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Workers of all countries, unite!

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feature

The construction of socialism and communism and world development

International theoretical conference

THE BASIC ISSUE OF OUR TIME

Herbert Mies
Chairman. German Communist Party

Current developments show that the problems of war and peace continue to worry all of mankind. They directly concern the Federal German Republic where we live, work, and struggle.

Since the beginning of the 1970s international developments have favored the peace cause, mainly because the balance on the planet has shifted in the direction of peace, democracy, and socialism. Détente in Europe has lessened the danger of war. This, together with treaties signed with the FRG by the socialist countries, created more favorable conditions for the efforts being made for peaceful development by all of our country's public and political forces.

However, it should be stressed that détente is not yet strong enough to be irreversible and the May 1978 NATO Council session in Washington is proof of this, for it approved a 10 to 15-year program of continued arms piling. Further proof was provided by the NATO Council meeting in Brussels last December; by U.S. intentions to manufacture the neutron bomb and deploy it in the FRG and other West European countries; by the fact that our country's most reactionary, right-extremist, revanchist forces regard Peking's anti-Soviet nationalistic policy and its calls to escalate the arms drive within the NATO framework as encouragement to stiffen opposition to détente. Proof of this can also be seen in the attempts of certain elements among the ruling circles of our country and the media they control to make our people believe the allegations that the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries are responsible for the arms race, and that they are interfering in the internal affairs of countries in Africa and other parts of the world.

Continued. See *WMR*, February 1979.

The situation today is such that opposing tendencies — détente and the arms race and mounting tensions — have clashed head-on. The peace forces in the FRG, and this includes our party, are asking what can be done to ensure a peaceful future? What can be done to strengthen and advance the struggle for our country's peaceful development and against rightist forces? In this situation, as in times of crisis when the questions of war and peace are being decided, we, communists, say: 'Follow the example of the countries of existing socialism. The answers to these questions are to be found in the Moscow November 1978 Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, in its appeal to all nations to work for concrete steps toward disarmament.'

We hail this appeal, for we see in it fresh confirmation of the fact that existing socialism is working for and needs peace. It reflects the desire and efforts of the countries of existing socialism to do everything to ensure a positive development of international relations and therefore help to create more favorable conditions for the struggle of communist and workers' parties in non-socialist countries. For this we are grateful to the countries of existing socialism, particularly to the Soviet Union.

The peace forces in our country, and we, communists, have been greatly encouraged by the fresh steps toward peace made by the socialist states, by the visits to the FRG by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and by the General and First Secretaries of other communist and workers' parties of socialist countries, and by the treaties concluded between the GDR and the FRG on transport and border questions. These steps give us strength in our efforts to resolve key national questions and to abide by our internationalist obligations to prevent Germany from becoming the seat of another war.

Today we are fighting to safeguard the working people's social and democratic rights and to strengthen détente. This is expressed in mass strikes by dock workers, printers, iron and steel workers, and construction workers, and by the recent strike in the steel industry; this struggle is seen in the movement in defense of the Constitution and against Berufsverbot, against the mass lay-offs and the curtailments of the rights of immigrant workers, against neo-nazism and against the statute of limitations abolishing punishment for nazi war criminals. This struggle can be seen in the mass movement against the neutron bomb and for disarmament, for cooperation with the socialist countries, and in the stepped-up peace struggle by our many political and public organizations on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. United action by the communists and the social democrats will grow and democratic alliances will be formed in

the course of this struggle conducted during the deep crisis of the capitalist system which the monopolies could not avoid. Particularly apparent are the conflicts and contradictions that today and in the immediate future will influence the country's political and social climate.

Capitalism's basic social contradiction is between labor and capital. It prompts a comparison among broad sections of the population of the two world systems — the socialist and the capitalist — from two angles, namely, property relations and who holds power.

In the FRG there is a sharp conflict between the working people's insistence on the right to work and the blocking of this elementary human right by monopoly capital. That existing socialism is superior to capitalism is seen in the fact that it not only proclaims the right to work, but guarantees this right.

The rising generation in the FRG is in conflict with the ruling class for its right to education, work, and a secure future, for it is able to see that under socialism young people can look forward to a secure future.

There is conflict between women's equality and the discrimination levelled against them, between the people's demand that scientific and technological progress be used to improve living standards and for environmental protection, and the misuse of these achievements by monopoly capital. And whenever these conflicts surface the influence and impact of existing socialism becomes more apparent. It is a mobilizing force with a growing magnetism. It can justly be said that existing socialism is present in all of today's important social and democratic movements, in all the working people's battles for a better future. Like it or not, this is an undeniable fact. The example of existing socialism plays a particularly positive role when its experience is conscientiously and actively used by the working class and its party.

To speak of the influence of existing socialism on world developments today is to confirm the striking truth that existing socialism is the greatest achievement of the international working class. 'By its existence, the impact of its example, and its effective solidarity,'' says our Party Program adopted at the Mannheim Congress, 'it affords reliable and invaluable support to all forces in the world working for social and national emancipation.'

This is clear not only to our party but to our opponents also. That is the reason that every capitalist country has turned all its guns against existing socialism in all spheres; in domestic and foreign policy, in the economy and ideology, and in the class struggle. The basic weapons are anti-Sovietism, nationalism, opportunism, and revisionism and, in

certain conditions, administrative measures against forces viewing existing socialism from class or realistic positions.

There can be no concessions in the fight against these intrigues, for anti-Sovietism would profit from this while existing socialism would stand to lose. Concessions invariably confuse the working class and other forces in our country. There is but one response, to look upon these attacks on existing socialism as a challenge and counter them by convincingly showing the successes, importance, and significance of existing socialism. This, we believe, would be in the national and social interests of every nation.

We are aware that for the social and national struggle in a capitalist country such as the FRG, an understanding of the positive significance of existing socialism must be accompanied by systematic formation of the mass consciousness. We, communists of the FRG, realize the difficulty of this work. The picture most of our people have of existing socialism is far from the true state of affairs, for they are still influenced by their anti-communist delusions. Anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, and slander against existing socialism and the GDR are negative influences, but this does not frighten us. On the contrary, the party sees one of its main tasks in asserting itself ever more as a force shaping the mass consciousness.

In conclusion I should like to say that we believe that such international conferences as this are not only helpful, they are necessary because life itself demands them.

RESIST THE ATTACKS OF REACTION

Luis Carlos Prestes
General Secretary, CC Brazilian Communist Party

Problems in building the new society are prominent in the Brazilian communists' theoretical and political activity not only because socialism is the chief historic achievement of our movement but also because we regard the socialist countries as the main force of the world revolutionary process.

The influence of socialism on world politics is becoming ever more tangible. It is also felt in Latin America, a traditional area of imperialist domination, and is expressed in the equitable relations between socialist countries and Latin American states and in numerous manifestations of the socialist community's moral and material solidarity with the democratic and progressvie forces of Latin America.

This has prompted Latin America's reactionaries to give distorted pictures of socialism and the socialist countries' domestic and foreign policy. With capitalist society in crisis and with its social contradictions growing sharper than ever, they have stepped up their at-

tacks on socialism and the communists in an effort to demoralize the masses and divert them from the struggle against capitalism.

However, reality gives the bourgeoisie and reaction the lie.

The difficulties encountered by détente owing to the step-up of the arms race by the United States, its NATO allies and other countries associated with this imperialist military-political bloc spotlight the forces constantly imperilling the security and very existence of the peoples of the world.

The arms race consumes about $400 billion a year, or more than Latin America's aggregate national income of $340 billion. These enormous expenditures show the increasing irrationality of capitalism, and aggravate social problems, particularly those of the developing countries: hunger, which a quarter of mankind has to suffer; the lack of medical care; spiritual and material poverty; and the diverse restrictions which prevent millions from satisfying their most elementary needs.

Mankind is made to pay this heavy tribute so that the international monopoly bourgeoisie may retain its super-profits and privileges, a fact which shows that capitalism is incompatible with human requirements and social progress.

Bourgeois propaganda has tried to cover up this incompatibility. The ruling classes of capitalist society seize on every ideological argument that helps them to mask the real aims of their policy, the nature of their aggressive military alliances, and the purpose of their aid to dictatorial regimes. Their principal weapon is the anti-Soviet version of anti-communism, and that is why bourgeois reaction applauds Peking's wild anti-Sovietism.

Reactionaries backed by Peking have launched fierce ideological attacks against the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. Although their numerous attempts have failed, they still hope to turn mankind back and to delete from the peoples' history the advances since October 1917.

The reactionary offensive calls for due resistance on our part. The Chinese leaders' activity and their obsession with anti-Sovietism are undoubtedly the biggest trump-card of bourgeois policy and propaganda against the peoples' struggle for international security and social progress.

It is no longer a secret that Peking's anti-Sovietism is not a manifestation of ideological controversy as it may seem to be. It is still an expression of the Chinese ruling group's nationalist line.

This gives us a clue to understanding the ultimate goal of China's foreign-policy maneuvers, now exploiting and trying to aggravate the difficulties in U.S.-Soviet relations so as to increase international tensions to the utmost and secure dominant positions.

To conceal this monstrous conspiracy against peace, international security, and the world revolutionary process, Mao's successors have resorted to the most diverse propaganda ploys and diplomatic moves.

For instance, they have modified their absurd 'three worlds' theory, whose latest version represents the United States as a 'declining superpower' and 'Enemy No. 2' while describing the Soviet Union as an 'aggressive super-power' and the 'chief enemy' of a pragmatic China, whose leaders rely on cooperation with imperialism so as to hasten the growth of the country's economic and military potential.

Reactionaries and imperialist ultras ranging from Pinochet to Brzezinski, the U.S. President's sinister adviser, understandably regard Peking's anti-Sovietism as their finest 'battle horse.' To show how very far the degradation of Chinese foreign policy has gone, it is interesting to examine the role which Peking now assigns to Latin America and the developing world generally.

It will be recalled that the original Maoist division of the world into regions assigned to this area, and hence to Latin America, the role of the world's chief revolutionary force. Subsequently, when the Maoists' claim to the role of leader of the Third World and the 'world revolution' failed, they revised their theory and chauvinist strategy. This will be seen in their current intensive diplomatic activity in the 'second world,' their clear intention to align their policy with that of the imperialist countries, including the U.S., and their readiness to make peace with Taiwan, a dependent capitalist state, provided this helps them to conclude a 'good' agreement with the U.S. According to the Maoists' new classification of enemies and allies, Latin America and the greater part of the Third World generally are the 'property' or 'zone of influence,' of the 'second world' and the 'declining superpower,' that is, the imperialist countries' multinationals.'

In short, if it were up to the Chinese, Latin America would have to stay loyal to the multinationals and imperialist centers so as to strengthen the main hinterland of China's privileged allies.

The peoples of Latin America refuse to have anything to do with the Peking leaders' counter-revolutionary schemes, whose substance was made only too clear by Chinese support of the brutal Pinochet regime. Like the other peoples of the world, they pin their hopes on détente and disarmament. They are concerned with everything that leaves less international room for maneuver by militarist and reactionary forces on the subcontinent while making for greater solidarity among popular, national, and revolutionary movements. This is the exact opposite of what the Maoists seek.

Brazil's rapid development over the past decade has finally entrenched the positions of big industrial companies, of modern com-

mercial and finance capital, which serves as a solid basis for a domestic monopoly capitalism closely linked with and dependent on imperialism.

There is evidence that Brazilian monopoly capital and the political regime representing it have the chief role to play in the shaping of the regional and international strategy of the big corporations entrenched in Brazil.

Brazil now leads the subcontinent as a recipient of foreign investments, which amount to $13 billion. Foreign capital dominates every sphere of our economy. Along with domestic investors it derives the biggest profits from economic expansion, which in 1977 raised the GNP to $164 billion. Brazil's share of the world's GNP comes to 2.5 per cent.

In terms of these investments Brazil has become an ideal testing-ground for the 'model' of industrialization dependent on monopoly. The social results of applying this 'model' have proved negative.

The substantial quantitative growth of production and national income leads to ever more irrational and anti-social use of resources. The privileged minority's high incomes and extravagant consumption contrast sharply with the enormous privations of the overwhelming majority of the people. A concomitant of uncontrolled industrialization and disorderly urbanization is the disastrous lag in agriculture, which has been made worse and not eliminated by the penetration of export capital into agriculture and the emergence of new agro-industrial corporations.

Gaining recognition in these conditions is the idea that to prevent any further deterioration in the life of the workers and the rest of the people and to achieve real progress for those who work and create wealth, it is necessary to oust the ultra-reactionary section of the oligarchy connected with imperialism. More and more people realize that the struggle against the dictatorship's anti-labor and anti-popular policy is inseparable from the struggle to bring about a democratic situation.

In this respect, the political situation in Brazil has a number of features justifying the optimism of the democratic forces. They are a result of widespread and effective resistance to official repression and, moreover, of the strengthening of the front opposing the dictatorship. This front is now much broader and comprises the most diverse social opposition groups.

The outcome of the November 15, 1978 general election was a most forceful expression of the ongoing struggle. In spite of the government's ballot-rigging and scandalous curbs againsts its rivals, the candidates of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, the opposition party, won millions more votes than the government candidates, whereas in

the major industrial centers, the official National Alliance for Renewal (ARENA) suffered a crushing defeat.

FORCES SHAPING THE WORLD

Nguyen Vinh
CC member, Communist Party of Vietnam

The three revolutionary streams determining the main content, trend, and character of the course of history and speeding mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism are making rapid headway.

There is, first, the process of building socialism and communism in the countries of the socialist community. As well as being vastly important to these countries, it influences the national-liberation movement and the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries. The socialist system is a creation of the international working class. A revolutionary force opposing the capitalist world, it ensures the working class a leading position and is a dependable bulwark of the peoples fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

There is, furthermore, the national-liberation movement, which is advancing steadily and scoring remarkable gains under the increasing impact of the socialist system. This impact is multiple. Indeed, the socialist system is something more than a dependable stronghold of all oppressed peoples, whom it gives disinterested support in their struggle for national independence and socialism. It also shows them by its example and its well-founded, Leninist policy that in our time the proletarian revolution is the only way to save the country and free the nation, and that none but socialism and communism can deliver the oppressed workers and peoples of the world from slavery. The national-liberation movement tends therefore to look increasingly to socialism — witness the revolutionary path of the peoples of Angola, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, South Yemen, and Afghanistan. This trend confirms an important truth of our time, namely, that national independence is inseparable from socialism. It fully applies to the Vietnamese as well as the Laotian revolution, both of which have won major victories.

The struggle of the working class of capitalist countries is gaining in scope and becoming more organized. Using its huge revolutionary potentialities, the working class leads the struggle of the masses against monopoly oppression, for a better life, democracy, and social progress, in defense of state sovereignty. This struggle, aimed at gradually weakening the positions of monopoly capital and bringing about the victory of socialism, requires creative quests. We are certain that under the leadership of communist parties guided by the

teachings of Marx and Lenin and by proletarian internationalism, the working class of these countries will defeat reaction and ultimately fulfill its historic mission by destroying capitalism and banishing it from the life of society for all time. An important factor in this protracted and persevering struggle is its connection with the cause of building socialism and communism.

Life shows that the community of socialist countries plays a decisive role in the world revolutionary process. It is safe to say that today every revolutionary current and every important political event is influenced by the socialist world system.

This influence is a result not only of the convincing example and gains in building the new society but also of the active all-round support and assistance which the socialist countries render to the people's struggle for national liberation and social emancipation in accordance with great Lenin's precept. 'There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism,' Lenin wrote, 'and that is — working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle,* this, *and only this,* line, in *every* country without exception' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p.75). The socialist countries' foreign policy is inspired by awareness of the responsibility of the working class and the peoples, who have won power, for the destiny of the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, which the peoples of other countries are carrying on.

Taken as a whole, the world forces of revolution are greater than those of imperialism and international reaction. But the imperialists and their lackeys refuse to surrender their positions; they try hard to weaken the revolutionary movement from without and within. A very dangerous force has appeared on the world scene in recent years. It is the reactionaries among the ruling circles of Peking, who have far-reaching designs. Behind the facade of talk about 'socialism' and 'anti-hegemonism,' they hatch plans whose substance is great-power expansionism and hegemonism and which they would like to implement on a world scale, with Southeast Asia as their first target.

In foreign policy the Peking partisans of great-power expansionism follow a reactionary global strategy prompted by their concept of 'three worlds.' Their aim is to enter into alliance with imperialism, rally all reactionary forces around them, and mislead the developing countries so as to fight jointly with U.S. imperialism against the socialist countries and the revolutionary forces of the world. On the basis of a reactionary analysis of world development totally alien to Marxism-Leninism, they deny the existence of the socialist system and its decisive role in contemporary history. By assailing the social-

ist system and trying to disunite the countries and peoples it comprises and to reduce its influence on the revolutionary movement in other countries, especially on the national-liberation movement, the Peking leaders merely play into imperialism's hands.

The reactionaries among the Peking rulers claim that world war is inevitable. They have become the most dangerous advocates of war abetting imperialist warmongers. They set various countries against each other in order to establish their hegemony while 'watching a fight between two tigers from a mountain top.'

Those who earlier made a show of taking a stand against imperialism by uttering 'fiery revolutionary' phrases have treacherously entered into collusion with the worst reactionaries in the imperialist camp to fight revolutionary movements.

The partisans of great-power expansionism regard the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which is pursuing an independent Marxist-Leninist policy, as the greatest obstacle to the establishment of their hegemony in Southeast Asia. To frustrate our people's revolutionary cause, they have made a deal with the United States and other imperialist powers, and they do not shrink from the grossest and most infamous acts.

In spite of the insidious plots of imperialism and reaction, the socialist countries and the revolutionary forces of the world are continuing their victorious advance which no one can stop.

The Vietnamese people have always attached great importance to friendship, solidarity, and cooperation with fraternal socialist countries. We think highly of the sympathy and support of the communists and peoples of the world. Not long ago the SRV and the Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. The growing friendship and cooperation between the two countries is a reflection of the ever closer unity of the socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This process is of vital importance to the countries of the socialist community fighting in common against imperialism and international reaction, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

'The Vietnamese people have encountered new difficulties,' Le Duan, General Secretary of the CC CPV, has said, 'but nothing can check their advance or prevent them from achieving victory. This is because we owe our strength to solid unity and a tradition of staunchness as a nation, and know that 'nothing is more precious than freedom and independence'; because we are fighting for a just cause in harmony with the course of history; because we have the sympathy and support of the Soviet Union, all fraternal socialist countries, and the governments and peoples of countries fighting for peace and

justice; and because we are backed by the whole of progressive mankind.'

The Communist Party of Vietnam, which enjoys tremendous international support and is carrying high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, is leading the Veitnamese people to the complete victory of the cause of socialism and in the defense of their socialist country. It contributes its share to the effort to strengthen the socialist world system and step up the peoples' revolutionary struggle.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Aziz Mohammed
First Secretary, CC Iraqi Communist Party

The successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community has had a great impact on the people's struggle against colonialism, for political and economic liberation. It has facilitated the upsurge of the class struggle on the national and international scale and given the national-liberation movement a new social content. The bedrock of the relations between the working-class and national-liberation movements today consists of the friendship and cooperation between the socialist community and the developing countries.

The national-liberation movement's content is growing richer above all through the mounting tendency to express the interests of the masses, mainly the working class, which is playing an ever larger role. This has limited the influence of that section of the bourgeoisie which has joined the struggle for national liberation, facilitated the regrouping of class forces, and helped consolidate the relationship between the national-democratic and socialist revolutions. The spreading of socialist ideas to ever new sections of the population in the developing countries, the complete or partial renunciation by a number of political organizations and social strata of traditional bourgeois-nationalistic positions, and acceptance, in varying degrees, of communist slogans expressing the interests of the working class — all this is a clear indication that the international working-class movement and the socialist world system, which it has produced, are creating, in the process of their development, new conditions facilitating the evolution of the national-liberation revolution into a socialist one by means of progressive social transformations. This is precisely the process going on in the developing countries with progressive political regimes.

It would be wrong to believe, however, that this change will set in automatically and everywhere. True, the increased influence of the

socialist-community countries does make the process of change easier in the present conditions, but, as before, the success of this process depends above all on the balance of class forces in a given country, on the ways of consolidating the achieved victory, and on the direction of the revolution, which must express the vital interests of the working class and its allies. Such a victory cannot be won unless revolutionary activity is well organized and correct strategy and tactics are devised on the basis of scientific communism.

The experience of a number of developing countries over the past years has confirmed that political democracy as a system of government ensuring rights and freedoms to the masses is indispensable for providing favorable opportunities for a national-democratic revolution to grow into a socialist revolution. A democratic atmosphere helps the parties and the vanguard to mobilize the broad masses and direct them along a progressive course toward furthering democratic social changes in order to contain the reactionary and right-wing forces, which have always sought to arrest the advance of the revolution and adapt on-going reforms to their own interests and ideas and thus strengthen their own power.

The enemies of the communist movement — imperialists, reactionaries, opportunists, and all members of the exploiting classes in developing countries — know what comes of political democracy as a method of government and of freedom of the masses, of a revolutionary upswing and the involvement of the broad masses in revolutionary political activity. Fearing to lose all control, they resort to any means, including brutal terror, fascist dictatorship, and undisguised anti-communism.

There are a number of negative phenomena common to many nascent states, the most dangerous of these being the lack or weakness of political democracy and, in some cases, openly dictatorial, social, and economic backwardness, a legacy of the colonial past. The imperialists, naturally, encourage and support any tendency that is anti-democratic. Their striving to suppress democracy brings them into alliance with the reactionary forces and regimes in developing countries.

Experience has proved that the course toward the further political and social development of a country depends on its class make-up. The program of our party says that development along the socialist path requires that 'reliance of political power on the masses should be strengthened, and the working class and all working people should be given an opportunity to be most active in the revolutionary process, in defending and promoting the achieved gains, and neutralizing the counter-revolutionary forces and plots of imperialism and reaction.' Leadership by the working class and its political party is necessary for

the development of a national-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

We must dialectically approach the problems confronting developing countries, including those with progressive patriotic regimes, to consider them in their continuous development, and be able to see the essence of the complex and many-sided political and social struggle. It is known, for instance, that petty-bourgeois forces and organizations, which for a certain period before the winning of power act as vehicles of progressive ideas and trends, begin, after the revolution, to alter their ideological and political stance. Sometimes they identify themselves with the working class. But more often than not those in power degenerate into a bureaucratic big bourgeoisie. In fact, in domestic and foreign policies they apply a clearly class approach, but they use various propaganda means to disguise the class character of their power and do their utmost to adapt themselves to the new conditions. In doing so, members of the new bourgeoisie take into account the growing popularity of socialist ideas and trends, and the fact that the world's transition to socialism is becoming ever more obvious, while the bourgeoisie is finding itself in growing isolation in the system of social relations, and the general crisis of capitalism is deepening. Now they prefer to style themselves socialist, although they remain very much hostile to the Soviet Union, the socialist community as a whole, and the world communist movement.

While questions concerning the disintegration of the colonial system, the winning of national independence, and the developing countries' social progress are clear and require no explanation, there remains the need to study the problems related to the ways and means for the growth of the national revolution into a socialist one. This need has become especially urgent after the setbacks of the revolutionary forces in countries which once were the source of hope for others and whose example was used for making the necessary conclusions and generalizations. The imperialist circles are trying to adapt themselves to the new conditions. Having lost the initiative in developing countries, they still maintain important positions there and in some cases try to regain what they have lost. So now imperialism employs new tactics in propaganda and in its diplomatic and other activities.

The developing countries are a major target of the onslaught of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, which seeks an alliance with the right-wing forces, with the most reactionary classes and groups in those countries. The primary goal of that alliance is to wreck their friendly ties and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to divide the world anti-imperialist forces,

and help imperialist reactionaries to implement their plots against the world liberation movement.

This should be countered in every way, so that another alliance would grow stronger, the alliance between socialist countries and the world communist and national-liberation movements and all the progressive and patriotic forces in developing countries, an alliance based on a community of vital interests and goals.

The splitting activities of the Chinese leadership, of various opportunist and revisionist groups, both right and 'left,' continue to cause great harm to the world communist and working-class movements and to the national-liberation struggle. The Chinese leadership and other opportunist groups resort to falsification and unscrupulous distortion of Marxist-Leninist theory, and follow a pernicious foreign policy with the sole purpose of isolating the peoples of developing countries from their natural friends and allies — the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community. This policy benefits the right-wing and reactionary groups and those government circles in developing countries which spare no effort to undermine relations with socialist countries.

Experience has confirmed that the struggle of the newly-free peoples against capitalism and imperialism is expanding with every new victory won by socialism, with every new success attained in asserting socialist ideas and ideals in the social, economic, military, and cultural spheres, and ever more important successes are being achieved along the path of social progress and building a new and happy life. And every new success of the developing countries in their struggle against imperialism and war, for peace and détente and for the democratization of world economic relations is having a positive effect on the process of the socialist and communist remaking of the world.

CREATIVE APPROACH TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Ryszard Frelek
CC Secretary, Polish United Workers' Party

We believe that the exchange of experience and views at this conference will enrich us and will help to strengthen our ideological unity and solidarity. Our party will use the Conference documents in its ideological educational work.

Recently Poland celebrated the 60th anniversary of the re-establishment of its independence after more than a century of subjugation, in the course of which the many national uprisings were quelled in blood. Our independence is closely connected with the

Great October Socialist Revolution, with the founding of the Land of Soviets, with Lenin's guidelines on the national question and proletarian internationalism embodied in that state. Polands' destiny during and after the Second World War was once again connected with these two factors when the Polish Workers' Party successfully combined the struggle for social emancipation. It established a strong class and national alliance based on proletarian internationalism with the Land of Soviets. This alliance with a country which played the decisive role in the struggle against fascism and fulfilled its liberation mission was of great importance for our nation in its rise to freedom and in providing favorable conditions for the foundation of People's Poland.

So we speak of internationalism on the basis of our own experience. Poland's independence, her liberation and entry upon the road to socialism are one of the most eloquent examples bearing out the progressive influence that the link, noted by Lenin, between a nation's right to self-determination and proletarian internationalism, and between patriotism and internationalism has on the course of history. Obviously only a class approach to internationalism can help to harmonize vital national interests with the vital interests of other nations, with the universal cause of social progress, socialism and peace. This has been done in the community of socialist states, which emerged in a part of Europe that had for centuries been the arena of predatory wars, aggressions, and partitions, where mistrust, national strife and nationality problems were particularly acute. It was socialism which made feasible what had once been a dream, an illusion: it bridged the gulfs created between the nations by the propertied classes, imperialism, and reactionary parties. It removed the sources of antagonism and prejudice, replacing them with confidence, friendship and cooperation in every area and setting into motion a deep process of mutual rapprochement.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU, Comrade Edward Gierek said: 'Our party attaches vast importance to stengthening cooperation among the socialist states. Economic cooperation, which we extend as we implement the program for the socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries, facilitates and accelerates the socio-economic development of each of these countries. Along with ensuring the security of our peoples, the political and defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty countries has become a basis for more vigorous actions aimed at securing détente and extension of peaceful relations between states with different social systems. The fact that our countries develop dynamically and advance steadily finds constant confirmation in life, because they advance together, united by fraternal cooperation determined by the identity of ideals and aims.'

The point is that the relations between the socialist community

states are international relations of a new type founded on entirely different principles, and they are in the process of constant development. The current decade has contributed still more. Socialist internationalism — the implementation of proletarian internationalism in relations between the socialist states — will always remain their ideological foundation. It is of fundamental importance, and from it springs the need for the Marxist-Leninist parties to intensify their ideological-educational work in their societies. It is of particular importance to fully overcome nationalism in every form, and to prevent any relapses. Nationalism, and attendant chauvinism are incompatible with true patriotism and internationalism, which the communists regard as inseparable, as the essence of socialist internationalism, the essence of the new type of international relations which socialism has established and is perfecting.

The socialist-community countries are working to transform international relations on a world scale. They denounce every form of exploitation and oppression, and support and help all peoples fighting for the complete elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for political and economic independence, for their right to determine their own path of development, for equal participation in international life.

The main task of the socialist community in international relations is to avert a new world war and a nuclear disaster. Hence the policy of international détente it initiated and has been steadily implementing. The socialist countries are working energetically to end the arms race, which is a heavy burden on mankind, and are undertaking numerous initiatives and making proposals for this purpose. That was the noble goal by which Poland was moved in its initiative to have the United Nations adopt a Declaration on the education of the peoples in the spirit of peace.

Convincing proof of the fundamental distinction between the objectives of socialism and imperialism in international relations comes, on the one hand, from the documents adopted at the recent Moscow Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries, namely, its Declaration calling for an end to the arms race, and, on the ohter, from the decisions of the latest, Washington NATO Council session, which step up the arms race and threaten to introduce new weapons of mass destruction like the neutron bomb.

The international communist and workers' movement is striving for these same noble goals — freedom, security, peace and social progress for all peoples — which are the core of the policy pursued by the socialist countries. This was vividly demonstrated by the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, whose documents remain valid today.

These goals are supported by many progressive and democratic forces. It is very important that the non-aligned movement, which has an ever greater role to play in the UN and in other international bodies, takes the same view of key international issues.

Unfortunately, a great power, the People's Republic of China, does not participate in the world peace coalition. The Chinese leadership has proclaimed the inevitability of a new world war. It opposes the policy of détente, seeks to destabilize the postwar political and territorial structure of the world, and collaborates with those who advocate a return to the cold war. The most odious manifestation of this course is its crude hegemonistic pressure on the heroic Vietnamese people and their socialist republic established after several decades of struggle. We should not close our eyes to the fact that Peking's policy clashes both with the principles of socialist internationalism and peaceful coexistence. We should like to hope that in the vital interests of its people, progress, and peace, China will abandon this dangerous course.

The new international relations are making headway in fierce struggle, which is actually a class struggle. By attacking the socialist countries, falsifying their relations, and launching the 'human rights' campaign, imperialism is aiming a blow not only at the socialist countries but also at all the forces of socialism, national liberation, and peace. It defends its own positions and its own 'model' of international relations, which have always consisted of oppression, plunder and war. An understanding of the class nature of this struggle is necessary for a correct assessment of all the problems involved. To disregard this criterion is tantamount to losing sight of the meaning and essence of current international problems. Acceptance of this criterion is a basic prerequisite for a correct understanding of all the consequences arising from the fundamental contradiction of our time — the contradiction between socialism and imperialism.

THE MARCH OF HISTORY CANNOT BE HALTED

Volodia Teitelboim
Member, CC Political Commission, CP Chile

In the 130 years since Marxism came into being and the six decades since the Soviet Union set out to build socialism and communism, not a day has passed without capitalism announcing the 'failure' of both Marxist ideology and Marxist practice.

A strange 'failure,' indeed, since capitalist propaganda has been harping on it for more than a century. To disprove this absurd claim, one has only to glance at the political map of the world today. Six decades ago, the socialist system did not exist anywhere. By now it

has gained strength and established itself in many parts of the world — in Europe, Asia, America, and Africa. After World War II, every decade saw more countries choosing socialism. The result has been a radical, decisive change in the history of the 20th century.

As soon as Marxism became a reality advocates of capitalism began to search feverishly for an ideological alternative to it. They tried numerous versions of philosophical idealism and political reaction. Going through the cyclical ups and downs of fashion, their works rapidly won publicity, only to sink into oblivion even faster.

'Marxologists' and 'Sovietologists' launch campaign after campaign from both ultra-leftist and ultra-rightist positions. The target of their attacks is socialism, above all in the Soviet Union. They are fighting against communist parties and the unity of the working class and the national-liberation movement, their invariable motto being 'divide and rule.'

In Chile, as in a number of other countries, the catchword is 'total deideologization.' Pinochet says he will tolerate no alien ideology in Chile, that is, no philosophy or doctrine created abroad. This means that the country shall be closed, not only to the *bête noire*, Marxism, but also to liberalism, social Christian concepts, and all other ideologies existing anywhere in the world. The people are expected to stop thinking while reaction reserves the right to impose its prejudices, myths, hatred, and contempt, or, in effect, the most reactionary and obscurantist ideology. In rejecting every idea at variance with its own, fascism is prepared to use force in any form and to commit any crime. However, the spearhead of its fury is directed against Marxism.

On the other hand, Pinochet's hatred for the 'Eastern world' does not prevent him from making a declaration of love to the Peking government, which reciprocates. This collusion between Peking and fascism prompts some Western 'Pekingologists' to hold forth about the 'fragility' of ideologists and ideologies. They describe the abandonment of Marxist positions as an 'abjuration of doctrines and ideas.' 'Men of action,' they contend, 'never subordinate their practice to the verdict of theory.' In other words, lack of principle is given the go-ahead. The close relations between Peking and Pinochet are expressive of an ideological incongruity due to anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist 'Realpolitik.'

