joint list, which ever since the 1950 elections has included candidates of all parties and mass organizations, is expressive of the complete unity of the diverse political forces of our country based on recognition of the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party and on a consensus on all crucial political issues. This unity is both a lesson of the

German people's past and an earnest of their progress now as in the future.

The friendly parties hold a prominent place in government, both numerically and qualitatively. Elected to the People's Chamber (the highest organ of state power) in 1976, were, besides 127 SUPG members, 165 members of NF mass organizations plus 52 members of each of the four parties — the DPPG, CDU, LDP and NDPG. The number of prospective deputies entered by the parties and mass organizations in the joint list of the NF during elections at any level is specified by agreement between the DB parties and the mass organizations. They nominate candidates from their ranks with a keen sense of responsibility, according to the agreed number of seats and the joint electoral appeal. The demands made of the candidates include close bonds with the people and adequate political, moral and professional qualifications. For only those with such qualifications can stand the test, first in their own work collectives and then in their constituencies, and finally at the polls.

The people's representative bodies include 42,816 members of friendly parties, or 22 per cent of the total.[4] It is in the nature of our elective bodies for their members to cooperate closely with the SUPG and mass-organization deputies in making and carrying out decisions. To assure implementation of the fundamental decisions of the SUPG and People's Chamber, deputies of the various parties and mass organizations address meetings at work places and cooperate on standing commissions. Joint reports to their constituencies are still another aspect of their cooperation.

The friendly parties are represented at the highest levels of government. The deputies of the Chairman of the Council of State, an office to which CC SUPG General Secretary Erich Honecker has been elected, include not only leading members of the SUPG, the government and the highest government bodies of the republic but also the chairmen of the friendly parties. The Presidium of the People's Chamber has one member from each of the friendly parties, which are also represented on the Council of Ministers and its Presidium, as deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers and heads of ministries or departments. Of the 15 standing commissions of the People's Chamber, six are headed by SUPG members, three by members of mass organizations and six by members of friendly parties.

Statistics at local level show that 60 members of regional councils (20.3 per cent) and 682 members of district councils (17.8 per cent) belong to the DPPG, CDU, LDPG or NDPG. Almost every council member from these parties heads a department of the local council and so performs definite government functions. Furthermore, almost

1,000 mayors, including those of Weimar, Eisenach and Quedlinburg — towns rich in tradition — are members of friendly parties.

There is close cooperation between these parties and the SUPG also in so important a sphere as justice. The President of the Supreme Court is a CDU member and its First Vice-President a member of the SUPG. Over 22 per cent of the people's assessors elected to regional courts in 1976 represent parties other than the SUPG.

These parties also make a substantial contribution to drafting legislation and to economic planning. When the Civil Code was being drafted in 1974 and 1975, the LDPG Executive put forward important proposals regarding the formalization of the property — based mainly on personal labor — of handicraftsmen, small artisans and small proprietors engaged in the service sector. The proposals were fully taken into account during the final editing. Valuable proposals were made by the Central Board of the CDU in drafting the Labor Code, in particular proposals specifying the duties of factory managers, the procedure to be followed by factory managements in terminating agreements on retraining programs, etc.

The foregoing facts and figures show that the friendly parties have a big share in shaping and implementing policy.

The SUPG and the other DB parties are firmly agreed on their fundamental political goals — all friendly parties explicitly recognize their responsibility for building a developed socialist society in the GDR, the need to take an active part in this and the substance and objectives of SUPG policy, aimed at promoting the well-being of the people. It is on this basis that the SUPG and the friendly parties have been closely cooperating, especially since the Eighth SUPG Congress. This cooperation takes many forms and is carried on at all levels. It includes regular conferences between the General Secretary of the CC SUPG and the chairmen of the friendly parties, DB meetings at republican, regional or district level on important home and foreign policy problems, joint work in the National Council, NF committees and government bodies. Unanimity on key political issues and close cooperation, which makes for prompt exchanges of opinion and information, enable the friendly parties to contribute to the building of the new society and consolidation of the socialist state.

Bourgeois ideologists have stepped up their attempts to weaken the socialist system by urging its 'perfection.' Among other things, they want 'pluralism,' which amounts to renouncing the tried and tested united action of all the social forces of socialist society.

Appeals of this nature have never found support among the republic's friendly parties. Our working people reject the idea of restructuring their political system along 'pluralist' lines. The older generation has learned the lessons of the Weimar Republic, an all but classical

example of 'pluralism.' At one time over 30 parties were competing with each other. Meanwhile, behind the smokescreen of 'absolute freedom of opinion,' 'absolute freedom of the press,' and so on, big industrialists, Junkers and the Kaiser's generals were helping the nazis to seize power, which they did in 1933 to the great misfortune of the peoples of Europe. The middle generation remembers the grim class battles that had to be fought following the formation of the first worker-peasant state on German soil to safeguard such democratic gains as the agrarian reform, expropriation of the property of war criminals, the school reform, the reform of justice and other changes against imperialist encroachments. As for the younger generation, it remembers the Chilean tragedy, a further proof that 'a revolution must be able to defend itself.'[5]

Imperialist ideologists have been using the slogan of political pluralism for the most diverse purposes depending on the trend of the international class struggle. After the victory of the Soviet Army and its allies over Hitler fascism and the rise of the world socialist system, this slogan assumed a strictly anti-communist meaning and served to extol bourgeois democracy. But its thoroughly demagogical character came out very soon.

The fact is that the ruling classes and their ideological and political agents, while advocating 'the free confrontation of different views and political groups in the struggle for political power,' suppress the consistently revolutionary forces. Witness the futile attempts in the FRG to justify the anti-democratic *Berufsverbote* and the fact that bourgeois politicians and ideologists 'supplement' their thesis on 'pluralism' with the slogan of 'militant democracy,' meaning militancy against ala progressive forces. As far back as 1975 Kurt Biedenkopf, former general secretary of the CDU, one of West Germany's biggest bourgeois parties, argued against 'pluralist views' on 'the state as a neutral mediator' and declared for a 'strong state.'[6]

The bourgeois interpretation of 'pluralist democracy' masks the substance of bourgeois democracy by concentrating on external manifestations. However, even these are a reflection of the realities of bourgeois society. In particular, the mechanism of competition among political parties, which is typical of capitalist countries, reflects — if distortedly, through the medium of bourgeois power and property relations — the deep class contradictions of bourgeois society. This is why bourgeois and reformist attempts to graft this mechanism on the socialist system are absurd. To do this would mean undermining the unity won by the people in the socialist countries through class struggles and consolidated by the policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class. Socialist democracy has created its own forms and traditions based on the fact that the

fundamental interests of the classes and strata building a socialist society coincide with those of the working class, the main force of social progress. This objective coincidence of interests implies that the character of socialist democracy is not determined by the antagonisms between social forces but, on the contrary, by their joint effort for the good of the people, by their search for common fundamental interests under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

The Ninth SUPG Congress stressed that 'the activity of the people's representative bodies will become more effective as socialist democracy advances.'[7] We consider this very important. Our party is guided by Lenin's warning against orientation on historically bankrupt bourgeois democracy: 'It would be sheer nonsense to think that the most profound revolution in human history, the first case in the world of power being transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority, could take place within the time-worn framework of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary democracy . . . without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions that embody the new conditions for applying democracy, etc.' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 28, p. 464.) As a result of consistent application of the general laws of socialism in the GDR coupled with respect for all national and historical peculiarities, comradely cooperation between the SUPG and the friendly parties in the Democratic Bloc and National Front has become a key factor in strenghening the state power of the workers and peasants.

1. *Bericht des ZK der SED an den IX. Parteitag.* Berichterstatter Gen. Erich Honecker. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, p. 117.

2. *Geschichte der SED.* Abriss. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, p. 92.

3. *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der SPD, abgehalten in Magdeburg vom 18. bis 24. September 1910.* Verlag: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin, p. 252.

4. *Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1977,* pp. 427-434.

5. *Materialy XXV syezda KPPSS.* Moscow, 1976, p. 30.

6. CF. Sammelband *Demokratische Gesellschaft, Konsensus und Konflikt.* Munich/Vienna, 1975, pp. 61-63 and 65.

7. *Bericht des ZK der SED an den IX. Parteitag,* p. 112.

Success of the gains of April campaign

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Our party has summed up some results of its organizing work. By late 1977 it had 142,512 members, more than ever before. The two autonomous organizations of young communists — the Union of Communist Youth and Union of Communist Students — had over 27,000 members. We may say, therefore, that by early 1978 there were about 170,000 organized communists in our country.

We owe this growth primarily to the Gains of April campaign aimed at strengthening the PCP and stepping up communist activity on this basis in defense of the April Revolution. Over 27,000 people joined the party during the campaign, which lasted five months. This meant that the target set by the party — winning over 10,000 new members — was substantially exceeded. The number of new members topped the envisaged indices all over the country, including areas where there are strong traditions of obscurantism, caciquism[1] and reaction and freedoms are curtailed. The campaign helped to increase the party's influence in these areas, lessen differences in communist influence on diverse population groups and bring more young people, women, small and medium landowners into the party.

Of the new members won during the campaign, 39.6 per cent are under 30 years of age; women make up 26.3 per cent and peasants, 1.8 per cent. At the end of September 1976, the under-30s accounted for 35 per cent, women 17.5 per cent and peasants 1.1 per cent, of the membership.

But the increased numerical strength of the party was not the only result of the campaign. It brought party organizations closer to the rank and file and to the masses.

During the campaign we explained party policy at thousands of get-togethers, small and big meetings, festivals and other events. We circulated hundreds of thousands of leaflets and other materials and stimulated the work of party organizations. The campaign became a talking point throughout the country.

It refuted calumnies and showed that that party's influence had

grown and its policies were appreciated and backed by the most diverse population groups.

How did the Gains of April start? What was the political background? The campaign was announced at a Central Committee meeting on July 31, 1977. The concluding document, 'The Portuguese Communist Party in the New and Dangerous phase of Portuguese Democracy,' says: 'the series of laws approved by the SP-SDP-SDC[2] alliance in the Assembly of the Republic initiates a new and dangerous phase in the Portuguese democratic process ... The SP government, having entered into an open alliance with the SDP and SDC, is renouncing the SP program, the electoral program and its own government program, violating the Constitution and openly becoming an instrument of the policy of big capital, the latifundium holders and imperialism against the working classes and the Portuguese people.'

Of course, the communists voted against these laws because they undermine the fundamental gains of the Portuguese people recorded in the Constitution: the agrarian reform, nationalization and workers' control.[3] The Barreto law, in particular (so named after the then minister of agriculture), is directed against the agrarian reform. If fully enforced, it will liquidate the agrarian reform, the greatest gain of the agricultural workers and small peasants of South Portugal.

The Socialist Party's swing to the right, virtual alliance with reaction and offensive against the April gains made it imperative to strengthen the progressive forces, achieve closer unity of the working classes and bring about a more powerful mass movement. To accomplish these tasks, it was necessary to reinforce the PCP, the only major party which unfailingly defends the interests of all working people, the national interest and democracy.

But while the year 1977 saw a dangerous turn in the development of Portuguese democracy, it was also a year of increased class consciousness and unity of the workers and other working people, a year of notable mass actions. It was a year of intensified struggle and major successes in defense of the agrarian reform. The unity of the trade union movement became closer and the movement defeated numerous attempts by the reactionaries and right- and 'left'-wing opportunists to split it. The small and middle peasants stepped up their activity. Their movement unfolded in the areas where reaction is most powerful. The influence of progressive youth actions in the production sphere and among the students increased. The women's movement has grown stronger and is playing an ever bigger part in the general labor and democratic movement. In May, June and late November there were big demonstrations all over the country involving hundreds of thousands of people. It was against this background that we conducted our campaign.

Many of our new recruits had supported the Socialist Party or had been influenced by reactionary parties. In areas still dominated by anti-communism, which had been instilled for nearly half a century by the fascist regime and after April 25, 1974, by all who were frightened by the revolution, there is evidence of increasing disappointment at the false promises of the right-wing parties. The working people are coming to realize who their true friends are and who their enemies are. Slander, lies, and anti-communist propaganda generally, miscarry more and more often.

The approval by the Assembly of the Republic of the bill on leasing of land introduced by the SDP and supported by the SDC and SP exposed the real policy of the SDP, which is directed against the interests of small holders, many of whom voted in the past for this party.

At the same time, developments expose the demagogy of 'leftist' parties and groups and their tactic of fostering illusions, and of divisive actions to win over politically immature strata.

The communists worked among all these elements during the campaign, and many whose observations and experience have taught them the need to unite in defense of the April gains, have joined our ranks.

In summing up campaign results, we aimed at a thorough analysis. Its overall results are seen in the following tables representing the party's composition and structure toward the close of 1977.

Social and age composition of the party

	Total	*Per cent*
Total membership	142,512	
All workers	83,479	58.6
Industrial workers	64,738	45.4
Agricultural workers	18,741	13.2
Salary-earners	27,803	19.5
Peasants	2,099	1.5
Intellectuals and technical personnel	8,001	5.6
Others	21,130	14.8
Persons under 30 years of age	49,847	35.0
between 30 and 50	64,527	45.3
over 50	28,138	19.7
women	28,526	20.0

Compared with the results of the last count (September 1976), the

party membership has gone up almost 24 per cent. As for its social composition, it has hardly changed. Wage and salary-earners exceed 78 per cent. The percentage of peasants has increased by more than one-third. It should be borne in mind, however, that in some areas the agricultural workers are also independent producers making up 13.2 per cent of the party's total membership.

The age composition of the party, too, has hardly changed. But the proportion of women has increased, from 17.5 to 20 per cent.

As for party organizations, or the organizational foundation of the party, considerable gains have been made in this respect as well. Their number now exceeds 8,000. The number of enterprise secretariats has increased by over 25 per cent from the 1976 figure of 1,380.

Party bodies and organizations	
Total number of party organizations	*8,155*
Secretariats of enterprise organizations	1,729
Enterprise branches	1,672
Area, district and local commissions	1,282
Branches formed according to professions	852

Mention should also be made of the improved functioning of bodies in charge of provincial, area, large-district and other organizations with thousands of members. These collective bodies today have big responsibilities, which is due not only to the increased strength of party organizations but to the fact that the range of their activities is steadily widening and the problems they have to solve are becoming ever more complicated.

A distinctive aspect of the party's organizing work in 1977 was the hundreds of assemblies of party branches held in accordance with a guideline of the Eighth PCP Congress (November 1976). Both the preparatory stage and the assemblies constituted a school for sharing organizational and political experience. The assemblies helped to establish closer links between party members and their organizations and between leading bodies and branches, strengthen the democratic principles of party life, and arouse keener interest in organizational problems and in steps to perfect party building.

We regard the increased number of centers of party work among the masses as another notable achievement. Late in 1977 we had 424 such centers.

Our gains in party building should not blind us to shortcomings. The first step toward removing them is to realize that they exist. We consider that underestimation of organizing work, which is the basis for all party activity, tells sooner or later on the whole effort of the party and hence detracts from its social influence. This is why our party has always seen this work as a priority.

Shortcomings in this field express themselves, first of all, in the fact that there are party members who have been left out of organizing work and some of whom are therefore drifting away from the party. In January 1978 we registered dozens of members who had been overlooked in summing up recruitment results.

During the Gains of April campaign, some concern was voiced over the inadequate activity of communists in winning new members. Nor did the success of the campaign lessen this concern. It is still necessary to make a special effort to bring young people, women, small and middle peasants into the party. Winning more members and perfecting organizing work in areas considered difficult is still a pressing problem; these areas are particularly in need of help. Party branch assemblies should be held regularly, whenever possible, and should be used for strengthening party unity, fostering inner-party democracy and extending links with the masses. Success in this depends, in turn, on continuous effort to raise the party's ideological level and on the measure of attention given to the training of cadres. We believe the growing number and size of party organizations will eventually make it necessary to decentralize their functions, increase the number of party workers in the intermediate echelons and expand organizing work.

Another set of problems giving cause for concern arises from the need to develop collective work and increase the responsibility of the leading bodies of large organizations, as well as to introduce individual specialization of cadres according to fields of work. What we mean is not only various inner-party activities but chiefly work among the masses (trade union work, work among the peasants, on collective estates, in cooperatives and in enterprises controlled by the employees, cultural work, and so on).

It follows that the need to step up organizing work is increasing and not diminishing. The Portuguese Communist Party stresses the need to staunchly uphold the demands and rights of the working people, of the working population, and the gains of the revolution. The Central Committee of the PCP points to the decisive importance of unity of the working people and democrats and insists on the necessity for all organizations and members of the party to work in their respective spheres for closer links, dialogue, mutual understanding and joint action with democrats of other trends, especially the socialists.

Unity, organization and struggle within the framework of democratic institutions are weapons of the working class, of all working people.

However, to make this effort toward unification and fully use the weapons which the working people possess, it is essential to continue strengthening the PCP. The gains of April campaign showed that

recruitment must be organized, encouraged and properly supervised.

The campaign is over but the winning of new members continues. Data for 1978 indicate that good headway is being made.

1. From Sp. *cacique*, a chief. This term is applied in Portugal to local bosses who use their economic and political power to exploit the people and block the exercise of democratic freedoms.

2. SP — Socialist Party, SDP — Social Democratic Party, SDC — Social Democratic Center.

3. The law restricting workers' control and the activity of working people's enterprise commissions was subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Revolutionary Council.

The lessons of a strike

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The discussion on 'Communists and Mass Consciousness'[1] initiated by this journal is timely, is closely related to the ideological struggle, and to the growth, in terms of membership and political influence, of the communist parties, and will help to generalize the experience of the world revolutionary movement.

We would like to take one concrete example, the organization and conduct of Colombia's biggest national strike, on September 14, 1977, to show how the communists participate in and direct the struggle of the masses for their economic demands, strive to bring them an understanding of the need for political struggle to achieve fundamental social change. We would also like to share with the reader some of the conclusions we have drawn from this strike.

First, the economic factors. The 12th Congress of our party (December 1975) noted the progressive impoverishment of the working class and of the entire working population, as expressed in the steady lowering of living standards. It was obvious that the masses had joined the struggle primarily because of their deteriorating economic position, and the task of the communists — as the Congress emphasized — was to tie in the fight for higher wages and other vital demands with the fight against imperialism, the capitalist monopolies, latifundism, for a new, democratic government, and thus take a long step forward in correctly combining economic and political struggle.

We know from history that the separation of economic from political struggle, the gap between spontaneous and conscious action, is

the most damaging defect in the class consciousness of the proletariat. However, it would be wrong to absolutize the difference. For spontaneity, an expression of *frustation,* of resignation to poverty and lack of rights, is at the same time an expression of *protest,* albeit confined to the direct causes of the complaint. And the path from spontaneity to consciousness lies through overcoming the former and stimulating the latter. For protest will not of itself produce genuine revolutionary consciousness, though it does create the conditions for its formation and assertion.

As early as 1900, Lenin noted that 'in waging only the economic struggle, the working class loses its political independence; it becomes the tail of other parties' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 4, p. 368). But economic demands, with which the struggle begins, should not be underestimated, for this can only isolate the vanguard from the masses (something we learned from our own experience).

All this is part of the bigger problem of forming class consciousness. Our Ninth Party Congress (June 1961) noted that class consciousness was not born of the workers' discontent, of their protests, petitions and strikes. Class consciousness comes with the understanding:

— that the only way they can improve their position and win emancipation is through struggle against the capitalist class;

— that all workers have common interests, that they are waging a common struggle and that they form a single class differing from all the other classes of society;

— that to attain their goals the workers must be able to influence the government of the country.

The Congress noted that 'class consciousness is characteristic only of the *most advanced sections* of the Colombian workers, while the basic mass join the struggle motivated only by a feeling of discontent caused by their pressing economic needs.'[2] The structure of the Colombian trade union movement reflects the immaturity of class consciousness. According to official data, up to 1974 there were 60 employer organizations in the various industries, whereas only 10 per cent of the trade unions were functioning at industry-wide level; half were operating at enterprise level and the remainder only on the shop-floor. In other words, the employers, operating at industry level, and helped by the monopolization process, are well organized to fight the *entire* working class, while most of the workers are organized to fight only the *individual employer.* This has been a major weakness and it has hampered the rise of class consciousness. That is why we communists have been working consistently and energetically to modernize our trade union structure and create powerful industrial unions.

Experience has shown that such industry-wide unions are better suited to the situation resulting from the concentration of capital. Their organization is essential to the struggle, for it will promote political understanding, concentrate the forces of the proletariat, strengthen their militancy and foster relations of brotherhood. The big strikes organized by the national cement workers' and builders' union furnished convincing proof of that.

Summing up the struggle prior to 1975, our 12th Party Congress noted the scope and multiformity of these mass actions. Of course, not all of them were the same in character and level. But in most cases they were carried out despite the restrictions imposed by the regime. The movement was dominated by industrial workers, but it included also large numbers of white-collar workers, teachers, bank employees and civil servants. Another distinguishing feature was the methods employed: blocking streets in protest against higher transport charges, demands for more housing, occupation of idle lands by farm laborers and poor peasants, student and teachers' actions and, what is especially significant, general strikes which, in our conditions, have several important features.

This is how the 12th Party Congress described these general strikes: 'They involved entire cities, even entire regions, and their aim was to force the authorities to provide solutions for problems vital to the population, for instance, the absence or inadequacy of the water supply, refuse disposal, electric supply, bad roads, inadequate number of schools, hospitals, etc. These actions were a direct and vocal expression of the people's opposition to government policy. Basically, these strikes were of an anti-oligarchic character, often assuming an anti-imperialist orientation, especially in cases of protest against higher transport fares and municipal charges. The fact is that U.S. loans are given with the proviso that fares and other charges would be raised and new taxes introduced.'[3] In other words, these general strikes involved not only workers. They covered a much wider spectrum, from the urban poor to the middle strata. There were powerful manifestations of mass initiative and mass militancy. This specific form of struggle was, in a way, the result of the deformation of economic development and of imperialist dependence. It should be seen in the context not only of the rise of monopoly, but also the rise of powerful financial groups that control all areas of Colombia's social and economic life and stand opposed to its people. There is also this factor: backward economic development and its inevitable result, an insufficiently strong working class accounting for a relatively small share of the economically active population, but with a growing, though as yet limited, role in political life.

This type of general strike accords with the tactics worked out by

the communists many years ago. Essentially, the method was to use every available form of mass struggle. The Colombian people have accumulated rich experience in this respect. Our peasants, workers, urban masses, guerrillas have a long record of fighting the oligarchy. The people were compelled to use a very wide range of combat methods to hold back the onslaught of the reactionary forces, stop the deterioration of the economic situation, and win their vital rights. In this way the general strike concentrated all the demands of the people from economic, mainly spontaneous, to political, directed against the bourgeois state.

In the period between 1957 and 1976 this type of strike was held in 97 cities (more than half of which have a population of 5-30 thousand). The social composition of the strikers is highly indicative too: most of them were workers, every fifth a trade-unionists, but there were also students, shopkeepers, transport workers, peasants, with a small number of teachers, professionals, even members of the clergy and businessmen.[4] Even in those early actions, the workers played the dominant role and spoke for the entire people.

The nationwide general strike of September 14, 1977, was the most important event in the recent history of our strike movement. It was the biggest popular action since the 1957 strike that ended with the overthrow of the reactionary dictatorship of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla. In terms of social impact, the 1977 actions were far greater than those of 20 years earlier. And we can trace the continuity between these actions and the strikes, or attempted general strikes, of January 25, 1965, January 22, 1969, and March 8, 1971.

An analysis of this strike and its causes will give us a clearer understanding of the subject of this article, namely, the communists and mass consciousness.

The strike was to last 24 hours. It covered all the main areas of Colombia — its entire territory, in fact — and was most intensive in the manufacturing industires, construction, transport and in the seaports. But it also involved workers in trade, even in the entertainment industry. Many roads were blocked by peasants and in some areas by Indians. The only ones exempted from the strike were workers in the vital services such as electricity and water supply, telephone communications, hospitals, etc. In banking the strike was sabotaged by Maoist supporters associated with the right-wing forces.

Alvaro Delgado, the communist researcher upon whose analysis of the strike movement this part of the article is based, estimates that 1,285,000 took part in the September 14 action. He writes: 'It was unique in the whole of Colombia's history, for never before had there been anything remotely like it. Even the strike of May 10, 1957, stands no comparison with it. This is all the more important if we take

into consideration that in the 15 years 1962-1978 there were, all in all, 939 strike actions, involving about 1,638,000 people. The average annual loss of man-hours over this period (without the figures for 1966 and 1967) amounted to 1,482,000, and that figure was nearly matched in the one day of September 14, 1977.'

