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Workers of all countries, unite!

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The CPSU's Leninist tradition: working for and with the people

Konstantin Chernenko
PB member, CC Secretary, CPSU

The building of socialism and communism is a process of historical creative effort by millions of people. It does not run spontaneously, but is guided by the party of the working class, its organized and theory equipped vanguard. In the light of precisely this Marxist-Leninist understanding of the interaction of the vanguard and the masses, an interaction which is law-governed, the CPSU has always attached primary importance to strengthening its ties with the people and invigorating their social creativity. The Soviet communists remember this behest of Lenin's: 'Live *in the midst*. Know *the moods*. Know *everything*. Understand the mass. Find the approach. Win its *absolute* trust.' This concise formulation, which is almost in the form of a summary, contains the principles of the tactics and strategy of the party's work among the masses, and the program for deepening its close, organic bond with the people.

This regularity is expressed most fully in a developed socialist society. The accumulated experience attracts growing scientific and practical interest. Here, I shall deal only with some important aspects and essential features of the CPSU's experience.

1

The period of developed socialism witnesses, on the one hand, a steady growth of the initiative of the masses, of their social and political activity, and involvement in managing the affairs both of the labor collective and the state; on the other hand, this period is marked by the enhancement of the party's leading role and its guiding and organizational work.

A number of factors provide the objective basis for the development of mass creativity. These are the new scale and complexity of the economy, the rapid development of the social and cultural spheres in a multiplicity of forms, and this inexorably requires, together with improved centralized administration, ever greater initiatives by all the working people in the localities and the production collectives. Fur-

ther, these factors are the achievements in raising the Soviet people's level of education and culture, which have immeasurably boosted the people's creative potential. These are also the results of the sustained and conscious promotion among our people of a sense of being masters of their own country.

Generally speaking, at the stage of developed socialism we observe the results of the long-term operation of economic, social, and political factors which have fundamentally remade the character of society in which the working man holds a qualitatively different status than under capitalism. In this context it would be germane to recall a document prepared by Lenin 60 years ago, in June 1919, namely the *Statute of the Council of People's Commissars on Inventions*, which at first sight appears to deal with a specific question, but which reflects the new incentives for creative efforts produced by the socialist system. The *Statute* established the principle that every invention belongs to the socialist republic and is turned over for general use by all its citizens and establishments. This fully applies to any form of creative activity. The awareness that the fruits of human labor are not used by a private entrepreneur for his own enrichment but belong to and benefit and the whole people continues, as it has always done, to inspire Soviet people.

The party, Leonid Brezhnev said at a meeting with his constituents in the Baumansky Electoral District of Moscow on March 2, 1979, wants every Soviet citizen to have a sense of involvement in the affairs of the state, a sense of confidence that his opinion, his voice will be heard and taken into account in the formulation of decisions, big and small.

Mass creativity is expressed in production innovations, like the broadly supported initiative of the workers of the Likhachov Automobile Works in Moscow to speed up the application of scientific and technological achievements in production. (By way of comparison, let us recall how bitterly workers in many countries have to fight capitalist forms of rationalization, which deprive working people of jobs and wages.) Mass creativity is expressed in the large number of concrete suggestions for imrpoving economic management, the cultural and social spheres, the work of state and other establishments, our legislation and so on. Take any issue of a Soviet newspaper, and you will see this clearly, for our press provides much space for such suggestions.

The new Constitution of the USSR is the most striking expression and fruit of truly nationwide creativity: 140 million people, or over 80 per cent of the country's adult population, took part in discussing and perfecting its draft. Finally, elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR provide striking evidence of the people's high level of social

and political activity: 99.99 per cent of the voters went to the polls, and of them 99.9 per cent voted for the candidates of the bloc of communists and non-party people. This was another powerful demonstration of the party's close unity with the people.

The forms in which state, social, and political life in the country is organized, evolved since the establishment of the socialist system, well serve to develop mass initiatives. The Soviets of People's Deputies are the political basis of our society. What is the power of the Soviets today in real terms, when considered from the standpoint of opportunities for mass participation in running the affairs of the country and in deciding on its present and future?

In the Soviet Union, there are 50,600 Soviets of People's Deputies, constituting a multi-tiered edifice topped by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the highest organ of state power, which enacts laws, considers and approves state plans for economic and social development and the USSR State Budget, and takes all the important foreign-policy decisions. The USSR Supreme Soviet consists of 1,500 deputies, more than one-half of whom are industrial workers and collective farmers. Altogether, the Soviets have more than 2.2 million deputies elected by direct and secret ballot by citizens who have reached the age of 18. The Soviet electoral system sets no property, social, religious, national, racial, or any other qualifications. The local Soviets not only decide on all matters of local importance but, within the powers vested in them, control the work of all the organizations on their territory (an arrangement, let me add, for which local organs of power led by the communists are perseveringly fighting in many capitalist countries, and which turns out to be unfeasible under the domination of private property). Alongside the deputies to the Soviets, there are over 30 million social activists, and this means the involvement of one in five or six adults nationwide.

The Soviets, the main organs of administration in the country, are set up by the people, consist of representatives of the people, are accountable to and subject to control by the people, which means that they are organs of popular power in every respect and in the full sense of the word.

The party has been working to reinforce in the style of work of the Soviets an attitude of intolerance of slackness, mismanagement, breaches of legality, suppression of criticism, formalism and bureaucratic practices. Moreover, in the work of the Soviets growing significance is attached to publicity and attention to the needs and opinions of citizens, and direct and concerned contacts with the masses.

Public organizations are an inalienable part of the Soviet political system. Their number is growing, and their powers are being extended in accordance with the party's lines of consistently developing

public voluntary participation in the administration of all spheres of the country's life. Let us consider, from this standpoint, our trade unions, which now have 125 million members. They directly promote the exercise of democracy in production, the main sphere in which human energy is applied, the sphere which workers in the capitalist countries are least able to influence. The trade unions represent industrial and office workers in all state organs. Factory and office trade union committees take part in framing plans for the social-economic development of their collectives and in drafting production plans. No industrial or office workers can be discharged without their consent. They have the right bo request organizations concerned to dismiss or punish executives who do not fulfill their commitments to workers, who engage in bureaucratic practices, or break labor legislation. Standing production conferences, elected at workers' meetings and now involving over 5.5 million industrial and office workers, are another powerful means by which the people influence the development of production and ensure safety on the shop floor.

Some state functions have now been turned over to the trade unions, notably the management of social insurance and control over the observance of the rights of the working people as defined by the Constitution and the law. They deal with many aspects of everyday and cultural services for industrial and office workers. They run health and holiday homes, spa facilities, polyclinics and disease-prevention centers, clubs, palaces of culture and libraries, and publish newspapers, magazines and books.

Youth, women's and other mass organizations, and also public control organs, to which over 9.7 million men and women are elected, play an important part in Soviet society. Labor collectives, whose powers have been markedly extended in the recent period, have a growing influence on social processes. These and many other realities show irrefutably that our country has a mature and well-developed system of people's power.

Nevertheless, some people in the West pretend that the forms in which economic, social and political life in Soviet Society is organized today to not allow the masses amy free expression of their interests or participation in management and political work. They claim that the role of our state is much too big, so that the individual is allegedly 'forgotten.' 'Our critics in the bourgeois camp (and frankly speaking, some comrades in the international working-class movement together with them),' Leonid Brezhnev said, 'do not see or refuse to see the main thing, the dialectics of our state and social development. It is that, as the socialist state develops and improves, millions of citizens participate ever more actively in the work of the organs of power, public control, the management of production and distribution, social

and cultural policies, and the administration of justice. In short, with the development of socialist democracy our state system gradually evolves into communist self-administration. Of course, this is a long process, but it is steadily advancing.'

The party is consistently pursuing a policy of further perfecting our society's economic, social, and political system, and unfolding socialist democracy.