The working people's condition under capitalism is worse than it could have been from the point of view of history and practice. Their fundamental interests are alike and have nothing to do with maintaining the bourgeois social system. In view of this, we must recognize that there are incontrovertible arguments in favor of the internationalism championed by the working class. The workers need in

equal measure to create a political organization in their country and to establish durable relations at international level. Their condition and their political and social destiny are essentially the same in all countries and this provides a basis for solidarity and cooperation among them, both at home and abroad.

To heighten the working people's internationalism is a task of primary importance, not only for the working-class and communist movement, but also for the liberation movement, the peace movement, and the movement of solidarity with the peoples fighting fascism, imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and other forms of oppression. This is confirmed by the deep solidarity which the socialist countries and communist parties as well as large groups adhering to a different ideology, such as the social democrats, Christians or liberals, show for the peoples of Chile and other Latin American countries.

Existing socialism is a most important achievement of the peoples. Each socialist country is an embodiment of the complete triumph of socialism over the capitalist system. Every one of them accomplished its revolution in concrete historical conditions. For the peoples of the world, including the Chilean people, January 1, 1979, marked the 20th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, of the victory of socialism in a country of the American continent. The revolution accomplished in that small insular country — an instance of creative application of Marxism-Leninism — is a devastating refutation of all allegations to the effect that Marxism is antiquated. It proved the fruitfulness and youth of communism. More recent revolutions in the Third World — in Ethiopia and Afghanistan — show that history is marching on.

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Bert Ramelson
Member of the WMR Editorial Board from the CP Great Britain

I doubt whether there is any political or social aspect of life anywhere on this globe which has not been profoundly affected by the socialist world. And this applies too in the field of theory, to the development of tactics and strategies in the struggle for peace, liberation from imperialist oppression, or in the struggle to transform society from one dominated by a minority class to a socialist society, regardless of the level of development a particular country may have reached.

Revolutionary strategies based on achieving a socialist revolution not as a consequence of war or even civil war, but of course not without the sharpest class struggles, have been worked out by a number of communist parties in developed capitalist countries, in-

cluding by our party as far back as 1950, and further developed and endorsed at our 35th Congress in a new edition of *The British Road to Socialism*.*

In that program, which we believe is the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to our specific conditions, we make it clear that an important factor in our strategy, in our confidence that there need not necessarily be any outside imperialist intervention to frustrate our revolutionary process, is precisely the fundamental change in the balance of forces on the world scale. The existence of the socialist world we believe would be an inhibiting factor of outside intervention, not only military intervention, but also economic pressures. The existence of a powerful socialist world ready to help in every way, including the provision of alternative markets and sources of raw materials, makes possible a strategy for revolution not as a result or consequence of war.

With the changes in the world over the past of over a half century, the world has become more complex and diverse as well as more interdependent. This underlines the importance of international working-class solidarity, more so now than ever before.

I believe it is important to distinguish between working-class solidarity and the solidarity of all progressive forces on such issues as peace, anti-racism, and liberation. It would be wrong, in my view, to make no distinction between the two or to argue that the latter is adequate and sufficient for our times. But it is no substitute for international working-class solidarity. Such class solidarity across boundaries has always been a basic element of working-class struggle, let alone the struggle for socialism.

We must make allowances for differences of view on interpreting events and issues, if we are to maintain the unity and cohesion of the movement which is vital to the struggle for a socialist world. We must learn to distinguish between non-intervention in the affairs of other parties and countries and the right to express an opinion including a critical opinion of policies pursued by brother parties which have, in the view of other parties, a harmful effect on the world movement. The crucial thing is to so conduct our polemics and disagreements where they exist in a constructive comradely manner, crediting each other that their opinions are sincerely held and motivated by a desire to advance the movement as a whole.

Solidarity is an all-round process, not a one-way one. Certainly, the fight against anti-Sovietism, the main anti-communist weapon of world capitalism, is a responsibility of all communists, but I believe it is also the responsibility of our brother parties who have taken power

*See *The British Road to Socialism*. Programme of the Communist Party. London, 1978, p. 16.

to be sensitive to the problems sometimes created by some of their actions for their communist brothers in developed capitalist countries. Solidarity — working-class international solidarity — is crucial in the struggle for a socialist world. That is why it is incumbent on all communists, whether those in power or those of us still struggling to transform our countries into socialist societies, not only to extend solidarity and cooperation to each other, which is by and large the case, but also where differences arise, as they must in such a diverse and complex movement, to ensure that we do not allow the differences to disrupt the world communist movement.

FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS

Jorgen Jensen
Chairman, Communist Party of Denmark

The building of socialism in the USSR and then in several other countries was the main condition for the opportunities that opened up for the working-class struggle the world over. We shall only ask one question: What would the world, what would Europe look like today had it not been for the victorious October Revolution? What would this have meant for mankind?

It would have meant that the working class would still be fighting for a socialist society only as a hope, an idea that opponents would have called unfeasible. Today, however, even our most bitter enemies are forced to concede that socialism is a functioning and living reality that is steadily progressing.

It would have meant that the Second World War would not have ended with the victory of the democratic, anti-fascist, and anti-imperialist forces, and that the world would have been repartitioned by the imperialist powers with each of them hobbling the nations in its own way. For our people it would have meant that the struggle for broader democratic rights would not have the socialist social prospects which today open up new paths for the working people to win power.

It would have meant that today we would have been on the threshold of another world war with all the horrors of the most sophisticated and terrible means of annihilation.

It would have meant that the greater part of the population would have been indefinitely under colonial oppression, that the liberation movement would not have had the strong support it enjoys today and which makes it possible for freedom-loving peoples to withstand imperialist pressures and defeat their oppressors. The Vietnamese people's victory is an excellent example.

Were it not for the October Revolution gloom and reaction would

still have been weighing heavily over the world. But the revolution was victorious, giving impetus to the transition from capitalism to socialism and opening new roads and opportunities.

The international working class is grateful to those who, through the victorious October Revolution, brought socialism to the forefront, who, in other countries, brought the working people to power and to new achievements.

Today when many new opportunities have emerged for uniting the working class with its allies in the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle it is particularly important to have a good understanding of the basic laws and the experience of individual countries. There can be no mechanical copying. However, in evolving ways of carrying out the new tasks facing us, we should apply the basic laws brought to light by Marxism-Leninism.

Of the new tasks one of the most important is the struggle for peace because it is consistent with the vital interests of all nations. The fact that there has been peace for more than 30 years is evidence of the new opportunities stemming from the peace efforts and the existence of the socialist system which, by its very nature, is dedicated to peace. A key condition for this has been the international solidarity of the peace forces in all countries and the working class in the capitalist and socialist countries. This solidarity has further demonstrated the immense significance of the working class and of proletarian internationalism.

Imperialism's attempts to revive the cold war, escalate the arms race, and wreck détente means we must continue working to make détente irreversible.

One of our party's main tasks is to get Denmark out of the imperialist NATO bloc. We are trying to draw all the nation's peace forces into this struggle. The efforts for peace in Europe are becoming a condition for safeguarding the national interests of each country.

We urge state-to-state cooperation based on equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and inviolability of sovereign rights. Denmark's membership in this military alliance is at cross-purposes with national interests. Day after day we see imperialism impinging on the rights of our people, of our country.

Denmark became a member of the EEC because big capital was intent on increasing its domination with the aid of supranational agencies. Today the EEC is in the grip of a crisis, whose inevitable companions are production cutbacks and unemployment. The EEC leaders are trying to end the crisis by juggling with currency rates, with capital as the permanent beneficiary. The Danish people are well aware of this. That is why the efforts to get Denmark out of the EEC is a particular form of democratic and anti-monopoly struggle. It can

be seen in the movement against the EEC, a movement which has been joined by many political forces, the trade unions, youth organizations and democratic unions.

At present the EEC ruling circles are bent on political integration. For Denmark this would mean greater dependence. But so far the EEC has been unable to resolve a single one of its pressing problems, and neither will its integration plans see the light of day.

We are striving to show that the crisis is a product of capitalism and that Denmark must independently fight this crisis, whose burden the big capitalist powers and the monopolies are attempting to place on the working people. We believe that the working class will see the need for changes and that the people have ample strength to make sure that changes are made which will undermine the rule of big capital.

At a recent party conference we outlined a democratic policy, which calls for the abolition of unemployment, an increase in purchasing power, the regulation of imports, a stop to speculation and income tax evasion, and steps against the monopolies. It also envisages broader democratic rights for the people, rights which today are limited.

The struggle against the crisis and its burden cannot await the overthrow of capitalism, as some dogmatists insist. But it is not easy to mobilize the working class and all the people to deal with this problem. In our country the situation is compounded by the conciliatory attitude of the social democrats. Historically, their leadership have invariably maintained a right-wing stance and are in the government today only because they were instrumental in bringing in a reactionary party.

This has further aggravated the situation, for big capital is directly involved in management and takes full advantage of this. Its decisions are implemented through its notorious incomes policy, whose aim is allegedly to control profits and wages. However, under state-monopoly capitalism it is a means of freezing wages and a weapon against the working people's rights and their gains. That is why the working-class struggle for its interests is also a struggle for democracy. It is a struggle for the right to work, for housing, and education; it is a struggle for social security, in other words, a struggle for basic human rights.

In the socialist world these problems have either been solved or are being solved, and to envigorate the working-class struggle we are using the experience of the socialist countries as an irrefutable example of the new system's superiority over capitalism. This is particularly important today when the West has launched a vocal hoax in defense of human rights with the ideological barbs aimed against the

socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. This hypocritical concern for human rights precisely where they are most fully implemented is but a screen hiding the attempts to rekindle the cold war, whip up tensions, justify the neutron bomb, incite anti-Sovietism, and block the fulfillment of the Helsinki decisions. This makes resistance to this campaign the concern of the entire international communist movement and a part of its ideological struggle.

This is a clash with the ideology of class enemies, a struggle against opportunism in the labor movement. When the opportunists were bent on leading the party away from its line, it was the healthy forces, remaining true to party principles, who prevented this from happening, thereby helping to purge the party of opportunism. The split in the party was temporary and fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism became the basis for winning new positions.

We have again won seats in parliament. The growing membership has strengthened the party politically and ideologically. What we have achieved shows the importance of our movement's principles and of its significance to the country, where both left and right opportunists are trying kindle hatred for communists and the countries of existing socialism.

Today the imperialists are deftly using the Maoist distortions of the ideas of socialism and the class struggle. That is why we are against Maoist ideological and political intentions, whose aim is to split the communist movement and the common anti-imperialist front.

UNITY FOR COMMON GOALS

Vasil Bilak
Presidium member, Secretary, CC CP of Czechoslovakia

Our party regards such conferences as useful. It is no secret that some comrades in our movement do not welcome the idea of joint conferences out of fear of being accused of supporting efforts to set up some kind of world center. The strength of our movement, however, was and is in its ideological unity and unity of action, and in faithfulness to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Communists have always met regularly, exchanging views and openly stating their attitudes. No one, of course, is attempting to renew a world center. But we Czechoslovak communists approach the question in this way: Was it harmful to the world communist movement when in the past it had its center? Are we to be ashamed of and conceal the fact that there existed Marx's International, that our parties took shape within the framework of the Communist International — founded by Lenin

— the 60th anniversary of which we are going to mark next March? To present history as if there had been only mistakes and shortcomings, and on that basis draw conclusions for the present, cannot benefit anyone in our movement.

The independence of our parties has more than once been endorsed and confirmed in our documents. For example, it was said at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow that every party, which is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and which takes into account concrete national conditions, elaborates quite independently its policy, determines the directions, forms, and methods of the struggle, chooses, according to circumstances, a peaceful or non-peaceful path of transition to socialism, and the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country. At the same time, the variety of conditions in which the communist parties operate and differences of approach to practical tasks, and even disagreements in some or other questions must not stand in the way of coordinated actions by fraternal parties on the international scene, especially when it concerns the fundamental problems of the struggle against imperialism. This also made up the basis of the document approved by the Berlin Conference. The bourgeoisie is concealing and distorting this fact, it is fabricating the notion that in the communist movement this principle still has to be fought for, that only some parties have reasons to strive for independence, while others are opposed to it.

Our historical experience confirms that the independence of each party, and due regard for the specific conditions of struggle in which it has to work, are not at variance with internationalism. On the contrary, they show that it is essential to link the national with the international, that internationalism is in full harmony with patriotism and that it is of tremendous assistance to the work of each party.

The crisis year 1968 has convinced us once again of the peril and malignancy of anti-Sovietism camouflaged by patriotic slogans. What had been the real issue at that time — as is well known — was not an 'improvement of socialism' but an attempt to open the door to counter-revolution and liquidate socialism in Czechoslovakia. And the internationalist aid, far from jeopardizing the freedom and sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, only secured and consolidated them. The onslaught against Czechoslovakia in 1968 was an attack against the unity of the socialist community. It aimed at frustrating the policy of détente, of European security and cooperation. And we sincerely regret that in our movement, too, some comrades failed to understand, and do not want to understand to this day, that the attacks against Czechoslovakia are directed against socialism as such, against the working class and against the communist parties in their own

countries. They serve as an instrument of deceiving people, of misleading the revolutionary forces.

Not to respond to various anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns, or even to play into the hands of those campaigners, is, to put it mildly, shortsighted. This cannot serve either one's own party or the communist movement as a whole. What is particularly disturbing to us is that some fraternal parties are deleting from their programs the most essential principles of the revolutionary transformation of society, that they are renouncing even the principle of proletarian internationalism, and that there are tendencies to repudiate Leninism in general.

We do not want to deny any party the right to determine its own path. But the question arises why any program should be based precisely on the repudiation of the fundamental principles of our theory, why anti-communist centers should be provided with arguments for their fight against existing socialism. Or, perhaps, we are to consider any such rejection of our basic principles an enrichment of the revolutionary movement and of our theory? This obviously has nothing in common with a creative approach to Marxism and is nothing but a retreat to the positions of social-democracy.

The application of the principles of proletarian internationalism is not a question of subjective choice; it is an objective necessity. Anyone who shuts himself in, who breaks away from the communist movement, who deserts the positions of proletarian internationalism is actually cutting the limb he sits on. This is not mere rhetoric but, unfortunately, hard reality.

That bourgeois propaganda continuously attacks the Soviet Union and other countries of existing socialism can be easily explained. But why some communists join in these attacks is a fact defying understanding. Let us pause to see why they criticize us, and from what positions! Firstly, they charge us with something that is not a result of our mistakes but the aftermath of the past social order which we are trying our best to overcome. Secondly, they criticize us for not allowing the elements which imperialism is organizing and using against us to subvert socialism. What then are we expected to do? Are we to tolerate the activities of our enemies or should we give them an opportunity to disintegrate socialism?

To approach democracy, freedom and human rights with one and the same yardstick in a world divided into classes would be unMarxist and grossly misleading. Such an approach does not help to mobilize the masses but disorientates them, leading them away from the struggle against imperialism and for genuine human rights. The Declaration adopted recently at the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries expresses our

attitude to human rights, democracy, and freedom from clear Marxist positions. True, the socialist revolution demolishes the old order, it expropriates the rich, introduces new laws, and shapes a new morality. This truly threatens the 'hallowed rights' of the exploiting classes. And that is the crux of the matter. Everything else is only camouflage, an attempt to destabilize the conditions within the socialist countries and grossly interfere in their internal affairs.

The bourgeoisie is understandably trying to present a basically false and untrue picture of our reality with the clear purpose of concealing the advantages of the socialist system, minimizing the attractiveness not only of our ideas, but also of the example set by existing socialism. Meanwhile, socialism brings with it a new quality of democracy, of state activity, of political, economic, and individual rights and freedoms, and an incomparably higher level of social life, of man's self-fulfillment as a citizen of the nation. The entire socialist legal order reflects the essence of the party's policy which is constantly to improve the people's well-being.

Paradoxically, those who are so keen on each party having the right to give its own assessment of the situation in its country and the world, deny this right to our party. On the basis of our analysis of objective facts we assess 1968 as the offensive of counter-revolution, as an attempt to pull Czechoslovakia out of the socialist community. Over the past decade the engineers of the counter-revolution have provided ample proof of their true intentions and have thus confirmed our own conclusions. It is therefore all the more puzzling that some of the proponents of so-called Eurocommunism assert that the Czechoslovak events of 1968 had been its inspiration. What are we to say to that? Only one thing: What kind of movement is this if it was inspired by counter-revolution and anti-Sovietism?

It is only natural that at the time when socialism is having an increasingly marked impact on world developments, the attacks of our enemies are directed above all against the foreign policy of the socialist countries. The current process of détente is meeting with growing opposition from the enemies of the socialist countries' policy of peace. A broad alliance of imperialist and reactionary forces is being formed to oppose the relaxation of tension.

A great threat to the continuing peaceful development in the conditions of the historical struggle between capitalism and socialism is posed by the policy of the Chinese leadership, which has joined the most aggressive forces of world imperialism. The militarist intrigues, attempts to fan national chauvinism, and sow discord in the world revolutionary front are disguised under a revolutionary, patriotic and internationalist phrase.

Anti-Sovietism is the essence of Peking's foreign policy. But it is

not a conflict between China and the Soviet Union that is at issue, but the Chinese leadership's opposition to the forces of progress, to the growth of the national-liberation struggle, to socialism and peace. To fail to see through this reactionary policy of the Chinese leadership or even to justify it is tantamount to aiding it and thus misleading world public opinion. It is our duty to mobilize all political and ideological means to counter this dangerous policy in the interest of peace and security.

TRIED AND TESTED WEAPON OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Antonio Maidana
First Secretary, CC, Paraguayan Communist Party

The Decree on Peace, the first decree signed by Lenin, was the highest expression of the Great October Socialist Revolution's internationalism, because by raising the question of a just and democratic peace it championed the interests of the peoples not only of Russia and other belligerent countries but of the whole world. At the same time, the Soviet Republic counted on the solidarity and support of the working class and all other progressive forces. When imperialism had recourse to armed intervention against the young Soviet Republic, thousands of volunteers came from many countries to fight in the ranks of the Red Army. The slogan 'Hands Off Russia!' sped across the world. Since then friendship and solidarity with the first socialist country, with the bulwark of the world revolution, has been and remains the cornerstone of proletarian internationalism for true Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

Faithful to the behests of the Great Lenin, the CPSU and the Soviet Union have always, under all circumstances, extended the utmost support to the struggle of peoples for national and social emancipation. The new Soviet Constitution has solemnly proclaimed internationalism a state law.

Despite the opportunist and revisionist tendencies to depart from internationalism, this vital principle of Marxism-Leninism develops and is enriched uninterruptedly. Proletarian internationalism has by no means grown obsolete, as some people think. On the contrary, it was reaffirmed with dramatic vigor at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. That meeting emphasized that fidelidy to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are an indispensable condition of the efficacy and sure orientation of the united actions of communist and workers' parties, and the earnest of success in achieving their historic aims. The conference specified the content of internationalism in a new way, namely: *'Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic*

*forces in the capitalist countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy, and socialism!"** This principle rallies the international communist movement and unites the three great forces of our epoch: the socialist world system, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement. A striking embodiment of this principle has been the international assistance rendered, for instance, to Cuba and Vietnam.

Proletarian internationalism developed and grew strong in the struggle against manifestations of bourgeois nationalism in the international communist movement itself, against the tendencies to counterpose national specifics to the general laws of social development uncovered by Marxism-Leninism and thereby to disregard these laws. The 'three worlds' theory of the Peking leaders is alien to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and falsifies the laws of the class struggle. Its architects endeavor to circumvent the basic contradiction of our epoch, namely, the contradiction between imperialism and socialism, and the very existence of the socialist world system. In effect, its purpose is thus to form a united front with imperialism against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the unity of the world anti-imperialist movement. It is not difficult to see the hegemonistic claims and great-power chauvinism of the Maoist leaders underlying this anti-Marxist theory. Also, in this lies the explanation of their rabid anti-Sovietism, which receives lavish accolades from capitalist propaganda. The Peking leaders' betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, including proletarian internationalism, is seen distinctly in their systematic and growing support for the most reactionary and conservative regimes in the world, including the fascist, blood-drenched Pinochet junta, the Somoza regime with its tyranny and policy of genocide, and the fascist and racist governments in southern Africa. More, they have stepped up their malicious smear campaign against the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, and other socialist countries. It should be borne in mind that nationalism uses anti-Sovietism in its assault on the unity of the international communist movement and all other revolutionary forces. One cannot help recalling Leonid Brezhnev's words that 'under no circumstances can we sacrifice principles to tactical advantages.'**

The attacks against proletarian internationalism are today sup-

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*, Prague, 1969, p. 39.

**L.I. Brezhnev, *The World of Socialism, A Triumph of Great Ideas*, Moscow, 1978, p. 593.

ported also by those who question the general laws of Marxism-Leninism such as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the working class and the communist party, despite the fact that they have been borne out entirely by the practice of building living socialism, by the whole experience of the international revolutionary movement.

One way or another, all 'ideas' of this sort have a common foundation: the reluctance to acknowledge the epoch-making role of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its huge impact on the world revolutionary process, the striving to deny the fact that ever since the triumph of the Great October Revolution proletarian internationalism has been incompatible with hostility for the USSR; with lack of solidarity with the Land of Soviets, which now has a developed socialist society and is building communism, and which is the acknowledged vanguard of the world revolutionary movement. This is the stance of almost all communist and workers' parties, of other progressive parties, of the democratic and national-liberation movements, whose own experience has convinced them of the role of the Soviet Union in the struggle of the peoples against imperialism, fascism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, for peace and social progress.

One can say confidently that since the 1969 meeting international solidarity with the struggle of peoples for national and social liberation has grown immeasurably. Special mention must be made of the victories of the heroic peoples of Angola and Ethiopia, who repulsed aggression from imperialism and its allies thanks to the internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union, Cuba, the GDR, and other socialist countries. The victories of African peoples in their struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, and racism and, in particular, the experience of the Ethiopian revolution, which swept away the age-old feudal power, repulsed imperialist aggression, and shattered all the plans of internal and external reaction — all these victories are of immense significance for the world revolutionary movement.

The militant, effective solidarity of socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union, with the Latin American peoples is acquiring ever broader dimensions. This is exemplified by solidarity with the heroic struggle of the peoples of Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Nicaragua, Paraguay and other countries ruled by fascist or pro-fascist regimes. At the international conference in solidarity with the people of Chile held recently in Madrid, prominent representatives of the world's revolutionary and progressive forces stigmatized the atrocities committed by the fascist Pinochet junta. There is widening solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people against the odious tyrant Somo-

za, who, like Pinochet, Stroessner, and other dictators, is an obedient tool of U.S. imperialism.

The Conference of Communist Parties of Latin American and Caribbean Countries declared that the solidarity of the socialist world system, especially of the Soviet Union, is decisive for the peoples of Latin America and noted that representatives of these parties 'reiterate the respect, belief, and admiration that they have for the homeland of Lenin and for the Bolshevik Party created by him.'

In their long and bitter struggle against the fascist Stroessner dictatorship, against exploitation by the imperialists and the landowners the Paraguayan people, too, feel the international solidarity, which is powerfully influencing struggle for the exposure and isolation of the fascist Stroeesner clique and for release of political prisoners.

Our party Central Committee's latest plenary meeting stressed the enormous significance of this solidarity and, for its part, expressing the solidarity of our people, adopted a declaration in support of the heroic struggle of our class brothers, of the struggle of all peoples, of the democratic and revolutionary forces for freedom, democracy, peace and socialism. The plenary meeting denounced the policy of the Maoist leaders, anti-Sovietism, and all forms of anti-communist propaganda, for they are obstructing the strengthening of international solidarity and the unity of all the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces. It called for greater solidarity in order to save the lives and secure the release of all prisoners of imperialism and reaction.

Anti-Sovietism, on whose basis imperialism and the most reactionary forces of the world have united with the traitor Peking leadership, is the main danger threatening the vital need to strengthen mutual international solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and fascism, in defense of world peace, for the independence and freedom of peoples, for democracy and socialism. The Maoist leaders' renunciation of friendship and solidarity with socialist countries, and their compact with the most reactionary regimes are a betrayal of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples generally.

Any tendencies to belittle the significance of the principles of proletarian internationalism, regard this concept as obsolete and outworn, and range some communist parties against the CPSU and other fraternal parties of the socialist countries do not help but, on the contrary, hinder the growth of the unity of the revolutionary forces and serve the interests of our class enemies. Staunch fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism and unremitting efforts to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist movement and the solidarity of all revolutionary forces are the sacred duty of the communist parties, of each Marxist-Leninist.

IN THE FIGHT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM

Gus Hall
General Secretary, Communist Party USA

Life urges more exchanges, more consultations and more debates. It is not a big discovery that history brings to the forefront the social, economic, political and ideological developments about which we communists are most intimately and directly concerned. The new quality of this moment is the fact that the world revolutionary process has become the mainstrean of life. It has become the pivotal point of reference for all sectors of human society.

The impact of the construction of socialism and communism on world development can be seen in the reaction of U.S. state-monopoly capital to the struggle of the two systems. In no country is the science of Marxism-Leninism more denounced, denied and distorted than in the United States. And because of its advanced capitalist development, in no country is it more clearly applicable and relevant than in the United States.

For U.S. imperialism, the question of how to deal with the historic challenge by the forces of the world revolutionary process has emerged as the most critical question that now largely determines the direction of both its foreign and domestic policies. This is also now the primary essence and the focus of its ideological forays.

Because U.S. capitalism and the advanced socialist countries are the clearest opposites, socialism presents a special and unique challenge to U.S. imperialism. It is a challenge to its policies of war, to imperialist aggression, to world economic domination, to its policies of racism, to its policies of nuclear extortion, to its use of science and technology for private corporate profits. It is a challenge and a direct influence.

Therefore, there should be no illusions about the aim of U.S. imperialism. Its military, economic and ideological activities and its strategic preparations have been and are geared. above all else, to slowing-down, stopping and reversing the world revolutionary process. U.S. imperialism sees this as its historical mission. The inner-essence of its policies are anti-working class, anti-national liberation and anti-socialist. This has increasingly become the central guiding principle of every government administration since World War II. It follows, therefore, that whatever takes place as a result of the three components of the world revolutionary process has a most important and direct effect on the policies of U.S. imperialism, and on the course of history.

Because U.S. imperialism is the pivotal center of the forces resisting the course of history and the world revolutionary process, and

because of the shift in the balance of economic and military power between capitalism and socialism, there are many contradictory developments. Imperialism cannot halt the course of history. Every victory of national liberation or socialism is a defeat, a forced retreat. Every treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, every statement against imperialism, every expression of proletarian internationalism is considered a setback, an obstacle to the pursuit of its aims. But it is not in the inner-nature of imperialism to accept retreat indefinitely without trying to do something about it. So the tactical steps of maneuver and retreat coexist with the full-scale preparations for strategic wars of aggression.

Consequently, we have the Pentagon and a section of monopoly capital who reject any concept of a military balance, or the end of imperialist domination in any form, and are determined to reverse the course of history. Without any pronouncements, the Pentagon — on a crash basis — is working to build and put into a place a strategic nuclear first-strike force. This is a most dangerous development, because it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate a first-strike capability from a first-strike policy

There should be no question that the fulcrum — the military, ideological and financial base of operations — the nerve center of instigation, corruption and provocation against the forces of the world revolutionary process, is U.S. imperialism. There should be no underestimation of the problems and the dangers this presents. Therefore, we in the United States would consider it a mistake to advocate such concepts as 'military equilibrium,' without taking into consideration that it is U.S. imperialism that, in practice, rejects the concept of a military balance.

We applaud the assistance the Soviet Union, Cuba and other soicalist countries are giving to the peoples fighting for national liberation, while we condemn the interference and actions by imperialism. Two people can enter the same house with opposite intentions — one to rob, the other to help. We applaud those who help, and condemn those whose intention is to rob.

It is in this context that the new rounded-out and comprehensive proposals for the reduction of all arms and military budgets, by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries, become a material force for influencing the direction of history. It has the great power of comparison of intent between the two systems.

In our struggles against U.S. imperialism, we take into account the policies that move toward aggression. But we also have to take note of the weaknesses, the contradictions and the roadblocks that imperialism faces. For U.S. imperialism, the main roadblock — and in contradiction to its main goal — is the growing strength of the

forces propelling the world revolutionary process. It is the power of this process that forces U.S. imperialism to retreat and maneuver.

We have to take into account how the contradictions and difficulties of U.S. imperialism are reflected on the domestic scene. Because of the shift in the world balance of forces and in the ideological patterns of thought, military solutions are less and less realistic or possible. But because of the first-strike mentality the military budget keeps climbing. This has become an important factor in the inflation rate that continues out of control.

It brings on taxes that now take 37 per cent of all workers' wages. Over $400 billion are taken from workers' pay checks every year. Over 70 per cent of a worker's wages now go for taxes and housing — either rent or mortgage payments. This is adding a new dimension to the class struggle, to exploitation.

The contradiction between butter and guns, between the huge military budget and expenditures for social needs has become the most explosive political issue of these days in the United States. The problems of inflation, rising taxes, the crisis of the dollar, unemployment, and now the approach of a new economic crisis, have all intertwined.

The response of monopoly capital to these difficulties and problems is the launching of an unprecedented, many-sided offensive against the working class and the people. The speed-up of production, paced and controlled by automated equipment, is being pushed to the breaking point. The aim of the offensive is to cut the standard of living. A significant feature of this offensive is the increase in the use of racism and discrimination.

The effect of these policies is a rising curve of anger, militancy and fight-back struggles. The effect of this offensive is a speeding-up of the process of radicalization of the working class and people. Top trade union leaders have recently been using such terms as 'class struggle' and 'class war,' which they have not used in decades, if ever. This reflects profound changes taking place among masses of rank-and-file trade unionists. It would be shortsighted to see these 'class' outbursts only as attempts to win political concessions in the traditional political structure. Actually, these eruptions are like volcano jets of smoke, beneath which a sea of lava boils. The task for Marxist-Leninists — while recognizing that the declamatory trade union leaders are not, despite appearances, rushing to any barricades — is to tap the volcano and channel the lava into class political struggles.

Approaching the changing world relationship of forces from the viewpoint of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, we feel the historic transition from the world of capitalism to a world of socialism

has reached a point where it forces all who are partisans of the world revolutionary process to place a new value — a higher priority and a greater emphasis — on the question of unity.

How can one be silent, ignore or applaud open political, military, economic and ideological aid and support to the fascist butchers in Chile, or aid to the counter-revolutionary forces in Angola, or to the hangmen of the people of Bangladesh? Or how can one be silent about the dastardly provocations and attacks on socialist Vietnam? As a partisan of socialism, how is it possible to be silent about the most vile campaign of slander against socialism by way of anti-Sovietism? How can one be silent about secret military pacts with imperialism, directed against the lands of socialism? How can one ignore a 20-year campaign of working to split the forces of the world revolutionary process into as many segments as possible? Such Maoist policies are not a challenge to U.S. imperialism. They are a challenge to the forces of the world revolutionary process. Silence only adds to the damage of such crimes. Silence will not add to the unity; it adds to disunity, because it is impossible for anyone to know the differences between silence, because of support for the political crime, or silence as an opportunistic evasion of responsibility.

In the struggle between the two classes, the two socio-economic systems, our approach must be guided by the truth — that as a class, monopoly capital will not and cannot be a progressive force because it cannot function outside of its inner objective laws. That as a class it cannot, and will not revert to its past role in history. Neither exhortation, pleading, or praying is going to change the inner-nature of monopoly capitalism.

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Dumitru Popescu
Member, Political Executive Committee,
Secretary, CC, Rumanian CP

Socialist construction and the relations between socialist countries markedly influence world development. This influence depends on the extent socialism has been asserted in practice as a higher mode of social organization and also as an expression of, compared with capitalism, a more just system of relations between states and nations, of relations of a new type.

The economic and political credibility of the socialist states, particularly their policy in international affairs, play a large role in the development of events, in the confrontation between the forces of détente and the forces of aggression, and in deciding between the

alternatives of peace or war. This role depends directly on the level of their international activity, on the correctness of the stance of one country or another in each concrete case, on the consistency with which they uphold the lofty ideals of socialism. Lastly, the countries building socialism can broadly demonstrate their solidarity on the world scene with all democratic forces in defense of the freedom and independence of peoples, of social progress generally.

Three decades have passed since the socialist revolution triumphed in Rumania.

Our Communist Party has directed all the energy of the people toward the building of socialism. The results of this policy, of this tremendous activity, are telescoped in the following figures: industrial output has gone up 40-fold, agricultural almost threefold, the gross national product 12-fold, and the per capita national income ninefold. Far-reaching revolutionary changes have thus been put into effect within a short span of time.

This swift economic advance has led to an appreciable rise of the people's living standard. In the course of three decades real wages have grown almost fourfold, allocations for education have been increased 14-fold, and ten-year secondary education has been made universal and compulsory. During this period the allocations for public health have been increased nearly 20-fold and for state social insurance approximately 25-fold. Retail trade has expanded 11-fold. This period has witnessed the building of 4,300,000 apartments. In the course of the current five-year plan period real incomes are to grow by 32 per cent.