The strike was largely caused by growing living costs, which explains its wide scope and high degree of united action. Living costs in 1976 were the highest in 20 years, but things became still worse in 1977. According to patently minimized official data, the national price index for workers increased from 26 to 30 per cent. As our party CC Executive noted: 'The government with a system of price levers at its command, did not try to moderate the trend, instead, its economic policy was designed to promote the interests of the big national and foreign monopolies and the big speculators; in practice this only helped to raise living costs.'[5]

The general strike was first suggested by the national leadership of the Colombian Trade Union Confederation after the 1977 May Day rallies. On May 18 a memorandum was published containing the following demands: a 50 per cent increase in wages, a freeze on prices and service charges, repeal of martial law, reopening and demilitarization of the universities, full trade union rights for civil servants, transfer of the land to the peasants and an end to repressions against them, an eight-hour day and a basic wage for transport workers.

In other words, the memorandum contained both economic and explicitly formulated political demands. Nor could it have been otherwise, for the gap between the two tends to narrow and united action acquires greater importance at times of upsurge of the mass struggle.

The memorandum was endorsed by the General Confederation of Labor (GCL). Somewhat later the executives of the Colombian Workers' Union (CWU) and the Colombian Workers' Confederation (CWC) decided to submit a petition to the government containing the chief points of the memorandum. As a result, on August 20, 1977, these four trade union centers formed a joint strike committee.

And now, a brief description of the trade union and other forces involved in the strike.

The Colombian Trade Union Confederation, the country's second biggest and the prime mover of the strike, is a unitary revolutionary class organization, with a clear-cut strike policy and many years of experience in conducting strikes (in 1977 it accounted for 38 per cent of all the strike struggles).

The General Confederation of Labor (GCL) is a small, relatively new organization with a distinct Demochristian orientation and its leaders say that it strives for a 'democratic' socialist society without

proletarian dictatorship, a society different from the one the communists want.

The Colombian Workers' Union (CWU) and the Colombian Workers' Confederation (CWC) are, respectively, the first and third biggest trade union organizations. Lately they have significantly altered their policy of supporting the government and the employers. They have also shed some of their rabid anti-communism and their hard-line opposition to united action, so consistently advocated by the Colombian Trade Union Confederation. They have also loosened their dependence on the Conservative and Liberal parties. During the national strike they were going through a policy crisis. Their leaders openly supported what they called 'a coordinated economy' or 'an economy of participation' in which both capital and labor would be involved, a concept advocated by recent Colombian governments. In short, they stood for class collaboration, for a utopian agreement between the bourgeois government, the employers and the working people, which, they claimed, would benefit the latter. In fact, in January 1977, they concluded an anti-communist alliance with the directors of leading capitalist corporations. But it has to be said that these politically narrow-minded elements reflect the real state of consciousness among the majority of Colombian workers.

Also taking part in the strike were the Inter-union Civil Servants' Committee, a recently organized action organization of a rather motley composition; the National Union of Struggle for Housing, the biggest organization of the homeless, with strong influence in the poorest sections of urban communities, and with long experience in mobilizing the squatters and in fighting for better service; trade union and independent organizations of no particular affiliation, but not influenced by the Maoists.

The strongest support came from the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, which had an active share in organizing and conducting the strike. They were joined by the National Union of the Opposition, the Revolutionary Socialist Alliance, elements from the Popular National Alliance, which acted in coalition with the National Union of the Opposition and a number of other, smaller political groupings.

The following is a brief characterization, in terms of political consciousness, of the strata and groups involved in the strike:

— a well organized, alert and active social and political force endeavoring to muster maximum mass support in order to direct the struggle toward a revolutionary change of the existing system. It was the *conscious core* of the national strike, its leaders;

— social forces which, though in a state of decline, were still capable of political thinking and still had a modicum of class con-

sciousness. They were compelled to follow this unitary movement, though their aim was not revolutionary change, but a union, or at least agreement, within the framework of so-called democratic capitalism which, they contended, would be more humane than the existing variety. However, with the constantly deteriorating economic position of the working people, and also considering the steady strengthening of the Colombian Trade Union Confederation, the position of these forces gradually changed and they were impelled toward unity and toward support of the people;

— the vast mass, representative of all sections of the population but unorganized or poorly organized, longing for social change but not knowing who would bring it about and how.

Least of all did the regime want to see closer unity of this tripartite social and political combination of forces. For this time it was dealing not merely with a formal opposition, temporarily put together on a purely trade union basis, but with a revolutionary opposition. And this meant uniting general strikes with the struggle of the population for housing, better municipal services, for more taxes on capital and real estate. The main distinguishing feature of this tripartite alliance was its working-class political leadership.

For these heterogeneous forces to come together in joint battle, it was necessary to conduct a long ideological campaign aimed to show the masses the epochal role of the working class, the importance of its united action as the basis for eventual organizational unity; the importance of the worker-peasant alliance; the need to distinguish between friend and foe; the vast influence united proletarian action would have on the social structure.

It was important to understand, and make the masses understand, the fundamental aims of the struggle. The national general strike of September 14 was directed, first, against the *government* headed by a representative of the oligarchy and pursuing a policy of agreement with imperialism, adroitly combining demagogy and repression to suppress the popular struggle. However, the strike was not a rising, only an expression of protest. And at this point it should be repeated that it was, first of all and above all, an economic and not a political strike.

Second, the strike was directed against the big *monopolists* and the leaders of their political parties. It was directed against those who are exploiting the working people, raising prices and getting immense profits, those who bear direct responsibility for high living costs and low real wages.

Third, strange though it may seem, the strike was directed also against *Maoism,* which played a scab role and actually hindered the strike.

On September 14 the Maoists publicly called for categorical unhesitating rejection of this 'general strike' which by its very nature, leadership and aims is 'reactionary and pro-social-imperialist.' That attitude has only one explanation: lack of the political experience needed to correctly assess realities. The dogmatism of these groups comes from failure to understand the implications of the changes that have taken place among the people, in the trade union movement and the general political setup; failure also to understand the temporary nature of alliances, the importance of concrete united action, which ultimately produces a new basis for unity. They have been unable to discard their rabid anti-communism.

The Communist Party insisted on intensifying the ideological struggle against all such elements, and first and foremost against the opponents of a nationwide strike. And the main direction of this strike, our party maintained, must be against the ideology of dependent capitalism, that is, the ideology of the ruling class, the big bourgeoisie and its North American paymaster; against the ideology of 'free enterprise' or, in other words, freedom to exploit and corrupt our people in order only to enrich a narrow privileged group. The struggle must be against the ideology of the Liberal and Conservative two-party monopoly, that obstacle to all meaningful change. The struggle must be against right-wing opportunism in the labor and popular movement, which would keep the working class limping in the wake of the bourgeoisie and would undermine the ideological and political independence of the proletariat and the people. Last but not least, the struggle must be against anti-communism, the systematic slander of the socialist countries, the Communist Party of Colombia and the international communist movement. We must fight the diverse trends of petty-bourgeois leftist ideology which leads to adventurism and anarchism, and whose representatives are challenging the Communist Party's right to revolutionary leadership of the popular movement. The most dangerous of these trends is, in the opinion of our party, Maoism.

These lessons were learned in the course of ideological struggle by the communists and by the masses that supported them. Without that the success of September 14 would have been inconceivable.

The government used its own rather ramshackle ideological arsenal. At first it tried to prove that the general strike was unjustified because the position of the workers was improving, and the strike was denounced as a piece of subversion, unsupported by the masses and directed at the overthrow of the government.

In this way the government prepared the ground for harsh repressions. On August 26 it issued a decree authorizing from 30 to 180 days detention of everyone who 'organized, led, incited, assisted or stimu-

lated in any form whatever a full or partial, continuous or stage-by-stage stoppage of normal functioning of production or of any other activity.' The decree also authorized the dismissal of workers and repealed all trade union rights.

In mid-August the government imposed a strict censorship on the press, radio and television and began tapping telephones. On September 2 it banned all public demonstrations and put into operation the so-called Tricolor Plan of the supreme military command. The army and the secret services were told that a coup d'état was being prepared and they must do everything to defend and safeguard the security of the country.

Liberal leader Turbay Ayala told a conference of the Colombian Workers' Confederation that they must 'give serious thought to the dangerous step they are about to take and the severe consequences for democratic trade unionism of the very fact of taking part in this illegal strike which was a trial of strength.'[6]

Opponents of the strike did everything they could to influence the masses and instill anti-strike feelings. They were in a strong position to mislead the people, for the monopoly-controlled mass media was at their command. They also made use of the influence exerted by the two parties, of the respect for tradition, customs and, of course, of anti-communist prejudices.

Nevertheless the strike took place. The ruling class was in a fury — all its traditional methods of bullying or corrupting the labor movement had now failed to work. In fact, the bourgeois press found itself obliged to admit that 'the government is hard pressed, it cannot find a single trade union, probably even a single worker, to condemn the movement organized by the trade union centers.'[7]

This was no exaggeration. The government could count on the support only of the right-wing leaders of the two traditional parties, on big business and, of course, on Maoism. The Senate resolution of September 14 in support of the government was merely a formality, a maladroit political maneuver.

Everyone realized that neither the trade unions nor the other strike participants were out to overthrow the government. All of these organizations, both those involved in the strike and those opposed to it, had fought the last election and were not trying for a violent unconstitutional solution.

But although the strike was basically for economic demands, it had very wide-reaching political implications, much more than any other event of recent years, though there was no direct call to overthrow the government or the existing system. The ultra-leftist groups tried to exploit the spontaneity that marked the beginning of the strike on September 14 to belittle the role of consciousness. Naturally, after the

strike mechanism was put into motion these spontaneous mass actions were absorbed by the organized movement, enriched and raised to a higher level.

Those who described the strike as a popular rising were only playing into the hands of the government, which denounced it as a popular rising merely to justify the repressions. The government feared that the strike would teach the workers to think politically and act with class consciousness. And indeed they did, but their actions were as far removed from anarchist adventurism as from spontaneity.

What are the lessons of this strike, what conclusions does it suggest for the future expansion of the party's mass work and for the development of mass consciousness?

The party CC Executive's statement said that the strike demonstrated the *high level of militancy of the masses* and showed that wider sections of the people can be brought into the struggle. It is the duty of all revolutionaries to raise the degree of mass participation in the struggle and to facilitate the advance of *higher* demands and set *higher political tasks*. But this requires correct assessment of the social and political situation and building up the cadre *to give leadership to the mass struggle* to bring these demands and tasks to reality.[8] The National Trade Union Council organized during the strike assured united trade union action and served as the rallying center of all the progressive forces to form a single front which, if it is properly strengthened in future, can become invincible and can serve as the starting point for the struggle for democratic change in Colombia with the prospect of developing into socialism. A correctly directed struggle of the united popular forces, experience has shown, *sharpens the contradictions* within the enemy camp and this can be utilized to the advantage of the people.

The strike showed that the people have gone over from expression of discontent to resistance. However, they have not yet fully appreciated the need to utilize, depending on the situation, all methods of struggle. This was confirmed in the parliamentary elections of February 26, 1978: an appreciable part of the masses who followed us on September 14 did not give us the same political support at the polls. Many decided to abstain from voting. This is attributable to the fact that the elections do not give the masses access to political activity and also to the fact that the growth of mass consciousness at the present time is very uneven.

Referring to the political apathy of those who abstained from voting, the Central Committee Plenum held in April 1978 declared: 'The class struggle and the experience following from it will facilitate the struggle against apolitical attitudes and will accelerate the process of political understanding. However, we should not wait for the spon-

taneous development of this process. We need appropriate methods and initiatives to hasten the acceptance of our policy as a counter-weight to the bourgeois propaganda, with its dissemination of hatred, anti-communism, systematic misinformation at a level and on a scale that often defy the imagination. The need is for an all-out campaign to win these masses over to our side. And this entails two basic tasks: to organize and raise the level of popular action for immediate aims and interests, and develop the political initiative of the people.'[9] Colombia's communists are working on the accomplishment of these two tasks.

1. See *WMR* for February and June 1978.
2. Gilberto Vieira. *Organicemos la revolucion colombiana.* Bogota, 1961, p. 94.
3. *Por la unidad popular para el futuro de Colombia. Documentos del 12 Congreso del Partido Communista de Colombia.* Bogota, 1976, p. 21.
4. See *Estudios Marxistas,* No. 14, Bogota, 1977, pp. 12, 16, 18.
5. *Documentos Politicos.* N 127. Bogota, 1977, p. 7.
6. *El Tiempo.* Septiembre 14, 1977.
7. *El Espectador.* Septiembre 19, 1977.
8. See *Voz proletaria,* Octubre 13, 1977.
9. *Voz proletaria,* Abril 6, 1978.

Ethiopia's Revolution



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viewpoints

Revolutionary significance of the struggle for democracy

George Jackson
National Secretary, Socialist
Unity Party of New Zealand

At the height of the capitalist economic crisis and depression of the 30s, a New Zealand social reformer made the comment. 'Where there is poverty amidst plenty; where there is hunger because we have produced too much, I refuse to believe that we have any real democracy.'

These words are recalled today when such concepts as democracy, freedom and equality are callously mishandled by bourgeois policy-makers to brainwash the masses, when the massive bourgeois ideological campaigns are geared to make bourgeois democracy appear as democratic while socialist democracy is portrayed as totalitarian.

Sixty years after the victory of the Russian working class, when a developed socialist society had already been established in the USSR and the mighty socialist community had been formed, Conservative and Labour, bourgeois liberals and left anarchists, all the forces of the old world, to paraphrase the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* 'entered into a holy alliance' against the new social system, to defend capitalist 'democracy' and to search for a new form of 'democratic socialism' to counter real socialism. And this while ignoring the class content of this question and intentionally falling back on a concept of an abstract democracy that had never existed anywhere.

The illegitimacy of such an approach is apparent. The example of Portugal is topical and continuing. After the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship there, revolutionary changes took various forms, but their common, distinguishing feature was their democratic class content. Soon, however, there was massive political interference in Portugal's affairs by the CIA, the United States diplomatic service and the social-democratic parties of Europe. While their banner was 'democracy' and 'democratic socialism', their content was pro-capitalist and anti-socialist. The Socialist government that came to power started returning land to the large landlords, the nationalized industry to private owners, and restricting working-class control at

factories in order to stop socialism's advance. Essentially this was an anti-democratic program carried through under the democratic banner.

Marxism-Leninism was the first to place the essence of democracy on a concrete historical foundation and to indicate the permanent role of democracy's socio-economic aspects and secondary role of its juridical forms. It made clear the fact that democracy could not be examined apart from its socio-class content. Proceeding from the historical experience of the new epoch, Lenin further developed the conclusions reached by Marx and Engels, describing democracy as a concrete political form of rule in a class society and revealing its substance as a definite form of state leadership by the ruling class. As an historical category, the state emerged and developed in the struggle between the exploiter and the exploited. It invariably expressed the interests of the economically ruling class which, in the given society, becomes the ruling political class. So, whatever, form it takes, a modern bourgeois state is 'in the final analysis . . . inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*' (V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 413).

Domination of big capital ownership of the means of production is the bed-rock of the capitalist socio-economic system. The real levers of power are concentrated in the giant monopolies and banks and in the state apparatus which governs the affairs of the bourgeois. The situation does not change by replacing one party or individual with another. The more the workers think about democracy against the whole content of their lives, the more they realize that the ballot box has had only a limited effect on the government they get. In bourgeois society the economic and political ruling class also holds the reins of spiritual subjugation in the form of a wide propaganda network, the mass media and the education system.

Socialism counters bourgeois and reformist distortions and vulgarizations of democracy with the working people's truly impressive achievements. To draw attention away from the dismal realities and worsening crisis in the capitalist world, the protectors of exploitation vilify real socialism. While the capitalist economies, including New Zealand's, are continually in the throes of a crisis,* the socialist world steadily increases production, raising the working people's material and spiritual levels, and knows neither unemployment, nor inflation

*In our sparsely populated country there are, today, nearly 35,000 people who cannot find work. However, official figures do not convey a true picture of our unemployment for they do not include women who have lost their jobs but whose husbands continue working. Neither do they account for the emigrants, particularly among the younger generation, who annually leave the country in search of jobs (27,000 in 1977).

and financial upheavals. The reason is that in the socialist countries there is public ownership of the means of production making planned production possible and ensuring steady and irreversible social progress with growing participation by the people in management and administration. This is democracy in action as expressed in control of production and distribution in the interests of the majority.

Where better than on the shop floor can the worker observe the exploitation that lives under cover of capitalist democracy? Where better than at his own plant can the worker see the quality of the wealth he produces? This is where he learns the meaning of capital-ruled labor, and this is where he becomes aware that capitalism is not synonymous with democracy.

Lenin's words about bourgeois democracy are equally valid today. 'Capitalism in general,' he wrote, 'and imperialism in particular, turn democracy into an illusion — though at the same time capitalism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 23, pp. 24-25).

In many countries the working people's fierce battles have won them many democratic rights and freedoms. This experience has shown that up to a certain point the forces of capital have always resisted, but ultimately have given way when the pressure was sufficiently great in demanding concessions. It gives way in order to secure the main thing — to continue exploitation of the working people. In this way the anti-combination laws and the deporting of the Tolpuddle* martyrs to Australia as convicts, for forming a trade union, have given way to the elevation of trade unions to 'social partners' with certain legal rights. The essence of this has been to resist as long as possible and then to give way apparently. Expressed in another way it means, if you can't beat them, then join them.

The history of New Zealand's trade union movement confirms all this. Prior to 1973 the structure and rights of trade union organizations were regulated by the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1894 which required that trade union rules include a clause stating that a strike could be called only by secret ballot. The rules were subject to approval by the government which reserved the right to change or discard them altogether. Government organs were free to dissolve the trade unions. Anyone taking part in an 'illegal' strike could be fined and taken to court by the authorities. The workers continued to fight

*Tolpuddle, a village in Southern England where farm workers rebelled in 1830 demanding formation of a trade union. The uprising was brutally crushed but subsequently came to symbolize the British working man's fight for trade union rights. — *Ed.*

for their rights, however. The Federation of Labour withdrew from the Arbitration Court and decided to establish direct collective bargaining. Later, an Industrial Relations Act was introduced and it placed limits on wage rates which could be agreed to in collective bargaining. In its turn this was replaced by a new form of Arbitration Court which aims to regulate the wage fixing process.

This was an important experience for the working people. It consolidated the trade unions and made them more effective in protecting their vital rights and interests. But it should be kept in mind that this new court is but an attempt of the authorities to slow down the strike movement and limit wage levels. Broader involvement of the trade unions in arbitration and conciliation procedures is obviously aimed at implanting the ideology of class cooperation. Revealing the dialectics of bourgeois reformism, Lenin wrote in 1907: '. . . *every* reform in capitalist society has a *double* character. A reform is a concession made by the ruling classes *in order* to stem, weaken, or conceal the revolutionary struggle, in order to split the forces and energy of the revolutionary classes, to befog their consciousness, etc.' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 12, p. 237).

History knows many examples proving the correctness of Lenin's remarks, and even today the more far-seeing capitalists are prepared to toss a few crumbs of ownership to the working class in an attempt to give credibility to the myth of 'social partnership' and 'a reformed capitalism.' But, as life has shown, all the changes in the superstructure of capitalism have done little to bring changes in its base upon which the power of capital rests, and that there continues to exist '. . . a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital' *(Manifesto of the Communist Party)*. So long as the capitalists own the basic means of production, bourgeois rule remains in actual fact, and all talk of 'out-of-class' or 'above class' democracy is deception.

Allegations that the proletariat can, supposedly, come to power only by relying on votes are illusory. Lenin particularly underscored Engels' words that universal suffrage can be no more than a gauge of the maturity of the working class . . . because, Lenin says, bourgeois suffrage cannot reveal the will of the majority of the working people and secure its realization (See *Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, pp. 393-394).

Attempting to make democracy synonymous with electoral systems and election campaigns gives rise to myths and illusions. Labour's defeat in 1975 by the National Party can be judged only by what the people have received since the elections. The difference between the National Party's election platform of 'New Zealand the way you want it' and reality, says more about the essence of capitalist democracy than all of Prime Minister Muldoon's talk of 'above-

government' positions, the 'people's rights' or 'New Zealand's special character.' Even a one-sided picture of democratic rights as elective, fades when we see how the government adapts its policy to the interests of capital and exploitation, turning social progress into farce and insane plans into reality.

Here are a few facts. The Muldoon government has approved new anti-strike legislation allowing employers to fire all workers in a plant if one section strikes. In addition, so-called political strikes — against U.S. nuclear equipped naval vessels entering Wellington or Auckland — are banned altogether and any union member taking part can be fined. By undermining the social security system, which was an advance in security and medical treatment, it has allowed private capital to again profit at the people's expense.

When mass interests clash with the needs of capital new demands are made on programs of social security, health protection, retirement and disability pensions and housing construction. A party supported by the people does not know such conflicts. The growth of democracy from political forms to control over the economy and nationalization is but a logical development. But for a party dedicated to capitalist interests, political democracy extending into economic democracy is a contradiction, because for such a party economic autocracy is a capitalist priority and this is what is behind Muldoon's policy. At the same time we see how capital does not relinquish but even increases its share of the national product while the worker's share is reduced with the help of government measures. But the working class resists government measures and the class battle grows (there are more workers taking part in strikes and other mass movements today than in any other quarter of a century), and so the state comes up with legislation limiting workers' rights.

The working man has to choose between the fight for greater public control over the monopolies, and state control restricting workers' rights in capital's interests. Supporters of free enterprise need the state to protect the interests of those who banked on the National Party government to ensure their 'right' to exploit, believing this to be their main task. It is precisely right-wing rule which, though it does retain some splinters of democratic rights, is ready to foresake them when capital is in danger. It is even prepared to encroach upon free enterprise on the issue of workers' wages. The Muldoon government keeps wages below a certain level even if some employers are ready to raise them.

The key question in social progress today is: which plays the main role — capital or labor? Herein lies the distinction between capitalist democracy and the democratic standards that serve the working man. Historically, this question will be answered by the working people

fighting for their rights. And they are not to be distracted by the superficial and false slogans of 'democracy' meant to confuse and split the working people. As they become aware of the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and see that unemployment, inflation and economic stagnation are its inevitable companions, the working people will step up their demands for changes deeper than those already made.

We must aim for public control over monopoly operations with workers involved at all levels, a control that would satisfy the needs primarily of the worker and not of capitalist profits.

This is the road the workers must follow to establish public control and, finally, public ownership of the main and decisive means of production. Such control will be made possible only as a result of the workers' energetic struggle for power and the fruits of their labor.

Ruling out growing of capitalism into socialism with the help of the ballot box, New Zealand's communists nevertheless warn that the election battle for parliamentary institutions which under capitalism combine 'democracy *(not for the people)* with bureaucracy *(against the people)* . . .' (V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 25, p. 481), is capable of becoming one of the effective means of struggle for political influence, for the right to participate in decision-making of state importance. Removed generally from the management of public and state affairs, the working people can, nevertheless, use political forms of bourgeois democracy in their own interests, such as representation in elective bodies. We know from experience that anti-parliamentarism is one of communism's infantile disorders and that bourgeois parliamentary establishments must be used in the interests of revolutionary and democratic movements. Election campaigns, as we well know, sharpen the political consciousness of the masses. Elections acquire importance when the political struggle of the masses is potentially capable of ensuring decisive social reforms opening the road to socialism, when the working class is actively supported by the broad strata of working people. And, conversely, when election campaigning by reformist parties is not bound up with mass political work, a cynical view of elections is generated.

Monopoly growth will, of course, continue and only public control at all levels, with the working people's needs given priority, can prevent an organization of production serving exclusively the interests of capital and profit.

The tasks of consistent democracy are realized today with the aid of anti-monopoly (in this sense anti-bourgeois) measures. Today democratic and socialist tasks are coming closer together and this explains the greater revolutionary significance of the democratic, anti-monopoly struggle. The democratic movement has been trans-

formed into an integral part and ally of the anti-capitalist revolution.

Many factors are behind this. New forms of democratic struggle have emerged, such as the peace movement, the fight to stop the arms race, the efforts for national independence, the nationalization of key branches of the economy, radical agrarian reforms. Besides, the working class more and more is heading the battle for democratic transformations, making the democratic struggle even more persistent and consistent. And this factor: the democratic movement in the capitalist countries today can count on the support of the socialist community.