According to the new Constitution of the USSR, the CPSU is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, and the core of its political system, of all the state and public organizations, and it does much to improve economic and socio-political relations so as to give greater scope and provide fresh incentives for the creative activity of the masses. But the enemies of socialism seek to prove the opposite, namely, that the CPSU's leading role is the obstacle to the growth of socialist democracy and mass initiative, that the party suppresses the activity of the masses in the Soviets and public organizations and substitutes for these organizations. Leonid Brezhnev noted that following the adoption of the new Constitution bourgeois commentators have been making loud noises about a 'proclamation of the Communist Party's dictatorship,' about some 'obliteration of distinctions between the party and the state,' and so on. He added: 'Trying to separate the party from the people, and talking about a "dictatorship of the party" amounts to trying to separate, say, the heart from the rest of the human body.'

The truth about existing socialism is steadily getting through to broad masses of people in every country of the world, eroding the barriers erected in its way.

The growth of the party's leading role in the period of mature socialism does not conflict with the development of mass initiative but is, in fact, closely connected with it in many ways. Initiative by all the working people in the localities and labor collectives is stimulated by the party and directed into a single channel, toward a single goal, and this yields the maximum benefits for society and every individual. All of this is increasingly necessary, as the tasks being tackled by the Soviet people in building communism grow ever more sophisticated. While exercising its leading role in practice, the CPSU by no means substitutes for the Soviets and public organizations. The clear-cut demarcation of functions between party and state organs is a principle written into the CPSU Rules and the new Constitution of the USSR. Acting in accordance with the Constitution, the party provides *political guidance* to state and public organizations, putting forward major intiatives, defining the main lines of domestic and foreign policy, and showing the masses the advantages of concerted effort along these main lines. The party's policy and decisions are the reference points

which make it possible to maintain the overall correct line and avoid bias in favor of deparmental or local interests. Occasional departures from these principles in local organizations do not change the overall picture, especially since they are criticized and corrected by the party itself.

2

It is no simple matter to become the political leader of the masses. A vanguard, leading role in society cannot be established by decree, but has to be won by concrete actions and accepted by the masses. If the party gives correct expression to what the people think, if the masses realize for themselves that the communists' policy meets their interests and aspirations, the party's cause becomes the cherished cause of the whole people. The CPSU has become the acknowledged and prestigious leader in society because it has proved in practice its ability to give scientific expression and consistently to realize the vital and everyday interests of the masses.

In our day, this also has its specific features. On the one hand, in the society of developed socialism, where all the classes and sections of the population are ever more obviously drawing closer together, and where the Soviet people has taken shape as a new historical entity, there is also a drawing togther of the interests of all the people. But, on the other hand, the life and requirements of society are becoming every more diverse and vigorous, while the interests and requirements of the people develop and acquire many new facets in virtue of the country's growing economic and social achievements. That is why the party constantly gives the closest attention to acquiring an ever deeper knowledge of the people's interests and the impact of various material and spiritual factors on intricate social processes.

The CPSU is handling this task with success first of all because it admits to membership the finest people from all the sections of the population. It now has 16,630,000 members, of whom 42 per cent are factory workers, 13.6 per cent collective farmers, and 44.4 per cent engineers, technicians and specialists in agriculture, scientists, workers in education, public health, literature and the art. Only 8.5 per cent of the communists are in organs of administration. We find, therefore, that the CPSU is a ruling party, but not a 'party of rulers,' as its ideological adversaries claim. It is a party of the working class, a party of the working people, the Soviet people's party.

The composition of CPSU congresses, which work out the main policy lines, reflects the party's social composition. Central Committee plenary meetings are attended, in their capacity as members, not only by party and government leaders, by those who head republican, territorial, and regional party organizations, Union ministries and

departments, but also by industrial workers and collective farmers, engineers, technicians, scientists, workers in culture and members of the army and navy. The same applies to the social make-up of the CPSU's regional, city and district committees. Members of elective party organs representing the various labor collectives invest the party's activity with the ideas and feelings of their work mates. They combine representation of the interests of concrete collectives with an understanding of state problems. This makes it possible better and more precisely to sum up the specific requirements and needs of the various classes and sections of the population, occupational and age groups, and all the nationalities, and to find optimal solutions even when the diversity of interests tends to create some problems. This allows charting a common line, which millions of people accept as their own and by which they are guided in their creative work. Leonid Brezhnev said: 'We do not and cannot have another political force capable of taking into account, harmonizing and coordinating the interests and requirements of all the classes and social groups, of all the big and small nations, of all the generations of our society so fully and consistently as the Communist Party has been doing.'

All the democratic institutions of state and society also help to gain a deeper knowledge of the people's interests. We now have a system of organized study of social phenomena, of public opinion in various sections of the population. Our party considers this to be one of the key aspects of the effort to consolidate its ties with the masses.

When formulating its political line, the CPSU can rely on the available economic studies of the people's requirements, on sociological data, on the reports of statistical agencies and evaluations of scientific institutions. This provides dependable information about a wide range of human problems, the problems with which men and women are currently concerned, about the kind of changes they expect in the economic and social spheres, and how they respond to the various party decisions.

Together with the use of data and conclusions submitted by scientific institutions, the CPSU has its own well-tried instruments of cognition. What are they? First of all, there are the direct contacts with the masses, for which there is no substitute, because they entail open and frank discussion of important matters, mutual information of party leaders and the people, and the ascertaining of the actual state of affairs in the process of discussion.

In his works, *Little Land, Rebirth* and *The Virgin Lands,* Leonid Brezhnev insists on the need and inestimable value of every party leader having constant contact with many people. He remarks, in particular, that when information is 'ferried' from one level to another, it may be distorted, while the edge of vital issues has a

tendency to be dulled. Direct contact with people helps to avoid mistakes in assessing actual phenomena and the people's opinion of them, and makes it possible to hear both criticism and concrete proposals on how to improve things. Such contact constantly helps to see, beyond the technical, technological and economic problems, the living people with their thoughts, with their production and everyday cares.

Here, our General Secretary is setting an inspiring example. Despite his extremely tight schedule, Leonid Brezhnev regularly goes to industrial enterprises and collective state farms, meets and talks with a great many people, and pays close attention to the people's needs. In 1978 alone, he travelled to Siberia, the Soviet Far East, Minsk and Baku. He visited six large plants, met builders of the Baikal-Amur Railway and inspected military units, accomplishing tremendous and very fruitful work, which was given a high assessment by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. The information obtained during these tours and the conclusions drawn from it provided the basis for a number of decisions taken by the Political Bureau, and were embodied in concrete instructions and recommendations to party organs and economic agencies.

Considerable political and practical importance attaches to tours of the country by members and alternate members of the Political Bureau and CC Secretaries, their speeches and personal meetings with people. Only in 1978, leaders of the CPSU Central Committee toured more than 30 regions and territories and many Republics. In February and March 1979, on the eve of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, all the party leaders not only addressed meetings of their constituents as candidates for deputies to the Soviet, but also visited enterprises and talked to the people in the Republics, territories or regions where they stood as candidates.

Local organizations also have considerable experience of using the most diverse forms of contacts between party leaders and the masses.

Letters from the people to party organs are among the best sources of information about their interests, requirements and opinions. The number of letters has grown from year to year. For example, nearly 2 million letters were received by the Central Committee between the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU. In 1978 alone, we received over 700,000 letters. About 2 million letters were received that year by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and by the territorial, regional and other party committees. The CPSU and its Central Committee have always regarded work with letters and requests from the people as a matter of great political importance.

That is not only because these letters are a source of information,

an indication of the people's frame of mind, documents testifying to their needs and requirements. In our country such letters have become one of the key forms of the people's participation in discussing and solving major state and social problems, and in effect, a form of citizens' participation in running the country.