Steps were recently instituted to reorganize the entire finance-economic system. Our party has put the accent on the promotion of workers' self-management and on internal cost accounting at each enterprise as a factor promoting the consciousness and responsibility of each collective in making better use of the socialist property entrusted to it by society. Material incentives have been improved; this has been achieved by giving workers a share in profits, including profits in hard currency received from exports. It must be said that generally, in recent years, our party has given particularly close attention to the correct application of the principles of socialist distribution, ensuring a just correlation of incomes between different categories of the population. As a result of the faster and systematic rise of the minimum wage, the present correlation between lower and higher incomes is 1:5-6 in the entire economy.

In Rumania we have, moreover, set up organs of collective leadership at all levels that include workers: from enterprises and amalgamations to ministries and the highest institutions of state authority. Thereby, the leading role of the working class in society is being

enhanced and its historic mission as the vanguard of the people in the building of the new system is being concretely realized on a steadily growing scale also in fields vital for socio-economic development.

Rumania is focussing special attention on fostering friendship and manifold cooperation with all socialist countries. This is an essential aspect of our foreign policy. We are expanding economic exchanges and cooperation with CMEA members and other socialist states, promoting scientific, technological and cultural cooperation, and increasingly exchanging know-how, for we believe that this is helping to speed up socialist and communist construction in our respective countries.

As Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of our party, stated clearly, Rumania by no means draws a dividing line between its relations with some socialist countries and its relations with other states. We do not wish that the expansion or deepening of cooperation with some states should be promoted to the detriment or at the expense of friendship with other states.

The socialist world community unquestionably derives its strength from the might of each socialist country taken separately. In this light, the common interests of socialism can only be understood as the sum and synthesis of interests of each socialist state.

Rumania takes its point of departure from the objective existence of different, specific historical conditions in which the new society is being built in one country or another. The socialist states began building the new system when they were at different levels of economic development and at different historical stages: the revolutionary process did not unfold either at one and the same time or similarly, but proceeded in various forms depending on the alignment of class forces, historical traditions, national features and other specific factors. This diversity of conditions is mirrored in the large spectrum of forms and practical ways of solving the problems of socialist construction. This spectrum will undoubtedly continue to grow as other countries and peoples embark upon the building of socialism.

Our party studies the experience of other socialist countries, taking over what we feel is acceptable and useful, as being consistent with the conditions obtaining in our country. In this context we are in favor of providing public opinion of our countries with objective and ever more comprehensive information about the problems and achievements of each of them so that they should know each other better.

A comparison and exchange of various opinions in a comradely spirit could lead to conclusions that would in fact facilitate socialism's advance and strengthen the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries.

The RCP is emphatically in favor of surmounting disagreements between socialist countries, of settling them by discussion between parties and governments in keeping with the high requirements of unity and solidarity. As a component part and active contingent of the world revolutionary movement our party is pursuing a consistent policy of cooperation and militant solidarity with all communist and workers' parties.

The new situation increasingly demands that communist parties should promote cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties — on the national level in order to speed society's progressive development, and on the international level in the interests of the struggle for détente, security, a new economic order, disarmament and peace. Also, cooperation must be strenthened with the national-liberation movements, the ruling parties of developing nations and non-aligned states, and other democratic, including religious, parties. In this way all the forces of social progress and peace can be united.

On the basis of an objective assessment of the world alignment of forces and their dynamics and prospects, the Rumanian Communist Party believes that the forces of peace and progress are in a predominant position and can counter policies of aggression, prevent another war, defend peace and ensure the consolidation of the course toward détente. We believe that today there is no imminent danger of war, that we do not stand on the threshold of a world conflagration.

From this angle special significance attaches to the declaration adopted at the recent conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. Its principal message is that increasingly energetic and consistent steps must be taken to ensure the unswerving continuation of the course toward détente and that all countries and peoples, all political leaders, and progressive peace forces should set the interests of humankind above all else, and live in a world free of weapons and wars, in an atmosphere of respect for the independence and identity of each people, of equality among all nations, and peaceful cooperation, in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect.

Disarmament is a vital problem on which depends the destiny of humankind, the destiny of civilization, the very existence of humanity.

Acting in the basic interests of all peoples, our party considers that everything must be done to avoid any escalation of the arms race and condemn and emphatically reject all impulses toward an increase of military expenditures. We hold that efforts should be made not to seek an equilibrium between constantly growing armaments but, on the contrary, to achieve a balance in the process of their uninterrupted reduction.

Unquestionably, a sacred duty of socialist countries is to ensure the

necessary capability for the defense of their indpendence and identity, of their revolutionary achievements. Socialist Rumania is fully determined to carry out its Warsaw Treaty commitments scrupulously and promote cooperation with the armed forces of the other member states of that organization. It is prepared to make its contribution to repulse any imperialist aggression in Europe directed against socialist countries.

The focal point of present-day bourgeois ideology is the discussion of the concepts of humanism, democracy, and freedom. Bourgeois ideology studiously ignores such fundamental aspects of human existence as liberation from exploitation, ensuring the right work, giving access to education, science, and culture, promoting social equality and abolishing national and racial discrimination. All this cannot be achieved under capitalism. In fact, genuinely revolutionary humanism can be realized only under socialism. The superiority of socialist humanism over bourgeois lies in the fact that the abolition of exploitation leads to the equality of individuals regardless of nationality, race, or sex, ensures a worthy material life for all members of society, gives access to education, science and culture, and opens up broad vistas for the assertion of the individual.

LENINISM GIVES THE KEY TO UNDERSTANDING THE MODERN EPOCH

Rodney Arismendi
First Secretary, CC, CP of Uruguay

We are indeed convinced that the theme of this conference concerns the essence of our epoch or, what is the same, the essence of the entire period that began with the Great October Socialist Revolution and changed all aspects of the historical process. Our point of departure must be that the October Revolution ushered in an epoch in which world history began to move and the entire system of socialist states appeared, which are the advanced contingent and most dynamic factor of world development; that this system is the cardinal achievement of the working class and the peoples of the world. Otherwise, willy nilly, we will slide into the social-democratic interpretation of history, namely, that socialism is still an unattainable ideal, that its realization can only be expected in the distant future because the victorious socialist revolutions, beginning with the October Revolution, do not fit into the ideal pattern devised and formulated in advance by social-democracy.

In other words, if in fact we abide by the principled positions of the communist and workers' parties relative to the revolutionary, democratic and national-liberation movements, of all the progressive cur-

rents of our epoch, we must measure the progress of our times with yardsticks springing from the close relationship established by the united, internationalist trends with all countries where socialist revolutions have triumphed, notably with the land of the Great October Revolution.

For the same reason we believe that the theme of the attitude to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is linked with an essential, fundamental and, at the same time, important strategic question affecting the destines of the world — the development of the world socialist revolution and the downfall of imperialism. The entire epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale necessarily moves the basic contradiction — between the working class and the bourgeoisie — into the heart of the historical process. Whereas formerly it had concentrated in capitalist society, today it is evolving into a confrontation between the two systems, and for that reason absorbs all the other contradictions of world development.

Other contradictions are developing on the basis of this main contradiction: between imperialism, on the one hand, and colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries, on the other; between the working class, which rallies all working people round itself, and the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries. Naturally, the question of war and peace has likewise assumed a new dimension after the victory of the October and other socialist revolutions.

The creation of the Communist International and the victory of Leninism were due to these basic, decisive historical changes of our epoch. Meanwhile, the three main currents are objectively fusing into a single torrent, absorbing democratic and anti-imperialist streams, including some segments of the bourgeoisie.

For the communists this is a question of major strategy. It stems from Lenin's revolutionary teaching on the world socialist revolution, into which all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces, everybody who champions peace, are becoming involved. The socialist community is the main current of the world socialist revolution, the most significant achievement of all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces. To adopt any other attitude to it means to consider that the revolution progresses when we are not in power, and when we have won power we lose our force of attraction. This view would be tantamount to defeatism, and it is not worthy of the name of theory of revolutionary and socialist transformations.

It would lead to a revision of all questions, including the colonial and national questions, which are important elements of Lenin's theory of imperialism and have developed in a struggle with social-democratic concepts, in the inner-party polemic of the Bolsheviks

with Y. Pyatakov, and in the debates with Rosa Luxemburg. The national and colonial questions, Lenin declared at the Second Congress of the Comintern, should henceforth be considered in the context of the main contradiction, that between socialism and capitalism. Present-day development has borne out Lenin's brilliant prevision. The disintegration of the colonial system, non-capitalist development, the existence of socialism-oriented states, and confrontation up to the export of counter-revolution — all contemporary development proves lenin's perspicacity and the significance of his teaching for the future, and makes Leninism the Marxism of our epoch, a great modern revolutionary theory.

For the same reasons, the entire world revolutionary movement gives prominence to the struggle for Leninism, to the formation of parties fighting social-democracy and other trends. We would fail to be objective if we regarded everything in a rosy light, if we held that we did not make mistakes. In the past we, veteran communists, have sometimes been inaccurate, exaggerated the level reached by socialist development in the USSR, and did not recognize the difficulties, contradictions, and problems posed by this process. But from the standpoint of world history we were correct, because the world we are living in dates from October 1917.

In this context I should like to note that sometimes criticism is Manichaean even among us. What does this mean? In reconstructing our history many of our writers leave out the contradictions, weaknesses, difficulties and shortcomings. This is unquestionably a wrong approach to history. Essentially speaking, it represents the reverse side ot Manichaeanism, when the history of socialism is portrayed as a string of errors, difficulties, and problems, while its main historical substance, the substance of its achievements, the epoch-making prospects opened up by it, including for the world socialist revolution in all its aspects, remain in the shade. But this is not the history of revolution and of our epoch. We would have been blind if we had not seen and analyzed our mistakes, and did not draw lessons from them, especially in the hour when we celebrate our victories. It would be the height of harm and dishonesty to declare that a second-rate socialism has been built in the USSR and, with it, in other socialist countries.

To assert this means to confine the significance of Leninism to the epoch when it was evolved. At best, the expression 'return to Marx' can mean that we should continue studying the enormous spiritual legacy of Marx. When the question of 'return to Marx' is raised in the dimension that only a variety of Marxism is associated with Lenin, it is in fact a call not to reconsider the vivifying source of thought represented by the teaching of Marx but to restrict Leninism and its universal application and epoch-making significance, to try and prove

that it contains features that make its concepts suitable for the backward, 'Eastern' region.

In short, the great truth is that there is unity between the views of Marx and Lenin. To keep pace with the times, we must rise to the level of Marx and Lenin, in the same way that Lenin rose to the level of Marx. Moreover, this truth is that there must be no return to dogmatism, that we should not think we have an inexhaustible library of quotations suitable for any occasion. Neither Marx nor Lenin could foresee such a host of new problems. While using Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action, we must creatively interpret new social, economic, and political problems. If we renounce Leninism, 'legislatively' forbid that very word, we shall not move an iota along the road of creativity and not even half win the struggle against dogmatism.

Of course, the question of the relationship between the three revolutionary currents and of solidarity with the USSR and existing socialism is today raised in a new way that differs from how we, veteran communists, regarded it in the 30s. The alignment of forces is different today, our movement has no international center, and the diversity of the national problems and tasks of each party determines the multiformity of each socialist society. The principles of the autonomy, equality, and sovereignty of each party and, its right to have its own view and stance have been asserted. But to a much larger extent than ever before there is a close link between the national and the international, and no major international issue can be settled without the participation of the USSR and other socialist states. The axis and the main element of the dialectics of world development, peaceful coexistence, and the world revolutionary process are, above all, existing socialism and other forces united on an international scale.

As the CC Secretary of Communist Party of a small country oppressed by fascism, I know that as the alignment of forces on the international scene changes in favor of socialism and peace, my enemies grow weaker and the independence of my country becomes more reliable. The instability of fascism in Latin America is due to many reasons, including the alignment of forces in the world and broad solidarity on a world scale that create the conditions for isolating fascism. On this basis I feel that we can welcome, for instance, the wide-ranging, positive platform advanced by the Warsaw Treaty countries, a platform that will surely have the support of every peace-loving person.

But we cannot ignore the fact that the international situation has deteriorated. If imperialism succeeds in substantially enlarging its military potential in fulfillment of the NATO rearmament plan, if it

extends the zone of armed intervention in Africa and other parts of the world and, what is most dramatic, if it reaches understanding with the Peking leadership, which is making armaments the historical aim of its policy, the situation in the world will evidently enter an extremely difficult phase.

The question of peace in all its aspects is therefore closely linked, I believe, with major modern international issues. It is quite obvious to me that our solidarity with socialist countries cannot be abstract. It must be fundamental. The destiny of all of us and the future of the world are linked with the question of solidarity with socialism and, ultimately, with the question of proletarian internationalism.

DETENTE AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Matiur Rahman
Secretary, CC Communist Party of Bangladesh

Our party has always considered itself to be an integral part of the world communist movement. I should like to express our gratitude to the world communist movement and especially to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the communist parties of other socialist countries and to other fraternal parties for their unreserved support to the struggle for our party's legalization. This proletarian internationalism has helped our party to come back to the political arena as a legal organization.

The Communist Party of Bangladesh pays close attention to problems of peace, security and détente, because we know that only in an atmosphere of détente, a country like ours, which is one of the poorest in the world, can survive and develop in the direction we have chosen.

The growing economic and military strength of the socialist community of states and socialism's ability to solve basic problems have altered the alignment of world forces. The other factor is the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the support of this policy by all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world. All this paved the way to détente.

We believe that when détente reigns there are fewer opportunities for exporting counter-revolution and bringing neo-colonialist pressure to bear on developing countries. Though the imperialists have resorted to exporting counter-revolution, their designs have been foiled by the democratic and progressive forces with the active support of the socialist countries, which does not run counter to the spirit of détente. This support encourages many countries of Asia and Africa to effect anti-imperialist measures such as nationalization of natural resources and monopoly property, abrogation of unequal treaties with

the former metropolises and remoulding of economic relations with them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The ever growing economic might of the socialist countries enables the developing countries to negotiate the establishment of economic relations with industrialized capitalist countries. In these favorable conditions of détente progressive anti-imperialist forces in a number of countries in Asia and Africa have started major socio-economic transformations and are adopting the socialist orientation.

Life has shown that the process of socio-economic transformation may be slowed down for some time by the machinations of imperialism and internal reaction, as was the case in a newly-independent and developing country like Bangladesh. But to reverse the process completely and to openly oppose détente and world peace is becoming increasingly difficult. Public opinion in the newly-free countries is becoming aware that war preparation and war hysteria run counter to national interests.

The strengthening of peace and security in Asia has always been a top-priority concern of the Soviet Union's and other socialist countries' foreign policy. More than half of the world's population lives in this continent. Moreover, it has widely different traditions, levels of development, and social structures. In these conditions it is no simple task to ensure peace in our continent. Recently certain changes in the Asian political climate have made the question still more urgent. All this shows that joint effort by the states to strengthen peace in Asia is a matter of vital importance to all nations, even to non-Asian countries. This is one of the reasons why peace forces in the world welcomed the recent Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation concluded between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The unity between these two socialist states should increasingly make itself felt also in the future development of this continent.

Other important factors in this respect are Soviet-Indian friendship and the cooperation between the non-aligned nations and the countries of the socialist community.

In their relations with the emergent countries of Asia, as with other countries, the socialist states strictly adhere to principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutually advantageous co-operation.

The forces which place their stakes on building up tension between the socialist countries, and also between socialist and developing states, have not discontinued their machinations in Asia, they have stepped them up. Orchestrated by the U.S. imperialists and the Peking leaders, such actions become particularly dangerous. But all these dangerous moves and irresponsible political manipulations are

not supported by the majority of the population in our continent.

We share the view of all other peace-loving forces that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been, and will continue to be, a reliable bulwark of struggles against the old world, a world of militarism, exploitation, and violence.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE STAND OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS

Michele Rossi
Member of *WMR* Editorial Board from the Italian CP

Good relations exist between the Italian communists and the parties here represented, and we want them to remain such in the future as well. Our exchanges of opinion and experience are useful, and we want them to be even more useful. That is why we are sure that we shall be understood if we say that we do not think that forums of such scale and with such a broad range of topics are the most fitting. What is more, because they are inevitably general in character, we feel that they are least useful for discussions and concrete consideration of the problems before us. At the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Berlin, the Italian Communist Party expressed the opinion that such meetings no longer cover all the world's forces, movements, parties, states and nations facing new, hitherto unknown problems on whose solution the destiny of the world depends.

After the Second World War and under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the world's first socialist state the formation of other socialist states was initiated and the peoples' liberation movement against colonial oppression powerfully developed. Today, no one can seriously ignore the decisive role which the socialist countries have to play; without their efforts it is impossible to solve the problems which agitate the world.

The crisis which has rocked the world capitalist economy breeds uncertainty and instability. The cause of the sharpening class struggle in the individual countries and on an international scale consists in the fact that in their effort to safeguard their interests the monopolies exert pressure and want to impose ways of moving out of the crisis that would result in a strengthening of their power. But the economic crisis has also gripped the more or less underdeveloped countries and countries which recently won liberation from colonial dependence.

The world crisis has also affected countries with a socialist economic system. There are shortcomings in the socialist countries of Europe which show that the planning-market interconnection problem has yet to be solved; alongside the imbalances in the devlopment of key sectors of the economy there is inadequate efficiency and

productivity. On the other hand, inflation on a world scale creates additional difficulties for the socialist countries on external markets. We feel that this brings forward the question of planning methods, which since the 60s has been on the agenda and has been discussed in the socialist countries, and also the question of the interconnection between the state and the economy which bears on the important and, we think, still unsolved problem of the ever broader and effective participation by the working people and all the other citizens in elaborating key decisions and in running the economy.

In the present international situation, the question of peace is of primary importance. Although it has been possible up to now to avert a world conflict, wars are being fought in various regions. True, important steps along the road of détente were taken in the early 70s, but this process is now stagnating; there are signs of a worsening of relations between the United States and the USSR, and the disagreement between China and the Soviet Union continues to be a source of alarm and apprehension. Armed conflicts have even broken out between newly independent states taking a socialist orientation; in Africa and Asia contradictions between the various powers have emerged and are sharpening. To move out of this situation a fresh impetus must be given to the policy of détente by mobilizing the broadest masses of people and enlisting the most active participation of all the forces: national-liberation movements, political parties, peoples and states. There is a need to settle the conflicts in the Middle East, in Africa and Asia, to advance along the road of disarmament, to complete SALT-II, to go over to a balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe, and to act to overcome the bloc confrontation. There is a need to work for the establishment of a new international economic order.

We believe that Western Europe can and must play its specific role in the international arena, so helping to attain these goals. That is why the working class must join in the struggle to set up a united, democratic and independent European community. Without the participation of the working class and its parties it is impossible to create a Europe of nations and working people; if it fails to take part in this, the capitalist groupings and the multinationals will have a free hand.

The entry of Greece, Spain and Portugal into the European Economic Community, which we support, could, we believe, intensify the struggle to overcome the socio-economic distinctions within it and for its democratization.

The successful development of détente, the ensuring of peace and the defeat of the forces of war and reaction, the successful struggle for peace and cooperation, for the establishment of a new economic order and the solution of the grave problems facing mankind over the

next 20 years, require joint action and a contribution by all the democratic and progressive forces, communists, socialists and social democrats, forces taking the Christian orientation and national-liberation movements.

That is why, the Ialian communists believe, there arises the question of a new internationalism which goes beyond the framework of the activity of the communist parties and forces close to them, and which takes into account the differences in culture, traditions, history and experience. From this it follows that there can be neither universal models, nor centers of political direction, nor again seats of ideological orthodoxy. On the contrary, it is necessary to respect the sovereignty and independence of each state, party and movement with a critical, free and constructive comparison of various experiences and conclusions.

We Italian communists have long since resolutely come out for unity in the conditions of diversity; we oppose excommunications and condemnations, charges which distort realty, the fixing of tags and the fitting into cut-and-dried patterns. History teaches us that this merely goes to sharpen relations and does not produce any solutions. That is why we have refused and continue to refuse to take part in polemic or more than polemic campaigns with respect to this or that socialist country or any communist party, although we express our critical remarks independently and with a sense of responsibility concerning the various approaches or acts by any party, by any state.

In our activity, we Italian communists take into account the whole of our history and seek to find our own way of advancing to socialism, which must be based on freedom, democracy and pluralism. That is the gist, as everyone knows, of a phenomenon like Eurocommunism. The ICP does not regard Eurocommunism as a movement which opposes itself to the communist parties and the revolutionary and progressive forces of other countries and continents and which claims to have solutions which suit everyone. It has a specific contribution to make to the overall process of establishment and development of socialist ideals in Europe and the rest of the world. Eurocommunism is based on a conviction that the struggle for socialism and the construction of a socialist society must be effected in the conditions of all-round development of democracy and all the freedoms. It is in the course of the struggle against fascism and nazism that the cause of the democracy, unity and national independence became the cause of the workers, peasants and all the other working people. Here the communists had the vanguard role to play. The struggle in defense of freedom and for a development of democracy, as an organic part of our struggle for socialism, has been at the heart of our political activity over the past 30 years. The working class and all the other

working people prefer and stand up for a system of institutional guarantees of political freedoms. This is due both to the fact that political and civil liberties are a historical gain of abiding importance for the life of human society, and to the fact that a democratic regime provides the most favorable soil for the development of the class struggle aimed to remodel economic and social structures. That is why democracy is the highest institutional form of organization for any state, including the socialist states. At the same time, only social and economic reforms can help to eliminate exploitation, and to fill democratic rights with real content and make them effective.

We are well aware that the ruling classes fiercely resist this approach and this prospect, and have resorted and will continue to resort to any means to prevent it. However, the strength of the working class, the working people and all those who seek to overcome capitalism consists above all in the fact that elimination of exploitation and defense of democratic guarantees are not opposite but mutually conditioned and complementary demands.

We believe that the conception of effective pluralism springs from the historical past and the present-day reality of developed capitalist society. We believe that the socialist society for which we in Italy are fighting will have, alongside its public sector, a private sector of the economy and that a special role will be assigned to the property of freely associated toiling peasants, and also to artisans, small and middle industrial enterprises, and private enterprise in the services sphere.

We believe that even after the economic foundations of society have been transformed and its division into antagonistic classes ended, various interests continue to exist, and ideological, political, cultural, religious trends and traditions continue to be meaningful. This explains the possibility of the existence of several parties and their alternation in running the state, even under a democratic and socialist renewal of society. Consequently, our conception of the secular, non-ideological state, in which freedom of religion and freedom of activity in the sphere of culture, the arts and science is fully guaranteed, will be embodied in the process of construction and administration of the new society.

We do not regard the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the other leaders and teachers of the international working-class and socialist movement, including the Italian, as a system of doctrines. We regard it as a great, fundamental cultural and ideological heritage which serves us as a reference point in assessing situations. It provides the basis for formulating our line, which we subject to critical verification and renewal through a comparison with reality, experience and other ideological trends.

In conclusion, and in connection with what has been said above, I should like to say that round-tables and exchanges of opinion on specific problems with the participation of a limited number of specialists are arrangements which could be held regularly. But if the journal will continue in the future to take part in convening and arranging such large conferences of almost worldwide proportions, which cannot but acquire political meaning and political character, and which provide an opportunity not for conducting a discussion but for setting forth positions, which are then not compared and are not the fruit of joint analysis, the ICP will be forced not only to consider the question of whether it should in the future take part in such conferences, but it will also be forced to reconsider its stand with respect to the journal. What is more, I believe that as a result of our criticism and remarks this question may be considered open. We express the desire that the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council should discuss the question in the sense that the journal should be nothing but a journal, and that it should seek to produce ever more benefit as a rostrum for the exchange of opinion and experience.

NECESSITY FOR JOINT ACTION

Miklos Ovari
Member, PB, Secretary, CC Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

The socialist countries, whose people, led by the communist parties, have put an end to capitalism and are building a new society, occupy a special place among the progressive forces of our epoch. The economic, scientific, military might, and peaceful foreign policy of the socialist community, and its efforts to promote détente and peaceful coexistence create favorable conditions for the revolutionary forces by containing imperialism's aggressive ambitions and preventing it from exporting counter-revolution.

Socialism's influence on the development of the world revolutionary process is seen also in the mounting worldwide interest in the experience of the socialist countries. A scientific analysis of the rise and development of socialist society and a profound understanding of the laws and tendencies of that society's formation increase the impact of socialism's example upon the peoples of nations that are not yet socialist. This in-depth analysis, we believe, is incompatible with either vulgarized apologia or biased criticism. We are equally certain that such an analysis of the socialist experience helps to arrive at important conclusions and generalizations that greatly enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and facilitate the struggle for social progress and socialism the world over.

It is difficult for the socialist countries alone to paralyze the in-

fluence of bourgeois propaganda on the masses, to disperse the haze of slander hiding the truth of socialist reality. That is why cooperation is so necessary among all fraternal parties — of the socialist world community and in countries with a different system. Such cooperation would extend socialism's range of influence and help people throughout the world know much more about the socialist countries. This, in our view, would not only be in the interests of the socialist countries, it would also, and above all, serve to deepen the world revolutionary process.

A factor complicating the influence of the socialist countries on the world revolutionary process is that some of socialism's sincere supporters and friends consider existing socialism to be an ideal social system with no internal contradictions and unresolved problems. Therefore, when they see facts upsetting this concept they are in some cases disillusioned and this takes the form of unjust and biased criticism that is blind to the complexities of historical development. But the advantages and superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist are not that socialist society is void of problems and shortcomings, but that it is able to cope with new problems emerging in the course of development, and can straighten out mistakes that are practically unavoidable in the process of growth.

Moreover, socialism's superiority is seen in the fact that it is not fossilized and immobile but is a social system constantly in the process of renewal, developing at a rate unprecedented in history.

The new social system has shown nations the road to independence and progress, and created the conditions for solving the national problems of previously oppressed, exploited and disinherited peoples. Among themselves the socialist countries have established inter-state relations of a new type based on internationalism, equality, friendship and fraternal cooperation. The mutual cooperation of the socialist countries helps each of them to build a new society, while their coordinated foreign policy is aimed at ensuring the needed international conditions.

Hard and set patterns are alien to socialism. One of the important lessons to be learned from the experience of building socialism is that the general laws of socialist construction are applied in accordance with each country's national and historical features. Disregard of general laws and national features will sooner or later lead to serious consequences.

The roads to socialism and the ways of resolving problems arising during the building of the new society may be dissimilar. Socio-economic distinctions, different levels of development of the productive forces and of the relations of production, and the activity level of the revolutionary forces in individual countries are the objective

foundation of this diversity. The example and experience of the socialist countries in dealing with problems of the struggle for socialism and of socialist construction make it easier for the revolutionary forces to choose their own road but do not absolve them of the responsibility of choosing and acting independently.

The fact that the socialist countries decisively influence world development places a great responsibility on them. The arms race that is being intensified by the imperialist circles and imperialism's attempts at aggressive interference in various parts of the world compel the socialist countries to maintain a high level of defense capability, which requires certain material investments.

For socialism to continue developing it is vital to strengthen solidarity among the communist and workers' parties. This unity is consolidated by comparing views and experience on the basis of common interests, constructive discussion, working out mutual positions, defining common tasks and by joint action.

The guiding principle of cooperation among communist and workers' parties is proletarian internationalism, which is an organic part of Marxism-Leninism, develops together with it and reflects the changes taking place in the world and in the different social movements. Proletarian internationalism finds ever wider application as the ideas of Marxism-Leninism gain an ever broader following, as the communist and working-class movements gain momentum, as the socialist world system becomes stronger and as national-liberation movements approach victory. International solidarity is at the heart of proletarian internationalism, for it means increasing cooperation, mutual support, and a coordinated struggle for common goals and against the common enemy — imperialism. The fraternal parties want each other to be successful; none can be indifferent to the problems and difficulties of another. The ways and means of attaining proletarian internationalism are constantly changing and developing. Because the communist movement has become more active, because its impact on the masses is growing and its political role has become stronger, it has become possible and necessary to make the national and international interests of the communist and workers' parties increasingly complementary.

The fraternal parties enjoy complete freedom of action. The identity and independence of each party and the practical application of the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs foster rather than diminish the internationalist responsibilities of all the parties and the need for united action. Janos Kadar, First Secretary of our party's CC, said at the 11th HSWP Congress: 'In view of the growing complexity of the international class struggle and our movement's lack of an organizational center, the need for analyzing and assessing the

new situation, determining new tasks, and coordinating action requires that during bilateral meetings, regional conferences and on a broader basis, the fraternal parties should share and generalize their revolutionary experience and define the most effective methods of joint struggle.'

The dissemination of socialist ideas not only strengthens the socialist world system, but also, as a result of favorable internal and external political changes and the vigorous actions of fraternal parties, gives rise to conditions in many industrialized capitalist countries for the attainment of anti-monopoly democracy based on broad popular support. In some countries this could be an important milestone on the road to socialism.

Evidence of the growing popularity of socialist ideas is that bourgeois propaganda not only supports concepts alien to Marxism-Leninism, which it alleges to be 'outdated,' etc., but also pushes all manner of revisionist, and 'left' ideas, which, though seeming to be socialist, actually pervert the essence of scientific socialism. The tried and tested response to such views, which only seem to be socialist but are really the opposite of socialism, is a simultaneous struggle against both revisionism and dogmatism.

The domestic and foreign policies of the HSWP, as in the past, will rest on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our party attaches particular importance to its relations with the CPSU and maintains and strengthens its contacts with all the fraternal parties of the socialist community. It displays active solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties of the capitalist and developing countries, and on the basis of revolutionary solidarity promotes ties with the anti-imperialist forces, liberation movements and national-democratic parties. In the interests of furthering détente and ensuring security, in the interests of the unity of the international working class, and in keeping with its fundamental principles the HSWP seeks cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties.

Our party and all our working people are continuing to build a developed socialist society, for we are well aware that by attaining our great national goals we shall contribute to the progress of all mankind.

UNFADING SIGNIFICANCE OF OUR DOCTRINE

Alvaro Cunhal
General Secretary, Portuguese Communist Party

Existing socialism is the future on which the peoples still tyrannized by capitalism and imperialism have set their hearts. The truth about existing socialism is a powerful instrument for the social remaking of

the world. Aware of this, imperialism resorts to slander and lies, distorting and smearing that truth.

The Portuguese communists know from experience the meaning of pressure and blackmail by the reactionaries. As a token of our 'good conduct' and as a precondition for our participation in a future government they want us to join in the attacks on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, albeit occasionally and in specific situations.

Our party's opinion on this issue is clear and well-known. Since we believe that in Portugal some problems will be solved by methods differing from those used in individual socialist countries, we have formulated them quite independently in our program. But the PCP will never take part, directly or indirectly, in any anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaign, and the voice of our party will never be heard in the chorus of the enemies of socialism and communism.

For the communists, fidelity to the interests of the working classes and the liberation cause of socialism and communism is not something that can be used to buy the good will, condescension, favor or tolerance of the big capitalists, latifundists and imperialists. Our party will not be a piece of decoration for bourgeois democracy, as the reactionaries would like it to be. We devote all our energies to defending freedom and other gains of the revolution, and even in the present situation, complex and dangerous as it is, we never lose sight of the socialist goals.

Our party has charted its own program of building socialism in Portugal in keeping with the conditions obtaining in the country. But we hold that however great the distinction of the program of a Communist Party in a capitalist country is, that program should not counterpose itself to socialism as it is today. It should be opposed to capitalist society, whatever its political regime. By playing off its program of socialist construction against the reality of the socialist countries it would inevitably undercut the struggle for socialism in its own country.

The study and popularization in capitalist countries of the achievements, victories, experience and reality of the socialist countries are a sure means of winning over the masses and, therefore, are part and parcel of the struggle for socialism.

The experience of the Portuguese revolution offers further proof that revolutions are neither imitated nor copied, and that the goal of revolutionary forces is to find the most appropriate solution for the situation in which they operate. At the same time, the specific features of the revolutionary process in each country should be viewed in the context of the objective laws of social development, taking into

account the experience of the world revolutionary movement and, above all, the lessons of socialist revolutions.

The experience of the socialist revolutions and of socialist and communist construction shows that there is an inseparable link between political democracy and democracy in the economic, social and cultural spheres. The working class has never looked upon democratic freedoms and liberation from capitalist exploitation as incompatible values. This has been confirmed also by the Portuguese revolution.

In the course of that revolution, monopoly groups have been liquidated, the major branches of the economy nationalized and a socialist-type agrarian reform started. These revolutionary gains have been formalized in the Constitution.

In the initial period of the revolution, when the mass movement was unfolding inexorably in alliance with the Armed Forces Movement, reaction made use of freedoms (though it was already planning to destroy them) and outwardly supported the establishment of a democratic regime. The reactionary forces now feel they cannot destroy the revolution's gains under a democratic regime and have launched an undisguised offensive on freedoms and democracy, demanding a complete revision of the Constitution in a bid to bring a new dictatorship to power.