The all-encompassing democratic alternative to state-monopoly development includes a wide range of deep-reaching interconnected democratic and flexible socio-economic and political reforms. In the course of the anti-monopoly struggle priorities in democratic transformations change. Their realization, communists hold, is largely dependent on changes in the substance of political power in the country and on gradual removal of big monopoly capital from power.

For us the program of democratic transformations is a program of struggle, a nucleus of demands and proposals around which a broad coalition of class and political forces can and must be consolidated. A united front and popular movement is not a tactical conception, it is a broad strategy for winning political power in order to change the social basis of our society. We absolutely reject reformist ideological aims to integrate the working class in the capitalist political system and preserve monopoly economic and political rule while agreeing to certain legislative concessions and reforms instead of carrying out consistently socialist demands.

What are the political motives directly stimulating the working class democratic movement today? It must first be noted that today even those rights and freedoms are violated that fit into the framework of bourgeois democracy and are found in bourgeois constitutions. For example, there were heated debates among New Zealanders over Prime Minister Muldoon's bill approved by Parliament with the help of his majority, granting Security Forces broader rights. They now have the 'lawful' right to search homes, read private mail and tap telephone conversations. This is a crude infringement of citizen's democratic rights. Besides, in imperialist conditions the traditional bourgeois-democratic institutions are incapable of opposing the growth of dangerous authoritarian tendencies. It is important, also, that in the democratic struggle the working class is hardened, that it gains experience in political fighting and in guiding the mass revolutionary movement. Its ability to win over new allies depends on how well it is organized, and on the scope of its activity.

The revolutionary process is complicated because democratic and

socialist tasks are closely intertwined, requiring a dialectical approach by communists and their ability to clearly distinguish and skillfully match the features of two revolutionary streams, their ability to combine the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism with primacy of the second over the first. The revolutionary process likewise requires careful attention of communists to ideological questions. Today, as never before, persons coming from among the intelligentsia and the middle class — ideological and political supporters of capitalism — intentionally confuse ideological problems. Left sectarianism, right opportunism, racism, nationalism, greatly exaggerated ideas of individualism and freedom, all have their roots among the potential allies of the working class, subsequently perforating it and weakening its ideology, unity and determination. Marxist-Leninist ideology must be thoroughly studied to avoid slipping into the morass of shortsighted pragmatism.

In order not to mark time, the worker must fully understand the problems he faces. And the party must help the working class in this by bringing ideology to the level of the daily struggle. Working conditions and the life of the working man help him perceive working-class ideology and organization. This perception, however, is not spontaneous, it springs from the union of theory and practice as realized by a Marxist-Leninist class party.

Stop the fascist terror

In Turkey, bloody terror by fascist gangs and their Maoist accomplices has taken a toll of 400 lives since January; 90 were killed in July alone. Armed hoodlums have attacked the offices of democratic unions, the Progressive Youth League and the Progressive Women's Union. The authorities are doing little or nothing to stop this organized terror, though they are very active in harassing and persecuting the left forces — the communists, their supporters and allies — on the pretext of 'countering both the extreme right and extreme left.'

And the imperialists and Turkish monopoly capital are 'countering' the growing progressive movement by more terror and intimidation. They are particularly alarmed by the increasing influence of the Communist Party and the mounting demands for its legalization. Turkey is the only European country where the CP is still outlawed and is forced to work underground. The authorities are investigating 54 organizations (including the progressive youth and women's organizations) in connection with the demand for 'Freedom for the

Communist Party of Turkey' which figured prominently in this year's May Day demonstration in Istanbul. The staff of the *Politika* daily is being persecuted for its report of the demonstration.

Confiscation of progressive publications has become a regular practice — 26 of the 47 issues of the journal *Ürün,* books put out by the *Ürün* and *Temel* publishers and several statements published by the Communist Party have all been banned. One issue of the Turkish edition of *World Marxist Review* was seized.

Public opinion is incensed by the forthcoming trial of the *Ürün* publishers for printing the CPT Program. They are accused not just of spreading 'communist propaganda,' but of 'organizing communist activities.' The director of *Ürün,* Tastan, could be sentenced to 15 years. The trial is to start in Istanbul October 17 and will be heard by the 'Court for particularly serious crimes.'

Public opinion in Turkey and other countries has condemned the anti-democratic measures of the Turkish bourgeoisie, and a solidarity movement with *Ürün* publishers is growing in many countries. In letters to the Turkish government many political parties, democratic organizations and prominent persons have demanded that persecution of the publishers be stopped immediately, anti-communist laws repealed and the Communist Party legalized. The Editorial Board of *World Marxist Review* has sent a message of solidarity to the *Ürün* publishers and a letter to the Turkish government.

Progressives in many countries condemn the injustices and fascist terror in Turkey and are voicing their support for Turkish patriots and democrats.

Kemal Kervan

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The Munich diktat and its lessons

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There are certain events that will for long remain imprinted on the people's memory. Humanity returns to them again and again to cull the lessons of experience from the distant past. The tragedy of Munich was one such event. It was an example of political blackmail and treachery on a colossal scale, of hypocrisy and appeasement, and of the total lack of principle and class selfishness of the bourgeoisie and its political representatives.

Forty years ago, on the night of September 29-30th, 1938, the heads of governments of Great Britain (Chamberlain), France (Daladier), Nazi Germany (Hitler) and Fascist Italy (Mussolini), who had met in Munich, signed an agreement dismembering Czechoslovakia and annexing the Sudetenland to Germany.[1]

Thus, by a stroke of the pen the Czechoslovak Republic ceased to exist in the form in which it had been created 20 years before as a result of the Czech and Slovak peoples' national-liberation and revolutionary movement, which had received a great stimulus from the October Revolution in Russia.

The outcome of this dismemberment was that Czechoslovakia lost nearly one-fifth of its territory, an area which had supported one-quarter of its population. It was deprived of nearly half its heavy industry, a substantial part of its fuel and raw materials, and important defense installations. The road was opened for the liquidation of the Czechoslovak Republic and the complete occupation of the Czech lands by the nazis, which occurred a few months later.

Munich signalled the end of the European order established at Versailles by the victors of the First World War. In its desire to provoke aggressive German imperialism into a conflict with the USSR, the European bourgeoisie was prepared to relinquish its own positions in Central and Southeast Europe. Blinded by anti-Sovietism, it rejected the system of collective security for Europe

proposed by the Soviet Union in 1933, and embarked on a policy of concessions and appeasement of the aggressor.

The Munich deal, engineered by international reaction at the expense of the Czechoslovak people, was an important landmark in the preparations for the Second World War. When they cleared the road for Hitler in the East the imperialist powers committed a fatal error in assessing the futher course of events. Less than one year after Munich they themselves became its victims.

Collapse of the ideology of Masarykism

The Munich diktat and the nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia that followed were the logical culmination of the anti-popular and anti-national policy pursued by Masaryk and Benes. This policy had been founded on the desire to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas, to disarm the working class ideologically by placing it under the influence of the reformist parties, to belittle the significance of Leninism in the eyes of the working people, and to divert the masses from the road indicated by the Great October. Skillful demagogy was used to cover up the exploitative nature of the bourgeois state and to laud 'Czechoslovak democracy' and its architects, Masaryk and Benes.

In the international field, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie obediently went along with the policies of the Western imperialists who had emerged victorious from the First World War, and who now wanted to turn Czechoslovakia into a defensive barrier against the penetration of revolutionary ideas from Soviet Russia and against the revolutionary working-class movement in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe; for this purpose our country had been made an important link in the so-called cordon sanitaire.[2] This cordon, set up on French initiative and directed mainly against the Soviets, was of value to the imperialist countries of the West only while German imperialism had not recovered from its defeat in the First World War. But as German imperialism revived and built up its economic and military potential, it began to be assigned the main role in the anti-Soviet plans of the imperialist countries. The significance of the smaller countries of Central and Eastern Europe accordingly declined and this created objective grounds for sacrificing these small countries, particularly Czechoslovakia, to German imperialism as the most effective weapon (from the standpoint of world imperialism) against the USSR.

The danger of this development was pointed out long before Munich by Klement Gottwald. 'The policy of French imperialism, the policy of French pan-Europeanism based on French hegemony, on a united front against the Soviet Union,' he stated in Parliament in April 1931, 'will use the Czech people for its own ends. Of course, in

European worldwide and general capitalist policy — from the standpoint of struggle against the Soviet Union — Germany is more important than Czechoslovakia. And theoretically one can envisage a situation in which, for the sake of Germany's closer involvement in this front, Germany will be offered compensation that will create a direct threat to the Czech people. So this policy pursued by Mr. Benes . . . may ultimately present a threat to the independence of the Czech people. . . .'[3]

Life confirmed Gottwald's prediction. The nazis' takeover in Germany, their openly declared aggressive intentions in regard to Soviet territory, the proclamation of their historic mission to combat communism made appeasement of the aggressor the basic policy of the British and French governments, which had the invariable support of the United States. In their efforts to achieve an agreement with the fascist powers and to incite them to attack the USSR, the imperialist powers were prepared to offer Hitler the sop of the cordon sanitaire which they themselves had built, thus betraying the interests of the smaller nations.

The Munich conspiracy, which ended in national tragedy for the Czechs and Slovaks, administered a fatal blow to the whole concept of pre-war Czechoslovakia's bourgeois democracy, whose chief ideologists and champions had been Masaryk and Benes. Benes' capitulation to the diktat of the four capitalist powers exploded the bourgeois legend about Masaryk,[4] and later Benes himself, as 'liberator presidents,' as democrats and humanists. At the crucial moment in the modern history of the Czechoslovak people, when the fate of Czechoslovakia as an independent state hung in the balance, the interests of the financial, industrial and land-owning oligarchy, and of the Western imperialist powers with their rabid anti-Sovietism, took precedence over all else.

Characteristically, the latter-day preachers of Masarykism, those who tried to arm themselves with this ideology in 1968-1969, and those who still extol it outside Czechoslovakia today, carefully avoid any mention of Munich. This is no accident because Munich was a vivid example of Masarykism, the logical culmination of its ideology of 'humanistic liberation,' which in practice turned out to be an ideology of appeasement and betrayal of the national interests for the benefit of international anti-communism and the upper crust of the national bourgeoisie.

'The ruling circles of the bourgeoisie,' Gustav Husak said at a meeting in Prague dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the victorious February of 1948, 'were unable to ensure even the external security of our state. They relied on an alliance with the Western capitalist countries, which betrayed us at the crucial hour. Our country became

a target for the machinations of world reaction. ... The shameful Munich pact ... was the tragic result of the bankruptcy of the Czech bourgeoisie's policy and the treachery of the Western allies. It signalled the beginning of the collapse of the republic and the enslavement of our people by the nazis.'[5]

Munich dispelled the bourgeoisie's influence over the masses and destroyed the illusions it had tried to spread during the 20 years of pre-war Czechoslovakia's existence. It convinced the masses that there could be no return to the past.

The communists as defenders of the bourgeois-democratic republic

The only political party that opposed the bourgeoisie's treacherous policy with a clear-cut program for the defense of the republic was the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Basing themselves on the line of resistance to the advance of fascism and the threat of war elaborated at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, and on the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the CPCz in 1936, the Czechoslovak communists proposed setting up a broad democratic anti-fascist movement, a 'people's front of labor, liberty and peace,' as Klement Gottwald put it. The CPCz advocated the creation of a popular front government that would take consistent steps to defend democracy, improve the workers' social position, break the power of big capital, and disarm and ban nazi organizations.

However, although the CPCz adopted correct positions on the key issues, it was unable in the brief period between the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the Munich events to fully realize its objectives. This was largely due to the continuing split in the working class, and to the right-wing social democrats' rejection of united action with the CPCz on a common platform even in the face of aggression by nazi Germany.

By their struggle in defense of the republic the communists showed the inseparable link between national and international objectives in party policy. The CPCz saw the guarantee of successful defense of the republic in democratization of the whole state apparatus, freedom of action for working people's organizations, and satisfaction of their social, economic and political demands. At the same time the CPCz was ready to fulfill its patriotic duty in defense of the motherland. 'We want this republic, which is at present controlled by the bourgeoisie,' Klement Gottwald stated, 'to become a ... socialist republic, controlled by the working people. This is our goal, this is what we are fighting for. But if the bourgeois-democratic republic is threatened by blood-thirsty nazism, we shall defend this republic from nazism.'[6]

By exposing the Munich capitulation and calling the whole people

to rise in defense of the motherland the communists, whom bourgeois propaganda had always accused of ignoring national interests, lack of patriotism, and subordination to Moscow, supplied yet another convincing example of their true love for their country. In these critical days they were the only political force in Czechoslovakia that was prepared, for the sake of the Czech and Slovak peoples' national interests, to go the whole way in defending the bourgeois-democratic republic, to which they were in principle opposed.

The CPCz's active struggle for democracy, its consistent democratic stance won it well-deserved authority among the Czechoslovak people. This allowed our party, while the country was still occupied by the nazis, to take on the leadership of a broad national and democratic front, which became the mainstay of the anti-fascist resistance. The advance of the working class to forward positions and the leading role of the CPCz in the national-liberation struggle expressed a fundamental shift in the correlation of class and political forces. After the Soviet Union's victory over nazi Germany and the Soviet Army's liberation of Czechoslovakia, these changes were instrumental in convincing the Czechoslovak people of the need to build a people's democracy, thus laying the foundations for the further development of Czechoslovakia in the direction of socialism. A decisive stage on this road was the victory over reaction won by the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party in February 1948. Victorious February put an end once and for all to the power of the bourgeoisie, and paved the way for successful revolutionary reforms, the ultimate result of which was the building of socialism. Both the internal, class-generated causes and the external causes of the Munich betrayal were thus finally and completely eliminated.

Was Munich inevitable?

Today, 40 years later, we still ask ourselves: could Munich have been avoided? Would it have been possible to erect a steel barrier against the fascist beast that was bent on world domination?

The apologists for Munich maintain to this day that the Munich agreement was the only way to save peace. However, the facts give the lie to this argument. Munich need never have occurred if the Western powers had abandoned their policy of non-intervention and appeasement, which gave the aggressor a free hand; if they had supported the Soviet plan for setting up an effective system of collective security in Europe, and other Soviet proposals to strengthen peace and international cooperation. Munich could have been avoided if Czechoslovakia's bourgeois government had requested help from the Soviet Union, with which it had had a mutual assistance treaty since 1935. As a loyal ally, the Soviet Union was ready at the

first call to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia. Before September 23 it mobilized the Byelorussian and Kiev military districts and alerted 30 infantry divisions, as well as tank, air and cavalry units, and deployed them along the western frontier. Right up to the very last moment, the Soviet Plenipotentiary in Czechoslovakia was offering Benes in the name of the Soviet government the immediate military assistance of the Soviet Union. But the government of Czechoslovakia dared not accept help from the USSR, dared not go to war with Germany and placed all its hopes on an alliance with Britain and France.[7]

With 40 divisions ready for action, with a modern defense system at its disposal and, above all, with the steadfast determination of the Czechoslovak people to defend their country to the last, it nevertheless accepted all the terms of the shameful Munich diktat. The causes of Munich are to be sought not in the military field. By surrendering to the ultimatum of Hitler and his henchmen, the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie hoped with the help of the fascists to preserve its dominant economic and political positions in the country. However, as events proved, it had badly miscalculated.

History's warning

The defeat of Hitler Germany left the Munich system in ruins. In the treaty between the CSSR and the FRG signed on December 11, 1973, the illegal Munich agreement is acknowledged to be null and void. But does this mean that Munich and the men of Munich, who have gone down in the political dictionaries as a synonym for a policy and policy-makers who make concessions to an aggressor behind the backs of their own people, and who by threats or direct use of force try to prevent any change in the balance of world forces that would be unfavorable to themselves, have disappeared from modern life?

The present day provides some striking illustrations of the fact that the spirit of Munich has not perished, that it lives on in world reaction's continuing attempts to resist the world revolutionary process. This spirit finds its embodiment in the agreement between the NATO states to collaborate in combating the revolutionary forces, and in statements by top-ranking officials in imperialist states demanding that the communists be barred from participation in government.

It shows itself also in the plans to build a so-called united Europe (read, Western Europe) on an anti-Soviet platform. Various schemes of political integration have been evolved as a step toward setting up a European military-political alliance.

The imperialist bourgeoisie needs this alliance to strengthen its internal rule, to split the democratic and international communist movement, and to pursue its aggressive policy against the countries of the socialist community. Such an alliance could only deepen the

division of the continent into opposing military blocs and set up additional barriers to détente and international cooperation. The unfounded and dangerous illusions harbored by some politicians who favor the 'Western-type democracy' of a 'United Europe' that would be 'independent of both the USSR and the USA,' show that they have forgotten the lessons of Munich. History has proved that anti-Sovietism has never benefited any people. It has always played into the hands of the most aggressive, militarist and chauvinistic circles, of those who are to blame for all the disasters of the past 40 years.

Munich was the turning point in the policy of non-intervention and appeasement, when with an eye to the prospects of struggle against the Soviet Union and the international communist movement the capitalist countries gave in to the aggressor, supported and strengthened him at the expense of other nations and their national independence. We all know how this policy turned out for the peoples of the whole world, and for the Western countries themselves. But the spiritual heirs of Munich have short memories. Once again, as it did 40 years ago, world reaction is banking on the anti-Soviet aggressive forces. Once again it is prepared to supply them with arms, to support their territorial claims against neighboring countries, to help them militarize the economy. Or take the action of the Chinese authorities in launching a provocatory campaign of slander against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, based on the allegation that the people of Chinese origin are persecuted there. Isn't this a repetition of Munich? Hitler's propaganda tried to dupe world opinion with horrific descriptions of the hardships, restrictions and oppression that the so-called ethnic Germans in the Sudeten region of our country were supposed to be suffering. Hitler's outcry over the German minority in Czechoslovakia provided a smokescreen behind which nazism was able to achieve its expansionist aims. It is no secret that Peking's present actions, the methods of oppression and intimidation that the Chinese authorities are using against Vietnam pursue far-reaching political aims.

There is a smell of Munich about the Middle East policy American imperialism has adopted to bring Israel closer to the conservative Arab regimes for the purpose of splitting the Arab world, weakening the national-liberation movement and perpetuating Israel's occupation of Arab lands.

The 'human rights' campaign in the West, which is in fact no more than imperialism's attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, is quite in line with the spirit of Munich and aggressive plans. Forty years ago Konrad Henlein, the leader of the nazi Sudeten German party, also had a lot to say about human rights, and specificially the rights of the German minority in Czechoslovakia.

He did not hesitate, however, to trample on the rights of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The right of the Jewish people to independent state existence, the need to satisfy its national demands were a constant theme of the Zionist leaders, who after the creation of the state of Israel unleashed a terrorist war against the Arab people of Palestine, drove Arab inhabitants from their homelands and in the name of their own right violated the rights of a whole people.

Bourgeois propaganda blares on incessantly about the restriction of human rights and freedoms in the socialist countries. While defending traitors, spies, and criminal elements in the socialist countries, the bourgeoisie ruthlessly suppresses any expression of dissent on its home ground. The *Berufsverbot* (ban on professions), the 'black lists' and police files on progressive-minded people, the connivance at terrorism, the anti-democratic trials, the refusal to guarantee the right to work — all these blatant violations of human rights in the capitalist countries lay bare the hypocrisy of the champions of bourgeois democracy with whom some of the former activists of the so-called 'Prague spring' run in harness. Those who talked so much about 'humanism,' 'defense of freedoms,' and 'human rights,' have now sunk so low that there is little to choose between them and the ultra-right groups in West Germany. Like the latter, they oppose the FRG government's Eastern policy and support the racist claims of the leaders of the associations of former Sudeten Germans. At a seminar organized in February 1978 in the FRG by the Catholic organization Opus Bonum they declared the decision of the Potsdam conference on the resettlement of the German population remaining in Czechoslovakia an 'act of revenge.'[8] It is a notable fact that even the Czechoslovak bourgeois emigrés have never cast doubt on the rightness of this decision. This 'honor' has fallen to those who produced the slogan of 'socialism with a human face.'

The imperialists' ceaseless efforts to spread distrust of the Soviet Union, the boosting of the lie about the mythical 'Soviet military threat' and the desire of the Warsaw Treaty countries to achieve military superiority testify to the persistence of the spirit of Munich. Under cover of such declarations, the leading NATO countries, headed by the U.S., intervened in Zaire, whipped up the armed conflict in the Horn of Africa and mounted provocations against Angola and Mozambique. The spirit of Munich recurs in many other variants and forms. This is why Julius Fucik's appeal 'People, be vigilant!', which he made to all people of good will during the struggle against the nazi occupation forces, has not lost any of its relevance in the present day. To fight against the legacy of Munich today is to fight for the strengthening of the socialist community, for international solidarity of the forces of peace, progress and democracy across the

world, for support of the peoples' national-liberation struggle against imperialist aggression, fascism and racism, against anti-popular plots, preparations for a new world war and all forms of counter-revolution.

For the Munich betrayal, whose victim was first Czechoslovakia and then nearly the whole of Europe, humanity paid 55 millions lives. But 40 years ago the only force opposed to imperialism was the Soviet Union, the communist and workers' parties and the international communist movement. Now the present balance of world forces has radically changed. Today imperialism is confronted by the powerful socialist camp, the international communist and workers' movement in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The new international agreements, such as the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the treaties between the socialist countries and the FRG affirming the principle of inviolability of European frontiers, reflect this changed balance of forces. The communists — the most consistent fighters against Munich and its legacy — include these principles in their joint policy statements.

Socialist Czechoslovakia wholeheartedly supports the efforts to bring about positive changes in international relations and eliminate the danger of war. Under the leadership of the Communist Party Czechoslovakia is active in strengthening and developing the socialist community and makes its contribution to the fight of the world revolutionary forces against imperialism and reaction. The results achieved in the 30 years of socialist construction are a source of pride for our people, and of its confidence in the future. The deep-going revolutionary changes in the life of our society are responsible for unprecedented advances in the economy, culture, education and science. Our country's dynamic development, the Czechoslovak people's high standard of living stand out in contrast to the profound social and political contradictions that were characteristic of the pre-Munich republic. All this is testimony to the correctness of the road begun by the victorious February.

The Czechoslovak people has drawn correct conclusions from the tragic experience of Munich. Friendship and firm alliance with the USSR and other countries of the socialist community are the surety of the independent national and state existence of our peoples. Munich will not happen again!

1. A corollary to this agreement stated that the territorial claims of the reactionary governments of Horthy's Hungary and of Poland were to be satisfied within three months. — *Ed.*
2. The cordon sanitaire consisted of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and the Baltic States. — *Ed.*
3. K. Gottwald, *Spisy*, Vol. III, Prague, 1951, p. 20.
4. Masaryk died on September 14, 1937.

5. *Rude Pravo,* February 24, 1978.
6. Gottwald, *Spisy,* Vol. VI, Prague, 1952, p. 181.
7. Numerous documents published in the world press (see for example, *Nove dokumenty k historii Mnichova*. Statni nakladatelstiv politicke Literatury, 1958, prepared and published jointly by the USSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the CSSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs), prove that Benes never directly raised the question of military assistance from the USSR, regarding this as 'an extreme, suicidal means for the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie to defend Czechoslovakia from Hitler.' And yet acceptance of such assistance could have radically changed the situation in Europe and could have removed or postponed the threat of further expansion on the party of nazi Germany. — *Ed.*
8. *Rude Pravo,* July 19, 1978.

Bahrain: fighting for liberation

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Britain established its colonial domination over Bahrain, as over other emirates in the Persian Gulf, at the beginning of the 19th century following several campaigns against 'piracy,' notably the 1819-1820 campaigns, which finally broke down the armed resistance of the local population. The occupation was then legalized through a number of unequal treaties and agreements, which turned Bahrain — a country in which slave-holding, feudal and tribal relations absolutely prevailed until the 1930s — into a British colony.

From the standpoint of Bahrain's social relations and the whole of its socio-political life, the discovery of oil in the 1930s was an important turning point in its history. The development of the oil industry[1] went hand in hand with a rapid growth of activity by foreign capital, as will be seen from the establishment in the country of many subsidiaries of U.S. and West European companies, banks and commercial establishments. Foreign capital began most intensively to infiltrate the country after 1967, when the rise of the Arab peoples' liberation struggle and the growth of economic difficulties at home confronted Britain with the need to pull out its troops from the Persian Gulf area. An aluminum plant and some allied industrial enterprises were set up in Bahrain, and construction was started on a number of other projects, including a dry dock, which is being built by OAPEC.