In view of all these circumstances, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee show an abiding interest in the proposals, desires and critical remarks contained in these letters and act upon them. Many suggestions are used in preparing the most important party and state decisions, the most valuable advice and ideas are considered promptly and taken into account in our day-to-day practical work. The people's opinions and suggestions are reflected, for instance, in the CPSU Central Committee's decisions on environmental protection, improvement of the operation of railways, and some questions of ideological and politico-educational work; suggestions made in such letters were taken into account in the decisions taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on maximum pensions and additional benefits for persons receiving special pensions, and on improving material security and medical services for veterans of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Civil War.

The laws, decrees and decisions adopted on the initiative of our citizens — whether CPSU members or non-party people — are also implemented with the active participation and under the control of the people themselves. This epitomizes the idea of genuine people's power, the principles of socialist democracy, of the state of the whole people. That is how the party regards this phenomenon, giving every encouragement to mass participation in deciding state and social affairs.

The procedure by which letters from the people are processed at the CPSU Central Committee largely determines the level of organization in this matter in the party and Soviet government organs, economic agencies and public bodies. More and more often, the questions raised in letters from working people are discussed at plenary meetings of party committees. In 1977 and 1978, such questions were considered by 29 plenary meetings of territorial and regional committees. It is now an established practice to discuss the problems raised in letters from citizens at meetings of party committee bureaus and secretariats.

Many other ways of directly studying the interests, requirements and opinions of the people are broadly practised in the party organizations. One important way is reception of citizens by party committees of all levels. Party organs receive considerable information from analyses of the national, local, and factory press, and the questions

posed at meetings, lectures, etc. Open party meetings, which are addressed not only by communists but also by non-party people, are of tremendous importance, for there the party organization's immediate response takes the form of concrete decisions on the signals coming from the working people.

Guarantees against the suppression of criticism are indispensable for a frank expression of opinion on policies, production, culture, and the work of individual leaders; this is, in other words, the necessary condition for obtaining truly objective information.

'Every citizen of the USSR,' says Article 49 of our Constitution, 'shall have the right to submit proposals to state bodies and social organizations for improving their activity, and to criticize shortcomings in their work.

'Persons in office shall have the duty to examine, within established time-limits, citizens' proposals and requests, to reply to them and to take the necessary measures.

'Victimization for criticism shall be prohibited. Persons who engage in victimization for criticism shall be called to account.'

We thus have a constitutional guarantee of freedom of criticism, with state agencies displaying concern for the observance of legality. Party organizations pay special attention to ensure that criticism and self-criticism are encouraged, that the people know their rights, and that they are protected against any possible victimization. The party strictly calls to account any of its members who take the wrong attitude to criticism.

The CPSU Central Committee is comprehensively studying the question of an organizational improvement of the whole system of research into public opinion and the interests, requirements and attitudes among the various sections of the population. A Letters Department, and a Public Opinion Analysis, Sociological Studies and Projects Group were recently set up at the CPSU Central Committee, and in the light of this task they have been assigned important duties. The party continues to do everything, as Lenin urged it to do, to have a knowledge of the mood among the masses, to understand them, and give correct expression to what they have on their minds.

3

The exercise of political leadership and the methods of party work are of fundamental importance in the sense that the CPSU, being the leading and guiding force of society, and of all the state and social organizations, has the task of setting an example of how one should work for the people and together with the people. Consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism, extension of democratic principles in the party's own life, the collegial approach in the

work of all its organizations, greater initiatives and activity by broad masses of communists in formulating and implementing policies in practice, together with constant contact with non-party people and publicity of party activity, all these are necessary and important elements in the work of any party organ.

However, democracy does not exclude but implies thorough elaboration of problems, avoidance of voluntarism, and well-considered approaches and acts. The party has always derived strength from its theoretical armory, from its knowledge of the objective laws of social development, from its ability to show the masses the way to a better future. There is no need to argue that under the scientific and technical revolution, as all the ties and interrelations in society are consolidated and social processes frequently run a rapid and intricate course along many planes, it is impossible to find the correct solution for any major problem in economic and social development without scrupulous scientific substantiation and the involvement of scientists and specialists from various fields of knowledge.

Combination and consideration of these principles frequently add up to a definite problem, but unless it is solved, it is impossible to advance, which is why it is constantly being tackled in practice. Party organs have adopted the rule that the consideration of all important economic, social and cultural problems is prepared by specialists, and that the draft is discussed with the participation of the largest possible number of people. Let me illustrate this by showing how the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee organized the preparation and holding of the July 1978 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which considered the further development of agriculture.

Preparations for the plenary meeting began a few months before it opened. By a decision of the Political Bureau, a commission was set up to formulate in concrete terms the major, most fundamental problems in agriculture. This work involved a large group of Central Committee members, party activists, and executives at the center and in the localities. Scientists, specialists and people working in production helped to prepare the material for the plenary meeting. The commission's drafts were first considered at meetings of the Political Bureau, not all at once, but problem by problem, meticulously and in depth. After this, the drafts of all 12 decisions were put before the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee for its consideration. All the participants were given a set of the drafts in advance. This enabled them to make a detailed study of all the documents to be considered, and to take part in discussing them knowledgeably. This method of preparing and holding a CC Plenary Meeting made it possible to take truly scientifically grounded decisions, which rested

on the opinions of specialists and practitioners. That is why they were well received among those working in agriculture, and are yielding results.

Such methods of work are characteristic of the whole activity of the Political Bureau. This is a collective democratic organ, which is constantly in contact with many party activists and executives, specialists in every field of science, production, and culture, and representatives of local organizations. In 1978, the Political Bureau met to discuss major intricate questions relating to virtually every aspect of life of the party and the country, of our domestic and foreign policy. Scientists and economic specialists were invited to attend many of these meetings, took a most active part in the discussion and submitted their recommendations.

Here is a concrete example. On Leonid Brezhnev's initiative, we considered measures to improve the supply of oil products to the economy. After the discussion, thorough elaboration of the problem was continued with the involvement of a large number of activists. As a result, decisions were taken on the party and government level on the following major questions: the fuel and energy complex of the USSR; development of the oil and gas resources on the continental shelf of the USSR; steps to enhance efficiency in the coal industry; and additional measures to provide the economy with fuel in the autumn and winter period. This helped not only to secure positive changes in these matters at the present time, but will undoubtedly also help to secure tangible results in the future.

The Political Bureau gives great attention to the Soviet people's well-being. In 1978 alone, it considered, among others, questions like an increase in pensions for collective farmers and veterans of the Great Patriotic War, and further improvements in the material and everyday conditions for some categories of the population. Here again, the working people's opinions were quite naturally also studied, and economists, sociologists and members of the Veterans Committee and others stated their views. The Political Bureau's conclusions, drawn on that basis, were reflected in the concrete measures taken by party and state organs.

The Political Bureau constantly has international issues within its field of vision. Such matters are discussed at virtually every one of its meetings.

The party seeks to keep the people informed of the work of its organizations and committees at every level. We believe that publicity is a key element of our interaction with the masses. 'The party,' Leonid Brezhnev said, 'has no secrets from the people. It is vitally concerned that all the Soviet people should have a knowledge and their own judgment of its acts and plans.'

The CPSU Central Committee informs the people of the work of its plenary meetings and the documents they adopt. The decisions taken by the Central Committee's Political Bureau and Secretariat are being ever more widely and promptly publicized in the media. Even what might appear to be purely internal business, like reporting-and-election meetings in party organizations, is also systematically publicized in the press, and on radio and television. In this way, the reports which party committees give their members in effect become reports to all the people.

The CPSU Central Committee constantly keeps in touch with information and propaganda work. At the November 1978 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev spoke in detail about the need to improve this work. The party takes steps to purge political information and ideological work of all elements of formalism, dogmatism and clichés; to have those who are entrusted with this highly important sector well-trained and unafraid of sharp questions and discussions; to have our lecturers and other public speakers seek to establish true and sincere contacts with their audiences; to have our media act as intelligent and authoritative 'conversation companions' for their readers, with a knowledge of what is going on the minds of men and women, keeping in step with the rapid flow of events, and reflecting, together with their readers, on any events with a knowledge of what they are saying.