In Portugal the dilemma is clear: either the counter-revolution will continue its assault and eliminate the major revolutionary gains, which would mean an end to the democratic regime; or the Portuguese people will uphold freedom and democracy, which implies also a successful defense of the agrarian reform, nationalization and workers' control. The strengthening of democracy in Portugal leayes the road open to socialism.

In face of the vigorous growth of the world revolutionary process imperialism is mobilizing vast means to sow distrust and discord among the socialist countries, the communist parties and various contingents of the world anti-imperialist front.

In this monstrous divisive activity the Peking leaders are entering into close cooperation with imperialism and the most reactionary forces. This is precisely how they operate in regard to Portugal. It is the sacred duty of the communist and workers' parties to disrupt these divisive efforts and to broaden and strengthen the unity of the communist movement, of all anti-imperialist forces. Our party is doing its utmost to promote friendship, cooperation and mutual solidarity with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries, and the revolutionary parties and movements fighting for the

liberation of their peoples and the creation of new, independent states.

Reactionary propaganda is going to all ends to give credibility to the argument that a party which maintains firm internationalist positions will lose influence in its own country. We can say that our party's influence among the people is growing, and that we have always firmly adhered to principled positions. These positions presuppose flexibility, swift response and a realistic analysis of the changing situation and of the alignment of forces. Our party's influence keeps growing due to its policy of combining devoted patriotism and international activity based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Our enemies tag the label 'lack of independence' to the PCP's unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But we would in fact lack independence if under pressure from the class enemy we moved away from the USSR and other socialist countries and changed our attitude to existing socialism. The independence of a revolutionary vanguard of the working class means in practice that it shapes its own policies without outside interference. But in the same way (and this is equally important) it implies an unrelenting and persistent struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and an ability to resist ideological and economic pressure, and repressions. A party's independence is expressed in strong solidarity with existing socialism, with fraternal parties, and all revolutionary forces, in its contribution to unity, and in loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The historic struggle gathering momentum in the world today teaches the revolutionary forces that victory may be won not by the isolated actions of separate groups but by cooperation, coordination, mutual understanding, concerted action and unity with Marxism-Leninism as the ideological cement of this unity.

It would be absurd to maintain that because more than a century has passed since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* and more than half a century since Lenin's death, the historical experience and the new realities can be creatively analyzed only if Marxism-Leninism is cast aside as 'outdated.' It is similarly absurd to believe, as the reformists and social democrats do, that the ability for creative analysis can only be acquired by rejecting Leninism.

The Socialist Party of Portugal, which has allied itself with the capitalists and the right-wing forces, asserts that it is not Marx but Lenin who drives a wedge between it and the PCP. The fact is, however, that by rejecting Lenin one inevitably rejects Marx as well. One cannot be a Leninist without being a Marxist, just as one cannot be a Marxist without being a Leninist.

Marxism-Leninism is the antipode of dogmatism, stagnation of theory, a political rut, pettiness, mechanical imitation, and ready-made recipes and clichés. It provides the revolutionary forces with the theoretical means of understanding the acquired experience, analyzing realities, and finding sure and innovatory solutions.

One of the comrades speaking at this conference declared that his party favors Portugal joining the Common Market. We do not deny any fraternal party the right to declare for Portugal's entry into the Common Market, provided this benefits the people whose interests a given party expresses. But when the interests of the Portuguese people and Portuguese democracy are involved, it is only our party that has the right to speak out on this question.

Marxism-Leninism is being constantly enriched: the struggles and experience of the working people and their vanguards steadily contribute new elements to the common treasure-store of theory. In this sense, the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism is the common cause of the entire world communist and working-class movement.

Marxist-Leninist theory, whose principles have enabled existing socialism to achieve its historic gains, has been and remains the compass for all communist and workers' parties, for the revolutionary forces the world over. If we hold this compass firmly in our hands and if we are united, we shall win.

VIABILITY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Sergio Vieira
Member, FRELIMO Central Committee (Mozambique)

The first people's democracies of workers and peasants, led by parties that have adopted Marxism-Leninism as their ideology, have appeared in the southern part of the Africa as a result of the victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. The liberation struggle in this region now has its first-ever dependable rear consisting of states recognizing the priority of the principle of proletarian internationalism. Here the boundary between independent Africa and an Africa tyrannized by racism and colonialism is also the boundary demarcating different roads of social development.

Our enemy, imperialism, sees the significance of these victories of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. Its entire propaganda arsenal has been turned against Mozambique together with all its means of sabotage, economic pressure and subversion. The white minority racist regime in Rhodesia is used for armed aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique. Armed, trained and financed by the imperialists, Rhodesia ceaselessly provokes border incidents, plundering and laying waste to our territory, bringing death to inno-

cent people. But our heroic peoples are repulsing these hostile activities. Beside[illegible]as the example of Angola has shown, we are aided by the internationalist solidarity of Cuba, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and by many people throughout the world who denounce this aggression by the South African racists.

While imperialism has not entirely abandoned its plans for undisguised aggression, its innumerable setbacks have forced it to look for other ways of implementing its policy. For example, led by the United States, Western countries have lately coordinated and launched a new type of political and diplomatic offensive to prevent people's democracy from spreading to other countries in the southern part of the continent and continue their efforts to strangle existing democratic regimes. Imperialism poses as an ally of the national-liberation movement, as a force capable of bloodlessly ending apartheid and colonialism.

We know, however, that the struggle in Africa is a struggle for the interests of the working masses against inperialist interests, a struggle against poverty and the pillaging of our continent's resources. We believe that these changes in imperialist tactics reflect the new reality characterized by a shift of the world balance in favor of genuine independence. This has forced the enemy to formally dissociate himself from former allies and from his traditional instruments — colonialism and racism.

But if in Europe and in Asia and in relation to Cuba imperialism has reconciled itself to the existence and progress of socialist countries and has had to accept peaceful coexistence and détente, in Africa it refuses to recognize that progress is irreversible, and it denies the reality in our countries, our independence and our advance toward socialism. If fears us and our 'bad example,' and is doing its utmost to throw us off balance. Nevertheless, imperialism will be defeated, just as it was defeated when it tried to save Portuguese colonialism.

Our party program says that the stage of the people's democratic revolution in Mozambique is a period of the total abolition of all forms of foreign domination, including economic; of the steady extirpation of the consequences of the traditional-feudal and colonial-capitalist systems; of the establishment of organs of people's power throughout the country and the building of a new social order in line with the objective interests of the people; of efforts on the economic front to satisfy the people's vital requirements, particularly in food and clothing; of the consolidation of the power of the workers and peasants and the setting up of state organs of a new type; of the enhancement of the nation's defense capability, discipline, law and order and public security. Generally speaking, this is the stage of building the political, ideological, scientific-technological and material basis for the transi-

tion to socialism. Notwithstanding imperialist intrigues, we are coping successfully with these tasks.

Economics is the key to a revolution's viability. We must create an economic system founded upon socialist relations of production, a system whose independence would be ensured by its material, scientific and technical resources. This is the only way we can fulfill our obligations in the international division of labor. We would not like to be a model of 'poor socialism.' This is a particularly sensitive question in Africa. We compare unscientific conceptions of socialism with the true impact of the processes unfolding in Mozambique and Angola. An in-depth analysis of our own experience and also of the revolutionary experience of nations and states building socialism and communism today enables us to pursue a correct policy and shows scientific socialism's viability in Africa.

DEPENDABLE BUTTRESS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Horst Schmitt
Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

At the close of the 1940s, when international monopoly capital divided Germany and Berlin with the intention of preventing the entire country's anti-fascist and democratic development, it bent every effort to use West Berlin as a barrier to the socialist development of the German Democratic Republic and was not fastidious in its choice of means for attaining that goal. Right social-democratic mayors at the time called West Berlin the 'cheapest atomic bomb,' a 'thorn in the flesh of socialism,' a 'front-line city of the cold war.' These were not battered propaganda phrases but an action program. In those years the collapse of socialism in the GDR was predicted almost every day; imperialist propaganda hardly differed from nazi Germany's anti-communist slander, while the population of West Berlin was an almost monolithic anti-communist bloc.

Thirty years have passed since then. Today socialism is stronger politically, economically and militarily than ever before. The GDR is a highly industrialized state with durable links with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is recognized and respected throughout the world. The forces whose only program relative to the future of West Berlin was to use it to subvert socialism in the GDR have been dumped on the waste heap of history long ago. Socialism has become the mainstay of peace and human progress, and hundreds of millions of people daily demonstrate the historical correctness of Marxism-Leninism in practice.

This fundamental change in the alignment of forces in the world has

led to a noteworthy turn in West Berlin as well. Although the ruling circles of our city have not ceased their attempts to give anti-communism, particularly anti-Sovietism, a new look, and continue to slander the GDR in every possible way, the population of our city is no longer an anti-communist monolith. As a result of our party's untiring efforts in defense of the social and democratic interests of the working people and the tremendous growth of the might of the socialist countries, a calm and business-like atmosphere reigns in the city and the ground has been prepared for a change in the way of thinking and actions of a considerable segment of the population. Existing socialism's attractive force and influence are growing steadily. It is not accidental that in West Berlin people are more and more frequently asking themsleves: Why is it that there are no jobless in socialist society, while in our society unemployment is a uncurable disease? Why is it that under socialism the state shows concern for all people, sick and healthy, while in our society public health and social insurance are directly dependent on the size of the income? Why is it that socialism gives special attention to the upbringing of young people, while in our society the system of education is ridden with privileges, a large proportion of our young people are unable to study, and unemployment, the crime rate and drug-addiction are on the upswing among the rising generation?

That normal, good-neighborly relations must be promoted with the socialist GDR is being acknowledged by ever larger numbers of people. To a great extent this paved the way to the signing of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. An essential precondition for the elaboration of the Helsinki Final Act, this agreement reduced tension considerably in the heartland of Europe. The treaties and agreements signed by West Berlin and the GDR have been instrumental in easing and normalizing life in the city. Naturally, this development is not devoid of conflict and it cannot be regarded in isolation from present-day international relations. The deterioration of the international situation resulting from the policy pursued by U.S. imperialism plays into the hands of those West Berlin circles who still cannot drop their hysterical anti-communism. The city's ruling circles are trying to complicate West Berlin's relations with the GDR and other countries.

In this context frantic attempts are being made to revive the legend about the notorious 'threat' from the East in the spirit of the song imperialism has been singing for more than six decades. A hallmark of imperialist propaganda in West Berlin is that in complete disharmony with the letter and spirit of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin the ruling circles are now claiming that West Berlin is an inalienable part of the FRG. The same circles are trying to tie it closer

to the policy of the EEC and thereby involve it in NATO policies.

In view of the fact that NATO is continuing the arms race in order to achieve military superiority over the countries of the socialist community, the people of our city should oppose any plans to bring West Berlin into that bloc. The east does not threaten our city. The threat to it comes from the attempts to turn it into a powder-keg of imperialism.

Our party welcomes and warmly supports the important Warsaw Treaty declaration adopted in November 1978 by the Political Consultative Committee meeting in Moscow. In our opinion, it is further proof that peace and socialism are indivisible.

It may be said without exaggeration that among the working people in capitalist and in new nation states there is a growing striving for freedom, peaceful labor and an end to the threat of war. As regards the situation in our city, I would like to say that the peace movement is still inadequately organized and that in the immediate future a greater effort must be made to direct the peace aspirations of the majority of the city's population into a broad movement for peace.

This is urgent also because the international situation has deteriorated sharply as a result of NATO's new long-term armament program. In this connection we should like to state that our party most emphatically condemns the disgraceful stand of the Peking leadership, which is pursuing a policy of conciliation with U.S. imperialism and West German reaction, a policy that is unambiguously directed against peace, security and détente. Symbolic of the Peking leadership's stand is that it is perfidiously attacking the Vietnamese people when the whole of progressive mankind is supporting and sympathizing with it as it heals its war wounds and builds socialism.

Our party regards the socialist countries as the best allies in the struggle for peace, against the plans of escalating the arms race. In keeping with this, we are making every effort to explain to the people of our city that for their own sake and for the sake of the future of West Berlin they should vigorously support the Soviet Union's constructive proposals for limiting the arms race and for disarmament. We have no doubt that the future of our city and its citizens depends chiefly on whether we shall succeed in preserving and strengthening peace.

As socialism and communism grow stronger as a result of the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and as further successes are scored on the road of détente, the bourgeoisie is finding it increasingly more difficult to cope with the inner contradictions of the capitalist system. In our city today there is a clear-cut alignment of class forces and the workers are becoming more aware of their class interests. It is no accident that in recent years we have

had innumerable strikes and other militant actions by factory workers, office employees, intellectuals and students. However, we are witnessing the growth of not only socio-political discord — conflicts are flaring up in all areas of social life.

Of course, the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen have noted the changes in the thinking and actions of large sections of the working population. By virtue of the fact that existing socialism is on our threshold, so to speak, they fear its example and make concessions to the working people more quickly, but, at the same time, with the aid of subtle anti-communist propaganda they seek to distort the workers' ideas about existing socialism. This explains their attempts to deny that freedoms and democracy flourish under existing socialism and their total support for the 'human rights' campaign.

We have no reason to stand aloof from this campaign. It bears out the fact that when bourgeois ideological influence on the workers diminishes, grows weaker and comes to naught, the bourgeoisie everywhere and always has recourse to the most monstrous lies and slander. To those who assert that there are no human rights under existing socialism we declare that it would be a significant achievement if the ruling circles of our city gave our citizens at least some of the basic rights enjoyed by people in socialist countries and which are commonplace for them: the right to work, education, social security, equality, health protection and housing. The anti-monopoly struggle rightfully determines the strategy and tactics of the working-class movement in our city today and characterizes the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, which is aimed at securing a turn toward democracy and social progress. In the struggle for this goal there is a growing need for a broad alliance of all democratic, anti-fascist, and anti-monopoly forces. More and more people are beginning to understand that anti-communism conflicts with their own interests and that they have many more points of contact and common interests with the people of socialist countries than with the West Berlin circles who dominate the city's economy and politics.

The might and steady progress of existing socialism are an inexhaustible well of strength for our party in its anti-imperialist struggle. The successes and advantages of the social system in the countries of existing socialism are a buttress and spur for our party to step up its struggle for democratic changes benefiting the working people of our city.

SOCIALISM — THE ROADS ARE MANY, THE ESSENCE IS ONE

Milton Rene Paredes
Member, Political Commission, CC, CP Honduras,
party representative on *WMR*

The socialist countries are building a new society in dissimilar conditions. Their paths to socialism reflect distinctions in the social structures, cultural traditions, and historical destinies of the peoples. All this shows that it is not possible to unify the forms and methods of building socialism. However it is important and helpful to study the experience of every individual country.

A concrete situation requires a concrete analysis, hence we cannot agree to a simple, mechanical copying, for a revolution cannot be successful if methods characteristic of one country are imposed on another.

Bourgeois politologists claim that Marx, Engels and Lenin overemphasized the class factor and underestimated the national factor. The founders of Marxism-Leninism, they allege, identified the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a new system with the automatic solution of national conflicts, of national problems in general. Simplifying and vulgarizing Marxist theory in this question, bourgeois ideologues offer their own interpretation of national relations as a substitute for the caricature they have themselves created.

If we are to believe bourgeois sociologists it is a contradiction to national interests to defend class positions and the interests of the proletariat and other working people. You either represent a national force, they insist, and consequently are above class interests, or hold class, i.e., one-sided positions and, therefore, cannot express the interests of the nation.

'Marx,' Lenin wrote, 'had no doubt as to the subordinate position of the national question as compared with the labor question. But his theory is as far from ignoring national movements as heaven is from earth' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 20, p. 436). The emergence and development of existing socialism have shown clearly that a narrow nationalistic approach to social problems and artificial isolation within the national framework are alien to internationalism, which cannot agree to neglect the national issue either. A class approach does not mean disregarding national tasks, for this leads to national nihilism: it means dealing with these issues from the angle of the common, international interests of the working people. Marxism-Leninism, the experience of the world revolutionary movement and documents of the international communist movement help to identify the principles of proletarian internationalism. They include solidarity and voluntary,

comradely cooperation expressed in the united action of proletarians of all countries and of all nations in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the socialist restructuring of society; a revolutionary spirit and a desire to help promote the world revolutionary process; organic unity of international and national tasks, carried out in battle and in practical work; equality and independence of all contingents of the working class; equality and sovereignty of all nations and states; non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the right to freely choose the ways for progressive social transformations and the building of socialism.

Not only friends but also enemies watch the development of the socialist community. But while the working people and progressive forces throughout the world see the achievements of the socialist countries as proof of the might of proletarian internationalism, the anti-communists vainly hope that further progress of these countries will release negative forces and lead to separatist and nationalistic tendencies. In order to accelerate this, as they see it, 'objective' process, the bourgeois ideologues have unleased a propaganda campaign, repeating over and over again that socialist internationalism implies submission to a 'foreign power.'

Heated discussions revolve around topics such as socialism and democracy, socialism and freedom. But what, for instance, is at the heart of the discussions in capitalist countries of human rights in Soviet society? Do they speak of the actual rights of Soviet citizens or their possibility to participate in deciding social and political issues? Certainly not. These discussions revolve around individuals, who have committed crimes against the socialist system and for which they have been justly punished. Can anyone deny that it is in the interests of the people to limit the freedom of individuals attempting to undermine the socialist system, the power of the people? Naturally, in a socialist society nobody has the right to conduct war propaganda, to incite racial hatred, or to follow an immoral lifestyle.

The character of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is also discussed. Some say this is not the socialism Marx and Engels had in mind. Of course nobody is barred from building socialism by a better method and with greater success than in the countries of existing socialism. Every nation has the exclusive right of choosing its own road and method of building socialism. In this context the practice of world socialism is extremely rich and varied. There is no doubt that socialist construction will continue to acquire the most diverse new forms. This is only natural.

But no matter how diverse the forms and shades of socialism are in different countries, it must, nevertheless, be socialism. It is not the form or color of the new society, but its essence that is important.

THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD MUST BE DEFENDED

Jorge del Prado
General Secretary, CC Peruvian Communist Party

In mid-1975 the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic revolutionary process in Peru, which started in 1968, was reversed — the armed forces government, its nature changed, reshaped its policy and set the country on a course of anti-popular, bourgeois development based on foreign dependence.

The economic and financial crisis — part and parcel of the general crisis of capitalism — is particularly acute in our country because the revolutionary process was forcibly discontinued, while economic independence was never achieved. A constitutional reform is needed to consolidate the structural changes put into effect during this process. But the present government and the right-wing parties, which won the majority of seats in the Constituent Assembly by stage-managed elections, are opposed to such a reform and attempt to impose a constitution consistent with their selfish interests and making it easier for them to come to power in the 1980 elections. In this situation the Peruvian people, led by the working class and its Communist Party, and in alliance with other left forces, is carrying on a day-to-day struggle against such maneuvering, against the government's policy of repression and the economic measures of the International Monetary Fund and against the anti-popular, pro-imperialist build-up of the counter-revolutionary forces.

What will this situation lead to? This question cannot be answered accurately without viewing the general situation in Peru in the context of the situation in the world today, and without a proper appreciation of the decisive significance of socialist and communist construction to the world, a process which started after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Although our country is at the crossroads today, there can be no return to the pre-1968 situation, even if the worst comes to worst (that is, if the reactionaries get the upper hand). True, there still is the serious danger that pro-fascist aspirations may spread in and outside the government. It is also true that the Pinochet methods for ending the crisis have the support of the most reactionary imperialist circles of the U.S. But these tendencies are not likely to spread since the Peruvian people will hardly surrender their gains, such as the nationalization of strategic enterprises and other hardly reversible reforms, especially the agrarian reform. Besides, extremely important changes have taken place in the alignment of socio-political forces in the course of the revolutionary process. Parallel with the considerable

numerical growth of the working class and the enhancement of its organizational and political level, it has become possible for the first time in the country's history to organize and unite the peasants on a national scale for the defense of the agrarian reform and other revolutionary gains.

On the other hand, also for the first time, patriotic circles in the army managed, though not for long, to turn the armed forces from a Praetorian guard serving the enemies of the people and the homeland into defenders of the interests of the country and the people. This generated progressive, left-wing feeling in the army in opposition to the policies pursued by the 'gorillas' and advocates of Pinochet-type coups. Similar processes are to be observed among the Catholic clergy and laity, as also among intellectuals and the large segments of the urban petty bourgeoisie ruined by the economic crisis and government repressions.

These dramatic changes found their political expression in the 1978 general elections to the Constituent Assembly. Although the illiterate population was denied suffrage and the elections were held in a state of emergency, with all constitutional guarantees suspended, 34 per cent of the votes were cast for the left. A quarter of a million, or 6 per cent of all the electors, voted for our party, which during the election campaign had to combat the counter-revolutionary machinations of divisive elements encouraged by the ultra-left.

This success is quite obviously due to the correct political line pursued by the communists, as will be seen from the above-mentioned growth and activation of the left forces and our own numerical growth. The party's membership has gone up tenfold since the elections and its 50th anniversary. Consequently, we were right in supporting the government in 1968 when it undertook structural transformations. Today, too, we are doing the right thing by defending what was gained in the revolutionary period and extending and consolidating these gains in every way.

To be sure, what has been achieved is not due entirely to our party's correct policy. The change in the views and the political stance of those military who helped to promote the revolutionary process came about mostly as a result of the new alignment of world forces after the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, and even more so as a result of the Soviet Union's historic victory over nazism and fascism in the Second World War, and the emergence of the socialist world system, and also as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba and the defeat of the U.S. aggressors by the Vietnamese people. General Velazco, who favored normalization of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, paid tribute to the socialist countries' liberation mission. Mankind, he said,

should erect a monument to the people of Vietnam and those who had given them unflinching support in their bitter struggle.

These developments, or, in other words, the successes of existing socialism, have dispelled the professional military's belief in the invincibility of U.S. imperialism. They have come to understand that to be a true patriot means to fight against imperialism and deliver the nations from the poverty and backwardness caused by exploitation and foreign dependence.

The revolutionary process in our country has not been undermined and will keep forging ahead, because, in addition to the popular resistance movement, there is the constant aid and support given to Peru by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. This is in great measure bridling the IMF's pressure and the military threats from the fascist governments serving the interests of imperialism.

Our party, firmly confident in the correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideology and opposed to any deviation from it, has always taken into consideration the specifics of social and economic development in our country. It believes that, as Mariategui* used to say, the Peruvian revolution should not copy revolutions in other countries, but reinterpret them creatively. At the same time, it regards this revolution as a component part of the great world revolutionary process whose aim is socialism. These propositions are clearly formulated in the party's program and are being carried into life in its political activity. But the military who guided the revolutionary process, though they did achieve some positive results, lacked a solid ideological basis, which ultimately nullified their best intentions and led to the situation we are facing today.

The military overrated their power and underrated the significant revolutionary role of the working class and the Communist Party, its political vanguard, and also the role of the popular masses and the revolutionary science of the modern epoch. Exploiting the military's interpretation of revolutionary ideas, the enemies of progress and revolution have done everything to weaken and undermine the revolutionary process. They spread concepts of petty-bourgeois socialism, such as 'non-partisanship' and 'class-collaboration' among government circles. They aligned themselves with the Maoist counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet thesis of 'two imperialisms' and, on that basis, urged wrecking the agreements concluded with countries of the socialist community. In order to make industrial development dependent on the multinationals, the enemies of the revolutionary process urged the government to obtain credits on

*Jose Carlos Mariategui (1894-1930), outstanding revolutionary, founder of the Peruvian Communist Party. — *Ed.*

onerous terms from the financial corporations controlled by U.S. imperialism.

This soon had an adverse effect on the country's economy — the crisis broke out, compelling the Peruvian government to amass a large foreign debt at high interest and to yield to economic and political pressure from the IMF.

All this taught us the invaluabe lesson that no half-hearted revolution is possible in our day, that a nation cannot shake off dependence on imperialism without making a break with the capitalist system, that no class or social group other than the working class and its Communist Party can head the revolutionary process in a country, and that the revolution cannot win without unity among all the revolutionary and progressive forces, without the application of Marxist-Leninist theory, and without support from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

The counter-revolutionary forces are aware of this and have been mounting one campaign after another to discredit existing socialism, the communist parties, and even such personalities, known in our country and abroad, as Jose Carlos Mariategui. Symbolic of these unbridled campaigns is that the positions of the ultra-left forces, of the People's Party (APRA), which champions the interests of the middle and big commercial and industrial bourgeoisis, of the People's Christian Party and the right-wingers in parliament, coincide with the views of the Maoist traitors, their followers and the Trotskyites. But the overwhelming majority of the Peruvians, who by bitter experience have learned to distinguish friend from foe and will not be misled by such insinuations and lies, increasingly identify their struggle for national liberation with the fight against imperialism, with the creative ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle for socialism. They have the example of existing socialism before them, its splendid experience of building socialism and communism. In this context, this conference provides us, Peruvian communists, with an inestimable ideological weapon in the struggle for a socialist revolution in our country.

FRATERNAL AID AGAINST REACTION

Daniel Iribar
Director, Central Party School, Communist Party of Spain,
member, CC Commission on Ideological Education of Cadres

By virtue of a happy coincidence this is the first speech by a Spanish communist outside Spain following the adoption on December 6 of the new, deomcratic Constitution. In juridical terms, the new Constitution has buried the hated Francoist fundamental law. We, who

fought and suffered so much under the dictatorship, know that our sufferings have not been in vain, because on account of that struggle, a struggle of the whole people, the democratization process is being completed in our country.

We believe that this is significant not for Spain alone: the consolidation of democracy in our country has wiped out the remnants of fascism in Europe. After the fall of the dictatorial regimes in Greece and Portugal, the toppling of the fascist Franco regime has destroyed the once reliable rear of the forces that lived in the hope of restoring the black international.

No wonder that at this moment we turn our gaze to the peoples still languishing under oppressive regimes such as the one under which we ourselves suffered. I mean, above all, the fraternal peoples of Latin America, who gave asylum to some of my countrymen who sought a haven from repression at the time of the Civil War. Now they themselves suffer from arbitrary rule as we did.

It can therefore be appreciated why I so strongly emphasize the importance of fraternal aid for the anti-fascist struggle of nations. Those of us who were persecuted for political convictions saw for ourselves the inestimable importance of moral and material support in the struggle against dictatorships.

When Franco ruled Spain he gave asylum to fascist-type adventurers from various countries. They plotted and wove intrigues endlessly against the democratic regimes in their own countries. We therefore defend our democracy, which has still to gain strength, also by facilitating the overthrow of the regimes of Pinochet and other 'gorillas,' in order to leave without any support the sinister conspiracies threatening our democracy as well.

In Madrid there recently was a world conference for solidarity with the people of Chile. Our party supported this conference and took pains to enable as many forces as possible to be represented. Similarly, it will encourage any analogous initiatives that will prove necessary. The determination to combat survivals of fascism is intrinsic in our thinking generated by our recent history.

To solve problems related to the possible ways out of the crisis is a major issue in the development of the forces of progress. We are living through the most acute crisis ever to hit the imperialist system, a crisis affecting not only the economy but also culture, morals, the predominant ideology and the model of traditional society. This crisis has affected the entire fabric of capitalist society, reaching even the ideological machinery and challenging capitalism's ability to reproduce ideological relationships. Education, the family and religion, which previously used to shape the thinking integrated with capitalism, have

now become another area of contention between the two world outlooks.

The global character of this crisis is making it possible to put an end to capitalism and go over to socialism, though we realize that this will not happen overnight. This possibility makes it imperative for communist parties to concretely study the ways of remaking society, considering that in this process we cannot envisage the fall of the bourgeois states as a result of armed struggle. And does not the success of the socialist countries in asserting peaceful coexistence and détente, in which they have the backing of all communists, make it incumbent on us to evolve our own ways along which developed countries will arrive at socialism?

In this context, and for other reasons, we Spanish communists believe in a revolution in Western Europe and in other countries, and we reply in the affirmative when asked if the situation is favorable for socialism in our countries. Such is the revolutionary content that we put into the notion 'Eurocommunism': the way, along which, in our opinion, socialism can be achieved only in our countries, not in all countries.

As distinct from what is going on in other regions, the ruling class in these countries uses the state machinery of coercion only as a last resort. Hegemony over the oppressed classes relies on day-to-day support in the form of representative democracy, and this is the firmest basis of its rule. Unless this support is withdrawn and a new hegemony is created, it will not be possible to destroy the powerful state machinery and to introduce socialist transformations (even if this happens as a result of the interplay of a number of unforeseeable factors) within the framework of broad freedoms. The latter should not be underestimated, since the peoples living in the countries that have democratic institutions are not inclined to lose what they consider to be the most valuable gain of their struggle, especially as capitalism's tenacity in clinging to power increasingly threatens these democratic gains. As has already been stressed here a democratic state becomes the supreme form of political organization, also under socialism, if pluralistic parliamentary democracy is complemented with various forms of direct democracy, if democracy is exercised also in factories, in the production sphere.

Applying the above-said to the question concerning the possible ways of ending the crisis, we consider that the correct strategy linking the problems of today with subsequent phases is that the consequences of the crisis should be combated jointly with the largest number of democratic forces in order to find the most progressive solutions. Therefore, on the one hand, we shall oppose the consequences of the crisis being paid for exclusively by the working people and the poor

and, on the other hand, we shall give effect to economic and social reforms affirming the role of the public sector in the economy and ensuring broader democracy in the management of this sector and at industrial enterprises.

FOR CLOSER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Charilaos Florakis
General Secretary, CC, CP Greece

This is a very important conference, for it gives us the opportunity to exchange views on important issues even though not all views may coincide and no declaration will be adopted. We believe it will arm the communist and workers' parties with effective means for repulsing imperialism's sharp ideological attacks.

The question of existing socialism and its global significance is a key issue at this stage of the ideological battle between socialism and capitalism. It is also an important issue for us in our day-to-day political work.

The socialist world system is the heart of the world revolutionary process and the main revolutionary force of our age. Time is bearing out and adding to the significance of this correct and profound conclusion, which is the product of the collective theoretical thinking of the communists of the world. The socialist community is recording ever greater achievements in all areas of society's life. At the same time, growing weight is being acquired by the factors determining the socialist world system's role as the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle and vanguard of the efforts for peace and peaceful coexistence, for the prohibition of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, for general disarmament and social progress.

The socialist countries are accelerating the shift in the balance of world forces in favor of national independence, democracy, and socialism. They are the main barrier to the outbreak of another world war. Their revolutionizing impact on the thoughts and feeling of the masses is growing. They check imperialism's export of counter-revolution, create better international conditions for the struggle of the working people in the capitalist countries and former colonies, and extend all-round assistance and support for revolutionary and liberation movements throughout the world.

The Communist Party of Greece, which marked its 60th anniversary in November 1978, has always been in solidarity with the socialist community and its main force, the Soviet Union. Our party's 10th Congress in May 1978 demonstrated our determination to continue fulfilling our internationalist duty in full.

In this context the Communist Party of Greece inexorably fights all

manner of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism and uses every possibility to tell the masses the truth about existing socialism and its achievement in all spheres of life, and fosters a spirit of friendship and affection for the socialist countries.

We look upon the principle of sovereignty and equality of Communists and Workers' parties from positions of the unity of the national and the international. For our party this principle is the cornerstone of proletarian internationalism. Under no circumstances should this principle be contraposed to fraternal cooperation of Marxist-Leninist parties, to their mutual assistance and the common struggle against imperialism.

Our understanding of sovereignty presupposes an opportunity for fraternal parties to exchange opinions. More, the CPG regards it as a condition for a more rational solution of our movement's problems. It is not mere formality to speak of exchanges of opinion and conferences with other parties as being helpful. This is necessary because conditions are not identical in different countries, the parties have varying degrees of experience, and there is a need to generalize views and opinions. Only friendly and comradely discussions can unite communists and channel their forces against imperialism, in defense of freedom, and in the building of the present and future of nations in accordance with their interests.

In line with the Marxist-Leninist content that it puts into its understanding of sovereignty, the CPG independently decides its internal problems and, on the basis of the general laws of Marxist-Leninist theory, defines its policy depending on conditions inside the country and on the international scene, and with account of international revolutionary experience.

There is also the question of criticism by fraternal communist and workers' parties. We attach great importance to such criticism and regard it as an element in the natural development of the world revolutionary movemeent. We regard such criticism as the right and duty of every fraternal party in its relations to the other parties. It should be based on comradely relations and respect for the sovereignty of every party and not allowed to become a weapon in the hands of the class enemy. It should strengthen the unity of Marxist-Leninist parties and facilitate a better and more effective solution of common problems. This mutual criticism must embrace not a party's purely internal problems, but questions of interest to all the parties. Its venue should be meetings, conferences and other contacts among the fraternal parties.