All of this has led to important socio-economic changes, the de-

struction of the old and the emergence of new, capitalist relations of production. The former pearl-divers and fishermen, the peasants and handicraftsmen were becoming wage-workers. A local bourgeoisie, including a big bourgeoisie, was taking shape, gradually establishing its control over the administration. This is a process on which Lenin remarked that 'the export of capital influences and greatly accelerates the development of capitalism in those countries to which it is exported' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 22, p. 243).

This background of stepped-up activity by foreign capital and local bourgeoisie brought out more clearly the specific features of the social demarcation, the nature of the class struggle and the policy of each social class and section. The main contradiction of Bahrain society is the contradiction between imperialism and local big capital, which is taking shape in the process of fairly rapid bourgeoisification of the basically feudal ruling dynasty, on the one hand, and the working class, the petty and a section of the middle bourgeoisie, and the revolutionary intelligentsia, on the other. Let us note in this context that, in contrast to other developing countries, Bahrain has an extremely small peasantry, most of which has been eroded by the economic changes of the past few decades. Today it makes up only about one per cent of the economically active population.[2] At the same time, the working class is a prominent element of the structure of society: in 1971, it made up 67 per cent of the employed population. This class is the vanguard of our country's anti-imperialist forces.

The people of Bahrain have steadfastly fought against British domination. An outstanding milestone here was the 1954-1956 movement, headed by the commercial bourgeoisie, which put forward reformist slogans that had an anti-colonialist edge (including the demand for an elective legislative council). The growing working class had a great part to play in the 1954-1956 movement, and one of its gains was the right to set up trade unions. The Bahrain Workers' Union was established in October 1955, and it soon had 14,000 members, mainly workers of the Bahrain Petroleum Company and civil servants. The Bahrain people's anti-colonial action was organically tied in with the revolutionary activity of the national-liberation movement which spread in the Middle East in the 1950s, the start of the collapse of the colonial empires, and also the emergence of the world socialist system as the decisive force in the struggle against imperialism, and the spread of national-democratic and Marxist-Leninist ideas. Then came the establishment of the Bahrain National Liberation Front (BNLF), a revolutionary party which, through the underground newspaper, *Jamahir,* started actively helping the working people to develop a national and class consciousness. The BNLF Charter described it as 'the conscious vanguard of the people of

Bahrain, carrying on a consistent and implacable struggle against imperialism.'

The term 'front' does not actually reflect the true character of our organization, which is a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. But for a number of reasons that is the name it was given by its founders. The point is that when the BNLF was set up the Bahrain working class was not yet big enough, while its class consciousness was just being shaped in an atmosphere of mass illiteracy, the traditions and notions inherited from the old society, including religious ideas, the great sway of bourgeois-nationalistic ideology and the systematic spread by the colonial mass media of anti-communist and anti-Soviet inventions. The party's name was chosen on the strength of all these considerations, and was designed to help the involvement in it of working people who had a vital stake in national liberation but who were still under the influence of ideas and traditions hostile to Marxism-Leninism, and to promote their organization and political enlightenment. Life has shown that this was the right choice. In something like two decades of struggle, the BNLF has become the most influential of Bahrain's anti-imperialist organizations. Its program and slogans now have the support of the broadest sections of the working people, the working class in the first place.

The Front has become the first political force in Bahrain with a consistent program of anti-colonial struggle and further development. Adopted in 1962, this program set out the following tasks: attainment of national independence, formation of a national-democratic government, elimination of military bases and the abrogation of all unequal treaties; implementation of the necessary economic reforms, and a change of the principles of national-income distribution in favor of the working people; an anti-imperialist foreign policy. The BNLF's whole practical activity is aimed to fulfill these tasks. We are sure that the creative application of diverse means of struggle with due account of the objective and subjective conditions at home and of the balance of forces in the world arena will pave the way for a national-democratic revolution aimed to eradicate the political and economic domination of imperialism.

In subsequent years, nationalistic organizations, representing the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, also emerged in the political arena. The steady growth of the national-liberation movement and the extension of its mass basis forced the colonialists to declare Bahrain a sovereign state in August 1971, so providing a fresh impetus for the people's struggle for genuine independence. The country's first constitution was adopted and elections to the National Assembly (parliament) were held in 1973.

Spokesmen for some patriotic circles regarded the convocation of

the National Assembly as being no more than an attempt on the part of the authorities to emerge from isolation and to obtain a kind of indulgence for their political reprisals and arbitrary acts. By contrast, the BNLF took a constructive stand on the issue, being mindful of Lenin's idea of the need to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle in accordance with the objective conditions and the relation of forces. It emphasized the great importance of the people's active participation in the elections and saw the parliamentary rostrum as an important instrument for further consolidating the democratic gains, exposing the authorities' repressive acts, and fighting the political and economic domination of imperialism, in particular, securing the elimination of the U.S. naval base at El Jafir, which had been set up in December 1971. At the same time, the BNLF emphasized that parliamentary activity is no substitute for the party's work in rallying the masses around its political program; it merely helps to enhance the authority of the party and the whole patriotic movement and to spread its ideals.

The communists fought the elections in a bloc with representatives of other progressive forces. Of the 12 candidates nominated by the bloc 8 were elected, constituting, together with independent patriotic deputies, a majority in the National Assembly, which has 30 seats. This testified to the growing level of mass political consciousness and frustration of the authorities' attempts to weaken the national movement.

The opening of parliament coincided with an intensification of the working-class struggle for better conditions and trade union freedoms. In 1974, workers of the aluminum plant, builders, electricians and public-health workers set up their own trade union, which the authorities, however, did not recognize. The class struggle was assuming acute forms. There were 36 strikes in 1974 alone.

In their efforts to weaken the revolutionary movement, the authorities carried out numerous arrests in the summer of 1974 among public figures and trade union leaders who were known for their progressive views. They issued a 'decree on measures to ensure state security,' which gave the Minister of the Interior the right to arrest and imprison any citizen without investigation or trial for a term of up to three years on suspicion of 'opposing' the government's domestic or foreign policy. Many fighters were thrown into concentration camps, where they are being subjected to torture.

The decree aroused wide indignation, and the National Assembly came out for its abolition. The authorities reacted by dissolving parliament (August 1975), and a new wave of arrests rolled across the country.

In 1976, the government adopted a new Criminal Code providing

for stricter punishment for 'political crimes.' Such cases are heard by a so-called Supreme Appeal Civil Court, which looks more like a military tribunal, where the accused have no right to defense or appeal against the sentences handed down. Then came a new labor law,[3] which, without mentioning the trade union freedoms recognized earlier, qualifies any strike or meeting as a crime punishable under the Criminal Code.

In these conditions, there was need, as never before, for unity and joint action by the progressive patriotic forces: the BNLF, the Baath party,[4] and the Bahrain People's Front[5] in the fight against imperialism and local reaction. The concrete goals in this struggle are elimination of every form of foreign military presence in Bahrain, a curb on the power of the foreign multinational monopolies, re-establishment of parliamentarism in the country, respect for the constitution, repeal of all despotic laws, and introduction of general democratic freedoms. All of this would create the necessary premises for taking up the tasks of the national-democratic revolution.

We seek to take joint action all the more insistently because the similarity of stand taken by these three political forces clearly prevails over their differences. We can now say with satisfaction that in the recent period unitary initiatives by the BNLF have yielded positive results ever more frequently, so helping to create a sound basis for a united national front.

At the same time we are aware that success in the liberation struggle in Bahrain is impossible unless there is close interaction with the national-democratic forces in other countries of our region, with the national-liberation movement as a whole, with the international working-class and communist movement, and unless there is reliance on world socialism, above all the Soviet Union, the leading socialist power. Our party has kept emphasizing the vital importance of strengthening Arab-Soviet friendship, and puts a high value on the Soviet Union's consistent approach to the problem of solving the Middle East crisis, which fully meets the interests of the Arab peoples.

Like the whole of the Middle East, the Persian Gulf area is an arena of open confrontation between imperialism and reaction, on the one hand, and the revolutionary movement, on the other. Current and future changes in the area must draw the attention of all those who cherish peace and social progress. It is natural, therefore, that the December 1976 Conference of the representatives of Arab countries' Communist Parties declared its 'support for the struggle of the Arab peoples, of their progressive patriotic forces in the countries of the Arabian peninsula and the Persian Gulf against imperialism, its monopolies and military bases, and against reactionary regimes.' We

are sure that cooperation between the national-liberation movement of the Persian Gulf area and the Arabian Peninsula with Arab and international revolutionary forces, and the persistent struggle by the peoples of our area will help to block the offensive of imperialism and the reactionaries, and bring about a victory for the cause of liberation, democracy and peace.

1. While the volume of oil extraction is relatively small (3.5-3.8 million tons a year) it is now the government's main source of revenue (63.3 per cent in 1974/75). The oil is extracted and refined by the Bahrain Petroleum Company which is controlled by two U.S. companies: Standard Oil of California and Texaco. In 1952, the BPC and the Bahrain government concluded an agreement on an equal sharing of profits, which has increased the national income but is still inequitable to say nothing of the fact that it does not apply to the refining and marketing of oil. In 1974, the Bahrain government was given a 60 per cent interest in BCP operations in the extraction of oil and natural gas.

2. In 1974, the population of Bahrain was estimated at 250,000.

3. The first such law was issued in 1957. It recognized the workers' right to set up trade unions, although in practice the authorities tried hard to prevent this.

4. A branch of the Arab Baath Party (Arab Socialist Renaissance Party) set up in Bahrain in 1956.

5. On the whole a national-democratic organization set up in March 1975.

Revolutionary changes in Africa

A recent conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Tropical and Southern Africa adopted a document 'For the Freedom, Independence, National Revival and Social Progress of the Peoples of Tropical and Southern Africa.' It traces the process of revolutionary change in our region, a process that determines the character of the present epoch. 'In our continent,' it says, 'the same objective laws of social development operating throughout the world manifest themselves but in a form consistent with the national characteristics and historical features in our continent and its islands.'

In its first part, the document analyzes the present phase of social and economic development.

In Africa socio-class differentiation is deepening. Some of the Tropical African countries now have a working class and in others it is in the process of formation. The working class has built its own trade unions and in some countries its own party, and is objectively becoming more and more the defender of the interests of all the working people.

The peasantry, which in African countries comprises the majority of the population, is the natural and numerically strongest ally of the

working class. Profound changes are taking place in the agrarian structures of Tropical Africa. There emerge sections of capitalist producers and a petty bourgeoisie, who expropriate communal lands, leaving large masses of landless and impoverished peasants and agricultural workers.

The rapid process of urbanization has also led to the marked numerical growth of the middle and some transitional strata, which include small traders, artisans, office workers and intellectuals. In varying degree these strata also become involved in the struggle for democracy and national and social progress. It is from these strata that such an influential force as the revolutionary democrats is emerging, and which in the socialist-oriented countries controls state power.

In African countries where the capitalist-oriented elements came to power after independence there is evidence of a strengthening of the economic positions and even the political influence of the domestic bourgeoisie. One of the focal aspects of capitalist development in Tropical Africa is the formation of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which is an ally of imperialism, a vehicle of neo-colonialist policy and a representative of the domestic exploiters. In several countries it is the principal social motor of capitalist development. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie presents a danger even in socialist-oriented countries.

The armed forces in Africa are playing an active political role and are becoming openly involved in the class struggle.

The two trends of social development — capitalist or socialist oriented — which bear the imprint of the specific African environment, are analyzed in the second section of the document.

There were no capitalist relations in pre-colonial Africa. The capitalist orientation of some African states was born and is sustained by the combined efforts of international imperialism and the pro-imperialist circles of the local bourgeoisie and the traditional aristocracy. The progressive forces of these countries, the conference stated, face the task of creating a broad anti-imperialist, anti-neo-colonialist front. The major tasks of this front are to struggle for the consolidation of independence, for the development of the national economy, for a democratic agrarian reform, for the defense of democratic rights and freedoms and satisfaction of the urgent demands and needs of the working people and for national and cultural revival.

Special conditions have taken shape in the struggle for national and social liberation in the Republic of South Africa. There, capitalist relations hold unchallenged sway and have acquired a monopoly character. That is why the national-liberation struggle in the Republic of South Africa, led by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party, is inescapably and indivisibly linked

with the struggle to abolish capitalism, racism and all forms of exploitation.

For the vast majority of the African countries, whose social development has been held up by colonialism, it is not possible to effect a direct transition from pre-capitalist to socialist relations. A number of countries of Tropical and Southern Africa have recently chosen the way of socialist orientation. Their number is steadily growing. However, the revolutionary democrats, heading the governments of socialist-oriented countries, with their heterogeneous social basis, internal ideological and political struggle and external reactionary pressures, are subject to vacillation between the two antagonistic orientations — one to socialism, the other to capitalism. Consequently, the possibility that some revolutionary democrats may seriously reverse their progressive social policies is very real.

The principles of relations between African communists and revolutionary democrats are considered in the next section of the document.

The communist movement in Africa took shape more than half a century ago. It was broken neither by colonial arbitrary rule, nor by brutal repressions. Now together with the revolutionary democrats, the communists have shown that socialist-oriented development is both necessary and possible, and have indicated the motive forces of this process.

The communists stand on the same platform as the revolutionary democrats in the struggle to give effect to progressive reforms, rationally develop the national economy, improve the revolutionary-democratic state and its organs (the armed forces, the government apparatus, and so on), raise the peoples' living standards and pursue a policy of alliance with countries of the socialist community.

The philosophy and religious convictions of the revolutionary democrats cannot be an obstacle to their cooperation with the communists in the joint struggle against the imperialist and racist enemies. Neither the revolutionary democrats nor the communists claim a monopoly on revolutionism, democracy or socialism. Working together in every way, communists, revolutionary democrats and all progressive forces can solve in an internationalist spirit the important ethnic and national problems.

Today it is not the socialist but the national-democratic revolution that is on the agenda in most African countries. All the progressive forces must jointly defend it against imperialism and reaction. At the same time there is a need to come out resolutely both against the ultra-leftist skipping of historically vital stages, and against the attempts to transplant to Africa the reformist doctrines of the social

democrats. The document stresses the need to carry on a consistent fight against all forms of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

In its concluding part the document states the African communists' position on key international issues. The conference drew attention to the hysterical anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaign that started after the glorious victory of the MPLA in Angola. The imperialists use the so-called threat of a 'Soviet-Cuban invasion' of Namibia and Rhodesia and their own myth about the 'threat of Soviet imperialism' in a bid to isolate the national-liberation movements in Southern Africa from their natural and most dependable allies, from the anti-imperialist African countries and also from the Soviet Union and other socialist states. However, these attempts are doomed to failure. The African peoples have seen for themselves that the socialist countries do not pursue selfish interests and that their actions are motivated solely by a sincere desire to facilitate the liberation of the peoples of Africa. For their part, the African communists give every support to the struggle of the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

With the failure of their African class allies to stabilize the system of neo-colonialism, the U.S.-coordinated NATO powers are trying to reverse this process and to shift the balance of forces in their favor. To do this they are increasingly resorting to naked military aggression and intervention. Witness Zaire, Chad and Western Sahara.

International imperialism with the complicity of Arab reaction has, following the profound revolution in Ethiopia, intensified its activities to control the Red Sea and place it in the service of its aggressive military strategy.

The communists of Africa, devoted to proletarian internationalism, express their militant fraternal solidarity with communist parties and all other anti-imperialist forces struggling in Asia, Latin America and Europe for national independence against monopoly capital, for democracy, peace and socialism.

Together with all other democratic and progressive forces, the African communists actively support the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente between states with different social systems, the mounting struggle of all peoples to achieve disarmament, ban nuclear weapons and prevent the production of the neutron bomb, and urge the conversion of Africa into a nuclear-free zone and the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and the dismantling of all military bases on the mainland and the islands.

The communists of Africa strongly condemn the disruptive policy of the present Maoist leadership of the PRC as contrary to the fundamental interests of the peoples. This policy finds its clear expression in their direct alliance with the most reactionary regimes and counter-revolutionary forces of the continent, in the subversive ac-

tivities aimed at dividing and splitting national-liberation movements, in the growing support given to the reactionary forces in Angola, Western Sahara, Zaire and Chile, in the support given to the policy of military confrontation pursued by the leaders of Kampuchea against socialist reunified Vietnam, in the attempts aimed at undermining the efforts of progressive and peace-loving forces in the world which favor disarmament.

'The African communists solemnly declare,' the document says, 'that they are part and parcel of the international working-class, communist and national-liberation movements, that they are sincere friends of the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, of all socialist-oriented states, that they have been and will always remain active fighters for a lasting and unbreakable alliance of the liberation movement of Africa with the socialist world, the international working class, communist and national-liberation movements in all continents, that they have been and always will be consistent internationalists and devoted patriots of their peoples and countries.'

This first meeting of the Communist Parties of Tropical and Southern Africa is of historic significance both for the world communist movement and for the struggle for national and social liberation of our continent. We feel that the communists and revolutionary democrats should hold joint forums, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, which would facilitate the further consolidation of the unity of the anti-imperialist front of all democratic and progressive organizations, the unity of the communists and revolutionary democrats, as the vanguard of all socialist, revolutionary and democratic forces.

Amath Dansoko,
African Party for the
Independence of Senegal
John Nkosi,
South African Communist Party
Ahmed Salim,
Communist Party of the Sudan

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exchange of views

The need and outlook for united action

MEETING OF CHILEAN MARXISTS AND CHRISTIANS

In cooperation with the magazine *Chile-America,* published in Italy and which speaks for the Christian and independent elements opposed to the dictatorship in Chile, *World Marxist Review* organized a seminar in Prague on the subject: 'The need and outlook for united action by Christians and Marxists to overthrow the dictatorship; the development of their mutual understanding after that; opportunities for alliance and difficulties that have to be overcome.'

Taking part in the discussion were *Volodia Teitelboim,* member of the Political Commission, Communist Party of Chile, *Radomiro Tomic,* a leader of the Christian-Democratic Party (and its presidential candidate in the 1970 elections won by Salvador Allende) wno stressed that he was speaking in his personal capacity, and *Julio Silva,* Editor-in-Chief of *Chile-America* and a former member of Parliament from the Left Christian Movement, one of the Popular Unity parties.

The discussion, somewhat abridged, is published on this and the following pages.

Silva. Generally speaking, relations between Christians and Marxists have always been pointedly hostile, and very seldom did their views coincide. Ever since Pope Pius IX issued his Qui Pluribus encyclical (1846) the Church has been anathematizing communism as 'intrinsically evil' and has banned cooperation with it. That was the position up to Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council (1963) when the Church abandoned condemnation in favor of dialogue.

With the Pacem in Terris encyclical, John XXIII opened the way to cooperation with Marxists. He drew a distinction between the philosophical theories of nature, the origin and the end of the world and of man, and initiatives of an economic, social, cultural or political

character stemming from these philosophical theories or inspired by them.

In his early writings of 1843, Marx equated revolution with atheism and coined the phrase 'religion is the opium of the people.' According to Marx, religion the ideology of the exploiting classes, would cease to exist under communism.

Of late there have been positive steps to moderate this sharp confrontation. And it should be noted that many Marxists no longer regard religion only as opium, believing that it can be used in the struggle for justice and for transforming the world we live in. This has made for better relations and for more mutual understanding between Marxists and Christians.

Regrettably, political cooperation between Christians and Marxists has hitherto been woefully inadequate. True, some progress has been made, but the antagonism and distrust are still strong. The Christian-Marxist dialogue concerns mainly ways of thinking. The mutual prejudice is still there.

Be that as it may, the task before us today is how to build a broad alliance of Chileans anxious to put an end to the fascist dictatorship and establish a renewed democracy. This is a correct policy, one that can open broad vistas for our country.

The alliance we are discussing will be made up chiefly of the Popular Unity and the Demochristians. The working class is the main social basis of the Popular Unity, and the middle strata of the Christian-Democratic Party. There is no point in denying that the formation of such an alliance will be anything but easy. That is why we should closely study what has to be done to overcome existing difficulties.

Chile's experience has shown that the Popular Unity's socialist course was seen by the overwhelming majority of Demochristians and the middle strata as the prelude to imposing a collective dictatorship. And they resolutely came out against this course, and this created the conditions for the coup d'état of September 11, 1973, carried out by the military. This however should not be taken to mean that contradictions between the working class and the middle strata, between the Popular Unity and the Christian-Democrats, were inevitable and insuperable. We know that with the passage of time these two forces, both of them committed to fight the dictatorship, passed from confrontation to agreement. We can therefore speak of a possible alliance. But our experience has also shown that it would be wrong for the alliance to pursue the same aims as those advanced by the Popular Unity, for they met with hostility from one of the partners of the future alliance, the Demochristians and the middle strata. The policy

we suggest presupposes a serious rethinking of present positions and schemes.

The alliance we propose should not have some definite time limit, for in future there might be disagreement over the further program of action. For the existing mutual distrust might well nullify our cooperation. To overcome that distrust, each side must, first and foremost, self-critically review its policy toward the other side.

Accordingly, if the alliance is to come about, there has to be a review of the attitude toward the middle strata. This might well prove to be a key problem. The middle strata hold an important place in every society that has reached a definite stage of capitalist development. In our day the middle strata are the leading social force of the Christian world and of the Church (and will be for a long time, we believe). This has progressive implications, for it tends to relegate to the background, or even isolate, the more conservative and dogmatic elements. Nor should we overlook the fact that the armed forces are drawn chiefly from the middle strata.

Of course the middle strata are not a more or less homogeneous force, but that does not mean that they represent an unidentifiable mass, without its own distinct interests. The middle strata have their own political and ideological positions which are usually described as the classical third-force position.

Left organizations cannot afford to look upon the middle strata (as they have done hitherto) merely as a second-rate force constantly vacillating and finally ending up on the side either of the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. If we are to see things in that light, our policy toward the middle strata will, at best, be one of winning them over to the side of the working class, of wresting them from the influence of the bourgeoisie, for, in the final analysis they can only choose between the two. In their present frame of mind, the left forces will find it difficult to agree that the middle strata can play their own distinct role, with the result that the proposed alliance will be of a temporary character, inasmuch as in the end the allies (the middle strata) will come over to the side of the other (the working class). We should therefore begin by accepting this role of the middle strata. And once we understand their role, we can begin working among them, not to shift them to prepared positions, but for joint formulation and development of a new strategy for refashioning society along democratic lines, a strategy that will benefit not only the working class and not only the middle strata, but both partners, neither of which is doomed to vanish in the process of development.

There is the experience of history, and of our own country, Chile, that the middle strata do not pass (without violence) to the positions of the working class in accordance with Lenin's theory of proletarian

revolution and the workers' state, at least as we have known this theory up to now. On the contrary, the middle strata, in their vast majority, reject that perspective and if they see it as inevitable, they become fertile soil for fascism, they become its shock force.

In Chilean conditions such an alliance can be based only on complete mutual agreement and should procede from the present objective realities, from a desire to unite the democratic forces ranged against the dictatorship.

Such an alliance could become the continuation and extension of the anti-fascist movement now taking shape. In our view the only basis for such an alliance is a common program envisaging an institutional and pluralistic democracy. We visualize its emergence as a process of steady, uninterrupted democratization (participation of the masses, socialization) of society, of economic relations, national and local government. And this we see as a process in which democratic methods are employed throughout, in accordance with continuing programs based on unanimous approval of all the parties concerned.

These programs must be concrete and they must not set ideological aims, for the nature of society will correspond not to dogmatic ideological demands, but to the accumulated experience of history. In this connection we believe that ideological pressure in policy-making must be eased, i.e., it must not be linked to some abstract ideas or philosophy, but to political programs and principles.

Mutual understanding between the social and political forces that have set out to stimulate this process can be effective only if there are identical views on the question of democracy, at least on its fundamental principles and methods, on the forms of establishing and exercising power, political activity within the framework of the democratic state.

Theoretical generalization of Chile's experience (the experience of Popular Unity) was, I think, inadequate and contradictory, and had a negative effect on the development of the process. We are today witnessing another objective process which should be correctly assessed. Our remarks are meant to prove the need for a more profound theoretical understanding of what an alliance of the working class and the middle strata would imply, an alliance between the Popular Unity and the Christian-Democrats, Marxists and Christians, as the foundation of a broad political and social agreement.