The party believes that no question should remain unanswered, that no difficulty, even if it is transient, should be left unexplained. Any question left unanswered, any negative phenomenon in our life not diagnosed from the party's angle, creates soil for rumors and speculation, enabling our ideological adversaries to advance their own version and engage in misinformation. At the same time, difficulties and shortcomings affect all of us, and the Soviet people must know about them, and also how to overcome them. The task is to make every form of our information, propaganda and agitation more meaningful, convincing and understandable. The party provides Soviet citizens with the fullest possible information, and this helps to consolidate the communist ideology. The CPSU insistently calls for improvement and invigoration of the work of the party's organizations, the Soviets, the trade unions, and the Young Communist League, for helping everyone to develop a high level of commitment, an active stand in life, a communist attitude to work and lofty moral principles.

Thanks to this constant reciprocal dialectical connection between the party and the people, the CPSU's policy embodies the experience and wisdom of the whole people. It is, in effect, the common accumulated experience of all the communists and non-party people, the

result of what springs from the experience of millions. It is this experience that is translated into the language of policies, which fully meet the interests of the whole people, service of whom the CPSU regards as the purpose of its activity.

Since the establishment of the Soviet state, our people's high level of consciousness, creative initiative, and enthusiasm, which are the product of the tremendous ideological, educational and organizational work of the CPSU and its Central Committee, have become a constantly operating and ever more effective factor of social progress. They are a powerful instrument for influencing the country's economic and whole socio-political life, and its moral atmosphere, and improving social relations. 'Living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves,' Lenin said, and these prophetic words are eloquently epitomized in our country.

The main condition for social transformations

Franz Muhri
Chairman, CP Austria

Durable unity of action by the working class in militant political struggles and a broad alliance of all democratic and anti-monopoly forces are the cardinal conditions for profound social transformations that would limit and then topple monopoly capitalist rule and pave the way to the transition to socialism. The experience of our party, as of the entire international communist movement, bears out the universally significant conclusion that only where such unity exists can the working class fulfill its historic mission of building a socialist society.

The Document of the 1969 Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties justifiiably notes: 'Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favor of cooperation with the socialists and social democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this cooperation. Communists are likewise in favor of cooperation with other democratic parties and organizations interested in the renewal of society.[1]

We continue the exchange of views on the anti-monopoly class alliances of the proletariat started with M.G. Knutsen's article 'A strategy tested by the October Revolution' in *WMR*, November 1978, p. 4.

However, since the conditions for the struggle for unity of action are dissimilar in different countries at different stages of historical development, universally significant conclusions, including this one, should be applied creatively in keeping with the national specifics of one country or another. Consequently, working-class unity of action, as its alliances with anti-monopoly forces, should everywhere assume specific national forms.

From the standpoint of the prospects for working-class unity, the paramount specific of the situation in Austria with its developed state-monopoly capitalism is that strong positions are held by the social democrats, who exercise a fairly substantial influence over the working class. The contradiction is, therefore, that although its social composition makes it a workers' party, the Socialist Party of Austria is, if one is to judge from the policy of its leadership, a mainstay of the state-monopoly system. This assessment is borne out by the following facts:

— A considerable body in the CPA leadership, with their incomes running into millions, belong to the privileged segment of society. they hold key positions in the state apparatus, the administration of provinces and municipalities, the management of nationalized industry, banking, insurance companies and consumers' cooperatives. In short, the CPA leaders have made common cause with the system of state-monopoly capitalism. With the levers of power in their hands, they perform the role of its dependable prop and executive organ. What we have here is a much more developed form of using social-democracy to preserve capitalism than in the days of the 'artistocracy of labor' described and analyzed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

— Today the SPA has an absolute majority in parliament and for the first time in our country's history a social-democratic government has been in power for nine years in succession. Its economic policy is helping to maintain society's capitalist structure. The socialists want technocratic reforms to make capitalism 'more effective.' The diverse forms of state intervention in the economy serve chiefly the interests of a tiny minority that seeks ever larger profits. Capital receives tax benefits while taxation of the mass grows uninterruptedly. The government encourages the penetration of the Austrian economy by foreign monopoly capital, and already now every third major enterprise is foreign-owned. The fairly large public sector has been integrated entirely with and is subordinate to the capitalist system.

— In Austria 'social partnership' is a specific form of ensuring domination by state-monopoly capital. The trade union élite, influenced by the social democrats, cooperates closely in various organs and commissions with the leadership of associations of entrepre-

neurs and with the government. These small bodies pass important decisions. As is noted in the *Political and Ideological Principles of the CPA*, 'the substance of the SPA's "social partnership" policy is that all major decisions are passed by an extremely small circle — the élite of the party leadership, entrepreneurs, the trade unions, and the government, with the result that even the formal rights of legislative organs, including parliament, are emasculated and ignored.'[2] As a consequence, inner-trade union democracy is curtailed. 'Social partnership' spells out the non-involvement of the working class and the trade unions in, among other things, the enforcement of reforms. The 'social partnership' system functions regardless of the parliamentary majority at any given time or of the composition of the government.

— The maintenance of state-monopoly capitalist rule behind the screen of 'social partnership' has been facilitated by, among other things, a series of socio-political democratic reforms, which in the 1950s-1960s made it possible, on account of the long economic boom and the relatively high rates of economic growth, to secure a considerable rise of the people's living standard alongside the growth of capitalist profits. No class battles were needed to secure reforms because the Austrian bourgeoisis was weaker than the bourgeoisie of other countries and had to make concessions. For its part, the social-democratic leadership used reforms to appease the working class and hold it back from fighting for a socialist society.

— Lastly, the preservation of the capitalist system is facilitated by the anti-communism of the social-democratic leaders. Through them anti-communist feeling is spread among the working people much more effectively than through the bourgeois parties. The principal allegation of anti-communism, namely that the communists are 'enemies of democracy and freedom' and that the countries of existing socialism are ruled by a 'dictatorship of a minority,' is used to erect a wall between the socialists and the communists, prevent unity of action by them,and discourage the working class from the struggle for socialism. Anti-communist propaganda is acompanied by an embellishment of Austrian capitalism and world imperialism.

Taking all this into account, we feel that in order to achieve unity of action by the working class, with cooperation between socialists and communists as the core of this unity, it is important for people everywhere to be made to realize that the communists are the most determined champions of democracy, freedom and national independence, that they are consistent internationalists. Also, it is vital to spread the truth about the great achievements and immense international significance of existing socialism.

At its 23rd Congress in December 1977 our party reaffirmed that the

anti-communist stance of the right-wing social-democratic leaders and their flat refusal to cooperate with the communists will not make us abandon our persevering efforts in favor of joint actions with our class comrades in the Socialist Party. Our experience proves that criticism of the right-wing SPA leaders' opportunism is no obstacle to unity of action with socialist workers, but to achieve that unity there must be positive slogans and demands appreciated by the workers, by all the working people.

The conditions for CPA-SPA cooperation at leadership level have still to mature. However, at factories, offices, in municipalities and at institutions of higher learning the communists are in many cases able to act jointly with the socialists, especially on issues such as fighting for job opportunities, opposing the negative effects of capitalist rationalization, demanding a just tax reform and pressing for effective measures against neo-fascism. The communists and socialists act jointly in campaigns for anti-fascist and anti-imperialist solidarity, striking instances being the campaign of solidarity with the Chilean people and the struggle for disarmament and peace.

A feature of the situation in our country is that the contradictions and crisis phenomena in the economy and other spheres of the capitalist system persist and often grow acute. This hamstrings the champions of a policy of reforms. Big capital goes to all lengths to shift the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the working people. Hard facts are refuting the illusions, sustained for decades, that capitalism has changed 'for the better.'