In principle, we do not exclude the possibility of public criticism. On the contrary, there are times when such criticism is necessary. This can be in reply to public criticism by another party or when the

question concerns outright anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism harmful to other communist parties and the entire world revolutionary movement. An example is the present international activity of the Chinese leadership. Our party has publicly criticized its pro-imperialist, pro-NATO, anti-Soviet and militarist foreign policy, which is prejudicing our people and all the peoples of the world.

The interests of social progress demand that the thoroughly anti-Marxist policy of the Chinese leaders should be condemned and strongly countered. Therefore, any neutrality in relation to this dangerous policy is tantamount to encouraging its planners, contradicts the interests of the peoples, and is detrimental to world peace and the entire revolutionary movement.

I am sure everybody appreciates that in order to successfully counter imperialist conspiracies and to resolve mankind's urgent problems there must be, above all, coordinated action and greater cooperation among the communist and workers' parties.

Differences in the international revolutionary movement should not be an obstacle to united struggle. First and foremost, there must be a common effort for peace, to block imperialist attempts to halt détente, to step up the struggle against the frenzied arms race and deliver the peoples from imperialist intrigues. Undoubtedly, there must be tireless efforts to resolve differences by exchanging views and experience, through joint discussions of new phenomena, through fraternal and constructive criticism at bilateral and multilateral meetings of the fraternal parties, theoretical conferences, etc. But even differences that cannot be resolved in this manner should not become insurmountable barriers to strengthening unity of the international scene. The common anti-imperialist struggle will certainly make it clear who is right and who is wrong and this will help to overcome differences.

Of course, this concerns differences not over the revolutionary essence of our theory, but over individual questions generated by a one-sided assessment of the situation and by difficulties arising from untimely decisions, underestimation or overestimation of one factor or another, in other words, this concerns differences that do not affect the unity of our basic ideological views.

As for those differences caused by bourgeois, nationalistic and anti-Marxist ideas penetrating the communist movement, they can be overcome only by a determined and unrelenting struggle, only by ideologically defeating their exponents. The history of the world revolutionary movement shows convincingly that this is the best way of attaining unity, for it teaches us that there can be no international unity of the revolutionary forces without an effective struggle against

opportunism and nationalism, which are, by their very nature, enemies of internationalism.

Our party has always used every possibility to strengthen the international unity of the world communist and anti-imperialist forces. For this it has broadened its contacts with all fraternal parties, including those with whom its views do not always coincide. The CPG believes it necessary to strengthen its natural ties with national-liberation movements and progressive parties. It was pointed out at our party's 10th Congress that Greek communists would continue following an internationalist policy.

OUR GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT

Sandagiin Sosorbaram
CC Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

The socialist world system and its historical achievements express the supreme ideals and aspirations of the working people of the world. The might and example of existing socialism multiply the revolutionary possibilities of the international working class and open up new horizons and prospects for the national-liberation struggle.

World socialism is creating a powerful material base for revolutionary forces. Its scientific, technical, economic, political and defense potentials are effectively paralyzing world reaction and imperialism. Never before could the revolutionary movement rely on such impressive gains.

Socialism has liberated the working people from all forms of social and national oppression. It has created the conditions for promoting democracy and for involving the working people in socio-political affairs. Socialism has brought the people a wide range of socio-economic, political and citizens' rights and freedoms. All this gives the ideas of socialism a greater appeal, and powerfully stimulates the working people's struggle for democratic rights and freedoms in the non-socialist world.

By proclaiming and applying the principles of peace and friendship the socialist social system significantly influences international relations. The consistent struggle of the socialist countries and all other peace forces has led to dramatic changes in the international situation characterized by the turn from cold war to détente and the broad assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

The reactionary policy and hostile activities of China's Maoist leaders, who are bent on wrecking détente, poisoning the international atmosphere, and subverting the unity of the socialist community and other revolutionary forces, come into conflict with the further

deepening of the world revolutionary process. Their great-power, chauvinistic policy has brought them into an open alliance with the world's most reactionary forces, beginning with the hawks in the United States and ending with the fascists of Chile and the racists in South Africa.

The edge of their hostile policy is directed at the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Relative to our country, they have for many years now pursued a great-power annexationist policy inherited from the Chinese militarists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. This insidious and treacherous policy is most clearly seen in their openly hostile actions against socialist Vietnam and their malicious slander and attacks against heroic Cuba.

All this goes to show that the Chinese leaders have broken completely with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and have betrayed the world revolutionary movement. That is why it is the internationalist duty of all Marxist-Leninists to expose without let-up the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist essence of their policy and wage an irreconcilable struggle against Peking's chauvinistic, expansionistic ambitions.

Fidelity to the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism is immensely important for the world revolutionary movement. This includes fraternal cooperation, solidarity and mutual support, and the independence and equality of parties and states. Strict adherence to these principles is the main condition for reaching a proper balance between the national and the international, for each socialist country and every contingent of the world revolutionary movement draws on international cooperation and solidarity for its strength.

The world community of fraternal socialist countries — an international union of a new type — has never been so strong as today. Thanks to their impressive political, economic, and other successes, the countries of the socialist world system 'are establishing completely different international relations' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 477).

The friendship in the socialist community is a new phenomenon in international relations. Never before has friendship of nations been so all-encompassing and many-sided as between socialist nations. This is mainly the result of the consistent Marxist-Leninist, profoundly internationalist policy of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, thanks to which friendship manifests itself in the historically determined and deeply conscious behavior of the masses and is becoming international.

Friendship among the socialist countries stems from the fact that their social systems are identical, and from their unity of views and goals and common basic interest. It embodies a truly fraternal al-

liance of free nations and is characterized by equality, mutual trust and respect, all-round assistance and support, class solidarity, and international unity in the efforts to attain common goals.

These principles of international relations of a new type first found expression in the relations between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic, which were the first to embark upon the building of a new society. 'The relations between the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic,' said Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 'can be seen by the whole world as a model of socialist-type relations permeated with a common interest in each other's success.'[1]

Socialist friendship among nations is an inexhaustible source for the rapid development of the socialist community. At every new stage of development of world socialism friendship is enriched and perfected. The present stage is characterized by the further growth of close cooperation between our parties and states and the all-round consolidation of our countries' efforts in the economic, political, cultural, and ideological fields, in international relations, in improving the work of CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. 'We consider the gradual growth of the role of the international factor,' said Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of the MPR People's Great Khural Presidium, 'a notable aspect of the dialectic of the national and the international in relations between the peoples of the socialist countries.'[2]

Coordination of economic plans, specialization and cooperation of production, and joint enterprises are all advanced forms of cooperation within the CMEA framework. Inter-party links are becoming more intimate, while coordination of foreign policy, ideological cooperation, scientific and cultural exchanges, ties between public and industrial organizations, direct links between various institutions and contacts between representatives of various social strata are growing in depth and scope. All this serves as a firm foundation of our fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation and the gradual drawing together of the socialist countries.

The future world communist community is being shaped in the course of these developments. On the one hand, this growing friendship and cooperation strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist world system and, on the other, multiply the material and moral potentialities and might of each individual socialist country, thereby

1. L.I Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Course, Speeches and Articles*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 205.
2. *WMR*, October 1978.

increasing existing socialism's impact on the world revolutionary process.

It is our internationalist duty in every way to strengthen the friendship and cooperation among the socialist countries. Loyalty to this criterion is the touchstone of loyalty to the communist cause and is our sacred duty as communists.

THE FORCE OF REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLE

Vusizwe Seme
South African Communist Party

In searching for the solutions to the pressing problems of hunger, poverty, illiteracy, economic and technical backwardness, ever broader sections of the masses in Africa are turning to the science of Marxism-Leninism. But the brilliant and illuminating ideas of our science are not in themselves sufficient. It is the existence and growing might of the socialist community which enriches the content of these ideas and gives them greater strength and influence. The socialist community has demonstrated in practice the decisive superiority of socialism over capitalism in the sphere of material production and social relations. By its ever increasing successes in the economic, political and social fields, by the inspiring force of its example, it shows the way to socialism, peace and democracy. The might and influence of the Soviet Union and the socialist community represent the shield which will enable the peoples in Africa to realize their deep yearning for a better and more fruitful life.

Most African countries are confronted with the very complex problem of national, ethnic and territorial distinctions. The imperialists and local reaction speculating on these problems are busy fomenting national and ethnic enmity and encouraging territorial expansionism. Both the ultra-left and the right are demagogically putting forward the concept of self-determination as the best solution to the national question in Africa. However as Marxist-Leninists we proceed from the concrete conditions locally, nationally and internationally and examine them dialectically in their interconnection and interaction with the class factor. Lenin once pointed out that 'the right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the advisability of secession by a given nation at a given moment' *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 24, p. 302).

But this also means that the legitimate economic, political, cultural and social aspirations and rights of the national and ethnic groups must not only be respected and defended but also enriched and developed. Hence the necessity to express in deeds the factual equality of all national and ethnic groups in socio-economic and cultural development. This correct approach was tried and tested in the heat of rev-

olutionary battle for the establishment of Soviet power in the republics of Central Asia. Historical practice has confirmed the richness and profundity of Lenin's analysis in his letter 'To the communists of Turkestan.' He said: 'The attitude of the Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Republic to the weak and hitherto oppressed nations is of very practical significance for the whole of Asia and for all the colonies of the world, for thousands and millions of people' (Vol. 30, p. 138).

In the recent period a number of voices have been raised within our own movement asserting that proletarian internationalism is now outdated and obsolete. It is argued that since ever widening social forces are now entering the struggle against monopoly capital, imperialism, and neo-colonialism, and global problems require global solutions, a new type of internationalism should be evolved, which should harness the energies of the most diverse sections of society.

However, the entry of ever broader social forces into the mainstream of the world revolutionary process does not invalidate the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism but, on the contrary, enriches its content, giving it greater scope, depth and potential.

Declarations and solidarity demonstrations — though very important — in and by themselves would not have enabled the peoples of Vietnam, Angola and Ethiopia to defeat imperialist aggression and pressures. The unstinting assistance of the Soviet Union and the socialist community to the revolutionary forces in Africa, their readiness to do their duty in combating imperialist aggression, the courage and heroism of Cuban soldiers and civilians who shed their blood on African soil are all manifestations of genuine, proletarian internationalism and not some abstract notion of a 'new' internationalism.

The logic of the development of anti-Sovietism is most clearly demonstrated by the rapid political and ideological degradation of the Peking leaders. Beginning from an ultra-leftist adventurist position and driven by frenzied anti-Sovietism, the Maoists have ended up on the same side of the barricades as the most reactionary circles of imperialism and monopoly capital. In Angola, Ethiopia and racist-colonialist Southern Africa the Peking leadership is implacably opposed to the forces for social change and renewal. It is a fact that the hands of the leaders in Peking drip with the blood of the patriots and internationalists of Angola, Ethiopia, and Cuba. Maoist China is shamelessly interfering in the internal affairs of Vietnam. The Peking leaders were inciting the Pol Pot reactionary regime to launch aggression against that peace-loving country.

It is of paramount significance for the world revolutionary process that progressive and democratic forces vigorously combat the ideology and policy of anti-Sovietism. Concessions to anti-Sovietism are concessions to anti-communism and, in the final analysis, an obstacle to the

further widening of the world revolutionary process.

The force of example is a powerful weapon in the hands of the fighters for revolutionary change. This does not mean, as our class enemies allege, that we should dogmatically and blindly follow the course adopted in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. However, learning from our own experience — and it is at times bitter and tragic — and that of the international revolutionary forces we should constantly strive to better apply the general laws and regularities of the transition to socialism, and in the building of a socialist society.

SOCIALIST GOAL OF THE YEMENI REVOLUTION

Abdel Aziz ad-Dali
CC member, Yemeni Socialist Party

The great victories of the revolutionary forces of the world over capitalism, imperialism, backwardness and exploitation — victories to which mankind bears witness — have produced a notable change in the alignment of international forces in favor of socialism. This historic change has confirmed Lenin's conclusion regarding the revolutionary impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the immense revolutionary potential of the oppressed peoples and the need for closer links between the various contingents of the world revolutionary movement.

Thus the initiative is now in the hands of the forces headed by the socialist system, the decisive factor in our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Allow me to describe in brief the problems involved in the social and economic development of our socialism-oriented country. On June 26, 1978 the people rose to crush the reactionary coup attempted by a group of opportunist adventurers under the leadership of the former chairman of the Presidential Council. That day saw the culmination of a struggle between the people's lawful collective and organized leadership and a small group of revisionists. On the outcome of this struggle hinged the destiny of the revolution in democratic Yemen, of the socialist progressive trend of the country's development. On it also depended whether the course of the Yemeni revolution would have a positive or negative effect on the revolutionary struggle throughout our country and region and at the international level.

The overthrow of the clique of revisionists and splitters was a decisive victory for the ideas and principles of scientific socialism in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. One of its fruits was the convocation on October 11, 1978 of the First Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party, a party of scientific socialism, the national working

class and its allies, a party of the new type which for the first time assumed the leadership of an Arab country. The congress documents do not proceed from our experience alone; they also draw on the experience of other working-class parties, primarily that of the parties in power in the socialist countries. They are based on a proper combination of the general laws governing socialist construction, which have been borne out by the whole course of history, including our revolutionary experience in various fields, with the distinctive features of our development.

Our party's political program defines the present stage in our country as follows: carrying the national-democratic revolution through to the end as it advances to building socialism. 'The stage of national-democratic revolution,' it says, 'is a long and complex process in which all requisites are created for a conscious and methodical transition to the socialist revolution under the party's leadership. The party takes into account the close and permanent interconnection of democratic and socialist tasks at this stage but, at the same time, it is against confusing them.' The most important tasks in building the new society are to assure the vital interests of the workers, peasants, fishermen and other working people through optimal utilization of the internal and external resources of the country, set up modern production based on the country's objective possibilities, strengthen the material and technical foundations of the national economy, raise the standard of living of all citizens, stabilize supply, improve the satisfaction of social requirements by solving the housing problem and promoting education, the health service, culture and the arts.

The class nature of the party is determined by the fact that it is the vanguard of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people. It embodies the class consciousness, fundamental interests and historic role of the working class. In the light of new revolutionary gains, particularly those won after the founding of the party. state power is assuming the character of a people's democracy. This process is a materialization of Lenin's idea of the fusion of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism.

The most important factors for all our changes are the international revolutionary forces' increasing solidarity with our country in its struggle against imperialist and reactionary intrigues, for progress, socialism and peace, growing support in various fields from the socialist system with the Soviet Union at its head, and democratic Yemen's planned economic development on the basis of coordination within the framework of the CMEA. This is necessary in order to eliminate the impact of the capitalist market on the establishment of new economic structures in harmony with the development trend of the new society.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM'S COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

Don Wimalasiri Subasinghe
Member, Political Bureau, Secretary, CC CP of Sri Lanka

The general course of world development, as the 10th National Congress of our party, held in March 1978, noted, is highlighted by the fact that the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace continue to deal blows at imperialism and world reaction. On the other hand, we have to take note of the specific new forms of counter-offensives which are being mounted by imperialism against the socialist community, the working class in the capitalist countries and against the anti-imperialist movements in newly-independent countries.

Firstly, posing as champions of democracy and human rights, imperialism launched a massive media campaign of deception concerning the alleged lack of these rights in the USSR and in other socialist countries. The CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist community quite correctly responded by exposing the whole hypocrisy and farce enacted by imperialism, the real culprit behind all forms of social oppression and the suppression of human rights. The new Soviet Constitution, whose international significance is tremendous, was also a heavy blow to such propaganda.

Secondly, the aggressive imperialist circles once again sought to play up the non-existent 'Soviet threat.' They strive to expand military budgets, equip military blocs with new weapons, and plan to develop even more terrifying weapons of mass destruction. On the other hand, the imperialists have assumed a new deceptive pose of peace-makers. We have seen this happening in the separate peace negotiations between Egypt and Israel, presided over by the President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, himself, which was nothing but a betrayal of the Palestinian liberation movement, and all the anti-imperialist forces of the region.

Thirdly, the Peking leadership, which started by deviating from Marxism-Leninism, proceeded to try to split the working-class movement and later revealed its true colors in frantic anti-socialism and great-power chauvinism. In its anti-Soviet frenzy it has now become a monstrous partner of imperialism in a despicable united front against the USSR and the world revolutionary forces. From a thorn in the flesh the Maoist phenomenon has grown into a dagger aimed at the heart of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism. It is the main obstacle confronting the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, and it has seriously enhanced the danger of a new war. The Peking leadership has embarked upon the most

despicable venture of aggressive action against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, inciting the Pol Pot clique into this action. This posed a serious threat to peace and the revolutionary gains of the Vietnamese and other peoples of Indochina.

In our country Maoism never found any real support among the working class. However, a large number of splinter Maoist groups operating in the country, and by no means lacking in funds, make (through the bourgeois press) far more noise and damage in proportion to their numerical strength.

Combined actions of the fraternal parties against the reactionary policies of the Peking leadership and the broadening and intensification of such actions on a world scale is, we feel, a necessary condition to the isolation of the Peking leaders from the mainstream of world revolutionary and progressive forces.

The socialist countries are carrying on a persevering fight against new forms of imperialist subversion aided directly now by the Peking leadership, against all attempts to sabotage the efforts being made toward strengthening world peace, détente and disarmament. However, we know that the international policy of the socialist countries will be realized the more effectively the more actively and extensively it is supported by the united efforts and actions of the fraternal parties, and the working class and broad masses in the non-socialist countries.

Our party welcomes the fact that fraternal parties in different continents have, in recent times, met to consider, to work out in depth and to suggest practical solutions to the specific problems that have arisen in these geographical areas. However, we must say categorically that we are opposed to any 'regional communism,' which is non-Marxist. We believe that while the ways to socialism may differ in separate countries depending on specific historical and other conditions, the universal scientific truth of Marxism-Leninism remains valid and can be discarded only at the expense of the success of our movement.

The need for achieving greater solidarity of the world revolutionary forces was emphasized at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. Unless we are able to fight successfully, through joint actions, the new forms of counter-offensive launched by imperialism, we will not be able to benefit from the increasingly favorable external factors for revolutionary advance in our own countries, chief among them being the existence of a powerful socialist world system.

THE MOST PRESSING TASK

Erkki Kauppila
Member, CC Political Bureau, CP of Finland

We have no doubt that the socialist countries have a revolutionizing influence on the working people of the capitalist countries largely by the force of their example. By building a society free from exploitation, the socialist system has demonstrated that the age-long hope of the working class for social emancipation is real. Everyone, including political opponents of the new system, recognize its great economic, scientific, technological, cultural and educational achievements.

The example of existing socialism has helped to consolidate and extend democratic rights and freedoms in many capitalist countries. These have enabled the working people to make fairly substantial economic, political, social and cultural gains.

The fundamental distinction between the two social systems stands out in ever greater relief now that capitalism is going through its worst postwar economic crisis.

The Finnish economy stagnated for three years, and it was not until 1978 that, as a result of tremendous efforts, an unstable uptrend was brought about and the growth of unemployment slightly curbed. For Finland, the current depression would have been fatal, but for the stabilizing effect on its economy by trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, which is Finland's biggest trading partner.

Our party takes a positive view of the existence in our country of a government coalition of center parties and left forces, which includes the CPF. In the past 18 months, much has been done in the face of enormous difficulties to improve the economic situation and achieve an acceptable standard of living for the working people. But this has also been a period of extremely involved political struggles. For us the decisive factor has been the desire for closer left-center cooperation. We are doing our best to mobilize and unite the masses against reaction.

While bourgeois society is in a state of depression, the socialist community is making further progress. The socialist countries demonstrate the advantages of socialist relations of production and cope successfully with problems arising from their economic and social achievements.

The reactionary bourgeoisie dreads the truth about existing socialism and so one of its foreign-policy objectives is to discredit the new system, as will be seen from imperialism's slander campaigns against socialist countries, in which the tune is set by the transnational monopolies controlling the mass media. Hence the great importance of giving the largest possible population groups a clear and accurate

picture of the achievements and experiences of socialism and the opportunities it offers the working people.

The socialist community has a great influence on democratic-minded people in the capitalist world through its unrelenting struggle for peace, security, freedom and national independence. It is a source of public concern in Finland that there has been insufficient progress in carrying out the agreements in all their parts adopted by the Helsinki Conference. Finnish democrats are seriously perturbed by the intrigues of U.S. imperialism and its allies against détente, especially by their efforts to step up the arms race. People in our country are deeply concerned about the alliance between the Chinese leadership and the most reactionary imperialist forces and their joint crusade against détente.

The Finnish people have followed with deep satisfaction the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries, and appreciate their refusal to give in to provocation and their continued struggle for lasting peace and disarmament. We hail in particular the declaration of the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee.

We consider that fostering the solidarity of revolutionary forces is now a primary task. What is needed above all if we want the favorable trend of international development to continue is new solidarity actions by the communist and workers' parties, by our movement as a whole.

However, the situation demands something more than that. We think that it is absolutely indispensable to raise to a new level the cooperation among the forces sincerely seeking further détente, calling for disarmament and striving for democracy and progress.

World development confronts us with many other problems, making it necessary for fraternal countries to carry on international exchanges of opinion and extend mutual contacts at every level. The CPF is prepared to join in such cooperation. Our cooperation with the brother parties rests on the solid foundation of the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality and non-interference in the parties' internal affairs.

DANGEROUS COLLUSION

Jose Lava
Member, CC, CP Philippines, party representative on the Journal

Imperialist apologists, aided and abetted by practitioners of Great Han chauvinism and Chinese expansionist hegemonism, are intensifying their campaign of anti-Soviet and anti-communist misinformation in our part of the world in Southeast Asia. Most recently, this cam-

paign was aggravated by the PRC's active support for the reactionary Pol Pot regime in its border aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, as well as by the actual Chinese incursions into Vietnamese territory. Worse still, the Peking leadership is engaged in a campaign to alienate ethnic Chinese against the SRV. All these are aimed to destabilize the SRV which constitutes the main obstacle to the Chinese leadership's aim to expand its influence and hegemony over the Southeast Asia region.

With these new developments the governments, national-liberation movements and peoples of Southeast Asia are now starkly faced by two competing policies from which they must eventually choose in the pursuit of their just aspirations for peace, independence, freedom and social progress in the region.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist community aimed at peaceful coexistence, international détente, ending the arms race, achieving disarmament and promoting relations of mutual benefit, is but the principled continuation and application, in the new conditions, of a favorable alignment of world class forces, of Lenin's peace policy. It is premised on the basic peaceful aims of scientific socialism and its superiority over capitalism, assuring that peaceful competition between the two systems will inevitably lead to the victory of socialism.

In Southeast Asia, this policy coincides with the people's legitimate aims for peace, independence and social progress. More concretely, this implies withdrawal of U.S. bases and military forces from the region, regional economic collaboration among ASEAN contries, and, with the held of the socialist community, the diminution and eventual elimination of American and Japanese monopoly domination of their economies.

Imperialist foreign policy in Asia in general, and Southeast Asia in particular, seeks the maintenance of the U.S. military presence in the region, which the Peking leaders also advocate in the pursuit of their expansionist and hegemonist aims. U.S. imperialist strategy seeks to accomodate other foreign monopolists, particularly Japanese, in their common exploitation of the region, which is rich in minerals and other natural resources. It also encourages the aim of the Peking leadership to modernize China's economy and armed forces with the help of foreign monopoly capital, technology and management techniques. In exchange the U.S. imperialists expect to utilize China not only against the Soviet Union, but also against the SRV, the partiotic national-liberation movements and prospective anti-imperialist governments in the region.

Governments and national-liberation movements in ASEAN countries have their own bitter experience with both the Peking inspired

Maoist parties and the substantial ethnic Chinese populations. The Peking leaders rely on these two groups as weapons to split liberation movements and destabilize governments which refuse to follow their hostile policy against the Soviet Union.

The growing cynical collaboration between world imperialism, spearheaded by U.S. imperialism, and Chinese hegemonist expansionism needs vigilance by the peoples of Southeast Asia and their world revolutionary allies. The Partido Komunista Ng Pilipinas (PKP) is confident that under the impact of the growing strength and integration of the socialist community, and the resultant increasing convergence of the three mainstreams of the world revolutionary forces, conditions are being generated which will help the peoples of Southeast Asia to struggle, to live and work in peace and pursue their own independent path of national development. Despite the disruptive activities of the increasingly isolated Maoist parties, which continue to follow blindly the reactionary policies of the Peking leaders, the patriotic national-liberation movements, drawing lessons from the experience of fraternal parties in correcting their past mistakes, are gradually accumulating strength in Southeast Asian countries.

In the Philippines, the PKP is successfully implementing a policy of critical collaboration with the bourgeois-reformist government of President Marcos, In 1974, it responded positively to the President's appeal for national unity in the solution of very urgent problems — legacy of the long period of imperialist-feudal domination of the country. The PKP and its associated mass organizations were legalized and political prisoners released.

Overall, the direction of developments in the country is away from dependence on imperialism, toward closer and increasing collaboration with the developing countries and their socialist allies, in the struggle for peace, genuine political and economic independence, and social progress. Needless to say, this turn of events is due, aside from the increasing influence of the PKP-led national-liberation movement, to the impact of the growing strength of existing socialism, its attractive force of example, and the principled implementation of its policy of peaceful coexistence, international détente and relations of mutual benefit.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY HELPS THE EMBATTLED PEOPLE OF IRAN

Iradj Eskandari
Executive Committee member, CC People's Party of Iran

The world revolutionary movement is a single process whose three main components — the world socialist system, the international

working class and the national-liberation movement — are organically interlinked.

The steadily growing economic, political and ideological strength of socialism, the increasingly close cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, the disinterested assistance being rendered to the peoples and movements fighting for independence, peace, democracy and progress, active defense of peace and correct application of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence all combine to make the Soviet Union and the socialist world system the chief factor in the revolutionary transformation of the world.

The joint struggle against imperialism and the common vital interests of all the contingents of the revolutionary movement call logically and naturally for solidarity and alliance of the revolutionary forces on the international level to counter the world alliance of the imperialists and their reactionary accomplices. The sharper and more widespread the struggle against the chief enemy, capitalism and imperialism, and the more tangible the victories achieved, the wider becomes the sphere of application of this solidarity, which is gradually encompassing the whole world. Needless to say, its growth helps promote the cause of the revolution in each particular country and on the international plane. As the Soviet Union and the socialist world system as a whole are the main factor in the world revolutionary process, it should be clear that defending and supporting this system are the chief condition for strengthening the solidarity of the revolutionary forces.

The evolution of Chinese policy toward alliance with U.S. imperialism and world reaction as a whole, against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the peoples' revolutionary movement shows again what reactionary nationalism can lead to. It is evident that the Peking leaders' policy encourages imperialist plans for aggression, spurs the arms race, and increases international tensions and hence the danger of another world war. Our party emphatically condemns this policy, which it regards as adventurist, irresponsible and profitable to imperialism and reaction.

We consider that to uphold and strengthen the unity of the world communist movement is a requisite for fostering the solidarity of the revolutionary forces of the world. This unity, based on the equality and autonomy of each fraternal party, is becoming closer as an uncompromising struggle goes on against every distortion of Marxism-Leninism, against revisionism and dogmatism, against all attempts to impose nationalist concepts on the international communist and working-class movement and to split it.

About a year ago, the whole Iranian people began a revolutionary struggle requiring untold sacrifice against the Sha's anti-national and

anti-democratic regime, a rotten, despotic, corruption-ridden, bloody monarchy, a regime serving the interests of U.S. and British imperialism and world reaction. The intensity of this struggle is not diminishing in spite of savage repression, the massacre of thousands of demonstrators, massive arrests, and the imposition of martial law. It is growing and has already spread to all towns and villages, including the remotest.

This is the first time that Iranian history, marked by many a popular rising, has recorded such heroic and persevering action by the masses. The vast demonstrations on December 10 and 11, 1798, joined in by nearly two million people in Tehran and over six million in other cities, called for the overthrow of the Shah's rule and the monarchy and for the formation of a democratic government. This fact alone speaks of an unprecedented upsurge among the masses which the authorities dare less and less often to counter.

The movement began with religious processions of an unmistakably political nature and developed fast into open protest demonstrations against the Shah and the entire system. This rapid change in the character of the movement was due to the involvement of numerous workers, above all oil workers. The people's pressure and the oil workers' political strike compelled the government to set free hundreds of political prisoners, including some members of our party who had been in jail for 20 to 30 years.

While its revolutionary spearhead is directed against the Shah's power, that focus of all the contradictions of Iranian society, the popular movement is also fighting against the power of the multinational monopolies which have appropriated our country's natural resources and against the economic, political and military integration of Iran into the U.S. imperialists' global strategy.

The Washington strategists' policy and plans have assigned Iran the twofold role of policing the progressive forces of the region and serving as a bridgehead for aggression against neighbors. Performing the former of these roles in the area extending from the Zagros Mountains to the Persian Gulf and from the Gulf of Oman to the western part of the Indian Ocean, the Shah's army controlled the Strait of Hormuz, i.e., the sea route over which Iranian and Arab oil is delivered to Western countries. Moreover, its instructions were to put down any liberation movement and 'restore order' in the area. That is what President Carter meant when he praised the Shah's regime as a 'balancing factor.'

I hardly need speak in detail about the barbarous terror that has been rife in our country over the past 25 years. Foreign public opinion knows of the fascist methods, including the most refined tortures, assassination, kidnappings and massive repression, used by SAVAK,

the political police, against all opponents of the regime, especially members of our party.

No wonder that the whole people have come out against the Shah's regime. The protest movement comprises the broadest sections of Iranian society — oil workers, peasants, students, teachers, small traders and handicraftsmen, as well as the national bourgeoisie. This is an unprecedented fact.

It is interesting to note that the various forces participating in the movement have shown spontaneous unity of action from the outset on the basis of an immediate common goal, which is to overthrow the Shah.

Three years ago, our party predicted on the strength of a thorough analysis of the economic, political and social situation in Iran that the revolutionary movement would surge high before long. Moreover, it called for the overthrow of the Shah's regime, defining this as the chief immediate task of the national and democratic movement in the country. In September 1978 we adopted and circulated a minimum program which may serve as the basis for the unity of all progressive forces. It proposes forming after the overthrow of the Shah's rule a national coalition government which should take steps to guarantee democratic freedoms, national independence and the people's prosperity. We suggested that the future state should be a republic. Regretfully, our party's efforts for mutual understanding with other opposition organizations have yet to draw a favorable response.

There can be no doubt that had the Shah's regime not been openly aided and abetted by the U.S. government, its days would be numbered. U.S. imperialism, which has long regarded Iran as its colony, threatens our country with armed intervention whose aim would be to save the tottering regime.

It is in this situation that our great and true friend, the Soviet Union, has held out a helping hand to the Iranian people, as it also did in the days of the great Lenin. Comrade Brezhnev's reply to the *Pravda* correspondent was an explicit and firm warning to the U.S. government against any attempt to interfere in Iranian affairs. This highly important political move of the Soviet leader was of indisputable international significance and is also a manifestation of solidarity with the Iranian people that is hard to overestimate.

The fraternal parties and working-class organizations of numerous other countries have likewise identified themselves with the Iranian people's just fight. Communist parties have led marches and demonstrations in collaboration with other progressive organizations, submitted questions to parliament, handed in protest petitions, and so on. Allow me, comrades, to convey to you from this rostrum the

gratitude of our party and the heartfelt appreciation of our working class and people.

By contrast, the Maoist leadership of China has failed to show the slightest sympathy with the Iranian people's movement. Indeed, it has in alliance with the U.S. imperialists given full backing to the Shah's despotic puppet regime. It is indicative that after Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Iran and the praise he heaped on the Shah's policy, which he described as 'national,' even the smallest Maoist groups in Iran had to dissociate from Peking, from the Chinese leaders' pro-imperialist stance.

The popular movement in Iran, which is deeply democratic and anti-imperialist, is a natural component of today's world revolutionary movement. The stronger its links with the communist movement, the greater its gains will be, the less vulnerable it will prove to enemy attempts to divide it, and the more lasting its victory.

COMMUNIST UNITY — AN IMPERATIVE

Robert Francis
Representative of the CP Belgium at the *World Marxist Review*

The mounting crisis in the capitalist countries and the dogged resistance of the imperialist circles to détente are making cooperation among and united action by all the progressive forces of Eastern and Western Europe an increasingly pressing necessity.

In this context the participants in the 1976 Berlin Conference underscored the firm determination of their parties to continue the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress consistently on the basis of the political line worked out and adopted by each of them independently, in conformity with the socio-economic and political conditions and national features of their countries. On the other hand, it was important that the communist and workers' parties should sustain and develop their internationalist comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity in keeping with the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, their point of departure being that the struggle for socialism in its country and the responsibility of each party to its working class and people are linked with the reciprocal solidarity of the working people of all countries, of all progressive movements, and embattled peoples.