Let me say in conclusion that creative thought, practice and morality, which will be as valid in the future as they are today, should serve as common standards for all participants in this social and political bloc. Its formation, we believe, will be the main factor in creating a favorable climate for overcoming the difficulties in our relations. It will enable us to move ahead toward an alliance, toward the building

of the new democratic state and renewing society through this alliance, which will isolate and paralyze, within a democratic framework, the oligarchic minority that today rules by military dictatorship, repression and violence.

Teitelboim. Relations between Marxists and Christians are becoming an important question, and not only for Chileans. It is important for all Latin American peoples, all Western countries and, to a certain degree, considering religious influence in the five continents, is becoming a pressing issue. Marxists should therefore take a new hard look at the changed and new realities.

All of us agree that since the time when Marx wrote the Introduction to his 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law' there have been significant changes in relations between Christians and Marxists. In those days philosophers concentrated their social criticism on religion. And it was against this background that the world view of the young Marx took shape. In his terse definition, 'religion is the general theory of that world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in a popular form, its spiritualistic *point d'honneur,* its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, its universal source of consolation and justification.'[1]

For Marx, 'religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions.'[2] It is only in this context that we can appreciate the real meaning of Marx's oft-cited words, referred to here by Silva, 'religion is the *opium* of the people.'[3] The young Marx had in mind man's search of happiness. Criticism of religion, he wrote, is the embryo of criticism of a society which he described as 'the vale of tears.' He saw in religion a reflection of, and a protest against, real distress.

The criticism of heaven, Marx remarks, turns into the criticism of the earth. In Marx's day this criticism took on the form of an ideological and political battle reflecting the process of development of his thought.

We have a veritable gold mine in Marx's description of religion as a protest against real distress. This thought was elaborated by Engels in many of his works in which he emphasized that, in its early period, Christianity was above all a movement of the poor, the oppressed and the slaves, the first universal religion which changed man's conception of the world and rejected the existing order. Religion sought its adherents among the disinherited and the poor. It abhorred the rich, the mighty, the privileged. It made contempt of vanity one of its dogmas and called for mortification of the flesh, i.e., condemning gluttony, satiation and exaltation of the disinherited. And Engels convincingly and vividly showed the scale of this protest by ascetic Christianity against the ruling class.

Lenin repeatedly emphasized the importance of religious believers having a part in the revolutionary movement. He condemned treatment of the religious question in an abstract and idealist manner, as some 'intellectual' question unrelated to the class struggle. He said that unity in this real revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for heaven on earth is more important than proletarian unanimity on heaven above, emphasizing that the question should be solved in each concrete situation.

The Pacem in Terris encyclical (1963) offered fresh opportunities for a Christian-Marxist dialogue. And if we go back to the beginnings, it has to be said that the Catholic Church, as an organized force, responded 30 years later than the Marxists. The important thing is that the half-opened door let in the light, enabling us to review Marxist-Christian relations, for now both sides realize that when Marx referred to religion as a stage in the real world, as linked with a social and historical process understandable to the masses, he had in mind that the world brings us nearer to each other and that its realities call for an alliance.

Marxism and Christianity are the two main philosophies of the so-called Western world and they react to its realities. Hence the need for a dialogue and for joint action.

Our interest in such a dialogue is motivated by a desire for a common political line. That is the communist position. Time has obliged the Church and the Marxists to alter their attitudes. Under the old capitalist civilization (sometimes called post-Christian for it has retained very little of Christ), values which many Christians regard as part of human nature were in a state of crisis, especially with the appearance of visible or disguised forms of fascism.

The present regime in Chile remains a fascist regime. Eighteen months ago the Communist Party declared in its Manifesto: 'Inadequate unity of the anti-fascist forces is the greatest obstacle to the rise of a mass movement capable of putting an end to the tyranny.'[4]

'There are differences among the anti-fascists and it is not in our interests to conceal them,' Luis Corvalan said at the August 1977 plenum of the Party's Central Committee. 'However that does not preclude possible identity of views on the need to give Chile a new democracy and carry out the much needed changes that would destroy the social base of fascism, the local oligarchy and imperialist domination. And an important factor in this is the identity of views which has already been displayed among the forces opposed to the tyrannical dictatorship. . . . We believe that a provisional government, composed mainly of representatives of the Popular Unity, the Christian-Democratic Party and democratic elements in the armed forces, must be able to extirpate fascism, guarantee the free expres-

sion of the people's will and convene a constituent assembly to formalize the process of Chile's democratic renewal.'[5]

To advance the cause of unity, the Communist Party has presented a discussion draft of a political, institutional and economic program. In the present situation the greatest concern probably comes from the fact that, at a time when the dictatorship is caught in a crisis, when its erosion has become obvious and is steadily increasing, there is patently inadequate coordination of the opposition forces whose task is to facilitate the overthrow of the junta and the destruction of fascism. And yet at any moment, or in the none too distant future, these forces will find themselves faced with formidable problems.

And this is explainable. Still strongly embedded in people's minds are the survivals of a past when our aims were much more modest. The old distrust, harmful prejudices and mutual suspicions still persist.

We all know how difficult it is to free oneself of ossified mental schemas. But today we cannot think in terms of 1970, 1973, or even of the early repression period. The drastic changes in Chile have affected the aspirations and feelings of the majority of our people. The masses have come to appreciate the imperative need for unity, have learned to distinguish the major from the minor. They learned this in the prisons, in the torture chambers, from constant hunger, at their work places. In the five years of this fascist hell, they have accumulated rich experience in the struggle against the junta.

That is why we believe that the task today is to agree on our criteria. This will make for closer joint action to topple the dictatorship and start the process of democratic renewal.

But to achieve that there has to be a series of agreements that will improve organization of the movement which at present consists entirely of local groups. That is the main problem and one that brooks no delay. It can be solved by our joint efforts. And without in any way prejudicing the agreements we can already conclude, we can also examine the question of the democracy that will replace the dictatorship.

We agree that in building the new state we must reject from the very outset any idea of institutionalizing fascism. The new state must come as the result of consultations with the people, the result of the free expression of their sovereign will, and the best instrument for that is the referendum, elections to the new representative bodies, the constituent assembly, etc.

We agree that political questions are of vital importance. But we also believe that more attention should be devoted to socio-economic problems, the immediate demands of the people, the effort to rescue the country from the unprecedented crisis created by the junta.

We want to contribute to the formation of a provisional government based on alliance of all the anti-fascist forces that fought the dictatorship. Only such a government will be really capable of giving Chile democracy and ensuring its consistent development. But this is not a prior condition for concluding the agreements we can already conclude today. We are not demanding everything or nothing; all we want is for our ideas to be subjected to constructive discussion.

We believe that the Popular Unity, within which Marxists, Radicals and Christians cooperate, is an essential element in joint action with other anti-dictatorial forces. The Popular Unity favors legal existence of all parties except fascist groups.

We do not want to encourage illusions or draw unrealistic conclusions. The struggle is a hard one and there is no telling when it will end. But this much is clear: the defeat of fascism is inevitable. Nevertheless, we have to reckon with a difficult and long fight, for though the hardest times are behind us, the future will be anything but easy. Recent events in Chile are indicative of the difficulties we will have to contend with. The junta, and in particular Pinochet, represent a cruel but unstable power, and are now in a state of crisis. That being so, they want to create the impression that they are changing their policy by shifts in the government. Their actions are influenced by many internal and external factors. The U.S. imperialists always carefully work out their plans and maneuvers, each time laying out the cards differently, but the deck is shuffled by one and the same hand.

We feel that solution of the Chilean problem will come from the Chileans themselves. We have in mind unity of the Marxists, rationalists and Christians, those affiliated with the Popular Unity, the Christian Democratic Party and non-party Christians.

Tomic. Silva and Teitelboim agree that we are dealing with the crisis of a certain type of civilization whose consequences affect the destinies of nations and of the ordinary man, and not merely of some exclusive individuals. This facilitates convergence of Christian consciousness, with its understanding of the degradation of capitalist society, and the Marxist concept of the historical process enriched by the experience of half a century. Another convergence factor is the less dogmatic Marxist approach to religion.

I do not intend to discuss the 'religion-atheism' issue. I will only say that we should avoid hasty optimistic appraisals of this identity of criteria. It does not yet signify reconciliation of the irreconcilable atheism of scientific socialism with the Christian concept of the spiritual nature of man and his fundamental rights. Convergence of views is not something 'on the horizon,' but beyond it.

Like Silva I am not speaking on behalf of all Chilean Catholics

when I say that we are sincere in working for alliance with the Marxists, nor am I authorized to speak on behalf of the Christian-Democratic Party.

I fully agree with Silva that mutual understanding between Marxists and Christians must rest not on ideological reconciliation, but on joint practical measures to cope with circumstances equally injurious to both sides.

There is no time to dwell on the history of the crisis of consciousness on the eve of the Second World War and more especially after it, which prompted (and still prompts) broad Christian groups (at first only the youth and rank-and-file believers) to challenge the alliance of the Church and various Christian trends in Latin America with the capitalist power at home and abroad. These elements began to appreciate the deep antagonism between capitalism with its declared aims, practices and institutional structure, and the liberation movement of the disinherited peoples.

The important thing is that in this discussion we have arrived at two conclusions. *First,* the incontrovertible fact that many Christians accept what they themselves term the struggle for a new society, a new democracy, a new economy, a struggle that implies rejection of capitalism, replacement of all its 'values,' rejection of its 'rationalism,' its institutes, motives, mode of functioning as a system, its apparatus of social coercion, immediate and long-range aims, culture and its significance for human history. And the *second* conclusion: the slowness of Marxist thought, the inability of Marxist groups — at any rate up to a while ago — to grasp the nature of this phenomenon, its depth, its latent possibilities for reshaping the future of the Latin American peoples, notably Chile.

This process began in Chile back in 1935. Needless to say, at that time these ideas were still embryonic. They lacked the clarity and the urgency they acquired, for instance, in 1963 in the Christian-Democratic Party, or in 1969 when the Demochristian platform in the presidential elections envisaged 'political and social unity of the people' as the basis of its political program, in other words, agreement with the Communist and Socialist parties and with the left secular forces which were mentioned by name. The Demochristians considered this an essential condition for creating a government capable of resolving the concrete problems facing the country, ending the 'social and political truce,' and stimulating the process of replacing capitalism by a 'socialist, communitarian, humanistic and democratic society.'

That was the culminating point of the 25-year process within the Christian-Democratic Party, a process which produced two distinct trends: 'our own road' and 'political and social unity of the people.'

The aims of both could be expressed in these simplified (though not very accurate) theses: an 'alternative to Marxism,' and an 'alternative to capitalism.'

In 1964 the National Junta pronounced in favor of the first thesis. This found expression in the program of a government that could be formed on the basis of election alliances and common views on how to run the country.

In 1970, however, the National Junta, by a vast majority, approved the second thesis and this too found expression in the election platform and in the open and clear appeal to the left parties to work for the political and social unity of the people.

For a number of reasons, which I shall not discuss here and which there is no need to analyze, the Marxist parties decided to reject the Demochristian appeal for the political and social unity of the people. To all intents and purposes, their strategy was to split the CDP and isolate it from its social base (peasants, workers, townsfolk, the youth, students, etc.).

This rejectionist strategy continued after Allende became President. In fact, his election was possible only because the Christian-Democrats instructed their Deputies and Senators to vote for Allende at the second stage of the presidential elections, inasmuch as he had polled only 36 per cent of the popular vote.

In Chile, the 'historic compromise' could have been achieved seven years earlier than it began to take concrete shape in Italy. The Christian-Democrats time and again proposed such a compromise, before and after the presidential elections of 1970. At any rate, the proposal was repeated up to July 1971, when the relation of forces between the two trends in the party began visibly to change after the left's refusal of rapprochement with the Demochristians. This refusal largely explains why Demochristian political and trade union leaders are so suspicious and distrustful whenever the question arises of forming an effective alliance with the Marxist parties.

The dictatorship can be overthrown only if there is a broad national alliance offering the people an effective political alternative. That alliance should bring together the three main representative groups which have shown their desire to unite: the political parties, the trade unions and the social strata that are not controlled by either the trade unions or the parties.

Of these three groups only the last, which has no organizational structure but represents the great majority of the population and acts spontaneously, has achieved the biggest success today. Nor is that surprising. Hunger and fear make no distinctions between communists and Demochristians.

The trade unions have been less vigorous in the drive for unity,

though of late there have been positive changes here too. I refer, in particular, to the founding and policy of the National Trade Union Coordinating Center. Despite ideological and party differences between the Demochristians, Marxists and other groups, it has worked for unity of the working people.

The trade unions have thus taken a long step forward, though it is hard to reconcile oneself to the fact that this step was taken five years after the dictatorship had begun its systematic destruction of the unions. However, throughout these five years there have been many joint actions, some of them at shop level, by unions under Demochristian or Marxist influence. But these were always concrete actions over some specific issue or set of circumstances.

Finally, the political parties (all of them were banned nearly two years ago) continue to remain for the Chilean people an inalienable factor of political life now and in the future. At times they have undertaken joint actions. But it has to be admitted that the parties are at the bottom of the scale in achieving agreement on a broad alliance as an alternative to the dictatorship not only in terms of human rights, but also as a political, social and economic alternative.

What is the position of the leaders of the Popular Unity and of the Christian-Democrats on the need and possibility of a broad agreement as the basis for a political alternative to the dictatorship? In both alignments progress toward rapprochement has been very slow and the aims of their possible alliance very vague. This is due partly to long-standing differences, and partly also to the sharp antagonism between them on the eve of the 1973 coup.

Examination of the documents of the Popular Unity parties or of their leaders will reveal that basically their political approach is the same as in the period 1969-73. The Chilean road to socialism, proposed by the Marxist parties, is no clearer than before. The *strategy* remains the same, though the *tactics* vis-à-vis the Christian-Democrats have changed visibly.

As for the Demochristians, or at least their leaders, we have the statement of March 30, 1978, concerning a possible agreement with the Marxist parties. That statement says that they 'resolutely deny all rumors about negotiations with the Popular Unity parties and categorically reject all proposals for a broad front, though this does not mean rejection of certain joint actions aimed at re-establishing democracy in Chile.'

It should also be emphasized that in the second half of 1975 the Demochristians severed all links with the dictatorship and of late have spearheaded the opposition within the country. This is due to the continuous repressions against Demochristian political and trade union leaders.

However, we do not draw pessimistic conclusions. On the contrary, we must be persistent, for joint action is the *only* democratic way out of the tragedy into which the dictatorship has plunged Chile. And consistent implementation of this strategy calls for resolute rejection of all attempts to *split* the various parties or to create parallel trade unions.

As for the need to work out, at an early date, an attractive political alternative envisaging replacement of the dictatorship (and not only of Pinochet), this is best left to the political parties, trade unions and guilds. And once there is mutual understanding, they will have to bring in a third partner, the armed forces. Their resentment of the dictatorship will clear the way to democracy.

Personally, I am convinced that Chile can rid itself of the first military government, of Pinochet and the junta, only if a second predominantly (but not exclusively) military government is formed. In other words, this will not be a frontal clash between civilians and military, because the armed forces will themselves become convinced of the absolute insolvency of the world capitalist system. There is plenty of evidence of that in the five years of junta misrule, with its mass terror to keep the people in submission and paralyze their will.

Theoretical conceptualization of 'natural economic laws' gives way to the 'national security doctrine.' This enables the dictatorship to justify abolition of democracy in the name of the 'nation,' and not, as in the past, in the name of 'economic freedom.' At the same time repression against individuals gives way to mass terror which, moreover, is not only of wider sweep, but pursues different aims and employs different methods. Chile is a sad example of both. Hence, the replacement of Pinochet as an individual will serve no good purpose unless the armed forces, which in present-day conditions must play a decisive role in toppling the dictatorship, are convinced that it is not Pinochet, but the policy he represents that is undermining national security, eroding the unity of the nation, destroying its international prestige, impeding economic development, threatening Chile's independence, ownership of its natural resources, the future of the nation and of the Chilean people.

The following, I think, is the most probable of the many scenarios portraying the demise of the dictatorship. And what I am about to propose is not a figment of the imagination. That there are differences within the military junta and between Pinochet and many of the generals is no longer a great secret.

However the most important thing in our dialogue is achievement of a clear-cut agreement on its three main participants, an agreement that will allow formulation of a realistic and reliable alternative to the government that will come after the military junta. I refer to the

political parties, the trade unions and the armed forces. And it is only on this basis that we can form an *emergency government in an emergency situation*. In other words, a government capable of resolving the formidable problems that will arise soon after the present dictatorship is ousted.

And to prepare the ground for such an *emergency government* we must first of all reject categorically any idea of a *transitional or provisional government* which the main political parties usually regard as the successor to the military junta. It would be wrong to think that organization of such a government would be conditional on keeping out influential Marxist-oriented groups. Most probably, this 'transitional government' would soon have to annouce that the country was on the brink of civil war.

Progress toward the *new democratic structure* will require much more than one can expect from a 'transitional government' that has no real power, no political or social base to lean on, and therefore unable to resolve the great problems that will inevitably arise when an end is put to the terror which in the past five years has kept the dictatorship in power.

What is the difference between emergency and transitional government?

First, the former must be very strong, must have a very strong and reliable social basis, must enjoy emergency powers in order to cope with an emergency situation.

Second, it must be the result of an agreement, as I have already said, of the three forces — the political parties, the trade unions and the armed forces, if the latter are prepared not only to sack Pinochet but also to change his policy.

These three forces, agreement between whom is an essential condition for creating an emergency government, will have to define their aims, delimit the government's power, supervise its functioning and composition, define its terms of office, and so on. In my view, such a government must not be composed *only* of the political parties, or the trade unions, or the armed forces. And though agreement between the three is absolutely essential for the formation of an emergency government, once it has been established and officially recognized, it must assume responsibility for running the country, must enjoy full independent power based on popular support and endorsement.

Third, how will this government be legalized? Legalization can come only from the Chilean people through a free, secret-ballot referendum on a proposal submitted by the political parties, the trade unions and the armed forces.

Fourth, what kind of control mechanism will there have to be to preclude arbitrary rule? It would be presumptuous to discuss, at this

point, the substance of the tripartite agreement on an emergency government. But it is already clear that this control mechanism must be effective, impartial and independent. That does not mean that the government will be subordinated either to the political parties, the trade unions or the armed forces. In that case there would be no sense in appointing such a government.

As for its composition, term of office, etc., all that, as I have already remarked, should be clearly set out in the initial agreement and approved by a popular referendum.

This, in general outline, is my conception of an *emergency government* capable of coping with an emergency situation and of preparing the conditions, within a reasonable time, for a return to constitutional and democratic rule.

Nor am I suggesting anything particularly new. After the Second World War some West European countries, notably France and Italy, found themselves in extraordinary circumstances resulting from the nazi occupation. The political situation demanded emergency governments and they remained in power for two or three years. No one is likely to deny that the organization of such a government will be easy, but, then, no one will deny that such a government will be of crucial importance in the circumstances in which the Chilean people and its leaders will find themselves.

What are the main difficulties on the road to an emergency government as we understand it?

First, the Chilean people have been worn out by five years of authoritarian rule, coercion and forced silence.

Second, inadequate support of our idea by party leaders. This is not the first time I have explained to them the advisability of an emergency government. The reaction, at least from the top leadership, has usually been one of distrust.

Third, no one has so far seriously analyzed the extraordinary situation that will arise after the fall of the dictatorship, nor the measures needed to solve the numberless problems.

Fourth, the past antagonism between the Christian Democrats and the Popular Unity parties. The wound in Demochristian memory has not yet been fully healed; they remember the nearly three years of vain attempts to bring about a political and social alliance of the people. And there is an even deeper wound in the memory of the Popular Unity, inflicted in the sharp clash with the Demochristians five months before the September 11 coup and by the junta terror of which tens of thousands, perhaps even millions, of its supporters have been victims.

But all these difficulties can be overcome. We should set our sights not on the past but on the future. I feel that most, if not all, of the

decisive factors for unity between Christians and Marxists exist on a world scale and between Demochristians, communists, socialists and other groups in Chile.

Silva. Volodia Teitelboim, in my view, gave little attention to the difficulties of Christian-Marxist cooperation. We should, I think, start with a general, even if only an elementary, analysis of these difficulties, for Christians and Marxists are not incorporeal, they are just as human as everyone else.

A class analysis will show that the Marxists draw their strength chiefly from the working class, and the Christians, in particular the Christian-Democratic Party, from the middle strata. What we are discussing, therefore, are the possibilities and difficulties of an alliance between these two social forces, the working class and the middle strata. Many of their ideological differences are exacerbated by the underlying class conflicts. We have to find out how to preserve this alliance once it is formed. And it can be formed only by pursuing the correct policy to which we are now committed. Our analysis of the difficulties on the road to such an alliance did not, I think, go deep enough. I refer not only to subjective difficulties, to the stand taken by the Demochristian, Communist and Popular Unity leaders, but rather to the objective difficulties that have to be profoundly analyzed if we really want to overcome them. To bring nearer this alliance, it is necessary to concentrate on what I would call a uniform understanding of democracy, on what we hold in common and what can help to unite these basic partners in the alliance: democratic practice, democratic beliefs, democratic morality, all of which will be just as valid in the future as they are today.

The events in Chile suggest that we more closely coordinate our views and positions on the future political regime. It should recognize human rights as they are formulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which also deals with the basics of civil freedoms.

Teitelboim. Unity begins from below. And as the unity process develops, it encounters more and more obstacles. They include party claims to exclusiveness, but primarily as Silva has remarked, class constants. We communists have not always been up to the mark in our class analysis, and we have not always taken proper account of the changing situation. From the methodological standpoint we must always strive for a high degree of accuracy in our analysis. Unfortunately, here as in other areas there is still no mutual understanding. For the communists have long maintained the need for a broad alliance of the working class and the middle strata, which we consider a major, and certainly not merely an auxiliary, force. It would be very useful to dig down to the essence of the complex relations between the two. But it would be very hard to form anything like an accurate

picture because vacillation — a word that often causes offense — is still characteristic of the middle strata; change-of-sides is still an intrinsic feature of the middle strata.

We do not subscribe to the thesis that historical experience, Chile's included, has shown that the middle strata will support the workers only if forced to. Members of the middle strata took part in all the victorious socialist revolutions, as acquaintance with any of them will prove. This is a crucial problem and it cannot be solved by coercion, only by active, convincing ideological work to prove to the middle strata that socialism brings genuine equality not only to the victims of exploitation, but also to those who vacillate between two poles and are doomed to fear of the future and to a dependent and subordinate position.

Let us take a concrete case, the attitude of the Christians. I fully agree that, from the methodological standpoint, the most important thing for the unity movement is not to make the policy of alliances dependent on the acceptance of overall demands, but to concentrate on pressing problems. The heritage of religious war should be buried once and for all. The future state must be a secular democratic and not atheist state. This follows from reality and accords with the interests of the whole of society.

We reject the voguish deideologization thesis. Our approach to political action is not pragmatic; we regard it as the art of applying to the day-to-day struggle a theory founded on the laws of social development. Accordingly, we view a more or less broad alliance neither as an alloy, nor, still less, as a struggle between two mutually-opposed philosophies, but as joint effort to implement practical ideas on which the views of both sides coincide.

I admit that I did not sufficiently accentuate the negative aspects of the episcopal issue. This can best be done, I think, by the Christians themselves. They have every reason to speak of their spiritual brothers. One of the most important contributions of recent revolutionary generations and of the communist parties of our continent was that they were the first to exclude anti-clericalism from their policy.

We have deleted the religious question from our program. Perhaps we were not well versed on it, but our attitude was never hostile. Believers could have become our potential allies. Naturally, since we did not go into the problem of religion, there appeared a vacuum which is now being filled, for it is becoming perfectly clear that Christians must have an active part in the popular struggle. We consider the achievement of alliance with them one of our main tasks.

Tomic remarked that, in his opinion, top political leaders have shown scant interest in the problem of unity. Some leaders are not in tune with the masses, particularly on the question of unity. They are

even opposed to unity. They might enjoy some temporary success, but in the end they will be removed by the masses, who long for unity. A study of Popular Unity documents, Tomic said, does not reveal any change of views since the coup; the analysis made by the Popular Unity — or the absence of such analysis — leaves one with the impression that practically nothing has changed in Chilean society. I think that no one can change all at once, without cause, even in times of major upheaval. Internal change requires a more or less long span. But if we make a comparative analysis, if we compare the Popular Unity documents of 1973 and of 1978 we will find that we have travelled a long way. Popular Unity thinking of 1978 differs from that of 1973.