The specifics of the situation taking shape in Austria are mirrored in the new program adopted by the SPA at its extraordinary congress a year ago. This document is full of contradictions. On the one hand, it reflects the SPA's further tilt to the right, as shown if only be the fact that it has dropped its former program demand for the socialization of the basic means of production. On the other hand, the capitalist system is criticized in many sections of the document.

The new SPA program contains some proper demands, for instance, the abolition of exploitation, the establishment of 'democratic control of multinational corporations,' the equality of women, and 'tax reforms increasing the purchasing power of persons with low and medium incomes.' It calls for a 'struggle against sprouts of fascism' and support 'for all initiatives toward disarmament and the prohibition of means of mass destruction threatening mankind's existence.' However, the Austrian communists feel thay have to place it on record that in many areas of life there is a wide gulf between the words and actions of the SPA right-wing leaders and that the policies practised by them come into conflict with the SPA program. At the same time, it is important to accentuate the warranted provisions in

the SPA program and work for joint action to put them into effect.

An SPA program aim is to build 'democratic socialism,' which, they say, will differ fundamentally from the notions of the communists of capitalist countries about socialism and from existing socialism, on the one hand, and from the modern capitalist system, on the other. They claim that the way to this aim lies through 'society's continuous democratization.' But the facts are that during the nine years the social democrats have been in power in Austria this 'third way' has not brought socialism an inch nearer. Everything has boiled down to an attempt to camouflage a policy of preserving the capitalist social system in its bourgeois-democratic form. As Marxism-Leninism has established, there is only one way to socialism, and it lies through the transition of state power to the working class and the socialization of the basic means of production as the condition for abolishing exploitation of man by man.

At its plenum in December 1978 the CPA Central Committee noted that a new phase of political development had commenced in Austria. Until recently the ruling circles have been able to use the convulsions generated by the economic crisis to pressure the working class. Fear of unemployment has almost completely paralyzed the protest movement at the factories. Although this fear remains decisive in the nation's political situation, there is growing evidence that a segment of the working people, particularly young people, is refusing to reconcile itself with the growing burdens and the anti-democratic policies. The first signs have appeared of resistance to capitalist rationalization put into effect at the expense of blue- and white-collar workers, and more actions are being taken in defense of tenants' rights, in support of concrete demands for effective environmental protection, and on other issues.

Following the outbreak of the economic crisis in 1975 the SPA had been polling a growing number of votes at almost all elections. However, last autumn there was a decline in the number of votes cast for the socialists. For the first time in many years tens of thousands of SPA members and supporters, including young people have turned a deaf ear to its appeals.

Today doubts about the correctness of the 'social partnership' policy are articulated also among SPA trade unionists. Many people are criticizing the SPA leadership with the arguments that we communists have been using for many years (they are demanding what we have long been calling for). There is every reason to believe that on the basis of their own experience many socialists are coming around to appreciating our judgments and conclusions.

The new processes developing in the SPA and noted by the CPS Central Committee plenum spring from the inexorable aggravation of

the deep-lying contradictions between labor and capital, and as a result of this, bring to light the conflict of interests between SPA rank-and-file members and supporters, on the one hand, and the SPA élite integrated into the 'social partnership' system, on the other. This is an expression of the objective laws of capitalism. However, it does not automatically add to our party's strength. Much depends on how we cope with the tasks confronting us in the new situation.

Today, more than ever before, it is vital to disperse doubts about the usefulness of discussions with the socialists, about the possibility of enlisting them into joint actions. We are certain that unity of action is feasible, for we believe in the strength and historic mission of the Austrian working class. Despite the SPA leadership's anti-communist hysteria, we do not reject consolidating contacts and conducting comradely discussions with our class brothers in the Socialist Party. We mean chiefly the SPA members and supporters who are beginning to assess the policies of their leaders critically. We must find the correct tone and language and make sure that by our mistakes we do not unwittingly help the SPA leadership, which is making every effort to maintain and widen the gulf between the socialists and the communists.

As Marxist-Leninists, who draw upon the experience of the international and Austrian working-class movement, we are confident that the socialists, disenchanted by the posture of their leadership, will sooner or later not only cast their votes for us but also become members, cadres of our party.

Comrade Johann Koplenig, who was our party's chairman for many years, said: 'Every communist should do his best to win over socialist workers. The finest elements of our party should join in the task of drawing socialist workers into a joint struggle.' Today this task is more urgent than ever before. It is urgent not only because of the coming parliamentary elections, not only because it is imperative to repulse the assault on the democratic and social gains of the working people, not only in order to enforce democratic and socio-political reforms, but also from the standpoint of the long-term prospects of our struggle for a socialist Austria.

Moreover, we feel it is important to adopt a correct attitude to the SPA's left forces demanding a genuinely socialist policy. Although they are not very active, we do not ignore their role in shaping the consciousness of the masses, even if for the moment this is a very modest role. The fact that the gulf between the left socialists and the SPA leaders has been widening in recent years cannot be discounted.

The SPA's position in the state apparatus, the economy, the trade unions, the municipalities, and other spheres of social and political life has never been so strong as today. But this is precisely what is

spurring the bourgeoisification of the socialist leaders, and they are the people on whom the SPA's policies depend entirely. A fundamental delusion of the left socialists is their belief that changes can be effected only as a result of action in the SPA itself. Actually there are two major prerequisites for securing a reappraisal of the Socialist Party's policies and for giving the lefts a large say in it. These are:

— Unity of action by socialists, communists and all working people in securing the fulfillment of concrete demands; this presupposes surmounting the anti-communist prejudices which are still quite strong among left socialists.

— The strengthening of the CPA, which is the only genuinely left party in Austria; this not only meets the interests of the working class and working people generally but is also the key condition for consolidating the position of the left forces in the Socialist Party and for changing that party's policies. This is precisely what many of our class comrades in the SPA want most of all.

In the final document of the June 1976 Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe it is stated that its participants reject 'any policy or ideology which in essense means the subjection of the working class to the system of capitalism. They underline their determination to work consistently for the strengthening of their parties and for the extension of their ties with the working class and all working people. At the same time, they stress once again their readiness to contribute toward cooperation, on the basis of equality, with all democratic forces and in particular with the socialist and social-democratic parties in the struggle for peace, democracy and progress for society.'[3] The CPA has done and will continue to do everything in its power to achieve this aim in keeping with the specific conditions obtaining in our country.

1. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*, Prague, 1969, p. 24.
2. *Der 22 Parteitag der Kommunistischen Partei Osterreichs*, Vienna, p. 326.
3. *WMR*, August 1976, p. 3.

Commentary

Vasilis Venetsanopoulos
CC member, CP Greece,
member, *WMR* Editorial Council

DAY OF MILITANT SOLIDARITY OF WORKING PEOPLE

To celebrate May Day is the class tradition of working people. Today we have every justification for speaking of it as a century-long tradition, for its age is indeed close to a century. Moreover, there is a profound significance in this. Indeed, the international solidarity of the working people, expressed by May Day demonstrations, is not a formal ritual timed to a calendar date. It is a factor powerfully influencing the destiny of mankind in our epoch. It is the imperative will of the age we are living in.

It has become the custom to call May Day a review of the militant forces of the international working class. Today these forces are larger than they have ever been. They play the leading role in world development. The workers of all countries, including and chiefly the **peoples' states' organized working class, i.e., the working people of the socialist community, firmly hold the historical initiative, which** they have taken once and for all out of the hands of the bourgeoisie.