As regards this second point, the immense significance of internationalist solidarity is seen with increasing clarity against the background of the frantic efforts of our adversaries to belittle its role. The strengthening of solidarity is not only a question of principle but also a vital need. Without it no communist party waging a struggle on national soil can limit and abolish the predominance of the capitalist

monopolies. From this it follows that the worldwide struggle against the policy of big capital in the crisis situation is of particularly great significance to our country as part of Western Europe.

Our party holds that we should make greater efforts than before to broaden the struggle against the neutron bomb, for disarmament, for closer trade union solidarity, for unremitting vigilance relative to the imperialist designs in the Third World, and for broader relations with socialist countries.

Needless to say, the imperialist powers will not retreat an inch from their traditional anti-Sovietism, but a new element has appeared in it, namely the striving to persuade the working-class movement in the leading capitalist countries, especially in Western Europe, that many of socialism's new indisputable achievements cannot be an example for it. This is, ultimately, the purpose of the subversion by the imperialist powers against socialist countries. The edge of anti-Sovietism is no longer directed solely against the Soviet Union as the target of an imperialist crusade, but also against the communist parties of industrialized capitalist countries. One of the reasons for this is that in a situation in which the cold war has receded the bourgeoisie is finding it much more difficult to isolate these parties by primitive methods, for instance, by depicting them as propaganda groups serving the so-called potential enemy. This has compelled imperialism to step up its anti-Soviet campaign in order to isolate the communist parties from the masses by slanderously portraying them as parties that would begin to strangle democracy and impinge on freedoms as soon as they came to power.

It is quite normal that various contingents of the communist movement sometimes disagree with each other and work out conceptions that do not coincide on all points. This may also be said of our party. But our principled solidarity remains in full force when U.S. imperialist interference in West European affairs makes it clear that united efforts by the parties concerned is part and parcel of the global class struggle. The struggle against imperialism requires solidarity ranging beyond the framework of solidarity among the communist parties of European countries. For us there can be no question of keeping at a distance from the USSR and other socialist countries. Their international role brings into prominence again and again the link between the class structure of Soviet society and other socialist countries, democracy, and socialism, on the one hand, and the growth and acceleration of the world revolutionary process, on the other.

The international solidarity of the communists is inseparable from the diversity of the forms of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements on a world scale. This diversity by no means signifies that internationalist links will no longer be based on common principles,

but it rules out a situation where some single political center interprets in one and only key the lessons being drawn by each party in the course of the practical verification of its ideas.

The international solidarity of the communists will grow substantially stronger if in the course of the dialogue we shall in practice be able to eliminate the danger of a considerable underestimation of the role of the working class and all other democratic forces of the industrialized capitalist countries in the efforts to consolidate détente and remove the grave threat that the crisis of capitalism is bringing all peoples.

We should like to wish that the exchange of experience at this meeting is conducted in the spirit of the 1976 Berlin Conference, which strikingly demonstrated the desire of the parties to preserve mutual understanding and unity combined with full respect for the independence of each party.

THE EXPERIENCE OF EXISTING SOCIALISM HELPS TO FIND A TRUE ROAD

Michael O'Riordan
General Secretary, Communist Party of Ireland

There has been a tremendous change in the world since the October Revolution. Socialism is no longer a dream but a social and economic reality. Socialist states now exist in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. Internationalism with the victory of existing socialism has also changed. It has now taken on a deeper content and more extended forms. Since the Great October Revolution and the reality of working-class power the immortal slogan of 'Workers of the World, Unite!' has day after day acquired a clearer meaning, increased strength and greater impact. What more accurate contemporary illustration could there be of this than the present great victories for national liberation, socialism and internationalism in Africa?

At the present time the main form of propaganda against the states where socialism is a reality is one based on a pretended concern for democracy and human rights. The degree of sincerity in the case of the British ruling class, its media and those that it influences can be measured against the reality of a British-ruled Northern Ireland. There since 1968 have taken place:

— The murder of 200 innocent civilians by the Security Forces for which no soldier or policeman has ever served a sentence in jail.

— The summary execution on the streets of political opponents.

— Daily torture of political suspects to gain confession evidence on which to convict.

— Arrest, interrogation, and conviction under repressive laws

which breach common law and contravene international standards of human rights.

— Trial by a single judge without any jury and no right to see or corss-examine witnesses.

— Up to one and a half years in custody before coming to trial.

— Bans and prescriptions on political demonstrations.

— The proven existence of a politically biased judiciary and police force who investigate public complaints agaist themselves and hence find themselves not guilty of serious crimes!

It is in a situation like this that we communists in Ireland regard international solidarity not as an abstraction but as essential life and blood for our struggle against British imperialism, particularly when it is from socialist states. We take the opportunity at this conference to extend our thanks to those parties who have been active in solidarity with Ireland.

The Communist Party of Ireland prides itself on being an integral part of the international movement of communists and workers' parties, sharing its achievements, problems and responsibilities. The CPI stands for the unity of that movement and for the unity of the socialist countries with the working class of the capitalist countries and the forces of national liberation. The CPI participates as an equal partner in discussion and formulation at meetings of communist and workers' parties, at forums such as this. It believes that the existing differences of opinion and assessment can and should be resolved by discussion and interchange within the movement.

The building of a powerful revolutionary movement that will lead to a socialist Ireland is the most effective contribution that our party can make to the further strengthening of the international communist movement. We are conscious that this can only be realized if our party's policies and activities fully reflect and articulate the specific needs of the Irish people. In this task we are profoundly aware of our responsibility to the common interests and struggle of the Irish people and the international working-class and anti-imperialist movement.

We envisage that socialism will be won and built in Ireland not by the efforts of our Communist Party alone, but by a united movement of communist, socialist, national-independence forces, the trade unions, the small farmers and the self-employed. For this movement to advance successfully the prerequisite must be that in the vanguard of the struggle there is a Marxist-Leninist party linked with the international communist movement.

The road to socialism in Ireland will resemble that taken by other countries in some aspects and will differ from them in other aspects because of distinctive national and historical features. Likewise, we believe, each country that has not yet reached socialism will travel a

different road, but though the routes may be different there is only one kind of socialism that they can arrive at and that will guarantee the new society. This is one based on socialist revolution where in the transitional stage from capitalism to socialism the working class will uphold and protect the interests of the majority, and where the leading role will be played by a Marxist-Leninist party. The validity of this process in scientific terms — the dictatorship of the working class — has been confirmed by the experience of the countries where socialism is a reality.

Whether the road to a socialist Ireland will be a peaceful one or not will, in our opinion, depend on such factors as:

(1) The strength of the mass movement to impose a peaceful revolution.

(2) The degree of further changes in the world balance of forces, the effect of these in Britain, and the level of solidarity between the Irish and British working people, all of which will affect the ability of the opponents of a socialist Ireland to mount a violent resistance.

The Communist Party of Ireland stands for a peaceful way to socialism in Ireland, but it would be an illusion, in the absence of the above factors to any degree, not to anticipate counter-revolutionary opposition, particularly from the though weakened but still strong (relative to Ireland) British imperialism. In such opposition the British imperialists would have the support of NATO, which, incidentally, has Maoist support, and they would have the assistance of a fifth column of reaction in both the North and South of Ireland.

The key to a peaceful transition to a socialist Ireland, to the thwarting of the designs of the imperialists and their Irish hangers-on will be the unity and militancy of our people concretized in a powerful and cohesive revolutionary alliance under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, closely linked up with all forces in the world fighting for national liberation, against imperialism, and supporting the world socialist system. It is in such a context that we regard the existence of the socialist states not only as the greatest achievement of our international working class, but we regard them in particular as powerful support forces for our struggle in Ireland.

The existing socialist countries are in fact the center of the world revolutionary process. It is therefore in the self-interests of the working-class movement in each country to boldly refute imperialist-inspired propaganda attacks on the socialist countries.

At the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Ireland the Political Resolution adopted declared: 'In the world struggle for peace, national independence and socialism the world socialist system is the most decisive force.'*

**Ireland in Crisis. The Communist Answer*, Dublin, 1975, p. 18.

There is a division between the labor movement and the national-independence movement which frustrates the full development, at the present time, of a broad anti-imperialist alliance. The overcoming of this division is a precondition for a united mass movement under working-class leadership. a united movement that will have to be bound together by revolutionary cohesion and not split by projected multi-party division. Revolutionary cohesion will help to win national independence and build socialism in Ireland.

A PARTY'S TRUE INDEPENDENCE IS INDIVISIBLE FROM INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Martin Gunnar Knutsen
Chairman, Communist Party of Norway

The Communist Party of Norway is an independent party with its own historical and political traditions. Our party's struggle in defense of the interests of the Norwegian working class and its policy are in conformity with Norway's conditions. But we are also aware that while ours is a small party, it is an equal member of the family of fraternal communist parties, and this is a source of encouragement for us, helps us to score victories, and sustains us in our failures.

While being independent, the CP of Norway is aware that the fraternal parties' strength lies in their cooperation and international solidarity, and their ability to draw on the whole of the experience gained by the world communist movement. We realize that in order to advance we must have a knowledge of the other parties' successes and failures. But that is not the only reason for which we oppose complacent nationalistic self-isolation. We believe that the communist parties of various countries must meet to exchange views both on a bilateral basis and on a European or international scale. Such meetings not only help us to learn from each other but also provide an opportunity to hammer out a common approach to key problems for whose solution we are responsible to history, that is, problems in the struggle against imperialism and for lasting world peace.

A concerted communist policy on these matters does not contradict the national tasks of our parties in the capitalist countries. On the contrary, our victory in the struggle for a relaxation of tensions, for disarmament and peace can only prove decisive if each one of us conducts in his own country a policy leading to the triumph of socialism through social, cultural and economic progress.

It is high time the risk of a nuclear world war was removed for good. It is high time we translated into reality the program for cooperation, solidarity and peaceful coexistence among countries, institutions, and peoples, adopted at the 1976 Berlin Conference. Unity of

action is necessary in the world communist movement so that our efforts to this end may be crowned with success.

The main force in our struggle for peace and progress are the socialist countries, the countries of existing socialism. Existing socialism is also the mainstay of all the Asia, African, and Latin American nations fighting for national and social liberation.

For us communists in the capitalist countries, existing socialism is becoming an increasingly important factor in the struggle against monopoly domination, the economic crises and the political oligarchy, for popular and democratic rule without economic crises and with the establishment of socialism as its ultimate goal. At a time when we in the capitalist countries are witnessing a rise in unemployment, industrial lock-outs and increasing cuts in social security and welfare spending, the socialist countries are building their life free of unemployment and march along the road of cultural and social progress, a fact that cannot but have an impact on the working people in the capitalist countries.

This is also known to our enemies, the enemies of socialism, peace and progress. Since November 7, 1917 to the present day, they have been spreading their venom in the form of anti-communist propaganda and anti-Sovietism, its most repulsive variant.

The aim of imperialist propaganda is to disunite the forces of democracy and pit the communist parties against each other. It is our duty to use all the means at our command to combat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and this is an important prerequisite for cooperation among the progressive forces in every capitalist country. The lies of imperialist propaganda about the socialist countries can and must be refuted.

The political activity of the working class in the capitalist countries cannot be intensified if it is dissociated from the socialist countries and their experience. As our own experience shows, all anti-Soviet groups in the working-class movement eventually find themselves in the cobweb of imperialism.

The aim of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is not only to reduce the influence of the communist parties but also to isolate them from the democratic movements in the capitalist countries. That is why an important condition for cooperation and solidarity between the communist parties of the socialist countries and the parties which still have to function under capitalism is not to abandon the bastion of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity.

This does not mean, however, that we should copy the socialist countries' roads of development. But we must also say that there is no strictly West European road to socialism, nor is there any Euro-

communist model as a substitute for our own course or independent judgment, either.

Communist solidarity and unity based on proletarian internationalism are an important condition for uniting all democratic and revolutionary forces in the drive for peace and social progress. But the relationship between the communist movement and other forces does not mean that proletarian internationalism can possibly be replaced with something less binding. Proletarian internationalism remains the uniting element of the international communist movement.

China was mentioned in a number of statements and I have very little to add. The Peking leaders are the worst reactionaries on the international scene. Their assertions about the inevitability of a third world war, their support of fascism in Chile, their friendship with West Germany's revanchists, their praises of NATO and the EEC, their stabs in the back of the national-liberation movements in Africa, their perfidy and aggression against Vietnam and their attempts to split the parties of our movement and set them against each other, all this shows with appalling clarity the positions of Mao's successors. They constitute a real threat to world peace, and this is obvious to anyone with even an elementary knowledge of politics.

Our country has been among the last in the capitalist world to be hit by the economic crisis, as a result of which unemployment in Norway is steadily rising, especially among the youth and women in the north of the country. Key industries and business establishments have been closed down, whole sectors of the economy are threatened, and fear of the future is plaguing thousands of Norwegian families. The trade union movement is deprived of the right to negotiate working conditions and payment terms on behalf of employees. Prices are soaring despite the law on fixed prices and wages. A wage-freeze is in force, and Norway's working people have to shoulder all the burdens of the crisis.

Given all this, our communist party is faced with the responsible task of offering a political alternative to overcome the economic crisis and bring together all the country's progressive forces.

At the same time, we are witnessing a fresh spate of anti-Sovietism in connection with Norway's northern regions, i.e., the northern flank of NATO, and it has been an important task for us communists to appeal for calm and common sense in order to preserve the good-neighbor relations and cooperation which have existed for more than 1,000 years between Norwegians and Russians, an attitude which serves the best interests of the Norwegian people.

There is yet another question that concerns present-day Norway. The Nobel Committee has awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize jointly to Sadat and Begin. This decision was a disgrace for Norway,

and the Norwegian people did not back it up. Opinion polls show that less than one per cent of the population approves of the decision to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Begin and that only a small fraction of the Norwegians support Sadat's nomination. Begin had to be flown by helicopter to the palace in Oslo to receive the award. He simply did not dare appear in the streets although they were fully of troops and police. Together with some youth organizations and the Socialist Left Party, the Communist Party of Norway staged a demonstration against the decision of the Nobel Committee and it was the biggest demonstration in the history of the Nobel Prizes ever organized in Oslo. Thousands of Norwegians carrying torches marched in the streets to pledge their support for a free and democratic Palestine and to voice their indignation at the decision to award the Nobel Peace Prize to two lackeys of imperialism.

We, the Norwegian Communist Party, are a small party, but we have always striven to be in the front ranks of the struggle for peace and social progress. We follow a political line that leaves no room for doubt that while we are an independent and democratic party of our country's working-class movement, we are also an inseparable part of the world communist movement. This will continue to be our policy in the future as well.

EARNEST OF SUCCESS FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Tomas Sinuraya
Representative, Communist Party of Indonesia

For communists, international solidarity is based on the principles of proletarian internationalism which have become a potent weapon for the working class in its worldwide struggle against imperialism. In practice, it means solidarity of the socialist countries and the communist parties with the struggle of the peoples for national independence, democracy and social progress. That is why, in thinking about the essence of proletarian internationalism, we can see in it a strong base on which the ever increasing world anti-imperialist forces rely. That is why proletarian internationalism should not be temporary in character, or just a means of facing the enemies' attack alone, but a constant factor that continually lives in the struggle of the world anti-imperialist forces and a means of strengthening the unity of the workers' movement around their Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties.

Objectively, the revolutionary process embraces national and international factors. We share the opinion that the internal factor is more decisive. However, paying insufficient attention to the international factor, let alone ignoring it, is, in our opinion, a serious

shortcoming in utilizing the objective possibilities that exist in our time. This shortcoming may lead to failure of the struggle and a setback of the revolution.

Internationalism is certainly not in conflict with the responsibility of every party before its own working class and working people, because the interests of workers of all countries are not contrary to one another, but relate to one another in the common struggle for the same aims. That is why the successes of the revolutionary movement in one country objectively favor the revolutionary forces in other countries and the world revolutionary process in general. On the other hand, the successes of the revolutionary movement in one country may be gained thanks to the unity of the world revolutionary movement.

It is clear that proletarian internationalism helps strengthen freedom and national sovereignty. It is the constant and urgent force for forming a new world in the present period, a period that records very great successes in the world revolutionary process. In this cause, we can firmly state that the main role is played by the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist world, or in the other words, by the really existing socialism.

Contrary to this position based on reality, the Peking leaders have completely departed from the principles of proletarian internationalism in theory and in their political activities. In this connection, it is appropriate to remember the lessons of the historic experience of our party.

In the 1950s, the leadership of our party, relying on the friendly support of world socialism, on the collective experience of the world communist movement, mapped out a new strategy and designed new tactics of the revolutionary struggle thanks to which the party scored great successes and turned into a mighty force, winning one-fifth of the country's votes. The international prestige of the party also had grown.

Probably, this was the reason why the Maoist leadership of the Communist Party of China paid 'special attention' to our party. At the beginning of the 1960s the CPC began to inject its harmful influence into our party, and this started the gradual deviation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia from the principles of internationalism. The struggle against so-called revisionism, by which Peking's propaganda understands really existing socialism, began to move into the agenda of the party's activities. As is known, in the first half of the 1960s the Communist Party of Indonesia was one of the few parties that accepted and with enthusiasm propagated the Chinese thesis that 'national interest is above class interest.' The deviation of the leaders of the CPI from the true line of Marxism-Leninism and

their following of the Peking adventurist policy made the party powerless to face the blow of the country's reaction in the course of the tragic event — the 'September 30' movement.

Now, after correcting those mistakes, we Indonesian communists are rebuilding the party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, fighting against Maoism and all forms of opportunism, and strengthening its friendship and cooperation with the fraternal communist and workers' parties.

The concrete historical experience of the postwar decades has shown that not a single revolutionary movement has scored decisive successes by departing from really existing socialism, let alone opposing it. On the contrary, the communists and all revolutionary forces who managed to score successes, notwithstanding the fact that there were serious difficulties and stumbling blocks to realization of their revolutionary goals, owed these successes to their unity with socialist countries and the support of real socialism. The road to the victory of the revolutionaries of all countries passes through their worldwide international unity and the strengthening of the alliance with the mainstream of the world revolutionary process which leads mankind to full salvation from all forms of national and social oppression.

LIGHT OF THE NEW WORLD

Eduardo Mora Valverde
Deputy General Secretary, People's Vanguard Party
of Costa Rica

Despite the attempts to abolish the democratic regime, bourgeois-democratic freedoms continue to prevail in Costa Rica, a fact to which our party has always attached due significance. As a result of support from the majority of the people, including large sections of the national bourgeoisie, we have been able to leave the underground, in which our party has had to function since 1948. In June 1975 the Costa Rican parliament passed a law legalizing our party. Together with the working class we are upholding and pressing for the extension of democratic freedoms and for giving them a meaningful content. During the past decade, particularly after the fascist coup in Chile orchestrated by U.S. imperialism, our party has done much to preserve bourgeois-democratic freedoms in our country. We have been able to reinforce unity and put an end to sectarianism and dogmatism, into which some leftist political organizations had been prodding us. In this struggle against external pressures and the shifts and dodges of the internal reaction we relied on the finest and most noble national traditions.

When the new government came to power in May 1978 the reaction-

ary forces were again able to score some successes. They compelled the government to institute a number of anti-democratic measures. However, Costa Rica remains one of the few countries in Latin America where the brutal and anti-democratic offensive of the forces of imperialism and reaction is resisted. The communists believe that the constant mobilization of the people for the defense and extension of democratic freedoms, against the ultra-right organizations, in order to prevent our country from sliding into a fascist dictatorship, is one of the basic factors helping to make not only the working class of Costa Rica but also large middle strata, notably the peasants, more conscious politically.

In proposing the formation of a broad national alliance of democratic forces our party noted that at the present stage the strategic objective is to liberate the nation from exploitation by the imperialist monopolies. This will enable our people to enforce vital democratic reforms.

In calling for the creation of this alliance for participation in the elections scheduled for February 1982, we are guided by our passionate desire to make democratic changes as painless as possible for our people. We believe that in our country there are considerable possibilities for this because Costa Rica is famous for its deep-rooted democratic traditions and our people are strong enough to direct the struggle into a peaceful channel. We are aware, however, that the peaceful way wanted by our people, above all by the communists, may prove to be feasible only in the event that resistance of the multinational monopolies and the internal reaction is neutralized and overwhelmed.

The valuable experience of the Chilean people shows us that this is no simple task. To carry it out we must skillfully and creatively apply the conclusions of Marxism-Leninism enriched in recent years by the struggles of the masses in different parts of the world. Internationalist links must be strengthened, for their weakening would have the gravest consequences.

The working people of Costa Rica want not only to win independence and put some democratic changes into effect, but also to abolish exploitation of all kinds and advance along the highroad of happiness. This can only be achieved in a socialist society. The democratic and anti-imperialist revolution, and the building of socialism, in the course of which democracy is developed without hindrance, must be headed by the working class.

Today socialism influences the entire spectrum of international relations and the internal conditions of the class struggle in all capitalist countries. Its unbounded and selfless internationalism, of which the working class is the staunch and consistent spokesman,

stimulates and sustains the struggle of nations for social progress.

The light of existing socialism, which today lives in direct proximity of us, reaches all parts of our country. It shows the road for the broadest strata of our people. The same process is taking place in other Latin American states.

For precisely this reason the spokesmen of imperialism are inventing and peddling various ideas alien to socialism in order to confuse the masses.

For instance, in Costa Rica the parties supporting the present government are urging the people to direct their struggles into the channel of 'Christian socialism.' The numerically largest opposition party affiliated with the Socialist International is calling upon the people to fight for 'democratic socialism.' Among intellectuals, too, there are some who want the people to fight for 'Costa Rican socialism,' 'humane socialism,' and even 'non-Marxist socialism.' It is extremely symbolic that in the space usually given over to anti-Soviet and anti-communist pronouncements *Nacion,* mouthpiece of the most conservative circles in our country, is now championing the so-called Chinese road to socialism.

However, the fact that the socialist camp lives on is gradually convincing our people that there can be no existing socialism if the working people are not headed by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, if democratic freedoms are not extended through the establishment of one form of dictatorship of the proletariat or another, if capitalist property in the means of production is not abolished, and if a new type of production, which extirpates exploitation of man by man once and for all, is not instituted.

THE NEW REALITIES AND THE POSITION OF LUXEMBOURG'S COMMUNISTS

Francois Hoffmann
Member CC, CP Luxembourg, Editor-in-Chief of
Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek

It is an undeniable fact that existing socialism strongly influences international affairs and social development in all continents. In many countries, particularly West European industrialized capitalist states, it is apparent that socialism is not yet on the agenda. It can be approached only by new intermediary stages. For that very reason it should be borne in mind that progressive changes on the road to socialism are possible only to the extent that existing socialism becomes stronger and asserts itself and has an ever increasing impact on the masses.

Existing socialism has achieved significant advances within a short period. The experience of building a socialist society in different countries has shown that despite the fact that there are many roads to socialism some principles are universal and must be applied by all communist parties.

We communists in Luxembourg believe that in principle the experience of existing socialism should not be contrasted against the roads a country building socialism chooses to follow in the future. And not only because this would make it difficult to draw up practical programs of socialist transformations, but because intentionally or otherwise it undermines the people's confidence in these transformations. On the basis of a realistic analysis we are trying, just as other parties are doing, to define the outlines of the future socialist society. Whatever the road to socialism, it will be socialist only if it envisages creating the conditions needed to establish working people's power under the leadership of the working class, abolish the economic foundations of the exploiting classes, particularly private property in the means of production, introduce democratic participation by the people in building socialism and defend revolutionary transformations and gains against the class enemy.

True, the countries of existing socialism still have shortcomings and difficulties, but these countries make no secret of them, they are not belittled but, on the contrary, widely discussed. The very fact that these shortcomings and difficulties are being surmounted to the extent that existing possibilities allow shows that contrary to what some may claim, they are not caused by the system itself nor are they insurmountable. There do not exist nor can there be any ready-made recipes for building socialism and communism. Socialist society's comprehensive and rapid advance constantly gives rise to new complex problems that cannot be solved without taking the development of countries of the imperialist bloc into account. Nevertheless, these problems are dealt with in the interests of the working class and the masses. We can therefore say that having proven to working people the world over the enormous advantages of the new social system existing socialism has thereby won the competition between the two systems.

Placing all this on the scales, it is our conviction that today, just as before, the socialist community needs our unshakable fraternal solidarity and our modest contribution to the international class struggle.

Some other aspects of the problems aired here should also be examined. For instance, non-interference in the affairs of other parties. The concept of non-interference is often abused, especially by those who themselves do not tolerate interference in their own affairs while claiming the right to criticize others, to impose their views or

decisions concerning the internal problems of other parties and countries.

Still others use the slogan of non-interference to screen the fact that the Maoist leadership of the Communist Party of China, for example, has long ago abandoned all the principles of a Marxist-Leninist foreign policy, openly sided with the extreme reactionary imperialist forces against the socialist countries, primarily against the Soviet Union, and interferes in Vietnam's internal affairs, going so far as to use military force.

We agree that the world communist movement is composed of individual parties, but we are against any overestimation and absolutizing of party independence. If we absolutize the particular we risk overlooking the obvious and suffering a serious setback.

Imperialism and its ideological and political accomplices must have learned something from their defeats, for they have turned from primitive anti-communism to subtle ideological subversion. Imperialism is, of course, always ready to pounce upon difficulties or divergences among the communist parties. Concretely, this means that in the 1920s, for example, big capital considered the social democrats to be a neutralizing factor in relation to the working class and other working people and, objectively, they should have sustained the exploiting class' influence and profits. They succeeded in part, but today it is plain that in the future the social democrats will be unable to do all that imperialism has cut out for them.

Following bourgeois logic, there appears to be but one force left upon which it can pin its hopes to achieve those same goals — the communist parties. That is why the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties demand that we, Luxembourg communists, should be more flexible and reconsider our attitude to what is called Eurocommunism — an invention of our class enemies — and accept it as meaning that we should emphatically dissociate ourselves from the CPSU and the socialist states. Those who offer this 'wise' advice try to convince us that in this way the Communist Party would be more influential. However, we cannot believe that our political opponents and class enemies want to strengthen communist parties. Therefore, the only conclusion is that there must be other motivations for pushing us onto the slippery road of Eurocommunism.

THE STAUNCHNESS OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

Daniel Naame
Political Bureau member, CC Syrian Communist Party

This is a very timely meeting. On both the theoretical and practical levels it will help to consolidate the international communist move-

ment, further the entire revolutionary process, and strengthen the national-liberation movement at the present stage of its struggle against imperialist conspiracies and neo-colonialist intrigues, for the right of nations to choose the road for their future development independently. Moreover, this meeting will help rebuff the plans of U.S. imperialism, which is trying to slow down détente, to the cold war, and plunge mankind into the abyss of a nuclear catastrophe.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the creation of the first workers' and peasants' state, the first state in which equal peoples have come together, the burgeoning of the socialist world system, the steady strengthening of its position, the growth of its potentialities and might, and the force of its example are the greatest achievement of the international working class, of the peoples fighting for freedom and social progress.

The influence of existing socialism and the impact of this influence on world politics are today growing faster than ever before. This is due to the sum of the new system's political, economic, social, and cultural achievements, its humanism, the concentration of all its potentialities, of all its might on the struggle for détente, for the preservation of world peace, and the assistance it is extending to the peoples fighting for freedom, progress and justice. All this is evoking the hate of the enemies of socialism, freedom, progress and peace, and is the reason for their unremitting struggle against existing socialism, to eradicate or, at least, limit its influence.

In our country, within the framework of our Arab national-liberation movement a sharp struggle rages incessantly between the steadily expanding influence of existing socialism and the attempts of hostile imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces to limit this influence. This is understandable. The countries of existing socialism have always adhered to firm and principled positions in the matter of supporting the Arab peoples. They are extending to these peoples, as they have always done, honest and steadily increasing assistance in the struggle against imperialist and Zionist conspiracies, for the preservation of national independence, the attainment of economic independence and continued development along the road of social progress. To this must be added that everything that has been achieved by existing socialism economically, socially and culturally, is making large segments in the Arab countries think seriously of the most suitable ways of ending the backwardness inherited from the past, of ways of joining in the progress of world civilization.

Imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is fighting on all fronts — ideological, political and economic. More than ever before it is endeavoring to spread lies about existing socialism, in general, and the Soviet Union, in particular. It is thereby seeking to drive a wedge

between the national-liberation movement and the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, distort their stance, inject nationalistic feeling into the relations with them, and use the bogey that the Soviet Union presents a great power threat.

Imperialism is using traitorous and wavering elements in the national-liberation movement and some Arab states (the latest example is Sadat) to distort the truth about the stand of the Soviet Union in the most shameless manner. Here an unseemly role, to put it mildly, is played by the Chinese leadership. Its actions show that anti-Sovietism leads to undisguised treachery, to the conversion of this leadership into a weapon of the most diehard imperialists.

Naturally, the administration in the United States did not expect the answer it was given by the Arab world. This answer was expressed in the creation of a Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, which at its third conference in Damascus adopted a number of anti-imperialist decisions and stigmatized Sadat's treachery. Further, it was expressed in the Syrian-Iraqi rapprochement and in the decisions of the ninth Arab summit in Baghdad, which rejected the Camp David accords.

The Arab national-liberation movement has large and steadily growing possibilities for displaying staunchness and giving a rebuff to the present attack by imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and frustrating the scenario of Carter, Begin and Sadat. This requires reliance on the strength and struggle of the broad masses of the Arab people, the granting of the widest freedoms to these masses and to progressive patriotic forces, and a further invigoration of their joint efforts and of the national fronts set up by them. Moreover, this requires the consolidation of the position held by the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, the strengthening of the alliance with the USSR, and the treatment of U.S. imperialism as an avowed enemy of the Arab peoples. In other words, we must secure the implementation of the decisions of the recent Arab People's Congress in Damascus, which was a striking expression of the determination of the Arab peoples and their progressive patriotic forces to continue the struggle against the treachery of Sadat and the results of the Camp David meeting, and advance along the road of freedom, independence and progress.

The political, economic, cultural and military assistance of the countries of existing socialism to the movements and states fighting for national liberation is mounting steadily. For that reason, despite the fact that the difficulties confronting us are not diminishing, we are optimistic. We are firmly convinced that the unity of the forces of revolutionary progress will grow, and that the friendship and cooperation between the national-liberation movement and the countries of existing socialism will continue to gain in strength and depth.

viewpoints

Women's rights and the communists

Ilse Tile
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CENTENARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF AUGUST BEBEL'S *WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM*

A noteworthy date — the centenary of the publication of August Bebel's *Woman Under Socialism (Die Frau und der Sozialismus)* — is to be marked this year. Having played an outstanding part in the struggle for equal rights for women, for their emancipation from long centuries of twin oppression and twin exploitation, this book holds a place of honor in the history of the international revolutionary working-class movement, which is rich in militant traditions, experience and lessons.

This celebrated work of scientific socialism was written when in Germany pre-monopoly capitalism was developing rapidly in breadth and the working class and its revolutionary movement were gaining strength. A steadily growing number of women was entering social production and joining in the class struggle. The party of the working class was confronted with the task of formulating a lucid and well-defined stand on the role of women and their place in the liberation struggle of the working people.

The initiative to give a scientific, class definition of the women's question was taken by Marxism. At its very first congress in Geneva in September 1866 the International Working Men's Association, founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, passed a resolution on the protection of female labor. Marx rejected the petty-bourgeois view that women should not participate in social production. He championed the principle that 'instead of being prohibited female labor should be protected.' He thereby oriented the working-class movement on drawing women, allies of the workers enjoying the same rights and duties as men, into the struggle against capitalist exploitation.

August Bebel, who was one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, did all in his power to have that party's program based on the principles of the International. On his

initiative the demand for the protection of female labor was included in the social-democratic program. In his party work Bebel consistently came out against underestimation of the women's issue.

Intrinsically unassuming, Bebel was modest in assessing his own contribution as a theorist of scientific socialism. He made the point that there were profound, fundamental conclusions and propositions in the teaching of Marx and Engels, 'on whose shoulders we, the rest, stand.'[1] But while drawing upon Marxism, Bebel was the first to make a probing, historically optimistic, scientific analysis of the political awakening of women and their involvement in the class struggle of the proletariat. These problems were vital to the working class.

In that period reaction in Germany was using an extraordinary law against socialists (introduced in 1878 and repealed only in 1890) to strike crippling blows at the then young socialist movement with the help of the machinery of state. Socialists were forbidden to conduct oral and printed propaganda. In this situation Bebel displayed unwavering courage, scorning the danger of persecution. He began writing his book in prison, and then acting deep in the underground secured its publication. The purpose of the book, to quote Bebel, was to 'overcome the prejudices preventing women from achieving complete equality, and also to spread socialist ideas, whose implementation will bring women social emancipation.'[2]

This book is a veritable encyclopedia on the women's question. Using vast historical and contemporary material Bebel analyzed the condition of women in society and the family in the past and in his day and made bold forecasts for the future, which have largely come true.