In the present Chilean situation, with fascism continuing to oppress the people and the country, Popular Unity strategy is based on the belief that socialism must be preceded by a stage consisting of a number of transition periods. The most radical changes have been in tactics, and by carrying out this change the Popular Unity has demonstrated its ability realistically to assess the situation.

From the historical standpoint Tomic is right when he says that Chile's destiny should be resolved not by two, but by three forces. Even if Tomic understands the historic compromise to mean understanding between the Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats, then it should be obvious that this was inconceivable eight or ten years ago. And even today, despite the hard lesson taught by fascism, not everyone in the Christian-Democratic Party accepts this concept of unity. I think it would be wrong to replace the junta by a minority Demochristian or Popular Unity government. We should strive for a government representing both and open to all democrats.

Now about the third main force that could participate in the government (and this would be a new political phenomenon for Chile). I have in mind the army or part of it. It could be brought in if it supported the majority government and if its actions, thoughts, world outlook, were in harmony with the actions, thoughts and world outlook of this majority government.

We should reject negotiations conducted behind the backs of the people and in disregard of the opinions of the majority.

The Demochristians reject a conference open to all anti-fascists, but at the same time they urge joint action. Well, let us suppose that there is joint action, it might stimulate a broader agreement in the future. But we should think of what is required today, not at some later date; we should think of the political actions that can put an end to the dictatorship. And these actions should rely on the combat potential of the working people and the determination of the political parties, on their conviction that no strategy can be effective, if it leads

to the emergence of parallel trade union centers and to political divisions.

As Tomic has remarked, the fall of the dictatorship might come about in widely different circumstances. In the early stages the people might not play the dominant role. But the disintegration of the tyrannical regime is proceeding at an accelerated pace, and that in itself is an achievement. The struggle has not been in vain. I take an optimistic view of the future, even the distant future.

Of course, it would be ideal if we could achieve such broad unity that would immediately produce a final solution, that is, bring all of the people into movement. I repeat this is hardly likely at the initial stage. But can anyone doubt that our historic aim will, in one way or another, be attained!

Tomic was one of the first to boldly, without fear of embarrassment, call for mutual understanding with the anti-junta military, I need hardly say that there are ample grounds for hating the military — the monstrous crimes of the dictatorship have had a deeply traumatic effect on the whole of the nation. However, wholesale enmity toward the military would be wrong. The correct approach is not enmity toward the army as such, but enmity toward the fascists within the army and not toward all servicemen. The Chilean army is not destined to be fascist for all time. In the world of today there are armies that are helping the peoples in their fight for freedom and play an important role in the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement. This is something we must always bear in mind.

Tomic rejects the idea of a transitional government and proposes a government with emergency powers. He fears that a transitional government might plunge Chile into disaster and even provoke a civil war, for, in his opinion, such a government would not enjoy sufficient authority and at best could only avoid or obscure, but could not solve, the country's problems. And these problems, Tomic says, would be too serious and too difficult for a transitional government. Hence, his proposal for an emergency government. But as you all know, we do not suggest a transitional government, though we use a similar term: we suggest a provisional government.

We do not conceive of this provisional government as a purely administrative and passive body concentrating entirely on preparing for the transfer of power. We see it as a government which in certain aspects will resemble the emergency government Tomic wants. For it will not be a short-lived government, will have sufficient authority to grapple with the problems facing the country, and will enjoy the support of the political parties. And though we used different terms and formulations, we agree with Tomic that it must be a government exercising full power.

We would like to see this government enjoying full authority and the full backing of the people. That does not require a political agreement. If the Demochristians agree then, naturally, there is no need for further argument. In that case it would not be superfluous jointly to go into the question of the program of this future government, its methods, possible members, its term of office, control over it, etc. Both in Chile and abroad, there have been many analytical studies of the problems posed by the fascist coup. Some have dealt with the emergency situation that will come after the overthrow of the dictatorship. It would be useful for leaders and experts of the Christian Democrat Party and the Popular Unity to examine the various proposals on how to achieve united action and on the necessary first-stage measures.

Tomic has emphasized that he was not suggesting anything very new, that some European countries, France and Italy, for instance, adopted this procedure immediately after the war. Well, let us draw on positive international practice. We are prepared to accept the idea of a government to a certain degree patterned (with account of Chilean specifics) on the early postwar governments of France and Italy. I say this to emphasize that the obstacles are not of our making.

Every passing day brings a closer understanding of the need for broad unity, of concentrating on the essence of problems rather than on their formal aspects, discarding some of the old schemes, including some we ourselves had coined, and drawing on positive experience.

Nor are we oblivious of the fact that the country is worn out and that it rejects authoritarian rule. In keeping with our principles and our respect for the people's sentiments and views, we believe that the post-dictatorship government must uphold social freedoms.

Tomic. Silva spoke of the dual importance of an agreement between the proletarian and middle strata. He said the proletarian strata were largely, if not exclusively, under Marxist influence, while the Demochristians, in his view, represent the middle social strata. I think this is wrong. For both in Chile and in Latin America as a whole, at any rate up to recent times, the situation has been quite different. I do not want to speculate on the future, or on what fruit we would reap from the ideological seeds now sown. The reality in Chile is made by the Chileans now living there, and not by those yet to be born.

All the disquisitions about the Demochristians representing the middle strata and the Marxist parties the proletarian strata might be effective talking points, but they are a far cry from reality. And the reality is that the Demochristians polled two-thirds of the peasant vote, more than half of the urban vote and at least one-third of the votes cast by working people belonging to unions affiliated to the United Trade Union Center of Chile. If we take the Christian-Dem-

ocratic Party alone, it obtained the votes of the larger part of the Chilean proletariat. And once we are on the subject of the middle strata, let me say that most of them were represented not by the Christian-Democratic Party, but rather by the Radical Party and perhaps even by forces standing to the right of it.

And one more remark. I agree with Teitelboim that it is not a matter of burying the past or being buried in the past by reviving old disputes. We should take from the past only that which can help us in the future and postpone to better times and better circumstances what divided us and what could divide us in future. I refer, for instance, to settling accounts for what happened in our relations in the period from 1969 to 1973.

Silva. Neither side is responsible for the differences between the Popular Unity and the Demochristian Party during the Allende presidency. A thorough analysis will show that the question is much more complex. It is not simply a matter of saying 'this one is guilty because he did the wrong thing' and consider the problem solved once and for all. I want to repeat, we are confronted with objective difficulties and we must try to surmount them.

That is why I say that Tomic is wrong in claiming that a historic agreement could have been reached in 1970. I say no: such an agreement could not have been concluded in 1970. The problems were too serious and too basic, and the difficulties were of an objective character.

Can we say that we are on the road to resolving them? One would like to answer in the affirmative. But in 1970, and of course earlier, the conditions had not yet matured. Let us hope they will appear soon. But for that we must make certain correctives in our actions.

Nor can I agree with another point made here by Tomic. I am not a Marxist, but as far as I know, one of the basic requirements of Marxism, set by Marx himself, is class analysis. I do not think that a class analysis provides a comprehensive picture of reality, though it is a basic element of cognition and we must therefore take it into account. That is why I believe that the considerations put before us here by Tomic represent an unwitting attempt to avoid a class analysis. And yet if our policy is to be a realistic one, we must begin precisely with such an analysis.

That is why we say: yes, it is true that the Popular Unity is dominated by the working class. Does this mean that it is made up exclusively of workers? Of course, not.

I would say that the Christian-Democratic Party and the Church speak mainly for the middle strata. Does this mean that they have no support among the workers? Of course, not. The Christian-Democratic Party includes also peasants. However, speaking of that party

and of the Church we must first and foremost say that they express the interests of the middle strata. If this is contested, then please tell me what social strata, what social classes, dominate the Popular Unity, the Demochristian Party and the Church. To avoid this question means to shirk a class analysis. to deny its importance.

Considering the social milieu in which each party operates, and the social origins of its leadership, individually and collectively, we can say that the middle strata dominate in the Christian-Democratic Party and that this party champions mainly their interests, though, of course, other strata are also represented in its ranks. By the same token, the Popular Unity is dominated by the working class, just as in the past the Church was dominated not by the middle strata, but by conservative, landowning, oligarchic elements which we today describe as 'integrist.'

And my final remark. I do not attach much importance to the problem of the future government. It seems to me that from the social, political and cultural standpoints, it is much more important to deal with the alliance problem. The question of the government can be solved in many different ways, depending on circumstances. We cannot foresee how the fall of the dictatorship will come about, nor can we predict the course of events. Any decision we make about the government will depend on many different factors. That is why I do not want to tie in the problem of the alliance with the concrete problem of the future government, with which we can deal when the time comes.

I also think that we must take up the problem of alliance in the context not only of the future government, but mainly in the context of the future state. For we are working toward an alliance of social and political forces aimed at establishing a new democratic state. Such an alliance can, of course, develop into a joint government. But I do not think that this is inevitable. If our alliance progresses, constantly perfecting its structure and organization, then we could envisage cooperation on two levels, the constitutional state and the government. In a certain set of circumstances, one part of the alliance will form the government, under other circumstances that will fall to another part of the alliance. But if the alliance continues to progress, then, providing there are no fundamental differences, no one will be denied a share in solving the problem of power. That can come about not through a life-and-death struggle, but as the result of action by the social and political alliance that will consummate the creation of the new state. But due to a multitude of factors and widely different circumstances, not all the organizations represented in the alliance will be represented in the government. And if we take a somewhat different view of the future government and the opposition, this does

not mean that we are against the appropriate provisions being set out in the alliance agreement, inasmuch as the alliance will be the architect of the new democratic state, in which the government can represent first one then another force. But in both cases it will follow the main policy laid down by the alliance.

Tomic. A lawyer by profession, I am more judge than advocate. That is why I admit that Silva has given us a more correct outline than I have. Real power within the Christian-Democratic movement, now as before, belongs to members of the middle, rather than the proletarian or popular strata, though it is from the latter that we obtain most of our support at the polls. But let me repeat: I cannot accept an agreement based on the idea that it is the natural and preordained destiny of the Demochristians to represent the middle classes, while the Marxist parties, and they alone, represent the proletariat.

As for the other question raised here by Silva, about the Demochristians and Marxists alternating in government as a precondition for reaching agreement or forming an alliance, I must admit that the idea seems to me very confusing. Any agreement about the two parties taking turns in government could be justified, and would be workable, in countries with a constitutional structure approved by the vast majority of the people and representing the rights and interests of that majority. But that certainly does not apply to countries where the reality requires the establishment of a just, balanced, and dynamic social structure representing the interests of a considerable majority of the population and not of the narrow social stratum which for centuries has controlled the machinery of state and is prepared to fight to retain the status quo. That precisely is tne problem in Chile and throughout Latin America: how to destroy the dominant system, the system of capitalism which is based on definite values expressed in definite institutions controlled by definite social groups.

Teitelboim. Both Tomic and Silva have noted a concrete and very important fact, one that is no longer questioned: Marxists and Christians have come out against the fascist dictatorship in Chile. This was not so during the civil war in Spain and in the first decades of the Franco regime. Similarity of views in Latin America began about ten years ago. And though this has been, to a certain degree, a zigzag and contradictory process, I see it as a new phenomenon, perhaps the most important in the recent history of our continent. But think of all the obstacles that lie ahead! I know that we are divided — and will be divided — not only by many barriers, not only by different philosophies, but also by long-standing prejudices. The main problem today is to get rid of the old prejudices, see things in a clear light, so that the factors that unite us shall prevail over those that tend to disunite us.

I deliberately, and not out of optimism (misplaced in this particular case), have stressed these new factors which create a new reality, these noble and constructive ideas. They do not close, but rather open, the road to mutual understanding. A month after the coup, the Communist Party published its first Manifesto. To confirmed pragmatists it seemed absurd, contrary to common sense. Fascism, the Manifesto said, leaves no one except the fascists room for political activity, and the time will come when the communists, socialists, Popular Unity and Demochristians find themselves in one and the same trench. In the dramatic situation of those days, many regarded our Manifesto as a piece of stupidity, a picture of what the Chilean people will never see. Nevertheless, in this relatively short span, three years, this obvious 'absurdity,' this 'nonsensical idea' has become part of historical reality.

The central problem concerns not individuals, not even the government, it concerns the state. What classes will it represent? What social and economic interests will it express? What political aims will it pursue? Whom will it consider its enemy? What will be its attitude toward imperialism, the latifundia, reaction and fascism? To give a clear answer to these questions is to lay the cornerstone of our alliance.

We are now in a position to discuss and organize joint action by forces holding differing views on the universe, but aware of the need to build, by joint effort, a society on earth in which our people are assured a decent life and shall never again be oppressed and humiliated.

That is at the bedrock of our discussion. I think that we are brought together also by the fact that no one among us has suggested a return to the past. All of us are looking for new solutions. And all of us take a critical view of what has happened in Chile. Its history could have followed a different course. It is not easy to keep in step with the times and with new demands. But our debate has shown that we have learned from our past mistakes. We have made certain correctives, and in this respect have been successful. But much remains to be done. Each party is making its own dedicated effort, but the results would be much greater if we concerted our efforts. We reject the allegation that the Christians and Marxists have come together by sheer accident and only to agree on short-term goals. Essentially, we are proposing an alliance for the achievement of strategic aims.

1. Marx and Engels, *Coll. Works,* Vol. 3, p. 175.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Cf. *El Pleno de agosto de 1977 del Comite Central del Partido Comunista de Chile,* Ediciones COLO-COLO, 1978, p. 55.
5. Ibid., p. 64.



Man and his future

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IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

The problem of man and his future, which is now being widely discussed all over the world, has acquired truly global proportions. This is quite natural, for the intensive internationalization of production and the whole of social life has brought into sharp focus the question of the outcome of the historic competition between the coexisting opposite socio-economic systems, and of the short- and long-term prospects for the development of society. The historical scale of human activity and of the role of the subjective factor in the revolutionary transformation of society are steadily increasing. On the other hand, the advance of the scientific and technical revolution, which not only has positive but in many cases negative results, tends sharply to increase the number of factors inducing man's biological maladaptation, pollution of his habitat, the growth of nervous and mental strain in the process of work and contacts among men, which results in states of stress and various diseases designated as 'diseases of civilization' (cardio-vascular diseases, mental disease, cancer, and so on). As a result, mankind is now forced ever more intensely to think about way of preserving itself as a species adapted to the changing social and natural conditions of the environment.

It is not only natural scientists, sociologists and philosophers who are involved in the most acute discussions of the problems of man. Ever greater numbers of people who have nothing to do with science and frequently see its results in a distorted light are quick to invent diverse futurological myths with references to modern sicentific research. They are forced to camouflage the actual emptiness of their 'projections into the future' by presenting them in sensational form, thus turning a futurological myth into a best-seller. Science fiction, films and television spawn an endless stream of ingenious scenarios presenting pictures of the looming and allegedly imminent disaster, mankind's destruction as a result of social, cybernetic, genetic and other types of engineering. In contrast to the Biblical eschatology,

this new one as a rule leaves no hope of salvation, because for it salvation does not lie in the future but in the past.

On the other hand, within science itself we find discourses concerning mankind's future based on an abstract analysis of the potentialities of scientific and technical progress, including those of its consequences which could be turned against man, and also science itself as a humanistic force. Such conclusions are usually based on the traditional arguments about man being a 'creature of nature' and an unsuccessful creature at that, and this is backed up with references to genetic science, which allegedly predicts mankind's 'genetic degeneration.' Francisco Goya's 'the sleep of reason breeds monsters' apply to many of these 'scientific assumptions.'

Scientific literature in many countries, now going through a peculiar 'anthropological boom,' also presents opposite 'constructs,' which may be regarded as optimistic, but many of them are also based on an absolutization of man's 'nature,' which is why they, too, lead to one-sided erroneous conclusions concerning man's future, like the one about genetics alone being able to prevent mankind's 'degeneration,' improve man, etc.[1]

In this situation there is an obvious need to protect man from such 'prophets' and to show, on the basis of a scientific methodology — the methodology of Marxism — the real (and not invented) problems which mankind faces today and which it can expect to face in the future. This is all the more important because of the acute philosophical struggle over the problem which in many cases becomes patently ideological.

The current philosophical quest and struggle make it ever more obvious that today, perhaps more than ever before in the past, the scientific answer to the 'eternal' questions of man and his future depends on factors which lie not only in the sphere of philosophy. These problems cannot be answered only out of a 'pure love for wisdom.' There is a need to gain a good understanding of the substance of the social relations which make man what he is, and to know the new and ever more complicated problems in modern science which bear directly on man, on his biological existence and social development. Nor does this apply only to the social and humanitarian sciences. Natural science, biology in the first place, has become one of the main sources for projecting the future of man and mankind. Philosophy is now increasingly forced to reckon with these projections, while, of course, retaining the right to judge these on the strength of its own experience and analysis of social reality as concretely expressed in historical space and time.

One cannot say that modern philosophy has been caught unawares by the fact that the problem of man has now become a vital *social*

problem bearing on the vital elements of mankind, as the chief problem in the present-day theoretical comprehension of the processes of world development. The philosophical cognition of the world has always had it in mind, and classical philosophy, beginning with the philosophy of Ancient Greece, not only established the image of man created by this or that epoch, but always created an ideal, an 'idea' of the future man. It is true that the prevalence of positivist conceptions in Western philosophy in the recent period has also had a negative role to play in the examination of these problems, which is why the forced 'return to man' unconnected with the inner logic of the development of present-day bourgeois philosophy as a whole was necessarily rather artificial in many cases, so adding to the strength of the influence and prejudices of scientism, the ideological heir of positivism which speculates on the growing prestige of the current scientific and technical revolution.

This does not mean, of course, that within this philosophical tradition the problems of man are now being tackled less intensively than in the past. Not at all. But I think that this is now being done less effectively than in the past. We find attempts to examine man isolated and atomized within the framework of a 'pure' philosophy, either by means of absolutized methods of biology, genetics, psychology, ethology, and so on, in contrast with the integral approach which is associated with a philosophical view of man, and also with his aesthetic comprehension in art.[2] The fragmentation of these various spheres of cognition due to the presence of alienation or of its residual elements is one of the main obstacles to a truly integral and systemic examination of the problem of man.

Meanwhile, there is a growing need today precisely for a complex approach to the problem. Science has to establish not only the various aspects of the prospects before man, but as a system, and one which is analyzed in its development. Only then can one hope that the conclusions will be meaningful for actual life and will be reflected in the practice of social construction. That is the approach to the problem taken by the Marxist-Leninist social science.

The Marxist orientation proposes above all a scientific methodology for projecting the future of man and mankind. According to Marxism, man's historical development has a single point of intersection, a peculiar focal point at which the various trends leading to the future are brought together and amplified many times over. This is communism, a society in which the development of man is an end in itself, for communism opens up the prospects for creating 'for *all people* such a condition that everyone can freely develop his human nature and live in a human relationship with his neighbors.'[3] This is the solution for a truly universal human problem, and it will establish

for humanity a boundless perspective for its future development.

But looking into the future is not an end in itself for Marxism, which does so for the purpose of gaining a better view of the current problems in shaping the new man. Hence its formulation of the problem not just of the communist ideal of man, but also of the *ways to attain it,* i.e., the concrete and meaningful (theoretical and practical) tasks in moulding the new man with his perspective development in view.

Consideration of the future man is clearly impossible without an analysis of his substance. Marxism gives this problem a specific interpretation which is closely connected with the materialist view of history, the crucial role of labor, of man's practical activity in the life of society, an understanding of the crucial substance of the individual and a conception of real, scientific humanism. It is also largely a question of the relation between the social and the biological in man. At the same time, it is also a question of whether the social or biological factors are decisive in determining man's development.

In contrast to idealistic, religious and mystical conceptions and naturalistic anthropologism, Marx suggested in the mid-19th century an idea which has become crucial to the scientific understanding of man. He said: 'The human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.'[4]

It is hard to find in the history of scientific knowledge a truth more simple and more obvious and at the same time more profound and fundamental, which science managed to discover only after centuries of development, hard quest and bitter ideological struggle. The discovery of man's social essence, which is closely connected with the conception of the dialectical-materialist view of history, marked a genuine revolution in the social sciences, philosophy in the first place.

While emphasizing the importance of man's social ties and characteristics, Marxism does not at all seek to level down individuals or to minimize their specific qualities as personalities endowed with character, will, capabilities and emotions. On the contrary, it draws attention to the general uniformities in order to bring out these personal qualities of men in greater relief and make them scientifically explicable. That is where it is important to look not only at man's social essence, but also at his biological nature.

As a social being, man does not stand in antithesis to his natural essence, which is his antecedent. But while determining the ways along which man is to develop in the future (including his biological development), Marxism takes account of the intricate interaction of social and biological factors and establishes the primacy of the former. As a bio-social being, man does not have a 'twofold nature,'

although biological factors are essential and operate in a 'transcended form.'

Marxism rejects the biological conceptions of man and his future which are spun out today with various references, notably, to ethology, genetics and other sciences. It rejects the neo-eugenic projects for 'breeding' a new man through selection or by means of genetic engineering. Marxist-Leninist theory believes that man's future is connected above all with mankind's social development toward communism.

Marx and Lenin constantly emphasized that the full, all-round and free development of every individual, of all the members of society is not just a distant goal of humanity's historical advance. It is not only in some distant future that man will uniquely radiate in all his capabilities, just as each drop of morning dew uniquely glitters with all the colors of the rainbow, according to a poetic simile used by Marx as a young man. In his later years, he emphasized that man, 'the constant prerequisite of human history, is also its constant product and result.'

At every stage of history, the total effect of its material and spiritual motive forces — with concrete, labor activity playing the crucial role — has had a formative influence on man. Each exploitative social system spontaneously and through a definite system of educational instruments produces a corresponding type of man, together with human forces contradicting its substance which worked for its destruction and for transition to a new stage of social development. Thus, the new man — revolutionary, herald of the future and active architect of it — takes shape within the entrails of capitalism, above all within the working class.

Lenin sharply criticized the theoretical and practical-political conclusions about man's nature being immutable and shot through with innate defects and acquisitive instincts which allegedly made the construction of socialism a utopia. In order to build socialism, some held, there was a need, first of all, to create 'new material,' new people.[5] Lenin wrote: 'We want to build socialism with the aid of those men and women who grew up under capitalism, were depraved and corrupted by capitalism, but steeled for the struggle by capitalism . . . We want to start building socialism at once out of the material that capitalism left us yesterday to be used today, at this very moment, and not with people reared in hothouses, assuming that we were to take this fairy tale seriously' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 29, pp. 69-70).

That was the humanistic idea with which the Great Socialist Revolution was carried out in October 1917. In the 60 years since then, the Soviet people have scored tremendous successes both in creating new social conditions, developing the economic potential and raising

living standards, and in moulding the new man. Socialism alone has put forward the task of man's development as a scientifically comprehended social goal, and this task is now being consciously, massively and in a balanced manner fulfilled anew on the scale of society as a whole only in the course of socialist and communist construction. Socialism creates the material and spiritual prerequisites for attaining the communist ideal of man in the future. What is this ideal of man of the future, and what are the ways of advancing to it? It must be emphasized that the Marxist approach to the problem differs radically from various utopian constructs. Raising socialism from a utopia to a science is closely connected with, among other things, a rejection of the efforts to construct an image of the man of the future in every detail. The only thing that could be done was a scientific definition of the general and fundamental features of man of the communist society determined by its socio-economic, cultural and value characteristics.

The man of the future is a rational, humane and vigorous human being eager to gain knowledge and capable simultaneously of enjoying beauty, a full and well-rounded personality embodying the ideal of the true unity of man's substantial forces, of his spiritual and physical perfection. It is as a social being that man, with his unique individuality and personality, asserts himself.

Consequently, in the historical perspective Marxism establishes the ideal of man endowed with diverse capabilities, a creative, vigorous and active human being with a vividly expressed individuality, a 'Faustian man,' to use an image of Goethe's. Some assert nowadays that this 'Faustian man' has allegedly exhausted his potentialities and strength, and is due to be replaced by another type of man: passive, contemplative, seeking to return into the past, into the 'bosom of nature,' to merge with it in some kind of blanket harmony, as allegedly the only way in which he can acquire true freedom. But this would clash with the very essence of man, which is expressed in his purposeful activity.