We communists are often told that in drawing this conclusion we overestimate the actual influence of the working people on national life in capitalist countries, and of the socialist states on the world scene. The bourgeoisie and the reformists take special pleasure in hurling reproaches of this nature at the communist parties, to which, like ours, the bourgeois parliamentary system denies representation corresponding to their actual influence among the people which still have to secure the necessary dimension and mass character to the movements headed by them. In fact, the Marxist-Leninists by no means harbor illusions. They see the pros and cons of the existing alignment of class forces. They are aware that the struggle waged by labor against capital is inconceivable without ebbs and flows, without retreats, and sometimes even setbacks. But the developments determining the socio-political make-up of our day show that this struggle is proceeding with the balance tilting steadily in favor of socialism, the working class, the democratic and anti-imperialist masses.

This tilt reveals the strength of the world proletarian, revolutionary

movement, a strength that is composed of the positions won by it within the national framework of individual countries and multiplied by the international community of the social aims and interests represented by this movement. The interaction of all three currents of the world revolutionary process, and the international solidarity of the participants in the struggle against monopoly oppression and capitalist exploitation, for national freedom, are factors that are everywhere enhancing the influence of the working class and its social allies and substantially enlarging their potential for steering a course in history for their peoples, for the entire world.

Our party's 10th Congress, held last year, noted that 'the nation's deliverance from U.S. domination and monopoly rule and our road to democracy and socialism are the cause of the Greek people: however, this cause is linked, as never before, to support from the world revolutionary movement.' This key provision of our strategy is based not only on Marxist-Leninist theory but also on our own experience, which has borne it out entirely.

This is the experience not only of our party and not only of our people. The years the Popular Unity government was in power in Chile are still fresh in everybody's mind. The revolutionaries and democrats of the world did not merely admire its successes but did all in their power to help develop these successes with moral and political support, while the socialist countries rendered material assistance. The revolution in Chile was defeated. But international solidarity with its fighters and just cause has remained unshakable. It is growing, acquiring new dimensions, and giving the Chilean communists and all of the nation's democratic forces the added confidence that their defeat is only temporary.

In recent years significant progressive changes have taken place in Africa. The peoples of Angola, Ethiopia, and other countries have upheld their right to choose their own road of social development. The racist regimes in Zimbabwe and Namibia are hard put to withstand the pressure from the national-liberation movement. The African peoples are not alone in their struggle. They have the effective international solidarity of the socialist countries, the world working-class movement and the anti-imperialist movement.

In the Middle East the spring of 1979 saw a new and complicated political climate created, on the one hand, by the establishment of a democratic government in Afghanistan, the Iranian people's revolution, and the consolidation of South Yemen's socialist orientation, and, on the other, by the treacherous actions of the ruling élite in Egypt, by its U.S.-dictated separate deal with Israel. The imperialists count on the Tel Aviv-Cairo axis becoming the pivot of a new system of their control of the political and social destinies of the Arab world.

The patriotic forces of the region are determined to crush these designs. They are continuing the struggle for the basic national interests of their peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine. As they themselves emphasize and world progressive opinion realizes, broad international solidarity with their struggle is of inestimable significance.

In the 1960s and 1970s the worldwide movement which helped the peoples of Vietnam and other countries of Indochina to defeat the U.S. aggression inscribed memorable pages in the chronicle of anti-imperialist solidarity. This movement's imperative slogan 'Hands off Vietnam!' was destined to acquire new life this spring. The Chinese invasion of a neighboring socialist country triggered an international tidal wave of protest. Relying on international support and on their durable alliance with fraternal socialist countries, notably the USSR, the heroic people of Vietnam have once again repulsed aggressors.

In the light of these developments it would not be superfluous to recall that during the U.S. intervention in Vietnam Peking's Maoist leaders posed as siding with the Vietnamese patriots, pledging support on a bilateral basis. However, they invariably fought shy of participating in the common front of anti-imperialist forces and refused to join in coordinated, joint actions with them in support of the DRV's war of liberation. Today, the world sees the underlying motivations of this policy, which is destructive to the international unity of fighters against imperialism. In those days it paved the way for the Maoists toward rapprochement with the ruling circles of the capitalist world. The latter were not found wanting. In connection with the Chinese invasion of Vietnam they peddled an analogous formula of verbal disapproval of aggression while actually conniving at it by abstaining from any actions that could hinder the criminal encroachment on the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign nation.

Peking declared that its intention was to 'give Vietnam a bloody nose,' to 'teach it a lesson.' Indeed, it has been a lesson for the whole world. The important thing is to understand its significance, which, as we see it, lies in the visible confirmation of how right the Marxist-Leninist parties were when for years they had warned against the dangers to peace and the freedom of nations harbored by the great-power chauvinism of the Peking leaders, by the ideology and political practice of Maoism. It is a lesson that calls for vigilance on the part of the world's progressive and liberation forces. It demands their unity and cooperation in the face of the threat to international security from the attempts of Washington and Peking, together with NATO and the Japanese militarists, to steer a course toward a mutual exchange of

services in their fight against socialism, against the revolutionary movement.

Life thus teaches the peoples and their advanced forces to be conscious of the need for international solidarity, reveals its effectiveness and, at the same time, shows that any relaxation of international unity against imperialism and reaction conflicts with the interests of peace, democracy, social progress and national liberation.

In marking the day of international solidarity we see it as international cooperation ranging far beyond the class unity of the world proletariat. Internationalism in the struggle for the security and freedom of nations and for the renewal of the forms of social life has dramatically extended its social and political boundaries. We, the communists of Greece, regard this as a highly significant and indisputably positive feature of the modern revolutionary process. Our party is doing all in its power to help strengthen international solidarity with all movements prepared to unite in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Does this mean that the strictly class line of the policy of communists is receding to the background, so to speak? I would say that the reverse would be the correct reply to this. Broad international solidarity does not mute the significance of the proletarian class positions maintained by the communists within its framework. On the contrary, unity and cooperation among the communist parties in the world communist movement have played an inestimable role as the form-shaping core of anti-imperialist internationalism. They decisively influence the orientation of this internationalism and infuse it with the needed political drive.

Take the peace movement, for example. Here the stake consists of the interests of all humanity, and small wonder that the world front of peace fighters is so tremendously broad and its social composition so widely diverse. By and large, it is an immense force to which all of us owe the fact that it has been possible not only to prevent the cold war from erupting into a world thermonuclear catastrophe but also to achieve a turn hopeful for peace in the relations between countries with different social systems. But while we pay tribute to all who contributed to the turn toward détente, to all who are now helping to remove the difficulties from its path, we shall not forget that the largest and most tangible contribution to this improvement of the world situation was made by the USSR and other socialist-community states. One evidently cannot remain a realist by believing that public moral and political pressure will suffice in the struggle against imperialist militarism, that it will be possible to do without reliance on material strength which among the peace fighters, is possessed only the organized working class of the socialist countries.

If we approach this same problem from the opposite angle, we must stress that the war threat lies in the socio-economic nature of imperialism. The struggle for peace is thereby objectively given definite class orientations, the loss of which would inevitably reduce its effectiveness and lead to its dissolution into attractive but helpless and futile pacifism. It is obvious that even in this respect the guiding role of proletarian internationalism is indispensable in the joint, solidarity efforts of the participants in the anti-war movement, in the struggle to bridle the arms race.

We are fully aware that the class solidarity of the working people and the unity of their communist parties do not remain harnessed to fossilized forms.

This spring witnessed the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Comintern. This memorable date of its history has been broadly marked in the international working-class and communist movement. The Communist Party of Greece draws attention to the fact that the work accomplished by the Comintern in the course of almost a quarter of a century is inseparable from the conspicuous successes in mobilizing the revolutionary forces of the international working class. On the basis of these successes the then young communist parties of scores of countries acquired invaluable experience and attained a high level of ideological and political maturity. As time passed this became the basis of their completely independent approach to the fulfillment of revolutionary tasks, of their unjustified confidence in their ability to apply the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism creatively and effectively in looking for the best ways and means of fighting for socialism under prevailing concrete national conditions.