He showed that the dependence and enslavement of women had their roots in the social relations based on private property. Beginning his study from the period when the matriarchate was replaced by the patriarchate, Bebel gave most of his attention to the condition of women in the capitalist reality of his day. He examined a very large spectrum of questions, including such acute problems as marriage, the disintegration of the family, prostitution as an indispensable institution of bourgeois society, the condition of women in industry, the struggle of women for education, and the struggle for civil and political equality of women. He levelled withering criticism at scholars who saw in woman 'solely a sexual being but never noted her social being.'

In the contest of ideas and of views on the legitimacy of raising the women's issue, and on the substance of that issue Bebel never departed from Marxist positions. This was of considerable significance not only for the German but also for the entire international

working-class movement. He showed that for the working class and its party it was of enormous importance to understand the actual role of women in society and put an end to their unequal social status. The historic mission of the proletariat, he wrote, was to win not only its own liberation but also the emancipation of all other oppressed people, including women.

He was the first to prove that only socialism could bring a new life to women. At the same time, he emphasized, the revolutionary party of the working class had to enlist women as an ally against capitalism. The party would not achieve its political aims if it did not draw women into the revolutionary movement.

Bebel formulated the following thesis, which has become axiomatic in the revolutionary movement: 'For us the women's question is only one facet of the general social problem ... it can receive its final solution only with the removal of social opposites and the extirpation of the evil springing from them.'[3]

The success of this innovatory book was not surprising. It answered burning questions of the working women's movement and the social practice of those years. Of great significance were the precision and lucidity of the conclusions formulated by Bebel, the fact that he set concrete tasks for the struggle to resolve the women's issue, his literary skill, and the persuasiveness and vitality of his projections into the future, into socialism. For the revolutionary working-class party Bebel's book became a theoretical basis in the women's issue, an ideological weapon, and a guide to action. Bebel noted with gladness that the book was very warmly received by women and evoked a broad response from them. It powerfully stimulated the formation and struggle of the working women's movement. The success enjoyed by the book is testified to by the fact that even while the extraordinary law against socialists was in operation it had several printings: by 1895 it had had 25 printings in German and had been translated into 13 languages. In 1909, in the foreword to the 50th edition, Bebel wrote: 'The book has thus travelled its road, which, I can add without arrogance, it had paved for itself.' The book continued its triumphant march into the next decades. In the GDR *Woman Under Socialism* has already had 10 printings, and a centenary edition is to be brought out this year. Altogether Bebel's book has been translated 89 times into 24 languages. It has had nearly 200 printings and is among the most widely read works of scientific socialism.

The present generation, too, is attracted by the clarity and daring of Bebel's ideas about the development of the personality and capablilities of women in the new, exploitation-free social system. To this day we are inspired by the meaningful concluding words of

the book: 'The future belongs to socialism, in other words, above all to the worker and the woman.'

Very much has changed in the world since Bebel's book was published a hundred years ago. Great class battles and social revolutions have fundamentally reshaped its make-up. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new epoch in world history, marked the beginning of a new stage also in the struggle for the emancipation of women. For the first time in history women have begun to enjoy genuine equality. In *A Great Beginning* Lenin noted: 'Take the position of women. In this field, not a single democratic party in the world, not even in the most advanced bourgeois republic, has done in decades so much as a hundredth part of what we did in our very first year in power' (*Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 428.)

The abolition of private property and exploitation and the establishment of the power of the working class opened for Soviet women the road to a new life and brought them equal rights with men. In the new social conditions they received their first-ever possibility for developing their abilities, devoting themselves to serving socialist society, and successfully combining their work with their role in their families without hindrance, discrimination or restriction.

The heroic contribution of Soviet women to the defense of socialism's gains has been enshrined in history. Today many millions of Soviet women are by their energetic efforts in all branches of industry, agriculture, science and culture contributing to the further flowering of developed socialist society.

Practice has demonstrated that the solution of the women's question is one of the laws of socialist construction, while the experience and achievements of the socialist countries in this area have similar, common features.

Today peoples are building the new, socialist society in three continents: socialism is paving the way for itself also in some African countries. The emancipation of women and the realization of their equality has been the direct task of all the peoples embarking upon national and social liberation, upon non-capitalist development. Thus, what Bebel championed is coming to pass in a steadily growing number of countries: 'Women have an *equal* right with men to the development and unhampered application of their potentialities; they are human beings like men, and like them they must enjoy freedom and be masters of themselves.'[4]

What concretely has been done in socialist countries to resolve the women's question? Take our country as an example.

The GDR, which is soon to mark its 30th anniversary, has every

reason to note the positive results of its development with a sense of satisfaction. In the Anniversary Message of the SUPG Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the GDR National Front it is stated: 'The achievements of our socialist republic would have been inconceivable without the participation of women. They have made a huge contribution to our society's political, social, and cultural progress.'[5] At the 11th Congress of the SUPG (1976) it was noted 'that women play a significant part in all spheres of life. Among the rising generation there are almost no distinctions relative to the possibility of developing abilities and talents. Girls and young men are prepared equally well for life. This is of enormous value to our advance toward the communist future and is a major achievement of the socialist system.'

Colossal, truly revolutionary changes have taken place in the life of our women and they have radically changed their mode of thinking and behavior. Our party constantly explains that these changes benefit society, signify a growth of its strength and potentials, and are a gain for the cause of socialism. The SUPG Program states that the party will do everything 'to ensure the creation everywhere of conditions enabling women to make increasing use of their equal status in society. The conditions of their work and everyday life will continue to be improved. In order to consolidate the social condition of women and develop their personalities purposeful work must be done to enable them to combine professional activity with their maternal and family duties more successfully.'

Above all, this concerns working mothers with large families. In the GDR they comprise 51 per cent of all working women. Hence this refers to the solution of problems that have nothing in common with the problems existing in capitalist countries. These problems arise out of realized rights of women, out of the new possibilities created by socialism, and the quicker the country's economy grows and the more comprehensive the participation of women themselves becomes in the building of a developed socialist society, in strengthening the state of workers and peasants, the sooner will they be resolved.

In our country we can speak of the actual broad participation of women in socialist construction. For instance, 87 per cent of able-bodied women are working. Every second person employed in the national economy is a woman. As a result of the purposeful encouragement of the professional training of women, 66 per cent of the women employed at state enterprises have a secondary education or improved their skills. In the GDR's socialist agriculture 77.4 per cent

of all working women have had professional training. Upon graduating from secondary polytechnical schools 99 per cent of the girls either receive professional training or continue their studies at an institution of higher learning. In 1977 women comprised 48 per cent of the student body of institutions of higher learning and 65.4 per cent of the students at technical schools. Almost every second student at mathematical, natural scientific and technical secondary schools and every third student at institutes of the same profile is a woman.

In 1976 the SUPG Central Committee, the trade union leadership, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR passed a joint decision mapping out a series of social and political measures with the purpose of achieving a further methodical improvement of the people's working and living conditions during the current five-year period.

Much has been done during the past few years to carry out this decision. One of the measures that has been put into effect was that the maternity leave with the preservation of the average wage has been lengthened to 26 weeks. Upon the birth of the second and each succeeding child mothers may, after their maternity leaves expire, take an additional leave with the preservation of part of their wage until the child reaches the age of one. In 1977 this right was used by 96,000 women. Particular significance attaches to the institution of a 40-hour working week without pay reductions for all working mothers engaged in a full working day and having to support two or more children under 16. Thus, the attainment of one of the aims of the working-class movement — that of giving working people more leisure time — has become tangible in our country, above all to mothers. The concern for making the life of mothers easier and helping the family to bring up the rising generation has led to the development of a large network of children's institutions that cater for 60 per cent of the children under the age of three and to 94.5 per cent of the children aged from three to six.

In his book Bebel repeatedly stresses that like men, women 'are extremely interested in influencing our social conditions through legislation. Their participation in public life would considerably raise the latter's level and open up new vistas.'[6] This conclusion has been borne out by the practice of socialist countries, particularly today — in the building of a developed socialist society, which provides for the broad development of socialist democracy. In the GDR today more than one-third of the deputies — from local organs of authority to the People's Chamber — are women. In industry and agriculture one of every six executives is a woman. Every fourth mayor, every second judge and every fourth school principal is a woman. At factories, offices and residential districts many women, alongside men, knowledgeably discuss the drafts of laws and of annual economic develop-

ment plans. In this way women are learning to assume collective responsibility and participate in administering their socialist state. The successful solution of the women's issues in the socialist countries is striking and convincing evidence of socialism's advantages over capitalism.

The change of the alignment of forces in favor of peace, democracy, national liberation, independence and socialism has given rise to new conditions and possibilities also in the struggle of the working people of capitalist countries for the emancipation and equality of women. The communists in the capitalist countries are now faced with new tasks of drawing women into the struggle for the solution of present-day problems.

There are more than enough of these problems. A steadily growing number of women is taking part in the battles of the working-class movement, in the massive popular movements for lasting peace, cooperation among all nations, and social progress, and are active in the struggle against imperialism. The growth of the political consciousness and activity of women is mirrored also in the mounting role played by the women's organizations affiliated with the International Women's Democratic Federation. Today the Federation unites 129 women's organizations in 114 countries, organizations that are working in a united front for world peace, the rights of women and the happiness of children.

In their constitutions most non-socialist countries have also proclaimed that men and women are equal before the law. But let us note, as did Bebel, that under capitalism the social dependence of women 'can be weakened but not eliminated by making women formally equal before the law and in rights.'[7] In a society ruled by capital an insuperable gulf remains between the law and reality, and inequality and discrimination continue to flourish. This is borne out by a host of irrefutable facts. World public opinion had the opportunity to learn of these facts during the undertakings carried out under the program of the International Women's Year.

It has long been acknowledged that the equality of women is an inalienable element of human rights. This is recorded in the relevant documents of the UN. All people without distinction have the right ot enjoy the fruits of socio-economic progress and contribute to it. However, the capitalist countries are far from the attainment of these principles and aims. More, with the general crisis of capitalism growing deeper and embracing all fields of that society's life, with mass unemployment and social uncertainty mounting, the monopolies have launched an offensive on the rights of the working people, including the rights won for and together with women. Attention was drawn to this in a document adopted in 1978 by the Council of the International

Women's Democratic Federation. It notes that in many capitalist countries the initial years of the UN women's decade (1976-1985) witnessed no tangible progress toward equality for women. On the contrary, these years were characterized by a further deterioration of their already hard lot. A particularly heavy burden fell on the shoulders of working women and their families.

One-third of all the people employed in the economy of industrialized capitalist countries are women. But their rights are as flimsily guaranteed as the right to equal pay with men for equal work. Among women the unemployment level is higher than among men. In early 1978 of the 1,700,000 unemployed in France 900,000 were women. Compared with men, among women the unemployment rate is 50 per cent higher in the USA and 100 per cent higher in Belgium. The fact that unemployment among women is growing much faster has had to be acknowledged at the close of October 1978 by the official statistical service of the EEC. The scale of this unemployment is constantly understated. For example, in the spring of 1978 of the 900,000 actually unemployed women in the FRG only somewhat above 500,000 were officially listed as unemployed.

Further, an expression of discrimination against women is the calamitous situation relative to women having the possibility of getting an education and the totally unsatisfactory organization of professional training for them. Hence, in the USA, for instance, women today get 58.9 per cent of the wages for men. This is even lower than in 1955 when the figure stood at 63.9 per cent. Social and political inequality and inadequate mother and child care make life extremely difficult for women in capitalist society.

Capitalism has not resolved any major problem of social life in the interests of the working people. As we have seen, neither has it resolved the women's problem. Bebel's words that bourgeois society is incapable of 'emancipating women. A different social system is needed . . . for this' retain their urgency to this day.

The solution of present-day social problems is inseparable from the maintenance of world peace. Women of all countries — both socialist and capitalist — are a powerful force of the drive to consolidate peace, strengthen détente, end the arms race, achieve disarmament and ban the development and manufacture of neutron and other new types and systems of weapons of mass annihilation.

By their heroic participation in strikes, demonstrations, and other actions of the working people, millions of women are proving that the ideas of Bebel are being translated into life, that women have become aware of their role in the working-class movement, in present-day class battles, and are fully determined to continue participating in the

struggle for a fundamental improvement of their condition and the complete solution of the women's issue.

1. Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus,* Dietz-Verlag, Berlin, 1973, p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. August Bebel, Op. cit., p. 280.
5. *Neues Deutschland,* November 18, 1977.
6. Bebel, Op. cit., p. 324.
7. Ibid., p. 29.

Report at first hand

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VIETNAM: PEOPLE OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH LIVE UNDER ONE ROOF[1]

The hallmark of Vietnam's peaceful life today and its progress in socialist construction is that the nation is united, that it is an integral political, economic and social entity. The entire world has now accepted Vietnam's reunification, but not many realize that the nation's unity, following 21 years during which its two parts developed in accordance with the laws of entirely different social systems, was a monumental achievement. One reason is that this was attained without a blood bath, without a civil war, city rioting and peasant uprisings. This is why the reunification has been taken for granted. Reality, however, is far from being as simple as it may seem as first glance.

Let us go back a few years.

Ulcers of undeveloped capitalism

All the problems of the South caused by the nation's division, war and occupation, the backwardness and ugliness characteristic of undeveloped capitalism, seemed to be concentrated in Saigon liberated from the U.S. aggressors and their client Thieu on April 30, 1975. Some of this we could picture even now as we toured the city. Most, however, we learned from our Vietnamese friends, whose herculean

task it was to heal this ulcer-pitted city which was the capital of one of the most corrupt neo-colonialist regimes.

We were received in a lovely villa by Le Quang Chanh, member of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee and deputy chairman of the City People's Committee. The authorities here have many places where they can receive guests, organize museums, or hold exhibitions, for numerous villas and smaller homes were hurriedly abandoned by their former owners. Now they are occupied mostly by the working people, who moved here from the slums and shantytowns, not all of which have yet been pulled down. Such contrasts, to be seen in any large Asian capitalist city, are a leftover of the very recent past.

The city was liberated quickly and that is why there is very little destruction, says Le Quang Chanh. In 1945 Saigon's population barely numbered half a million. It had swelled to four million by liberation day. Overcrowded cities like Calcutta, Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila are the result of appalling poverty and undernourishment in rural areas from which peasants migrate to the cities in the hope of finding work or somehow making ends meet. In Saigon, and in South Vietnam in general, this was compounded by te effect of the U.S. occupation. The villages were strong bases of the revolutionary liberation forces, and the people had therefore to be cleared out of them. Then B-52 bombers, napalm, chemical defoliants and poisons destroyed everything living and the surviving population was forced into barbed wire compounds, called 'concentration centers.'

For backward South Vietnam, which had no industry to speak of, forcible urbanization meant breaking the traditional way of life of between 10 and 15 million people and dooming millions to unemployment. So the problem today, we were told, is to increase the rural population in the South from 35 to at least 70 per cent.

The city's ugly growth and the occupation regimes determined the hideous population pattern. The following figures were given to us by Vietnamese comrades with the reservation that they were not complete because no population census has yet been taken. After Saigon's liberation it was found there were 1,100,000 unemployed, 300,000 gangsters and other hardened criminals, 150,000 drug addicts, 100,000 prostitutes, 200,000 homeless children and orphans, 300,000 people with venereal diseases at various stages and 150,000 tuberculosis cases. Moreover, there were 400,000 officers and men of the puppet Thieu army.

Listening to all this we thought of the many other giant Asian cities we had visited where the authorities had given up all hope of accomplishing anything really effective. 'What's the use,' they would say, 'when nothing can be done?' But here the ability of the revolutionary authorities to deal with the city's problems effectively is

convincing proof of the organizational expertise of the communists and their ability to lead the masses.

Establishing the revolutionary authority

The first step was to build up a people's revolutionary authority in the city. 'The question of power is basic in all revolutions,' said Le Quang Chanh, quoting Lenin. 'Our party is working to settle this question.'

This is indeed essential. It is not that just another administration had been installed in South Vietnam to replace the former government machinery. This is a new administration, new in social character, an administration whose backbone is provided by the mass Marxist-Leninist party, which organizes society and draws every citizen into its affairs.

Of course, in former Saigon and in the South in general the new administration was not built from scratch. 'For a good ten years the country had been guided by one party.' we were told by Dao Duy Tung, Editor-in-Chief of *Cong San* (The Communist Journal), before flying to Ho Chi Minh City. 'The armed forces were also united even though they had different names in the North and the South.' Party organizations that were active underground throughout South Vietnam took everything into their hands on liberation day. They were helped by women's, youth, peasant and other mass organizations set up and guided by the party while it was still underground. In enforcing law and order the party was aided by the liberation army, a disciplined army of politically conscious revolutionary fighters. What a glaring contrast to the mercenary troops of the invaders and the puppet regime.

Assistance, planned well beforehand, came from the North — cadres and food. While the fighting was still on, every city in the South had a twin in the North, from where help would come after liberation. Saigon's twin was Hanoi, and the Party Central Committee and the government gave it special attention.

At the beginning, the party had to go it alone and work quickly. Local organs of power were set up at all levels — people's committees and executive bodies of mass organizations. Party cadres were appointed block leaders and the population was divided into groups of 30 families, National defense teams were set up to help keep the streets safe at night.

As we listened we pictured the reaction of the fighters for 'democracy against dictatorship' and could not help saying: 'This was compulsion and authoritarianism. Was there no electivity?' 'True,' said Le Quang Chanh, 'this was compulsion, which is unavoidable and necessary in any revolution and it was this that helped us avoid

bloodshed. Later the party drew up rules for electing the executive organs of mass organizations and local organs of power from top to bottom. The organs operating today have all been elected.'

Given the composition of the population in Saigon when it was liberated, we could imagine what chaos there would have been had the revolutionary authorities been spineless and passive. But formed and headed by communists the administration swung into action vigorously.

First, it had to establish political security and public order on the principle of persuasion backed by compulsion. All officers and men of the Thieu puppet army were registered. The soldiers and non-coms had to attend reorientation classes for between five and seven days, after which they were sent home, while officers of all ranks attended three to 12 month re-education courses depending on rank and political leanings. Later their civilian rights, including suffrage, were reinstated. Government employees of the puppet regime and people who had collaborated with the occupation authorities were treated in the same way. This was the practice throughout the South, not only in Saigon.

More than a million persons returned to a normal civilian life in just over three years. We were told that the only people remaining in the re-education centers were the relatively few diehard opponents of the new administration. There were also small gangs of unregistered former puppet soldiers roaming the forests and engaging in highway robbery from time to time. They are not a serious problem today, however.

Foreign intelligence agents, particularly of the CIA[2] and of Chinese, Japanese and French agencies, are the real problem. They contact counter-revolutionaries in the South who come from wealthy families, especially ethnic Chinese, and the reactionary leadership of various religious communes, chiefly Catholic, and also Buddhist. In the Vinh Son neighborhood of Ho Chi Minh City we were shown a Catholic Church used as a headquarters by counter-revolutionaries, where security forces had uncovered a large cache of weapons. In the preceding installment we wrote of a conspiracy organized by Peking agents.[3]

Counter-revolutionaries and wreckers are tried according to the laws of the SRV, as ordinary criminals. Take just one example. The vicious campaign in the imperialist press about 'violation' of human rights in Vietnam harped on what was termed 'persecution' of the leadership of the An Quang pagoda, several of whom were arrested. In December 1978 the People's Court in Ho Chi Minh City held an open trial where the defendants admitted using their religious organizations as a cover for counter-revolutionary activities. The sentence

was mild, to say the least — only three of the seven defendants were sentenced to prison terms.

But, we were told, most of the religious people were happy to be liberated, to see the country united, and a new administration established. Not far from the city of Tay Ninh, the center of the Cao Dai sect, one of the largest in South Vietnam, the leadership and members told us that the new administration allows the sect freedom of worship in the city and everywhere else.

Healing neo-colonialist ulcers

Unemployment was another problem that confronted the party in former Saigon and other towns in the South.

There was no problem with the peasants whose villages and land were not destroyed. For the rest the government organized new economic zones, about which much has been written. These were mainly in unpopulated areas of virgin or fallow land in the Central Plateau or Mekong River delta. The government put up houses there and an elementary infrastructure. The new inhabitants came from the overcrowded cities of the South and densely populated rural areas of the North, particularly the Red River delta.

We were in Vietnam during one of the most devastating floods the country had ever experienced, making these new zones difficult of access. However, we did get to one such zone where we toured a camp of refugees from Kampuchea. They lived in new houses. Some could not withstand the rigorous conditions upon arrival, and left. But the majority remained after the first year of farming this bountiful land. Today there are approximately a million people in these new economic zones and by 1980 it is expected there will be four million. There are no barbed wire fences here, no forced labor, guards or anything reminiscent of a concentration camp as the imperialist press claims. We were told that the experience of these new economic zones in Vietnam was acclaimed even by the U.S.-controlled World Bank, which is certainly no sympathizer of socialism.

But let us return to former Saigon. Of the 1,100,000 unemployed, 400,000 returned to their native villages in the three years following liberation and 300,000 settled in the new economic zones: 30,000 took up various trades in the city, and 200,000 are to be given jobs in the suburbs of Ho Chi Minh City.

Though it has been greatly relieved the unemployment problem still remains to be solved. There are the social and demographic factors to consider. Every year 100,000 young people join the labor force. The municipal authorities thus still have their hands full, even though the situation is visibly improving.

Another problem is to abolish the various social ills, and the steps

the party and the revolutionary authorities are taking are effective and humane.

Col. Cap Xuan Diem, deputy chief of the city's Internal Affairs Department, told us how this was being accomplished. 'We classified all the anti-social elements into four categories,' he said, '(a) — gangster bosses; (b) — professional criminals; (c) — prostitutes, drug addicts, tramps, hooligans, thieves; (d) — law-abiding unemployed.'

We have mentioned the last category. As for (a) and (b), they are sent to compulsory labor re-education camps, the gang leaders for 5-10 years, and the professional criminals for a minimum of three. If they commit a crime after that the law takes its course.

'The (c) category,' Cap Xuan Diem said, 'is our victims of "cultural" neo-colonialization, people who have gone astray. Potentially, they are working people who must be returned to society in the most humane way possible. Our solution was to open "schools for the restoration of human dignity," "schools for the rehabilitation of women," "schools teaching young people to build a new life." These combine medical treatment with vocational training and political classes.' We visited two such schools on the outskirts of the city. One was for drug addicts, the other for girls who had been street-walkers.

'Our school opened in November 1975,' said Nguyen Thanh Tan, headmaster of a rehabilitation school for drug addicts in the Thu Duc district. He is a party member who was in the Saigon underground during the resistance. 'Most of our trainees are sent to us by local organizations, public or administrative, who decide such questions at meetings of the residents of city blocks. Some of the addicts — most are young men and teenagers — are brought here by their families. Many are from bourgeois families, or children of military or government employees, who had served under the puppet regime. Each case history must be handled with care and patience. We are short of trained personnel and experience, and must be careful not to antagonize the trainees. Under the puppet regime they had learned to disbelieve everything and everybody. It is our job to give them confidence in the new administration, and they will have confidence in themselves.

'Here, we teach them a trade. The second stage is to send them to a factory or state farm. Another aspect of our work is to awaken in them an interest in social affairs, a sense of being collective master of society, of the state. For this at the school they have their own elective organs of self-administration which are guided by the school executive. There are two teams with elective leaders. The trainees put out a wall paper, watch TV, listen to the radio. They have books and newspapers, amateur groups, and they meet to discuss some particular event of the day.'

The situation is very similar in the school for girls, where we were shown around by Nguyen Thi Mai, the headmistress. She is also a veteran of the underground struggle. 'This school,' she said, 'handles particularly difficult cases (the girls are from 15 to 30 years old), but most girls are re-educated by local public organizations. The problem is to bring them back to a healthy life, to awaken their female pride, to acquaint them with the traditions of Vietnamese women, and explain to them just what kind of a new country Vietnam has become, to teach them a trade, to read and to write. Very few, I must say, return to their old habits,' said Nguyen Thi Mai. The school extensively uses the pedagogical methods of Anton Makarenko, who made a name for himself in the first years of Soviet power in Russia by his work with wayward boys and girls.

'There are 22 such schools in the city,' said Col. Diem, 'attended by 15,000. But our attention is concentrated mainly on forming mass movements. Since the beginning of 1978 four such movements had been started in Ho Chi Minh City. These are "for social transformations," "to work, produce, econimize and help build the city," "for a cultural revolution to mould the new citizen and a new life" and "people — maintain political and public order".'

The crime rate has dropped by 90 per cent, the streets are safe day and night, and in Ho Chi Minh City, as in Hanoi, there are few policemen patrolling the streets. The city is far cry from the frightful picture of a police dictatorship that some people claim it is.

From Saigon to Ho Chi Minh City

Naturally, there are still many problems. But the names of the first three movements mentioned above show that the accent now is on building socialism. In all aspects this city is no longer Saigon, it has truly become Ho Chi Minh City.

Vietnamese communists gave the lie to would-be prophets who claimed that, as unrelated organisms, Saigon and the South in general would reject them. The successes attained in the socio-political transformation of South Vietnamese society are particulary impressive, since they were accomplished in such a short time. Just one year after liberation, on April 15, 1976, the people of South Vietnam together with the people of the entire country, elected deputies to a single National Assembly, which proclaimed a united Socialist Republic of Vietnam. A year later it was possible to hold municipal elections in Ho Chi Minh City. Elections of executive organs were also held by public organizations. In the South, as in the whole country, the following formula is being applied in the organization of socialist Vietnamese society: the party guides, the state administers and the people are the collective masters.

Parallel with the socio-political changes and the formation of a new administrative and social structure, socio-economic changes are being instituted. Large industrial enterprises, the banks and wholesale distributors, almost all of which were controlled by the occupation authorities and abandoned by their owners, came under the control of the workers and were nationalized in the summer of 1976. The small privately owned shops are gradually starting to cooperate with the state. At the initial stage of this cooperation the state supplies the primary materials and fuel and the capitalist sells the manufactured product to the state. The highest stage is the formation of mixed enterprises (if the former owner is a capable manager he is in many cases appointed director.) In the future all these enterprises will join the socialist sector.

An important milestone in South Vietnam's transition to socialist development was the abolition of capitalist trade in the spring of 1978. This was described in our first installment.[4] The question of 'who will win' was finally decided in the South in favor of socialism, and this has made it possible to accelerate the socialist transformation of the small merchants and the peasantry — the largest population groups in any economically backward country. This has now become a part of socialist construction in united Vietnam.

Not everything was as simple to accomplish as it is to tell about. Besides the objective difficulties, there were many subjective shortcomings. Not least among these were widespread bureaucracy and squandering of state property. The people are being told about this. In 1977 the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee launched two public movements under the slogan 'against bureaucracy and red tape, for the right of the people to be the collective master' and 'stop embezzling public property.' This party initiative met the people's approval and they are actively helping to abolish these evils.

And yet another problem — the few Vietnamese who would flee the South. Of course, there are those who are not satisfied with the new regime, particularly in Ho Chi Minh City. This is not unusual in any social upheaval.[5] But, in Ho Chi Minh City it is not only the former exploiters who are disaffected. Because the problem of so-called Vietnamese refugees is a popular topic in the Western press today, we would like to quote from the French magazine *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

'The situation is complicated by the fact that in the past the majority of unemployed in Saigon, thanks to the massive flow of U.S. dollars, were used to an easy life whose level did not at all correspond to the level of the country's economic development. After liberation they do not even attempt to analyze the reasons for such difficulties as the rapid decline of the tertiary sector that catered to the foreign

presence, and of those sides of life in Saigon that were connected with the war; factories closing down that depended on imported raw materials;[6] the halt of U.S. subsidies on rice and other imports. For all their troubles they blame the communists.'[7]

Some of these misled and confused people secretly leave the country. 'On the whole,' says To Huu, alternate Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, CPV, 'the population in the South supports us. The system belongs to the people and this is the guarantee of victory.'

There is still a good deal the people need but cannot as yet acquire. They want a better life. There is still a certain social inequality in the South, but the people see for themselves what the new regime has accomplished and we have described but a few of its achievements. To this could be added the free socialist health service and education that South Vietnam now has, and the revival of national cultural traditions.

The socialist transformations spreading through trade and agriculture will complete the reshaping of society in the South into a society of socialist producers. However, it is already apparent that the forecast made by Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Vietnamese people, that citizens of the North and the South will live under one roof has come true. The Vietnamese people in the North and South are indeed living under one roof, in a united country building socialism.

1. Continued from 'Report at first hand,' *WMR*, February 1979.
2. Illuminating material on CIA spying in South Vietnam is to be found in a book by former CIA agent Frank Snepp, *Decent Interval*, Random House, New York, 1977.
3. *WMR*, February 1979.
4. *WMR*, February 1979.
5. In our preceding report we wrote about the wealthy Chinese merchants and would not have returned to the subject were it not for an episode blown up in the imperialist, mainly French press in 1978 about the 'tragedy' of two-and-a-half thousand 'Vietnamese refugees' stranded off the Malaysian coast in a small ship, the Hai Hong. But an eye-witness account by an AP correspondent was not featured. These refugees, he wrote, were not Vietnamese, they were wealthy ethnic Chinese granted official permission to leave the country after paying a certain duty, and they themselves had charted the vessel. That is why the Malaysian authorities did not recognize them as refugees and did not allow them to enter the country.
6. Most are functioning again with the help of the North and with purchases made by the government.
7. Nayan Chanda. 'Le communisme vietnamien en marche.' *Le Monde diplomatique*, April 1978, p. 19.

The crisis of the Canadian confederation

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Canada is an advanced capitalist state. The Canadian bourgeoisie, which is overwhelmingly Anglo-Canadian, had won freedom from British colonial rule in all decisive aspects by the first third of the 20th century, bringing an end to progressive bourgeois national movements. In fact, the English-speaking nation was and still is oppressing the French-Canadian nation, whose national territory is the Province of Québec.

This two-sided character of advanced capitalist states with respect to the national question was noted by Lenin in 1916. Chapter 6 of Lenin's article 'The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination' is headed 'Three Types of Countries with Respect to the Self-Determination of Nations' and the chapter begins as follows: 'In this respect, countries must be divided into three main types.

'First, the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States. In these countries progressive bourgeois national movements came to an end long ago. Every one of these "great" nations oppresses other nations both in the colonies and at home. The task of the proletariat of these ruling nations are the same as those of the proletariat of England in the 19th century in relation to Ireland' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 22, pp. 150-151).

The Communist Party of Canada began to come to grips with this task with the policy declaration adopted at its Sixth Convention in 1929, in which it is asserted that the guarantee for complete self-determination of French Canada can only be achieved by revolutionary action.[1]

However, in the second third of this century, French-Canadian politicians, intellectuals and clericalists played on the national sentiments of their people with the reactionary and obscurantist aims of maintaining a large and illiterate or semi-literate rural population, closely controlled by the Catholic clergy, by the local bourgeoisie and by the corrupt politicians. This nationalist élite advocated and in part introduced corporatist principles in Québec, as enunciated by the

Catholic Church and practised by the Italian fascists. They did not hide their sympathy for Mussolini in Italy, for the fascist Franco who led the rebellion against the Spanish Republican government, and for the French Vichy government which collaborated with the nazi German occupationists of France during World War II.

Under these circumstances mass national movements having a progressive character or at least progressive elements were virtually non-existent, or at most episodic, ephemeral.

To the casual tourist from English Canada or from other countries, particularly those who travelled in the rural or semi-rural areas, Québec appeared as a rather quaint, bucolic, priest-ridden enclave of French-speaking, generous, rather docile people in a burgeoning, aggressive, imperialist and English-speaking North America.

However in the post-World War II period social and political factors for dramatic change were gathering in Québec as everywhere in the world, catalyzed by the new state of the general crisis of capitalism, of which the emergence of the socialist camp was a prime expression.

Starting from 1960 mass national movements having notable progressive content swept Québec, which quickly revealed that the Canadian Confederation was going deeper and deeper into crisis. Some particularly dramatic events caught world public opinion by surprise. For even those few who were dimly aware of the existence of the French-Canadian nation in Québec still had that rather folkloric view of it.

There were progressive persons in English Canada who believed that the national question was, on the whole, solved in Canada because for a fairly lengthy period the national movement in Québec had lacked both a mass character and a progressive character; that the French-Canadians must accept the verdict of history; that the struggle for national self-determination in this period is an anachronistic, sentimental and basically reactionary yearning for the feudal *ancien regime* when Canada was a colony of pre-revolutionary France, ideologically dominated by the Catholic clergy. There were doubts as to the depth and breadth of the national movement in Québec, because some considered that the French-Canadian nation was not really subjected to national oppression but only to some elementary discrimination.

It might be useful in this respect to reiterate a warning given by Lenin in his classic polemic with Rosa Luxemburg written in 1914 and entitled 'The Right of Nations to Self-Determination,' defending Clause 9 of the Russian Marxists' program, which supported the right of nations to self-determination, against her attacks on it: 'The conclusion that follows from all these critical remarks of Marx's is clear:

the working class should be the last to make a fetish of the national question, since the development of capitalism does not necessarily awaken *all* nations to independent life. But to brush aside the mass national movements once they have started, and to refuse to support what is progressive in them means, in effect, pandering to *nationalistic* prejudices, that is recognizing "one's own nation" as a model nation (or, we would add, one possessing the exclusive privilege of forming a state)' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 437).