The development of the individual's activity-nature in the course of historical practice, through social ties with other individuals, through contacts and in community with human culture as a whole as mediated in things and symbols, enhances man's creative potentialities and his self-realization as the subject and object of history. This is the highroad of social development on the strength of which Marxism scientifically sets the strategic goals in moulding the new man.

The development of socialist society and the tasks arising before it at the present stage fill the communist ideal of man with a vital content. There are now many men and women endowed with various qualities of this ideal. These qualities cannot be equally or as vividly expressed in each of them, but they show that our goals in moulding

the new man are realistic. These men and women inherit and develop — not through genes, but in social forms — the best of everything that has been created by mankind throughout its history. These, the poet Pushkin said, are men with a 'lofty soul.' In the full sense of the word, they embody all that is truly human in man, his essential forces.

The communists reject the old and new bourgeois myths which deliberately distort the communist ideal of man, and which ascribe to him diverse repugnant features in the spirit of the notions of 'barrack-room communism.' The communist ideal has nothing in common with this, it asserts the truly humanistic image of man in the fullness of his social and individual manifestations. Far from being contrasted with the best features of the individual human ideal, it is, in fact, identical with it in the historical perspective, just as the perspective of communism is identical with the universal historical destiny of the whole of mankind.

In the light of the scientifically cognized and substantiated historical perspective, the socialist society now pursues its policy in the economic and social fields, and in educating the new man. It is guided by Lenin's approach to the task: build the new society while moulding the new man, and mould the new man, while building the new society.

The developed socialist society is inconceivable without a corresponding individual structure: it implies a definite level of man's development as one of its chief foundations and motive forces of communist construction. This is an expression of the dialectical inter-relation of social progress toward communism and man's all-round development.

Socialism ensures above all a high rate of economic development and a growth of the working people's living standards.[6] The fundamental distinction of socialism is that all of this is geared to the service of man and has high and humanistic purposes.

When creating the necessary objective and subjective prerequisites for man's development under the scientific and technical revolution, socialism realizes 'a fundamental law of social production,' according to which, Marx says, the trend of progress of the productive forces consists in a gradual replacement of the detail-worker 'by the fully developed individual ... to whom the different social functions he performs, are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers.'[7] Nor is this only a matter of raising skill standards and mastering new machinery and new lines of labor. Indeed, all of this is only a means of realizing the social tasks the socialist society sets itself. The broader the individual's social ties, the broader his mental horizon. Here, the potentialities are truly boundless: participation in the management of production, in the

work of state agencies and other spheres of social life. It is all-round activity for the good of their people that distinguishes the front-ranking members of the socialist society from the types of individual produced by earlier historical epoch.

Of course, in the life of society various departures from the rules of socialist morality, like money-grubbing, private-property attitudes, hooliganism, bureaucratic practices, indifference to human beings, and so on, still occur. But Lenin warned that the building of socialism 'is a matter of transforming the very habits of the people, habits which, for a long time to come, have been defiled and debased by the accursed private ownership of the means of production, and also by the entire atmosphere of bickering, distrust, enmity, disunity and mutual intrigue. . . .' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 123). These defects, which contradict the very essence of socialism, are overcome through the operation of the objective conditions of the socialist system and the tremendous ideological and educational work of the state, social organizations and working people's collectives.

Scientific and technical progress raises production standards and creates the material prerequisites for more rational use of leisure time, enabling the working people to keep in touch with the summit achievements of mankind's spiritual culture. Here the Soviet Union has scored outstanding results.

In our country, as in other socialist countries, a great deal is being done gradually to advance to universal secondary education, raise the level of occupational and technical training, and extend higher education for the people.[8] Recent decrees on these matters (notably, the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers 'On Further Improvement of the Education and Upbringing of Pupils in General Educational Schools and their Training for Work') mark a new and major stride forward in fulfilling the tasks set by the 25th Congress of the CPSU in the field of education and the moulding of the new man.

In present-day conditions, much importance attaches to the fact that the whole effort of education and upbringing of the masses needs not only to be geared to actual practice, but also to have in view some perspective taking into account the immediate and long-term ways of attaining the communist ideal. Analyzing these problems, Soviet scientists emphasize that beginning with secondary school, society must train man in such a way as to enable him to keep abreast of the accelerating scientific and technical progress, and to be constantly oriented upon the new, upon the assimilation of new elements in science and life.

Modern mass media have an important role to play in the communist education of the working people, and under socialism they are

used to spread the best specimens of the genuine and high culture created by mankind, instead of the 'mass culture,' the ersatz for real culture which seeks to exploit underdeveloped public tastes.[9] What is especially important in moulding the individual is the interaction of science and art. It is now clear that the efforts to 'sociologize' man to the utmost, to rationalize him and, so to say, to 'scientify' his life have failed. Man, a thinking and feeling being, has proved once again that he is so much more complicated than all the scientistic limited notions of him. *Homo sapiens* is a rational being, but his fabric is woven of contradictions and the passions of terrestrial life. Indeed, only as terrestrial man does he assert his own value today and in the long term.

Art, in its inherent forms, seeks to express this uniqueness of man and cultivates in him a profoundly creative element in all things: in comprehending truth, and in transforming the world 'according to the laws of beauty' (Marx).

Historical development has gone in such a way that the free and creative individuality has taken shape above all in art. Intersecting with science at the very point of its origination (act of creation), art in its consummate products (in contrast to the universal and depersonalized form in which many results of scientific quest are established) bears the imprint of the unique individuality of its creator, so enabling man to experience concrete emotions in attaining communion with the creative process. In other words, art is capable of occupying a special niche in the development of society's creative potential by stimulating the mouldings of the full individual.

By opening up the individual's inner world, art puts us in touch with the most elaborate forms of human vital activity, with some individual and social ideal. In this sense it is the most humane form of intercourse and communion with the summits of the human spirit.

The problems considered above are only a part of the broader and more intricate spectrum of problems relating to education and upbringing today and in the future. In this connection there arises the highly acute problem of anticipation in educational work. The substance of this anticipation is summed up in the thesis concerning scientific foresight in communist education.

To prepare a person for life in society as it will be tomorrow means not only and not so much to give him a definite general cultural and occupational education. The main thing here is to shape an active and thinking personality, to foster definite moral principles, to help work out an active stand in life, a conscious attitude to social duty, respect for every individual, intolerance of all evil and its vehicles, and an ability boldly and consistently to pursue one's own 'line in life,' high ideals and purposes.

Consequently, this is an active morality, where the communist principles of morality spring from the individual's requirements and becomes rules of daily behavior. In accordance with these rules, man fulfills his social duty, being aware of his social responsibility. At the same time, he is free when the rules of his morality coincide with the advanced social aspirations, with all that promotes the shaping and development of the truly human, that is, communist relations among men. That is when man will come to realize himself as a man of honor, whose whole life is governed by the highest principles and purposes which he has freely chosen. Lenin wrote: 'The ideal of determinism, which postulates that human acts are necessitated and rejects the absurd tale about free will, in no way destroys man's reason or conscience, or appraisal of his actions' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 1, p. 159).

The moral philosophy of man in the communist future — man with a 'lofty soul' — includes all these basic principles of morality which spring from reason, conscience and appraisal of human acts, but it also emphasizes their identity with the universal human ideal established in the course of the centuries in life itself and expressed in philosophy, literature and art, whose best works have always been permeated with a high sense of moral feeling, and love and compassion for man, while simultaneously calling to struggle for justice, reason and humanism.

Consequently, man's perspectives are all-round and all-embracing progress of mankind, from his material being to the sphere of science, art and morality. This is the basic and most important conclusion which can be drawn from a consideration of the problems in moulding the man of the future in the light of modern philosophy and social practice. For us, this perspective is the communist society, which establishes truly human relations and brings out in man all the substantive forces as embodied in the communist ideal of the fully and harmoniously developed individual.

1. Among the scientific works dealing with the above-mentioned aspect of genetics and man's future are: J. Lederberg. *A View of Genetics*. Stockholm, 1958; H.J. Muller. *Studies in Genetics*. Bloomington, 1962; J. Huxley. *Der evolutionäre Humanismus*. London, 1964; E.L. Tatum. 'The Possibility of Manipulating Genetic Change,' in: J.D. Roslanskey (ed.). *Genetics and the Future of Man*. Amsterdam, 1966; P.B. Medawar. *The Future of Man*. London, 1962; T. Dobzhansky. *Mankind Evolving: The Evolution of the Human Species*. New Haven — London, 1962; *Biology and the Future of Man*. New York-London-Toronto, 1970; *The Social Impact of Modern Biology*, London, 1970; P. Ramsey. *Fabricated Man*. New Haven — London, 1971; A. Etzioni. *Genetic Fix*. New York-London, 1973; I. Fletcher. *The Ethics of Genetic Control*, New York, 1974; R. Dawkins. *The Selfish Gene*. Oxford University Press, 1977, etc.

2. Among the examples, on the one hand, are so-called philosophical anthropology, which originated in the writings of the German philosophers F. Nietzsche and M.

Scheler and is now expressed in various irrationalist, critico-realistic, neo-Thomist, personalist and, especially, existentialist teachings (M. Heideggar, J.P. Sartre, K. Jaspers, and others), and, on the other hand, the outwardly antithetical socio-biological conceptions of Freudism and neo-Freudism (E. Fromm, H. Marcuse, and others), ethology (K. Lorenz, R. Ardrey, etc.), and socio-biology (R. Trivers, E. Wilson, and so on).

3. Karl Marx and Frederich Engels. *Selected Works,* Vol. 4, p. 263.

4. Karl Marx and Frederich Engels. *Selected Works,* Vol. 1, p. 14.

5. Incidentally, this idea is still current today. Thus, Herbert Marcuse asserts that 'a social revolution must be preceded by a revolution in man connected with a radical change of all his aspects. . . . This is a matter of education, and that is where one must start today.' (*Neues Forum*. Wien, Nowember-Dezember, 1968).

6. From 1913 to 1977, basic production assets in all the sectors of the USSR's economy increased 34-fold; industrial output (1977 plan) increased 145-fold (production of the means of production, 348-fold), and of agriculture (1976) 3.3-fold. The national income as a whole multiplied nearly 68 times. *The Economy of the USSR over 60 Years*. Moscow, 1977, p. 12 — (in Russian).

7. Karl Marx. *Capital,* Vol. 1, pp. 487-488.

8. In 1977, 49 per cent of Soviet citizens (126.1 million) had a higher or secondary (including incomplete) education, and the figure was 78 per cent among the working population. In 1976/77, 34.1 million men and women were involved in all types of occupational education, and 93.7 million, i.e., 36.3 per cent of the country's population, in various types of education (at the expense of the state). (See *People's Education, Science and Culture in the USSR*. Statistical Collection, Moscow, 1977.— In Russian).

9. The USSR leads the world in the number of published books, journals and newspapers: 7.1 books and booklets, 12.6 copies of journals, and 160 copies of newspapers per head a year (see ibid.).

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The creativity of Marxism-Leninism

L.I. Brezhnev. *Topical Questions of CPSU Ideological Work.* Moscow, Politizdat, 1978, Two Volumes, Vol. 1, 631 pp., Vol. 2, 606 pp.

These two volumes contain speeches, articles and other writings by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for the period of 1964 to July 1978. This has been an important stretch of Soviet history, marked by gigantic growth of its economic and defense potential, a steady rise of living and cultural standards, closer drawing together of the classes and strata of Soviet society and strengthening of its moral and political unity. There have been important changes, too, on the international scene.

In these two volumes the reader will find a deep-going analysis of the ideological problems posed by history and revolutionary theory, the building of socialism and communism, the party's home and foreign policy, advances in science, education, culture, propaganda and by the worldwide ideological struggle.

The book's topicality lies in its treatment of ideological problems against the background of developed socialism, the important changes taking place in the social, political and cultural life of Soviet society and on the international scene. Reflected in this collection are also the salient features of the party's ideological work, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, particularly in operating its strategic line and in solving the central tasks of building the new society. What are these features?

First, the profound humanism that is intrinsic to scientific communism, the ideological axis of the CPSU and the basis of its policy. And that policy has invariably been centered on the interests and well-being of the people, on developing their labor effort and political activity. Second, fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and unremitting effort to develop and enrich them by creatively conceptualizing new social phenomena and the achievements of science and culture; systematic work to bring to reality the great ideals of com-

munism, combined with a bold approach to new problems and ability to perceive the outlines of the future. Third, realistic and scientifically grounded political decisions, a sober, critical attitude to achievements and unsolved problems. And, lastly, a vigorous offensive against anti-communist, bourgeois and reformist ideology and distortions of Marxism-Leninism.

Leonid Brezhnev's analysis of the stages and regularities of the unfolding of the communist formation, notably of the character of developed socialism, are a major contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. Guided by Lenin's ideas and drawing on the rich experience of the USSR and other members of the socialist community and on the achievements of Marxist-Leninist science, he demonstrates that laying the foundations of socialism cannot be followed by immediate transition to communism: there will have to be several intermediate stages of socialism developing on its own basis. And in this context, Comrade Brezhnev stresses that developed socialism is 'a stage in the maturing of the new society . . . when the repatterning of the totallity of social relations on the collectivist principles intrinsically inherent in socialism is completed' (Vol. 2, p. 428). This is a comprehensive characterization of mature socialist society in terms of its productive forces, material and cultural standards, level of economic socialization, social homogeneity, nationality relations and the state of the political system.

The experience of the socialist countries convincingly confirms the prediction of the founders of scientific communism that revolutionary social, economic and political change would release the immense energy of the masses and transform their social and spiritual image. Looking at the overall picture from different angles, the author shows that the building of developed socialism signifies, at the same time, the formation of a new way of life and of the new man — patriot and internationalist, dedicated builder of communism, sharing the interests of his work-collective, district, region, republic — the interests of the entire country — fully conscious of belonging to the socialist community and of the need to support the struggle of the world's revolutionary democratic and progressive forces.

Developed socialism is a qualitatively new stage of socialist democracy, particularly as concerns human rights and freedoms, an issue exploited by bourgeois ideology and propaganda in its battle against the socialist countries. Comrade Brezhnev has rendered a great service by comprehensively examining the problems of socialist democracy and charting out the basic directions of its expansion and the concrete forms of its implementation, and by substantiating the party's principled class position on all these questions. Comrade Brezhnev reveals the motive behind the campaign around alleged

violations of human rights in the USSR and gives a clear definition of genuine democracy: for us democracy is everything that serves the interests of the people, the interests of building communism; we reject everything that contradicts these interests, and no one will ever convince us that this is a wrong approach. For socialism constantly and on an ever bigger scale brings the people into the administration of society, creates the material, political and cultural conditions enabling every citizen to exercise his rights and freedoms. The new USSR Constitution, the author says, 'defines the social, economic and political rights and freedoms of citizens and the specific guarantees of these rights more widely, clearly and fully than ever before and anywhere else' (Vol. 2, p. 361).

The concept of developed socialism is the nucleus of a whole system of important theoretical propositions. As part of its analysis of the political system of developed socialism, and the social processes in the USSR, the book gives a generalized characterization of the present stage of economic development, outlines the ways and means of accomplishing the historic task of combining the advantages of the socialist economy with the achievements of the technological revolution and of attaining the agricultural goals set by the July 1978 Central Committee Plenum.

The new social, economic and political conditions, the incomparably higher level of society's maturity, Comrade Brezhnev notes, have made the all-round development of the individual a practical and immediate task. 'A great project — the building of communism — cannot be advanced without the harmonious development of man himself' (Vol. 1, p. 473). And the author examines the problems from various viewpoints: the humanistic aims of our ideology, the requirements of social development, and the ways and means of achieving our goals.

In this context, the author attaches prime importance to a comprehensive approach to education, i.e., close unity of ideologico-political, labor and moral training adapted to different groups (Vol. 2, p. 169).

Included in this collection are Comrade Brezhnev's two books of reminiscenes, *Malaya Zemlya* and *Rebirth*. They teach loyalty to the Homeland, make the supreme patriotism of the war heroes and those of the postwar reconstruction effort part of our country's moral heritage and educate our youth in the traditions of the older generation of communists.

Much attention is devoted to the worldwide ideological struggle. Comrade Brezhnev emphasizes that détente, which the CPSU has done so much to strengthen and extend, does not cancel out or alter the laws of the class struggle. Détente and peaceful coexistence

concern relations between states, and in this CPSU and Soviet government policy is clear and consistent: the USSR is working tirelessly for peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for independence and sovereignty. And there is a stern rebuff to all attempts to exploit détente in order to subvert socialism and interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

Referring to the importance of a vigorous offensive against anti-communism, bourgeois and reformist ideology, nationalism and opportunism, against the anti-Leninist and anti-socialist essence of Maoism and the chauvinist policy of the Peking leadership, Comrade Brezhnev emphasizes closer cooperation on ideological matters with the communist parties of socialist countries. This will raise the level of ideological work in each party and will give it more weight in the ideological confrontation of the two social systems.

This confrontation, the author stresses, is becoming more tense, and imperialist propaganda more subtle. There can be neither neutralism nor compromise in this battle of two philosophies. This lends especial importance to unity of all the progressive forces. The CPSU has always held that consistent defense of proletarian internationalism is a key principle of Marxism-Leninism. 'To renounce proletarian internationalism,' Comrade Brezhnev says, 'is to deprive communist parties and the working-class movement in general of a mighty and tested weapon ... We Soviet communists consider defense of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist' (Vol. 2, p. 153).

These two volumes are a splendid example of creative approach to ideological and theoretical problems posed by the building of the new society and by world developments. They are an important contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. They indicate to our cadres and to all communists the direction and methods of ideological and political work and give them new strength and confidence in success. These two volumes stand out as an example of wide, painstaking, multiform and successful work in educating the working people in the spirit of our great ideals. It will doubtlessly be read with interest in other countries too.

G. Smirnov
Dr.Sc. (Philosophy)

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facts and figures

Whose ally?

This article is in response to readers' requests (from R.E. Maxwell in Canada; Luis Carcamo, Honduras; Hasan Taktas, Turkey) for concrete facts of the Peking leadership's alliance with reactionary imperialist forces, its actions against détente, disarmament, the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement.

Addressing the National People's Congress in February 1978, Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, alleged that Soviet peace and disarmament initiatives were meant to 'deceive the people' and that 'the USSR is the most dangerous seat of a new world war.' Chen-chu, Deputy head of the Chinese delegation to the 32nd UN Assembly, went further still, comparing the USSR with Nazi Germany. 'The Soviet Union,' he said, 'resembles Germany before the First World War and under Hitler and the United States in the early years after the Second World War.'

Such anti-Soviet diatribes from Peking are nothing new. What is their purpose? What is Peking after? The world press and statements by prominent politicians provide much of the answer.

'For many years now,' the West German *Frankfurther Allgemeine* wrote a while ago, 'Anti-Sovietism has been part and parcel of China's foreign policy . . . The new Peking leadership has taken a further step on its anti-Soviet course . . . It has called for an "anti-hegemonistic united front." In other words Peking wants to bring together all the countries against the Soviet Union, and does not exclude the United States which not so long ago was considered the only threat to the existence of communist China.'[1] And that the United States is 'not being excluded' is evidenced by the recent visit to China of Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Adviser. He was given a warm welcome and had long talks with the Chinese leaders. Commenting on these talks, Senator George McGovern said Brzezinski briefed the Chinese on the state of the U.S.-Soviet SALT talks. His Peking hosts were moved to admiration by his statement: 'A strong China is useful to the United States, but

we also believe that a powerful United States active in world affairs is useful to China.'[2] And back in Washington Brzezinski made this statement: 'The United States and China, the Soviet Union's main rivals, have "parallel interests".'[3]

These 'parallel interests' have at times led not only to parallel, but also to joint action by the two countries. That was the case, for instance, in People's Angola, support for the Chilean fascist junta, assistance to those who tried to partition Ethiopia.

There is also this characteristic fact: hard-line anti-communist politicians and avowed opponents of détente are assured a special welcome in the Chinese capital. Why? Because, as the conservative Paris *Le Figaro* remarks, the Chinese leaders never miss an opportunity to remind their West European counterparts of the 'Soviet threat,' and openly urge them to discontinue economic cooperation with Moscow.[4] And these appeals meet with a ready response from reactionary leaders.

One of them, Senator Henry Jackson, the number one hawk in the U.S. Congress, has made several visits to China. Back from the last one, in February, he told the U.S. Senate that the U.S. was deeply interested in the continued existence of a strong and independent China and shared with China common interests on the chief strategic issues. British Tory leaders are frequent visitors, too. Former Prime Minister Edward Heath was in Peking in November and the reception he was given, *France Presse* says was 'quite unusual for a guest no longer in government.' Heath was received by Hua Kuo-feng, deputy Party Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping and Foreign Minister Huan-hua. And Heath earned this 'quite unusual' reception: he told the Chinese that Western Europe and China shared common military interests.

The present Tory leader, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, was warmly received on each of her visits to the Chinese capital. Last year, speaking at a banquet in her honor, she laid heavy stress on 'common interests' and 'deep mutual understanding' with the Chinese leadership. She called for a build-up of NATO military strength, alleging that the Soviet Union was expanding its military capability close to the NATO countries. Even the London *Times,* never known for its pro-Soviet leanings, remarked that Mrs. Thatcher's statements were among the 'most explicit anti-Soviet pronouncements heard from a senior foreign politician in Peking for years.'[5]

The pilgrimage to Peking has been made also by conservative West German leaders, notably Franz Josef Strauss and Helmut Koll, also former high-ranking Hitler officers Steinhoff and Trettner. The list is a long one.

But one recent visitor deserves special mention, Air Marshal Neil Cameron, Chief of the British Defense Staff. He was in China this

spring, and speaking at a reception after a military display put on in his honor, he said: 'Our two countries are coming more and more together. This must be good because we both have an enemy at our door whose capital is Moscow.'[6] That was said shortly after negotiations with high-ranking Chinese officials and after Cameron had been received by Hua Kuo-feng.

The drive for close relations with the imperialist powers is not, of course, confined to playing host to their most reactionary representatives. Peking is working toward political and military cooperation with the United States, West European countries and Japan. Early this year it signed its first five-year agreements with Common Market countries. Peking is also working toward closer ties with the aggressive NATO bloc. And NATO is reciprocating: early this year its commander-in-chief, U.S. General Haig, told the Italian weekly *Panorama* that 'in a certain sense China is like the 16th member of the North Atlantic Alliance.'[7] That was confirmed by the marathon tour of Western Europe this spring by a Chinese delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Ku-mu. It visited Brussels, Copenhagen, Bonn and Paris. *Le Monde* even remarked on China's 'strategic attraction to (Western) Europe.'[8]

The Ku-mu mission, which included top military experts, was especially interested in military hardware and several deals were concluded during its stay in France.

It will be recalled that in the 50s the Coordinating Committee banned the sale of weapons to China. The Associated Press said that 'the Western powers agreed not to supply the People's Republic of China with weapons and new technology that could be used to produce weapons.' Now, with China the '16th member of NATO,' all the bans have been lifted and the Chinese army is being equipped from NATO arsenals. More, the Italian weekly *Panorama* remarks that this 'is looked upon with favor not only by American and European arms manufacturers, but also by NATO strategists and the Pentagon.'

The scale of arms purchases can be judged from the following facts. China intends to buy at least 300 British Harrier fighters, West German BO-105 helicopters, British Chieftain tanks and Jaguar bombers. France has already sold China anti-tank missiles and intends to license production of Mirage fighters. According to the U.S. *Newsweek* magazine, China is negotiating for Leopard tanks and also for 120 mm tank cannon.[9] Things have gone beyond the purchase of weapons: early this year Associated Press reported that West European countries intended to sell China several complete armaments plants. Cooperation is extending to other fields, too: the U.S., French, West German and NATO secret services are closely collaborating with the Chinese secret service.

While forming closer relations with NATO, the Chinese leaders are also working for contact with other political groupings. Commenting on the visit, in March, of Thai Prime Minister General Kriangsak Chomanan, the Paris *Le Monde* wrote: 'The Chinese leaders told their Thai guests of their "absolutely definite desire" to develop relations with members of ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations: Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore) ... This playing up to ASEAN is a shrewd political move by Chairman Hua, who has promised to visit the Thai capital, where students demonstrating in support of their revolutionary ideals had been shot down by the police.'[10]

Peking is doing everything to encourage a military alliance between the United States and Japan. This was pointed out early in June by *Akahata,* the Japanese communist newspaper. The Chinese leaders, it wrote, want the United States, Japan and China to join in a tripartite anti-Soviet alliance, and it is in this context that Peking approves of the Japanese-American military alliance and disapproves of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Asia. *Akahata* draws attention to China's anti-Soviet maneuvers. It cites this example: Deputy Prime Minister Teng Hsiao-ping told a group of UPI journalists that China, the U.S. and Japan had common anti-Soviet interests, and broadly hinted at the need for their joint action against the USSR. In other words, the Japanese paper wrote, Peking regards the United States as a reliable ally. Teng Hsiao-ping also told the U.S. journalists that he agreed with U.S. ambassador to Japan, Mansfield, that China is 'the Eastern NATO.'