Today the communist movement does not have a unifying organization such as the Comintern. It does not have any 'center.' The equality and sovereignty of all the fraternal parties have become an immutable norm. We regard this principle as part and parcel of proletarian internationalism. It is our opinion that the independence of each party enhances its interest in cooperation with the communists of other countries, in promoting mutual assistance with them, and in learning their experience. This dialectic of the national and the international has always been present in the revolutionary struggle waged by the communists. That it should be understood and used in all areas of work is one of Lenin's most important behests.

The communists of Greece attach great significance to the promotion of contacts and fraternal organization with the parties in the international communist movement. This is our unchanging, principled line. Six months ago, when the CPG, too, marked its 60th anniversary, it underlined with full justification that throughout its long struggle it had always been guided by proletarian internation-

alism, by unbreakable solidarity with the revolutionary forces of the international working class and its main creation — the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states. Our party has always been an active and committed participant in broad international meetings of communists. It is convinced of the usefulness of bilateral inter-party links and of mutual consultations on a regional basis, such as, for instance, the 1976 Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. The work that we are doing jointly with the Communist Party of Turkey and the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus within the framework of trilateral meetings has lately been progressing fruitfully. This is one of the many examples of the effective internationalism of communists, which in this case is helping them to make a more productive contribution toward settling the conflicts stirred by the imperialists between the three peoples of our region.

Fidelity to class internationalism is, we are convinced, an indispensable condition for significant and lasting successes in the struggle for socialism. Indeed, we are living in an age witnessing the profound internationalization of all spheres of human life, including class relations. No national walls can be erected against the international confrontation between the forces of capital and the forces of socialism, of the revolutionary working class. To adhere to proletarian internationalism firmly and consistently means, above all, to rule out the risk of remaining single-handed in the face of the united front of the internal and external class enemies.

In tribute to the Comintern

60TH ANNIVERSARY

That day in March 1919, when representatives of 35 communist and left-socialist parties and groups from 21 countries of Europe, America and Asia proclaimed the founding of the Third, Communist International, is one of the most notable dates in the history of our revolutionary epoch. The 60th anniversary of the founding of the Comintern has been broadly marked in the international communist and working-class movement.

In Moscow a scientific conference was held to commemorate that anniversary. Sponsored by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Social Sciences, it was attended by prominent scientists, veterans of the CPSU and

representatives of the Moscow public. 'The Comintern,' said Academician Boris Ponomaryov, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, 'gave a powerful impetus to the struggle for unity of the working class, of the working people, on a principled class, anti-imperialist foundation. It not only united all the finest, internationalist forces of the working-class movement, but from the very outset it took steps, on Lenin's initiative, to establish interaction between the communist and the social-democratic trends of the working-class movement and started a drive to unite the ranks of the working class ... Individual shortcomings or miscalculations cannot nullify this fundamentally significant work of the Comintern in the period between the two world wars. Many of them were rectified by the Comintern itself, which approached its own work self-critically, analyzed and assessed its actions soberly and realistically, and applied Marxism-Leninism creatively in mapping out new guidelines for the future.' A paper headed 'The Work of the Communist International Was a Major Phase of the Development of the International Communist Movement' was presented by Academician Anatoly Yegorov, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee.

In Prague the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International was marked by a symposium sponsored by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CPCz Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCz CC. It was attended by Jan Fojtik, Secretary of the CPCz Central Committee, officials and lecturers of the CPCz Central Committee, party functionaries, representatives of the scientific community, and party veterans. Ivan Krempa, deputy director of the CPCz Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, spoke of the Comintern's influence and the emergence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its organization as a Marxist-Leninist party.

In Ulan-Bator the anniversary was marked by a scientific conference sponsored by the MPRP Central Committee's Institute of the History of the Party, the Suhe-Bator Higher Party School, and the combined editorial staffs of the party journals. It was attended by N. Luvsanravdan, member of the CC Political Bureau. Chairman of the party Control Committee. A. Minis, Deputy director of the Institute of History of the party, presented a paper headed 'The Communist International and the Communist Movement Today.'

Functions commemorating the 60th anniversary of the Comintern were organized by other communist parties.

The work of the Third, Communist International was appraised highly in anniversary articles carried in the central organs of the communist and workers' parties.

'Fidelity to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, unremitting struggle against right and "left" revisionism, and consistent proletarian internationalism,' wrote *Rabotnichesko delo,* organ of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, 'were strikingly embodied in all the work accomplished by the Third, Communist International.' 'The Comintern's service to history,' *Rude Pravo,* organ of the CPCz Central Committee, wrote in an editorial, 'is that it created the conditions for turning young communist parties into strong revolutionary contingents capable of leading the working class and large masses of other working people to ultimate victory. One of the Comintern's unfading behests is the orientation set toward proletarian internationalism, which spells out the ideological and political unity of the international communist movement and the joint struggle for common aims.' *Weg und Ziel,* theoretical journal of the Austrian communists, noted in an anniversary article that the Comintern was at the 'cradle of the present-day mighty international communist movement. Its founding expressed the need for organizational demarcation from opportunism in the working-class movement on an international level.'

N.A.

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exchange of views

Restructuring international economic relations and the peoples' anti-imperialist front

In the past several years, the developing countries'[1] movement for restructuring international economic relations has become urgent and very acute politically. The relevant problems have been studied by an international research group set up by the *WMR* Commission on National-Liberation Movements in Asian and African Countries. The group consisted of Amath *Dansoko,* CC Political Bureau member, African Party of Independence of Senegal; Naziha *Duleimi,* CC member, Iraqi Communist Party; Jaakoub *Garro,* CC member, Syrian Communist Party; Jose *Lava,* CC member, Communist Party of the Philippines; Ali *Malki,* Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria; and Professor Georgy *Skorov,* D.Sc. (Econ.) (USSR).

Below is a summary of the discussion held by the research group.

The 70s were marked by a fresh upswing in the national-liberation anti-imperialist movement. The basis for this upswing was provided by the broadening of the national-democratic revolution and the deepening of the revolutionary process in individual countries, and the struggle of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to do away with their unequal status within the system of external economic ties set up and maintained by imperialism. This struggle is being actively supported by the socialist community, the international communist and working-class movement, and all the other progressive and democratic forces. The imperialist states have also recognized that the existing system of international economic relations must be reformed, but they have frustrated this under various pretexts.

The movement for restructuring international economic relations has gone forward under the slogan of establishing a 'new international economic order.' This is not a Marxist concept, for it artificially separates the economic order from the social order, and external economic relations from internal economic relations. But considering that it has been widely accepted throughout the world and has been

written into many international documents, and has, in that very form, become one of the chief programmatic demands of the Group of 77[2] and the non-aligned movement, the research group has used it alongside the more precise concept of 'restructuring international economic relations' in order to use the same idiom with the spokesmen of various political trends and forces involved in the common struggle against the diktat of the imperialist monopolies, neo-colonial exploitation and every other form of discrimination in international economic relations.

What is the economic and social-class content of the program for a 'new international economic order?' Is it feasible under capitalism, and if it is, in what form? How will the proposed change in the external economic sphere influence the relations between the imperialist and the developing countries? Will it strengthen or weaken the world capitalist system? What effect will the restructuring have on the balance of forces between the two opposite social systems? What is the common interest of the main revolutionary forces of our day in restructuring international economic relations? On what basis is it possible to strengthen the peoples' anti-imperialist front in the fight for this goal? What are the most important tasks facing the international communist and working-class movement in this context?

That is roughly the range of problems the research group set itself in studying the attitude of the various groups of states.

I. Developing countries' program

The program for restructuring international economic relations, formulated by the developing countries in 1974 in their declaration and action program, covers a broad range of economic problems relating to international trade, the monetary and financial sphere, the development of the productive forces and economic cooperation.[3] In these documents, the developing countries first raised the question of significantly limiting their exploitation by international monopoly capital and securing a more equitable status within the system of world economic ties. Some of these demands had been put forward before in a different and less forcible form. But brought together into a single package with the other demands, they had a different ring and a qualitatively new content: instead of amounting to partial reforms and changes relating to some aspects of the developing countries' status within the system of economic relations in the capitalist world economy, they became a program for restructuring that system in the interests of these states.