Explaining this idea, Lenin wrote: 'The categorical requirement of Marxist theory in investigating any social question is that it be examined within *definite* historical limits, and, if it refers to a particular country (e.g., the national program for a given country), that account be taken of the specific features distinguishing that country from others in the same historical epoch.

'What does this categorical requirement of Marxism imply in its application to the question under discussion?

'First of all, it implies that a clear distinction must be drawn between the two periods of capitalism, which differ radically from each other as far as the national movement is concerned. On the one hand, there is the period of the collapse of feudalism and absolutism, the period of the formation of the bourgeois-democratic society and state, when the national movements for the first time become mass movements and in one way or another draw *all* classes of the population into politics through the press, participation in representative institutions, etc. On the other hand, there is the period of fully formed capitalist states with a long-established constitutional regime and a highly developed antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — a period that may be called the eve of capitalism's downfall' (*Ibidem*, pp. 400-401).

The typical features of the first period, Lenin wrote, are: the awakening of national movements and the drawing of the peasants, the most numerous and the most sluggish section of the population, into these movements, in connection with the struggle for political liberty in general, and for the rights of the nation in particular. Typical features of the second period are: the absence of mass bourgeois-democratic movements and the fact that developed capitalism, in bringing closer together nations that have already been fully drawn into commercial intercourse, and causing them to intermingle to an increasing degree, brings the antagonism between internationally united capital and the international working-class movement into the forefront.

Of course, Lenin said, the two periods are not walled off from each other; they are connected by numerous transitional links, the various countries differing from each other in the rapidity of their national

development, in the national make-up and distribution of their population, and so on. There can be no question of the Marxists of any country drawing up their national program without taking into account all these general historical and concrete state conditions.

In the first place, in examining Canada as a whole, in which of the 'two periods of capitalism' **do** we find ourselves: the 'period of the formation of the bourgeois-democratic society and state' or 'the period of fully formed capitalist states?' We are in the second period, in the period of state-monopoly capitalism, in Québec as in the rest of Canada. This is attested to not only by the fact that finance capital dominates the economy and that the export of capital (both English-Canadian and, to a far lesser extent, French-Canadian) has become a distinguishing feature of our economy, but that the state has become an instrument of finance capital in reinforcing its rule.

There are those who, as indicated earlier, have drawn from this delineation of the period of capitalism in which we live, the conclusion that the national question had been basically solved in Canada. But when we look at some of the 'specific features' distinguishing Canada from others 'in the same historical epoch' this conclusion is revealed as one-sided and incorrect.

In the first place, the two-nation character of the Canadian state did not arise out of a common need of the two nations to join in one state *voluntarily* in defense against a common aggressive enemy. On the contrary, the two-nation character of the Canadian state arose out of the *conquest* of the *Canadiens* (1763) by the English.[2] The British conquest has burned into the consciousness of both nations. Not even the development of state-monopoly capitalism throughout Canada and the unifying effect of menacing U.S. imperialism along the length of our border (the United States is in fact the only country with which we have a common border) have effaced this historic fact and the political, economic, and cultural oppression and inequity that ensued from it, that persist and indeed are accentuated to this day.

Concretely, national oppression is expressed politically by the refusal to recognize the French-Canadians as a nation with the right to self-determination. Economically it is expressed in the fact that French-Canadian workers earn less than workers in English Canada, and much less than English-Canadian workers in Québec. (This latter is due to the fact that the majority of big enterprises are owned by English-speaking U.S. or Canadian monopolists who have made English the main language of work in a province where 80 per cent of the population is French-speaking.) This is especially true for the more skilled and administrative jobs. This is why the language question is of particular economic importance for the working class. Finally, the fact that the British conquerors in 1774 conferred special privileges on

the Catholic clergy to retain their loyalty in face of the growing rebellion in the South, concessions which included French-Canadian youth (especially girls), of educational possibilities that fit them for modern capitalist society.

Hence, although the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the struggle against English colonialism was completed a long time ago, and a 'fully formed capitalist' state 'with a long-established constitutional regime' was well entrenched, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution with respect to the national question in *French Canada* have not been fully accomplished. In fact, as stated at the very beginning of this article, the Anglo-Canadian bourgeoisie not only had freed itself from English domination, but was now oppressing the French-Canadian nation.

This development, or a similar one, is not to be found exclusively in Canada, but also among other highly developed capitalist countries today, any more than it was exceptional when Lenin wrote in 1916 of this phenomenon in all advanced capitalist countries in Western Europe and the United States.

What, then, brought about the re-awakening of a mass bourgeois-democratic national movement in Québec which burst on the public and eventually the world political scene starting from the so-called 'Quiet Revolution' in 1960?

Three main factors may be distinguished from the many which played their part in this complex, exhilarating upheaval which swept away years of accumulated dust and cobwebs.

1. The industrialization and urbanization of Québec was going on at a pace more rapid than the average for Canada as a whole, with thousands of farmers abandoning their non-economic farms to seek economic security in the cities and towns.

2. The obscurantist and reactionary Union Nationale provincial regime of Premier Maurice Duplessis, which had been continuously in office since 1944, was holding back the development of modern, advanced capitalism. On the one hand, it favored certain, mainly U.S.-owned and controlled monopolies, especially in hydroelectric power, giving them great advantages over other energy-hungry corporations, in return for substantial contributions to the Union Nationale election fund.

On the other hand, Duplessis' reliance on the rural vote, heavily influenced by the clergy, caused him at one and the same time to hinder the capitalist development of agriculture, and to maintain religious control over education. This tended to channel the sons of the French-Canadian élite toward the clergy, law and medicine, leaving engineering, commerce and management to the progeny of the

main rulers of Québec industry and commerce — the Anglo-Canadian and U.S. bourgeoisie.

3. The end of the 50s was marked by great national-liberation movements in Asia, Latin America and eventually in Africa, where formerly colonially oppressed peoples, relying on support of the newly-formed socialist camp, won political independence and recognition by the United Nations. This had profound effects on the oppressed peoples even in the highly developed capitalist states.

The French-Canadian bourgeoisie was casting about for an alternative to the corrupt and reactionary Union Nationale regime. It fixed its choice on a refurbished leadership for the bourgeois Liberal Party. This new leadership brought into their ranks prominent petty-bourgeois fighters for social reform whose nationalism could also attract wide sections of the people away from the strident, but socially reactionary nationalism of the Union Nationale. Among those was René Lévesque, popular TV news commentator.

In the elections of 1960, the new Liberal team managed to swing a considerable section of the mass-democratic movements, including the working class, to its side and narrowly defeated the Union Nationale. Essentially this was due to a class alliance led by the French-Canadian bourgeoisie, and supported by the majority of the working class and a section of the farmers.

The defeat of the Union Nationale touched off a tremendous burst of energy and enthusiasm, not to speak of national pride, in fact, a national reawakening, which was quickly dubbed the 'Quiet Revolution.'

The French-Canadian bourgeoisie set itself two basic tasks in the modernization of state-monopoly capitalism in Québec — both directed at the same time to strengthening its participation in the ownership and control of the economy. The first was the nationalization of electric power — to make it possible to compete with the neighboring province, Ontario, providing cheap power in order to attract industry (Ontario, under a Conservative government, had taken this step in 1922, no small factor in the rapid industrialization of that province).

In order to achieve these two aims, it was necessary for the Liberal government to organize and rally much wider masses of the people, in the countryside as well as in the cities, against the most reactionary but well-entrenched sections of the traditional élite, in and out of the church. The Premier, Jean Lesage, called another provincial election in 1962 under the rousing slogan: 'Let's be Masters in Our Own House!' The result was a resounding victory.

Electricity was nationalized (with the help of a big loan from the New York bankers) and the educational system revamped, with the establishment of a provincial Ministry of Education, instead of leav-

ing the control of education exclusively to Catholic and Protestant, or more accurately non-Catholic, education authorities.

The streets of Québec and other cities, especially Montreal, were ringing with the sounds of marching feet and the roar of chanted slogans. The 'Quiet Revolution' was getting out of hand, was frightening not only potential foreign investors, but entrenched Anglo-Canadian monopolies. By 1964, the dominant Anglo-Canadian and U.S. finance capitalists had had more than enough. They demanded a 'purge' in the Liberal Party and in the Union Nationale of the petty-bourgeois nationalists. In the former, this was achieved with the virtual expulsion of René Lévesque. In the latter, the result was a crisis within the party which almost destroyed it.

By 1965, the founding convention of the Communist Party of Québec (an integral part of the Communist Party of Canada, having complete control of its policies and structures in Québec) warned that the 'Quiet Revolution had come to a grinding halt.'

Eventually the expulsion of René Lévesque, together with the crisis within the Union Nationale and other groups, led to the creation of the powerful petty-bourgeois, nationalist party, with social-reformist overtones, which is known as the Parti Québécois, and which is now (since November 15, 1976) the government of Québec.

But it was during the October crisis of 1970, the crisis during which the federal Liberal government, under Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, imposed martial law and sent the Canadian Army into Québec in order to stifle the movement for national self-determination, that the *organized working class* came onto the political scene, in a Common Front of the trade union centers to defend the national and democratic rights of the nation. This first Common Front attracted very wide support in Québec and eventually in English Canada as well, particularly among the working class, forcing the government to retreat.

From that date on, very large sections of the working class in Québec are not prepared to entrust their political destiny, nor the destiny of the nation, to the Parti Québécois. They understand very well that it is very dangerous to separate the struggle for the national and democratic rights of the French-Canadian nation from the class struggle of the working class, that the workers must participate in the struggle against national oppression from the standpoint of their class interests, from the standpoint of a democratic solution to the crisis of Canadian Confederation, from the standpoint of achieving a socialist society which will *guarantee* such a democratic solution.

The working class of Québec has been moved by the mass national-democratic movement in Québec as well as by the sharpening class struggle evidenced everywhere in Canada. This has given

added impetus to the search for an independent theory to guide it in the course of the ever wider, ever sharper mass democratic and class struggles. This explains also the pressing urge to unity of the working class and the national-democratic forces and the rapidly growing response to the policies as well as the theory of the Communist Party of Canada, and in Québec more particularly of the Communist Party of Québec.

It explains also why there is more and more aversion to the separatist option of the provincial Parti Québécois government, no matter how cunningly they disguise it in preparation for a referendum on this question, as well as their aversion to the status quo propositions of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, no matter how cunningly he makes it look like real change.

Today, the dilemma of the Parti Québécois government with regard to the aspirations of Quebeckers for self-determination is making headlines. Cabinet ministers, and even René Lévesque himself, feel obliged to be publicly evasive in the face of the dilemma. On the other hand, the irreconcilable independantist activists of the PQ have become jittery and are striving to force the government to refuse any 'association' with English Canada which would not be that of an independent state.

On the day after the election of November 15, 1976, the National Committee of the PCQ pointed to the contradiction between the main purposes of the PQ (the independence of Québec), on the one hand, and the aspirations and interests of Quebeckers, on the other, who did not see political independence as being a good way of realizing their aspirations for national self-determination and defending their interests.

First, the PQ proclaimed itself in favor of 'sovereignty-association,' in order to calm down those, particularly the workers, who sensed the serious economic dangers for them of economic separation from English Canada. But the irreconcilable separatists in the party had reservations about the abandonment of 'independantism.'

Lévesque's opportunism serves badly the interests of Quebeckers. He explained, in an irritated enough tone, that for the PQ sovereignty means independence — but that he prefers the word sovereignty. This definition (false moreover) of sovereignty has brought about a rapid fall in the popularity of the 'sovereignty-association' option in the Gallup polls.

In the face of the PQ government's impotence in meeting the economic crisis, and the growing rejection by Quebeckers of the PQ option for solving the constitutional crisis, its declarations and gestures more and more indicate a desire for compromise with the big

bourgeoisie of English Canada and the United States, while defending itself against attacks from petty-bourgeois nationalists, PQ 'independantists,' by repeating their 'basic' loyalty to 'sovereignty-association.'

But the referendum is coming, probably in 1979. There is a great danger that Quebeckers will be frustrated by this political game which obsesses the PQ, because they are unable to use the referendum to express their true choice for self-determination. It appears that we will be called to favor the PQ option. To vote against would be interpreted as a vote for the status quo or for Trudeau's superficial window-dressing of the Canadian constitution.

To vote for 'sovereignty-association' can be interpreted as a vote for political independence (with, or as a preliminary to, some economic association with the rest of Canada), and for this reason this option has little chance of passing.

But everybody now knows that the Québec people almost unanimously are ardently for self-determination, which means in political terms, for Québec's sovereignty and equality at all levels — political, economic, cultural, linguistic — with English Canada without *political separation*. The Québec people must have the chance to proclaim themselves for or against the elaboration (on an equal footing between Québec and English Canada) of a new Canadian constitution[3] which would declare Québec and English Canada as sovereign, which gives the two nations in Canada the right to self-determination up to and including the right of secession if the majority of either one or the other so desires, and the right to equality and the means to achieve it in a democratic Canadian republic.

To refuse to include such a question in the referendum means to reject the right to self-determination, to impose the option of the narrowly nationalistic petty bourgeoisie who are disdainful of the workers' interests, grovelling before the multinationals of U.S. imperialism, or the option of the big bourgeoisie which means continuing with the oppression of the French-Canadian nation in Québec.

History will not forgive the PQ government if it imposes its approach to the problem on our people, and so sets back the cause of national self-determination in order to please the chauvinists within our society or in English Canada.

The PQ, if it wants to keep its term 'sovereignty-association,' would have to drop the definition (a very inadequate one in any case) of 'political sovereignty and economic association' and frankly and openly present the content of a new Canadian constitution guaranteeing the sovereignty of Québec and English Canada in an equal, freely negotiated and agreed upon association. This would not make either the narrow nationalists of the PQ or the Anglo-Saxon chauvinists of

the big bourgeoisie happy. But from all evidence, that would be a worthy solution acceptable not only to the majority of Québec but even of English Canada, coming out of a victory for this option in a referendum in Québec.

If the PQ government will not, or cannot, support such an option, it should at least let Quebeckers express their opinion on it. The Communist Party of Québec, for its part, is ready to campaign for such a democratic solution and to unite with all who are ready to work for and fight for its realization.

In the particular circumstances of Canada, with U.S. imperialism not only controlling all our borders, but also our economic life, and to a large extent our foreign and defense policy, the option advanced by the Communist Party appears more and more as the most concrete, consistently democratic and just solution.

As the Program of the Communist Party of Canada, entitled *The Road to Socialism in Canada,* states, 'The Communist Party has put forward the proposal of a freely-negotiated new confederal pact between the two nations, a new Canadian Constitution, based on the voluntary, equal partnership of the two nations in a binational, sovereign and democratic state, as being the best sovereignty solution in the interests of the working people of both nations.

'Such a Constitution can achieve unity only if it recognizes that Canada is composed basically of two nations, each having the right to self-determination, to political sovereignty, up to and including the right to separate if the majority of one or the other nation so desires.'[4]

It is clear that the struggle for such a new relationship between the two nations of Canada is at one and the same time concrete and inseparable from the struggle for socialism, and that is its great power.

1. See *Pour l'autodétermination du Québec — plaidoyer marxiste,* Editions Nouvelles Frontières, Montreal, 1978, p. 83.

2. That year the Treaty of Paris was signed, which put an end to the Seven-Years War in Europe and a series of Anglo-French wars (which lasted more than a century) for colonial hegemony in the New World. The fate of the French colony New France was decided in the two last major battles (September 1759 and September 1760). — *Ed.*

3. The British North America Act, imposed by the colonialists on Canada in 1867, is still in force. Under this Act, the British crown has supreme power in the country. — *Ed.*

4. *The Road to Socialism in Canada,* Toronto, 1972, p. 21.

Scenario of capitulation

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The recent twists and turns of the situation in the Middle East are in many ways due to the evolution that commenced in Egypt with Sadat's assumption of power. The capitulatory accords with Israel were not unexpected. While mirroring the interests of the classes, for whom the present regime in Egypt speaks, they were the result of seven years' unremitting preparation aimed at securing the relevant changes in Egypt itself and in the Arab world and creating a situation favorable for an open and irrevocable defection to the camp of the counter-revolution.

Upon assuming the office of president Sadat adopted a stance on many issues that signified a departure from the patriotic policies of Nasser. His first year in power was marked by the drafting (in February 1971) of a bilateral phased settlement,[1] armed intervention against the Hashim al-Ata movement[2] in the Sudan, and a virulent propaganda campaign against the 'communist threat.' Sadat hastened to consolidate relations with Iranian and Arab reaction, chiefly with Saudi Arabia, in preparation for an active part in the attacks on the Arab and African national-liberation movements. A crucial step in this direction was the dismissal of some progressive personalities from the political leadership (May 1971).

The regime took steps to alter the class structure of various Egyptian institutions. After progressive patriotic elements were arrested, tried and deprived of political rights, elections were held to the leading bodies of the Arab Socialist Union and to the People's Assembly. This substantially enhanced the weight and influence of the rural bourgeoisie, numerically the largest class, which grew stronger with the intensification of capitalist exploitation and spread its activity to commerce, contractual work, and other fields. The merchant bourgeoisie, holders of real estate, and entrepreneur-contractors also won increasing influence. Progressive patriotic elements were weeded out in ideological and cultural institutions, press media, the public sector and the trade unions.

Alterations in the superstructure and the seizure by reactionaries of key posts in political, economic, and cultural institutions pursued the aim of fundamentally changing society's entire structure. The lifting of

sequesters on property that had not been nationalized and its return to its former owners became commonplace. The compensation paid to 'victimized' big landowners and other property-holders was increased considerably. Farmland owned by state agencies began to be sold. Private capital was given access to fields formerly closed to it: import, wholesale trade, mining, and so on. All this enlarged the economic basis of the big bourgeoisie as the mainstay of the regime and the force prodding it to renounce the progressive social achievements of the preceding period.

Legislative backing for socio-economic structural changes was given soon after Sadat came to power. These changes consisted of the following:

1. In September 1971 laws were promulgated to encourage foreign and Arab (non-Egyptian) investments. They granted privileges to investment companies and banks, commercial banks, and foreign and mixed insurance companies. All were exempted from control by the Central Bank and the fiscal authorities. They were given the right to use local currency for transactions in all fields of investment, including agriculture, transport, mining and real estate. They were exempted from income and profit taxes, customs duties, and payment of interest on loans. They were allowed to export profits and given other privileges. Later a law was passed on 'free trade zones' (for foreign capital), the stock exchange was re-opened, and the free use of foreign currency was restored. This led to a substantial rise of the value of our imports and a corresponding diminution of the value of our exports, thus signifying the plundering of the national wealth in the interests of foreign monopolies.

2. On the pretext of ensuring justice and equality, the Egyptian bourgeoisie received the same tax benefits as were granted to foreign investors. The action program adopted by the People's Assembly noted that the 'open door' policy in foreign trade should be accompanied by an analogous policy at home that would encourage private enterprise. Moreover, it was stressed that 'economic democracy requires limiting the sphere of state activity to the main enterprises, which function for the common weal and cannot be taken over by the private sector.' The restrictions on 'free' foreign and domestic trade were lifted. Private Egyptian capital substantially widened its activity, particularly in trade, the services industry and contractual work. Within a few years there were 50,000 import and export companies and bureaus, while the number of contractors, according to official statistics for 1976, topped 30,000.

3. The public sector was gradually undermined. Profitable state enterprises were denationalized. Multinational monopolies were permitted to invest in the cement, mining, textile and other industries.

Norms operating in the private sector were spread to those industries — general meetings of shareholders were introduced, workers were no longer allowed to participate in managerial councils, and the payment to them of the established share of profits were discontinued. In agriculture the cooperative sector was abolished through the dismantling of the Organization for Cooperative Development and the General Administration of Agricultural Cooperatives and their replacement by a 'farmers' bank.' The marketing cooperatives were also abolished, the 'free' market circulation of means of production was restored, and permission was given for the setting up of farm and livestock produce companies and also of land-improvement companies. The size of property was not limited, while owners were allowed to return to the metayage system in lieu of money rent. Tenants were driven off the land.

4. Major amendments were introduced in labor legislation. In 1971 it was decided to abolish trade union branches at factories employing less than 200 persons, i.e., at most factories in the private sector. Owners and managers of factories were given the right to transfer or dismiss factory or office workers without control. The ban on the 'collection of money for any person or organization, the circulation of leaflets, the collection of signatures, or participation in the organization of meetings without the permission of the agency defined by decision of the relevant company's managerial council' spelled out interference in trade union activity. Many repressive laws were passed that made participation in strikes a crime punishable by hard labor for life. The law on 'social peace' gave the chief prosecutor the power to reject nominations for municipal councils, cooperative associations, workers' trade union committees, and so on.

The 'open door' economic policy stimulated the growth of parasitical tendencies and an unbridled drive for quick speculative profit. This plague spread to the production sector as well, from which capital began to flow to more profitable fields.

So-called social mobility developed among the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (managers and technocrats). Its links and interests interlocked more closely with the merchant bourgeoisie, particularly those engaged in import and export operations and wholesale trade, and with entrepreneurs in contractual work and real estate speculators, i.e., with those groups of the 'business' bourgeoisie through which the main channels of 'cooperation' between foreign and local capital passed. The rapid growth of these groups is due to their greater mobility than that of entrepreneurs in the field of production, while their links with the authorities give them the necessary influence. Moreover, they enjoyed the support of imperialist and reactionary

forces in the Arab world, who regarded them as the principal assault force of the counter-revolution.

With the coming of Sadat to power the ruling coalition acquired the following make-up: agrarian, merchant, finance and industrial bourgeoisie, owners of real estate, owners of contractual and services companies, and the higher strata of the right-wing intellectuals and bureaucracy. The agrarian and bureaucratic bourgeoisie played the most conspicuous role at the beginning, but the bitter rivalry in the ruling coalition later brought into prominence the finance and merchant bourgeoisie, and also entrepreneurs of an undisguisedly parasitical trend in the sphere of contractual work and the services industry. In the course of these mutations the conditions ripened for an open alliance with imperialism and Zionism.

The changes in the socio-economic basis were accompanied by repressions against the mass democratic movement and progressive patriotic forces. Hundreds of people died, in particular when the authorities suppressed the workers' strikes in El-Mahalla el-Cubra and during the massive anti-government demonstration in January 1977. Thousands were imprisoned. Repressions with the most dangerous aftermaths were observed in the field of ideology, culture and information. Their purpose was to erode national patriotic consciousness, destroy genuinely national values and traditions, disseminate isolationist, chauvinistic and patriarchal views, kindle hatred for national-liberation movements and progressive forces, and whip up anti-communist hysteria.

Acting in accordance with a scenario worked out jointly with the U.S. imperialists, the Egyptian regime made skillful use of the hardships of the working masses, the decline of their living standards, the people's desire for peace, and the mistakes of some national forces in the Arab world, who were unable to suggest a convincing alternative to the deadlock in the Middle East crisis — they used all this to create in Egypt an atmosphere of passivity that would facilitate a capitulatory settlement of the Middle East crisis.

The mass actions in January 1977, which were the culminating point of the acute class struggle against the regime, were defeated on account of the clear-cut contradiction between the maturity of the objective conditions for the further unfolding of the popular movement and the absence of the subjective factor that might have utilized these conditions. The defeat of the January action enabled the ruling circles to accelerate the formation of an open alliance with the Zionist State of Israel. This step was taken in an atmosphere of passive acceptance but by no means the active support of the most backward strata of the population.

When the evolution of the socio-economic conditions that led the

Sadat regime to direct cooperation with imperialism and actual surrender to the Zionist rulers of Israel is analyzed, there can be only one assessment of the behavior of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Its main strata take dependence on the capitalist market and the multinational monopolies for granted. However, they do not wish to submit to Israeli political and economic domination and link themselves with Israeli capital.

This cannot be attributed entirely to psychological and ideological considerations or to the influence of anti-Zionist feelings. There also are economic factors linked with the vital interests of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, which is aware that while cooperation with the leading Western companies and monopolies gives it certain benefits, part of the local market and the surplus product, Israeli capital will pursue a much harder line, and not only relative to the division of the market, the profits and the national wealth. It will inevitably strive to close every avenue for the growth of Egyptian capital.

Egypt's economic potential and industrial base are relatively developed, and its bourgeoisie is quite mature and experienced. The Egyptian bureaucracy and technocracy have likewise accumulated considerable experience and influence. All this makes it difficult for Israel to establish its economic supremacy. Even with new 'peaceful' relations, the Zionist state and Israeli capital will have, in order to achieve this aim, to strike a 'crushing blow' at the Egyptian economy so as significantly to undermine and not simply subordinate it.

It is from this angle that one can explain the seemingly complex and contradictory phenomenon that while some segments of the Egyptian bourgeoisie have totally capitulated to imperialism and the multinational monopolies they continue to retain a certain 'patriotism' relative to relations with Israel. A considerable proportion of the bourgeoisie that unconditionally supports the course toward a bilateral settlement, is hostile to the Arab national-liberation movement, and agrees to political and military concessions to Israel, has stopped short at the points concerning economic issues. It is worried by the provisions on 'economic relations,' the 'termination of the boycott,' the 'lifting of restrictions on the free movement of goods,' and so on, the stage-managed reports on possible Israeli investments and joint projects, and Tel Aviv's insistence on a 'most-favored nation status' with privileges greater than those enjoyed by Arab and Western capital in Egypt.

The opposition to the settlement scenario has thus gone beyond the framework of progressive patriotic forces and spread to right-wing pro-Western conservative and bourgeois strata linked with imperialism and also to some circles within the regime itself. This has intensified the demoralization of the ruling coalition. In the People's Assem-

bly objections — chiefly on economic aspects — were articulated even by deputies from the governing National-Democratic Party. The opposition has been joined by Wafd elements, Moslem Brothers, independents, and trade unionists, and also by hard-line right-wingers who had been members of the Revolutionary Command Council, which led the revolution of 1952.[3] The mouthpiece of big business expressed the 'apprehension' that 'Jewish capital will move mainly into the sphere of imports and exports, banking operations, services, and so on' and 'flood the Egyptian market with Israeli goods, which will seriously prejudice Egypt's national industry.'[4]

This apprehension of the Egyptian bourgeoisie (as well as of reactionary circles and regimes in other Arab countries) has been intensified by the fact that the settlement — from their standpoint — has proved to be 'more Israeli than American' and that Washington 'took no steps' or was 'unable' to bridle Israel's expansionist ambitions. The hopes for American 'protection' against Israel's expansionist claims have not justified themselves, and this is compelling the Egyptian and other Arab bourgeoisie to oppose not only Israel's maximalist military-backed economic lust but also the onerous military terms of the agreement.

Further, the alliance with Zionism is coming into conflict with the national patriotic feeling of the masses. The provisions of the agreement concerning 'cultural exchange' and implying the dissemination of racist views and Zionist ideology, the propagation of the Israeli way of life and Zionist institutions, and the cultivation of hostility and hatred for Arabs and the Palestinian people cannot but humiliate the national dignity of Egyptians, especially of our intellectuals. In Egypt there already have been protests and actions against some of the practical steps in this direction, for instance, the alterations in curricula and unhindered infiltration by the Zionist press.

Despite negative developments due to the penetration of rightest views in the army, particularly the officer corps, and the growing striving of technical personnel to leave the army and pursue gain in the field of private enterprise, disaffection is growing in the armed forces with the shackling terms giving Israel military superiority over Egypt with all the attendant consequences. Moreover, resistance is mounting to the attempts to convert the army from a national institution into an instrument of imperialism, a weapon for the suppression of the Arab and African national-liberation movements.

The total and unqualified readiness of the authorities to grovel before the Zionist adversary has thus resulted in broadening opposition and mounting resistance to the planned settlement, resistance which is already now not confined to the social forces firmly holding patriotic positions. This circumstance can and should be used to

wreck the scenario orchestrated by imperialism and Zionism. For that reason the Egyptian Communist Party declares: 'The principal and immediate aim of our party today is the overthrow of the power of the parasitical bourgeoisie. To this end all the political forces opposed to the policy of apostasy and capitulation must be united. In this area our party has to pursue a flexible policy. In addition to a strategic alliance aiming to unite the working class, the poorest peasants, and the petty and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class, our party is intent on concluding a number of temporary and partial alliances and agreements on some tactical issues with all the forces entirely or partially opposed to the policy of the corrupt regime.

'These alliances may embrace some of the forces and elements strategically belonging to the enemy camp. All the objective conditions are on hand for creating a strategic front and concluding tactical alliances' (Report of the ECP Political Bureau, April 1978).

Although it is important to use the contradictions in the ruling coalition, we have no illusions, of course, about the constancy of possible opposition in it, particularly in view of the sharpening class struggle and the mounting battles for economic and democratic demands. The spread of this struggle will be facilitated by the fact that the Egyptian-Israeli agreement will remove the main 'justification,' namely, the verbiage about 'the coming battle . . ., the preparations for war . . ., military requirements,' which the reactionary regime uses as a cover whenever it is faced by the demands of the masses.

The Eyptian working class, which is the most developed and mature in the Arab world, is in the center of the present and future social battles. It has played a prominent part in the history of the liberation movement, and at some of its stages was able to undertake the role of leading force (1946). After the military defeat of 1967 the working-class action of June 9-10 propped up the shaken progressive regime and closed the road to capitulatory tendencies. In February 1968 the demonstration by workers of munitions factories in Helwan sparked a nationwide movement for democratic freedoms for the working masses, for the right to participate in the adoption of decisions, and in the implementation and control of the fulfillment of these decisions. The determination of the working class to win ideological, political and organizational independence, and play the leading role in society was subsequently demonstrated in various ways. With this are linked the prospects for a fundamental solution of the nation's long-standing and steadily aggravating problems which, time has shown, obviously cannot be resolved by the bourgeoisie.

1. On the withdrawal of Israeli forces for a distance of 25 kilometres from the Suez Canal. — *Ed.*

2. Major Hashim al-ata, leader of the military coup of July 19, 1971, that swept General Gaafar Nimeri from power. However, three days later troops loyal to Nimeri restored the situation and a reign of terror was instituted against everybody suspected of complicity in the July 19 movement. — *Ed.*

3. Abdel Latif al-Bagdadi, Zakaria Mohy el-Din, Hussein al-Shafii and Kamal el-Din Hussein.

4. *Al-Ahram al-Iqtisadi,* October 1, 1978.

Stop the repressions and persecution

Last year, following the publication of the Iraqi Communist Party's Central Committee report to the March 1978 plenary meeting, in which it assessed the situation in Iraq, the Baath Party launched a press campaign against our party. This was followed by repressions: more than 20 activists and friends of the ICP were executed. Communists, including party leaders, were persecuted, and the CPI's organizations and pressed were harassed.

Despite the unwarranted charges made against us, the scale of the persecutions, and the bitterness and anguish caused by the executions, our party publicly declared its firm adherence to the course it had charted at its Third Congress and the plenums of its Central Committee. This course is aimed at safeguarding the progressive process in Iraq and promoting cooperation between progressive national-patriotic forces, which is the main earnest of success for the Iraqi revolutionary movement and a major factor benefiting the situation in the Arab world. This is especially important, because imperialism, Zionism, and reaction are stepping up subversive activity, an example being the Camp David deal.

Despite the positive steps on our part and our attempts to explain our position to the Baath Party leadership, the savage repressions and persecution against the ICP (which still is a member of the Progressive National-Patriotic Front) and also against members of all democratic, patriotic and national trends continue. This is imperilling the gains of the revolutionary movement in Iraq and may play into the hands of the reactionaries.

Since May 1978 more than 10,000 persons have been arrested and subjected to physical and mental torture. They were held in prison from a few days to several weeks, while nothing is known to this day of the fate of scores of detainees. People are arrested for convictions, for being communists or independents, or for refusing to join the Baath Party. This arbitrary rule cannot be justified; it runs counter even to the undemocratic laws passed during the last three years.

Serious concern is caused also by the Baath Party's regular calls, through the official press, for a 'single ideology' binding on all the forces in the national front. This would end the ideological, organizational and political independence of other parties in the front, thus undercutting the latter's foundation and the principles formalized in its documents, notably the National Action Charter.

At their meeting in December 1978, the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries unanimously expressed their deep concern over the developments in Iraq and declared that the campaign against the ICP would greatly hamper the efforts to unite the Arab national and progressive forces. These parties highly assessed the ICP's struggle and declared their solidarity with it. Our party is given support also through the communist and other progressive mass media in many countries.

We are confident that the fraternal communist and workers' parties and progressive and democratic organizations the world over will upgrade the solidarity campaign, demanding an immediate end to the repressions against communists and their friends in Iraq.

Naziha Duleimi
Representative, Iraqi
Communist Party, on the
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