Akahata also reported this statement Teng Hsiao-ping made to Kono, a leading Japanese politician: 'We approve of Japan's policy of building up its self-defense forces and of maintaining good relations with the United States. My opinion is based on global considerations.' *Akahata* added that the 'global considerations' are but another name for China's strategy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and its attempts to build a united anti-Soviet front with the U.S and Japan.[11]

The events in Africa cast a revealing light on the foreign policy China has chosen. 'The policy of the Maoist clique in China has proved to serve the interests of reaction and imperialism,' says a recent statement of the South African Communist Party Central Committee, 'In complete and shameless violation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Maoists continue their rabid anti-Sovietism and openly ally themselves with Vorster racism in South Africa and imperialism, as in Chile, Angola and, more recently, in the intervention in Zaire.'[12]

And the June events have fully confirmed that view. China's Foreign Minister, Huan-hua, walked out of the General Assembly

Disarmament Session and went to Zaire. He visited Shaba province, protected by NATO troops, and expressed satisfaction at the 'victory' over the 'rebels.' There were long talks with President Mobutu, and his bankrupt regime was promised every assistance and support. These assurances were soon followed by action: news reports indicate that the first consignments of military supplies from Peking are already reaching Zaire, and in mid-June the London *Daily Telegraph* reported that China had sent a group of naval instructors to Kinshasa.

China has gone even further in its attempts to destabilize Angola by inviting to Peking the head of the so-called Liberation Front of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC), a counter-revolutionary outfit whose links with the French secret service are no great secret.

In Angola and Ethiopia, China supports secessionist and aggressive forces in violation of the OAU principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of existing frontiers.

China's aggressive and bellicose position vis-à-vis Vietnam is still another betrayal of principles dear to revolutionaries in every part of the world. Peking's 'rescue' of ethnic Chinese capitalists and businessmen in Vietnam is meant to incite chauvinism and xenophobia, and protect — if necessary by force — the property of Chinese capitalists, legitimately nationalized by a country building socialism. This is not so very far from the imperialist tactics of intervening in other countries to 'protect and defend their nationals.'

One of Peking's biggest crimes is its encouragement, with arms, money and political support, of Kampuchea's aggression against Vietnam. Having defeated U.S. imperialism the heroic and long-suffering people of Vietnam are now diverted from their peaceful efforts in socialist construction to defend its territory and independence against Chinese and Kampuchean aggression.

The Havana *Granma* newspaper writes that 'the Chinese leaders are working hand in glove with the most bellicose representatives of the U.S., Japanese and West European bourgeoisie, and they are stepping up their campaign against the Soviet policy of peace and détente.'[13]

Disarmament is the focal point of public attention and concern everywhere. That was clearly demonstrated by the General Assembly Disarmament Session in May and June. And at this crucial forum China took a 'special' position. One can only conclude from the speech of its Foreign Minister that the present Chinese leaders are against any measures to promote détente and curb the arms race. For the Chinese Foreign Minister explicitly stated that peace could not be preserved, least of all through disarmament. To believe him, 'the peoples should not pin their hopes on disarmament as a means of

preserving world peace.' In general, the Chinese leaders have maintained that 'another world war is inevitable.'

Why, then, disarmament? Ever since the PRC took its place in the United Nations, its representatives have not supported a single resolution on restricting the arms drive. China voted against a treaty on banning all nuclear weapons. At the 30th UN Assembly its representatives did not support a single one of the 25 disarmament resolutions approved by an overwhelming majority. China dissociated itself also from the proposal to ban the development and manufacture of new types of mass-destruction weapons and new systems of such weapons. Its delegation opposed adoption of a UN decision defining aggression, refused to support the Security Council resolution on the inadmissability of acquiring territory by force, and voted against the proposal of the Soviet Union and other countries for a world disarmament conference. More, one would liik in vain for China's signature to any of the existing multilateral agreements which, in one or another way, limit the arms race.

China has consistently rejected peace initiatives of other countries, but has not made a single constructive proposal of its own. It has in no way contributed to promoting world peace. And that should not come as a surprise: the Chinese voice has always been heard on the side of those who want to intensify the arms drive. As the *African Communist* commented recently: 'China deplores the declarations of the Helsinki and Belgrade conferences calling for the extension of the spirit of détente in international relations. China is all for the development of the neutron bomb by the Western powers ... China calls for the strengthening of NATO, CENTO and all other military blocs directed against the Soviet Union and the worldwide cause of socialism.'[14]

Early in June, the Havana *Granma* contained this timely warning: 'Bourgeois politicians who dream of using China for their anti-Soviet maneuvers, should not forget that the hegemonistic propensities of the Chinese leaders threaten all countries without exception, including the capitalist countries.'[15]

Such are the facts of China's foreign policy. They speak for themselves.

Essop Pahad,
South-African journalist

1. *Frankfurter Allgemeine,* December 21, 1977.
2. See *L'Humanité,* May 25, 1978.
3. See *International Herald Tribune,* May 30, 1978.
4. See *Le Figaro,* April 7, 1978.
5. *The Times,* April 9, 1977.
6. *The Times,* May 2, 1978.
7. *Panorama,* February 14, 1978, p. 54.
8. *Le Monde,* February 5-6, 1978.

9. *Newsweek*, May 22, 1978, p. 28.
10. *Le Monde*, April 2-3, 1978.
11. *Akahata*, June 2, 1978.
12. *African Communist*, No. 70, 1977, p. 24.
13. *Granma*, May 31, 1978.
14. *African Communist*, No. 74, 1978.
15. *Granma*, June 1, 1978.

Human rights begin at home, Washington!

Listen to what official Washington is discussing these days with such fervent interest. 'It is the moral duty of our administration to fight for human rights in all parts of the world,' comes the refrain from the White House day after day. The intention, of course, is praiseworthy. As Fidel Castro rightly remarked, all true fighters for freedom will be only too glad if Carter's preaching has any effect on some of the President's closest allies, if it leads them to abandon their policy of genocide and their habits of torturing, kidnapping and murdering those who campaign for democracy and progress.

But the trouble is that the 'zealots of humanist ideals' are not at all concerned about the rights and freedoms of the individual in the modern world. The clamorous demagogic 'human rights' campaign has the sole aim of discrediting the high ideals and inspiring practice of existing socialism and creating a pretext for brazen interference in the affairs of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

If 'dedication to the ideals of humanism' were not merely an empty phrase for the U.S. leaders, they would set about putting their own capitalist house in order, instead of charging into their socialist neighbor's home, broom in hand. Particularly as the people who live there like their own system, are proud of their hard-won achievements and have no intention of throwing open their doors to uninvited 'well-wishers.'

Washington has apparently forgotten the popular wisdom of the phrase, 'People who live in glass houses should not throw stones.' And the result of this forgetfulness is that the stones hurled by the Carter Administration in its 'human rights' campaign are landing on the United States and showing up what Congressman J. Conyers has called some crying examples of hypocrisy.

Look at yourself, Washington, and remember the millions of unemployed who are denied the basic right of the human being — the right to work.

Look at yourself, Washington, and you will see in your own country — the richest country in the capitalist world — tens of millions of people living on or below the poverty line.

Look at yourself, Washington, and you will see thousands of political prisoners who have been thrown into prison for defending human rights.

Look at yourself, Washington, and you will see the festering sores of the racist ghettos that disfigure the face of America.

Look at yourself, Washington, and you will discover the terrible fate of the descendants of those who five centuries ago met the caravels of Columbus.

The rightlessness and penury to which the Indians in the United States are doomed reflect with dewdrop clarity the characteristic features of the capitalist system, which in the name of the Golden Calf ruthlessly deprives millions of working people and whole nations of the basic human rights and freedoms. Russell Means, leader of the American Indian Movement, expressed this vividly when he said: 'We live inside a monster whose name is the United States of America. Here respect for life is replaced by respect for capital.' The fate of an ancient people in the citadel of bourgeois democracy is the subject of the following article.

October 12th, the day when the colonizers' descendants celebrate the anniversary of the discovery of the continent, is a day not of joy, but of pain and anger for American Indians. The centuries that have passed since the Europeans landed on the shores of America have been centuries of oppression and plunder, of the physical annihilation of its native population, of those who from time immemorial had been rightful heirs to all the riches of this land, its fields and forests, lakes and rivers, and the wealth that lies under them, in its subterranean regions. Many of its tribes have been exterminated, the remains of others drag out their existence in reservations, deprived of civil and social rights, doomed to degradation and extinction.

'The only good Indian is a dead Indian' was how British General Sheridan formulated the conquerors' credo in the last century. 'No method was too horrible for the accomplishment of the governmental policy of subjugation and extermination. These methods ran the gamut of rewards of so many pounds per scalp of Indian man, woman or child, to bacteriological warfare in the form of spreading blankets infested with smallpox germs.'*

Those lofty words of the Declaration of Independence about 'Life, Freedom and the pursuit of Happiness' have as little application to

*Herbert Aptheker. *A History of the American People. The Colonial Era.* International Publishers, New York, 1959, p. 19.

the Indians of today as they had to their forefathers, who for centuries were trapped, beaten and slaughtered like wild animals. Today the methods have changed, but not the substance of the policy of persecution and suppression of the Indian people. But let us consider what members of the indigenous population themselves have to say about how the 'ideas of humanism' are practised in the United States.

'The President of the USA has raised the question of human rights,' Oren Lyons, an Indian leader, stated at the International NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in Geneva last autumn. 'But isn't it strange in that case that we have had to make such a long journey eastwards into Europe to be able to demand of the President these very rights for ourselves?'

In the past two decades, which have seen a notable activation of the American Indian movement, world attention has more than once been drawn to the Indian people's defiance of U.S. imperialism in the face of heavy odds. A striking example was the rebellion of the Oglala Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee (Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota) in the spring of 1973. In protest against the illegal confiscation of their lands they defended the settlement for 70 days.

Pedro Bissonette, one of the leaders of the rebellion, said: 'I will stand with my brothers and sisters. I will tell the truth about them and why we went to Wounded Knee. I will fight for my people. . . . If it is necessary to stop the terrible things that happen to Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation I am ready to die for them.' Bissonette did die for his people. He was murdered by the police in October 1973.

The Indians fight the discrimination they are subjected to in the 'bastion of democracy' in all kinds of ways. These include actions against their restricted right to use the natural resources of the reservations, demands for reorganization of the Indian Affairs Bureau, publication of literature telling the truth about the Indian question, participation in international forums, marches on Washington, and so on. The participants in the summer 1978 march from San Francisco to Washington walked 3,000 miles to protest against the attempts to finally destroy the Indians as a people.

Some people may feel that the marchers 'laid on the colors too thick.' But such skeptics should be reminded that there are at present as many as 15 Bills before Congress, all of them united in their aim of finally abolishing Indian rights and bringing about the forced assimilation of the indigenous population. This, for example, is the aim pursued by the draft law cynically named the Native American Equal Opportunity Bill. The author of another similar 'philanthropic' plan, Congressman Lloyd Meeds, motivates his proposal on the grounds that 'the Indians have gone too far' in an attempt to assert their self-identity. An 'interstate congress for equal rights and duties' is

seeking the repeal of the 371st treaty concluded between the U.S. government and the Indian people, and Indian renunciation of the very rights that enable them to make demands whose satisfaction could bring them a life worthy of human beings.

Black Americans are sometimes referred to as 'second-rate citizens,' but Indians are shunted far lower down the social scale. The powers that be don't recognize them as human beings, as can quite easily be seen from a study of even the official data.

There are more than a hundred reservations scattered across the country. These are the ghettos into which the survivors of the Indian tribes were driven and today nearly half a million Indians live in these reservations. Hundreds of thousands of others lead a wretched existence in the slums of the large or small cities, assigned to the bottom of the social pyramid. These are the survivors of a people that once numbered several million.

The land of these reservations is rich in mineral resources. They have about 90 per cent of the country's discovered uranium stocks and a third of its coal. According to the 1975 report of the U.S. Federal Energy Commission, more than $2.7 billion worth of oil and gas, $187 million worth of coal, $349 million worth of lead, zinc, copper and limestone, have been extracted from Indian land.

But this wealth does not accrue to its legitimate owners. It is stolen by the monopolies and contributes fabulous sums to their profits. One mine alone belonging to the Hearst (newspaper king Hearst) Corporation in the Pine Ridge reservation has produced gold worth billions of dollars, but the Indians living there have not received a cent of it. And yet, according to the 1868 Treaty, which is still valid, one-half of all extracted minerals belong to the Indians. In two decades alone, from 1950 to 1970, the mining corporations, which rent Indian lands from the state for a pittance, earned between 2 and 4 billion dollars.

The U.S. government leases the most fertile areas in reservations to white farmers at ludicrously low prices. In Pine Ridge, for example, a year's rent is one(!) dollar per acre. No wonder that white profits from 3.5 million acres of Indian land come to an annual $125 million while the Indians make only $100 million from working an area *ten* times larger (34 million acres).

The same fate has befallen the forests, yet another rich resource of the reservations. Only one-eighth of the felled timber is lumbered there. The rest falls into the hands of the monopolies, which grab all the profit.

The plunder of the lands of the indigenous population of America means that the average income of the Indian family is only one-quarter of the national average and lies considerably below the 'poverty line.' Besides, the plight of the Indian population is steadily

worsening. A Senate Commission report published in 1976 admits that, 'The rate of increase of American Indian per capita income has not kept pace with the rate of inflation or with the rate of increase in average U.S. per capita income . . . the disparity between non-Indian and Indian per capita income has been increasing.'

Unemployment on the reservations ranges from 30 to 70 per cent of the able-bodied. And wages are far lower than in other parts of the country. If an Indian leaves his reservation in the hope of bettering himself he is an outcast from the word go. Official statistics tell us that 90 per cent of Indians outside reservations are unemployed.

Is it surprising, then, that three-quarters of all the Indians in the United States suffer from malnutrition and the diseases that come with it? 'Health care' is a term that requires considerable qualification when discussing life on the reservations. What talk of health care can there be when 90 per cent of reservation housing is below official standards, apartments are overcrowded, and some reservations have no electricity, water mains, heating or sanitation?

As one might expect, Indians are far more susceptible to dangerous diseases. Among them death occurs three times more frequently in cases of influenza and pneumonia, and seven times more frequently from tuberculosis. Infectious intestinal troubles are eight times more frequent in the reservations than in the country as a whole.

By no means all reservations have hospitals or even medical posts. The existing hospitals are ill equipped and poorly staffed. Data supplied by the American Indian Movement state that the 51 Indian hospitals are in need of 4,200 trained personnel. The lack of beds in the maternity wards compels nearly half of Indian women to have their babies at home, in unhygienic conditions and without qualified medical care. This is why infant mortality is three times higher in the reservations than in the U.S. as a whole. Unlike the average American citizen, who has a life expectation of over 70 years, the indigenous American is destined to live a far shorter life — 47 years (if he was born in Alaska, only 35).

Many Indians are never born. A calculated policy of genocide is plainly detectable in the systematic sterilization of the indigenous population. The authorities obtain consent to sterilization by means of threats and economic sanctions. Quite often they use plain trickery, playing on the ignorance of their patients. The result is that 95 per cent of women under 30 who have been sterilized afterwards regret the operation. Today, so official statistics tell us, nearly a quarter of Indian women are forever deprived of the joys of motherhood. The genocide doctors are on the way to achieving their aim: since 1965 the birth curve on Indian reservations has fallen steeply.

Another method of genocide applied to the indigenous population

is the policy of separating Indian children from their own people, the policy of forced assimilation. The fate of Indian children is up for sale to the local departments of social security, in many of which the racists have a firm foothold. Surveys made by the Association for American Indian Affairs show that nearly a third of all Indian children are taken away from their parents and put into the families of white Americans or into special boarding schools. In most cases their fathers and mothers do not understand the meaning of the document they are persuaded to sign.

Such actions are abominable in themselves. But if one judges them not just from the standpoint of common humanity, but from the legal point of view, a definition for them is to be found in the United Nations convention on genocide. It states that mass removal of children, depriving them of their people's cultural heritage and having them brought up in the homes of another nation is a form of genocide.

A similar policy of assimilation is consistently pursued in the field of education. In the United States as a whole a 12-year system of secondary education prevails, but in the Indian reservations there is provision for only five years schooling. Curricula are stripped of any instruction concerning Indian history or culture or even language. No school carries on instruction in the national tongue.

Two-thirds of Indian children studying under the Federal education system attend boarding schools. The aim of these racist institutions is to scour out of the young people all knowledge of the customs and culture they inherited from their people and turn them into '100 per cent Americans.' Boarding schools pupils are treated like criminals. Pupils at the mining school in Utah State, for instance, are handcuffed and beaten up in the process of their 'education.' In an Oklahoma school children have been ruthlessly beaten, confined in the cellar and chained up at night. They are forced to do work beyond their strength in the houses teachers and school authorities.

In such circumstances schoolchildren will go to any lengths to escape these humiliations. Here are a few tragic examples. Two boys who ran away from one such boarding school were unable to cover the 50 miles to their home and froze to death on the road. In a school attached to the Northern Cheyenne reservation 12 out of 200 pupils tried to commit suicide in the space of 18 months. A U.S. Senate Subcommittee report on the Fort Hall reservation, Idaho, states: 'The subcommittee was told during its visit to the reservation that the suicide rate for teenagers was perhaps as high as 100 times the national average. . . . We were told that suicide had occurred as early as ten years of age.'

The result of this policy of moral genocide pursued by the Federal and local authorities is that half the children of indigenous Americans

are in early life deprived of their culture, traditions and other ties with their own people. They do not become '100 per cent Americans,' for only a few succeed in graduating from college and acquiring a profession. In the whole of the U.S., for instance, there are only 50 Indian doctors, 400 nurses and 7 dental mechanics. The hardships of their life, the intense human conflicts that develop in almost every Indian family, the feeling of doom leads to widespread psychiatric troubles, alcoholism, drug addiction and fosters crime, particularly among the young people.

For centuries Indians lived in a society that had no need of prisons. The respect for tradition and accepted standards of behavior was so great that any infringement was a rare and remarkable event. It was European 'civilization' that brought them prisons. The colonizers used them as an instrument for breaking the spirit of a freedom-loving people and a reliable means of depriving them of their civil and socio-economic rights.

'Mr. Bell, just try to imagine that more than a million Americans are in jail. This is what the situation would be if whites were convicted as frequently as Indians are . . .' These words come from an appeal by the organization of United Indigenous Americans to the U.S. Attorney General. In its letter the organization refers to official statistics showing that the authorities are pursuing a policy of mass persecution and repression against Indians.

Here are a few figures. In the state of Montana, where the Indians make up only 3.7 per cent of the population, one in three prisoners are Indians. In Minnesota, the ratio is 0.4 per cent and 12.5 per cent. In South Dakota, 7 per cent and 32 per cent, and in North Dakota, 0.05 per cent and 17.5 per cent. Is this not yet another aspect of genocide?

The mounting struggle of the Indian people, the emergence of mass organizations leading the movement for the restoration of Indian rights to land and natural resources has made the monopolies nervous and evoked sharp counteraction by the authorities, who go to any lengths to silence protesters and intimidate and discredit the leaders of the movement. Today Indian leaders are frequently convicted on false charges and thrown into jail, which means they are kept out of their people's struggle for many long years.

The organizations fighting for the Indians' democratic rights are widely distributing the petition presented to the U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell and Pardon Attorney Lawrence M. Traylor demanding that they 'fully investigate the misconduct of the FBI' in the case of Indian activist Leonard Peltier. 'Court transcripts from Peltier's trial prove that the FBI is guilty of obstructing justice by manufacturing the evidence and intimidating and coercing witnesses into making false and incriminating statements,' the petition points out.

One of the prosecution witnesses, for example, confessed that the FBI paid her to give evidence and warned her that if she didn't cooperate she would spend the rest of her life in prison. After this threat she signed her 'testimony' without even reading it. On the basis of such evidence Peltier was sentenced to a double (!) life sentence.

Indian civil rights leader Leonard Peltier is still held in a maximum security prison, reserved for especially dangerous criminals. He has even been deprived of his name and is known only as No. 89637/137. He has been kept in strict solitary confinement, in a punishment cell. This was done with the aim of undermining the prisoner's sanity and driving him to suicide.

But Peltier was not to be broken. 'The American authorities think that by locking us up in prison cells they can smother our movement,' he wrote in a letter to friends. 'They are deeply mistaken. There can be no stopping our struggle.' Leonard Peltier's statement to the court is a passionate indictment of American 'democracy.'

One of the more subtle methods of dealing with Indian leaders is to bring all kinds of charges against them, even some that are obviously absurd. This makes it possible to keep 'undesirables' under investigation, arrest them and drag them through the courts. After the Wounded Knee events, for instance, 314 summonses were served but only 7 per cent of the persons charged were eventually convicted. Nevertheless, many of those who were arrested, despite the absence of any evidence of their guilt, remain under investigation. Russell Means, the leader of the American Indian Movement, has been charged nine times and has had to spend weeks and months in courts and in remand prisons. During this period he has been shot at three times and seriously wounded. To cap it all, on two occasions Means was charged with attacking his would-be assassins.

In Los Angeles the case against AIM activists Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk was kept going for more than three years. Their innocence was proved by facts, but racist justice still held them in prison, where they were subjected to all kinds of humiliations and beatings. As M. Moro, leader of the Skyhorse and Mohawk Defense Committee, declared, the trial of these Indian activists was in itself a blatant violation of human rights. 'The showing of "concern" over alleged violation of human rights in other countries,' he noted, 'is crying hypocrisy, particularly if we consider that in the United States people are being persecuted for their political beliefs and that there are many political prisoners in American prisons.'

In their harassment of indigenous Americans who stand up for their rights the punitive organs quite frequently resort to physical violence. Pedro Bissonette, whom we have already mentioned, was murdered in a prison cell. He had refused to slander his friends in exchange for

personal freedom. John Waubanascum was killed in his own home in front of his wife and children. Arlin Pamanet and a friend were gunned down by drunkard sheriff Kenneth Fish for demanding the return of land that had been grabbed by the church. Raymond Yellow Thunder, an elder of the Oglala Indians, was beaten to death with iron bars in Nebraska. In an act of mass terror against the Indians in New Mexico, 12 people were killed and 60 went missing.

As is noted in a statement by South Dakota Indians, 'the FBI, CIA and BIA and local police have been committing more murders than any organized crime organization. In the past decade they have been harassing Indian people, beating them and also threatening them day after day. . . . The FBI . . . has been questioning people day after day using brain-washing tactics . . . offering people money and new cars to testify against other Indian people on trial. . . . They hire goons to shoot up AIM supporters' houses and run them off the road, and yet they protect them in court when an AIM supporter presses charges. . . . They have been using fabricated evidence and racist judges that believe all the stories they make up. They also have racist all-white judges. This kind of judicial system is unfair to Indian people.'

The condition of the Indians in the United States testifies to infringement by the U.S. government of vital UN conventions, including the conventions on human rights, genocide, and elimination of race discrimination, as well as open violation of the United Nations Charter. It is no accident that the U.S. still has not ratified either the convention on prevention of the crime of genocide and punishment for it, or the convention on the abolition of all forms of race discrimination.

The genocide against the indigenous population of America is pain and agony of conscience for the American people and the shame and crime of official Washington. Progressive Americans unreservedly support the just demands of the Indian people. 'The Communist Party,' states the program of the CP USA, 'gives its full support to the struggles and demands of the Indian people.' The communists urge the working class, the country's democratic forces and the whole world to render maximum support to the Indians' liberation movement for self-determination and acknowledgment of Indian sovereignty, including restoration of Indian rights to the land and its natural resources, the creation of equitable economic conditions for the existence and development of the Indian people, that is, for destruction of the economic basis of racism and genocide.

Last year's International Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in Geneva recommended that October 12, the day of the 'discovery' of America, be declared an International Day of Solidarity with the Indigenous Population of America. Look at yourself on that day, Washington!

Vincent Duval

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