As far as its social content is concerned, the program for a new international economic order envisages anti-imperialist, general democratic changes. It is based on two key ideas: (1) the need to democra-

tize international economic relations, and to put an end to the actual inequality of the developing countries, and (2) establishment of an international mechanism for the political regulation of world economic relations to correct the operation of spontaneous market forces.

To translate the former idea into reality, it is necessary to apply such principles in international relations as the sovereign equality of states, self-determination of nations, inviolability of foreign territories, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, freedom to choose the economic and social system and inadmissibility of any consequent discrimination, absolute sovereignty of every state in the use of its economic resources, including the right of nationalization, and condemnation of colonialism and apartheid.

The latter idea is expressed in a set of proposals for practical measures designed to change the piratical nature of capitalist-world trade, to ease the developing countries' external-debt burden, and to extend their participation in reforming and managing the international monetary system, to improve the terms for the 'transfer of technology,' to control the multinationals, and to promote the extension of trade and economic ties among the liberated countries.[4]

All of this could markedly reduce the discrepancy between the developing countries' new, independent political role in the world, and their continued subordinate status in international economic relations within the capitalist world economy. That is why realization of their demands would be a serious defeat for imperialism.

The movement to achieve this is socially heterogeneous. Its participants do not see eye to eye on ultimate goals and tasks. Some want no more than a redistribution of the gross world product through a deal with imperialism at the top. Others want a truly radical change in the existing relations, and genuine equality of states, regardless of their economic potential and level of development.

At the present stage of the struggle, the prevailing tendency is to concert different aspirations, and the common anti-imperialist interest as a whole tends to overcome the difference in approach to restructuring external economic relations. But with the growing economic differentiation of the developing countries and satisfaction of their individual demands, the centrifugal trends may intensify. It is possible that some states which are in an especially advantageous position because of the changing structure of world prices, more rapid industrial development and influx of capital from outside, or for a set of other reasons, could decide to settle with imperialism. Much will also depend on the policy of the imperialist powers, and on the concessions they will be prepared to make in order to avoid an open confrontation with the developing countries.

The collective platform of the movement for restructuring international economic relations is a compromise between the various attitudes of the participating countries, which is why some of its planks are contradictory and inconsistent. The research group has illustrated this with the following examples.

One of these springs from the 'North-South' concept. The developing countries are known to suffer from neo-colonial imperialist exploitation, from the grave effects of economic crises, the disordered state of the monetary system, the continuing inflation and other expressions of the anarchy of capitalist production. One would think that their just demands for compensation for their losses should be addressed to capitalism. However, some political leaders in the developing countries take an undifferentiated approach to the capitalist and the socialist states, artificially bringing them together in the 'North' concept, and presenting them with virtually similar claims on behalf of all the developing countries brought together under the 'South' concept.

In this respect, the demand for an automatic transfer of a fixed percentage of the GNP to the developing countries by way of international assistance is characteristic. On this point, a Soviet government statement, 'On Restructuring International Economic Relations,' said quite explicitly: 'There are no grounds whatsoever, nor can there be any for making the demands on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which the developing countries have made on the developed capitalist countries, including the demand for the obligatory transfer of a fixed share of the GNP to the developing countries by way of economic assistance.' In substantiating this stand, the statement emphasized that assistance from the socialist states to developing countries was not atonement for past sins, nor compensation for inflicted damage; it was assistance from friend and ally in the struggle against the common enemy: imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was given with due regard to the socialist community's actual potentialities, which were by no means unlimited.

Furthermore, the spokesmen of some developing countries, going back on the principle of universality of their demands, believe that it is possible to combat discrimination in international trade and economic ties, without applying this to relations between countries with different social systems. But the point is that any new economic order can be just and truly international only if it covers the relations of all groups of states and is built in the light of their legitimate interests. Any departure from the principle of universality, and expression of tolerance of any type or form of discrimination is fraught with the grave danger of undermining the developing countries' whole struggle for equality in international economic relations.

Tremendous resources are required to boost the liberated countries' economic development and raise their living standards. A limitation and then a gradual reduction of armaments, and disarmament, could provide the largest potential source for such resources, alongside direct reductions in the neo-colonial tribute levied by the capitalist West on its former colonial periphery. This would amount to a materialization of détente, and would make it possible to use some of the resources thus released to increase international assistance to needy countries. Despite this obvious truth, some members of the Group of 77 adopted until recently a clearly artificial slogan: 'First development, then détente.' The UN General Assembly special session on disarmament held in May and June 1978 showed that there has been considerable progress in understanding the interconnection between détente, disarmament and expansion of development assistance, although there are still many obstacles to going over from word to deed.

The inner contradictions of the concept of a new international economic order backed by many Group of 77 members ultimately spring from the fact that virtually all the innovations they suggest are conceived exclusively under capitalism and within its framework. Most of the liberated countries opposing neo-colonial imperialist exploitation have yet to become aware of its organic connection with the capitalist system and have yet to draw the necessary conclusions from the incontrovertible fact that imperialism is a direct continuation and development of the basic features of capitalism. That is why the developing countries' reorganization program provides only for a *reform* of the capitalist system of international economic relations and a curb on the operation of spontaneous market forces, instead of an elimination — at however a distant future — of the very basis of neo-colonial imperialist exploitation.

The total detachment of the program for a new international economic order from the economic situation in the developing countries is an important omission. With the exception of the group of countries taking the socialist orientation and some national-democratic states following the way of progressive democratic reforms, most developing countries have failed to establish the necessary connection between external and internal transformations, But the experience already available in the developing countries leaves no doubt at all that a mere increase in the influx of funds does not in itself help to solve any of the basic problems of development — age-old backwardness, mass poverty, unemployment, partial employment and illiteracy — and fails to help establish a system of modern productive forces. Unless there are deep-going progressive social transformations, an increase in foreign revenues can merely intensify

social inequality in the developing countries, and lead to the enrichment of their privileged élite and the coalescence of their interests with those of international monopoly capital, in the same way as this is taking place in some countries exporting oil and mineral raw materials.

2. Imperialist powers' stand

Having analyzed the official statements and practical acts of the leading capitalist states, the research group reached the conclusion that imperialism takes a complicated and contradictory attitude to the idea of a new international economic order. On the one hand, the imperialist powers want to maintain the favorable rates and terms of international economic exchange, and to safeguard the positions of their monopolies in the economy and foreign trade of the liberated countries. On the other, they must see that in many respects the present system of international economic relations under capitalism no longer meets the realities of the modern world and fails to withstand the growing pressure from the liberated countries. This will be seen from the growing instability of capitalism, the deep crisis of its monetary and financial system, the periodic flare-ups of trade wars between the various centers of imperialism, the acute energy crisis, the aggravation of the raw-materials, food, ecological and some other global problems. The 1974-75 economic crisis, which rocked the whole capitalist world, revealed more glaringly than ever before the discrepancy between the existing international economic order — rather, economic disorder, to put it more correctly — and the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

In these conditions, the industrialized capitalist states cannot afford simply to reject the idea of a new international economic order, but they seek, by all means, fair and foul, to delay its restructuring and to reduce the long overdue changes to a minimum. The basic cause of this policy lies in the fact that the present system allows international monopoly capital to funnel off a sizable part of the national income created in the former colonial periphery. It is impossible to establish the exact volume of capital flowing back from the poor countries to the rich. It is estimated at between $50 billion and $100 billion a year, and this has an important role to play in the growing gap between the two parts of the capitalist world economy.

The imperialist powers' tactical approach to restructuring international economic relations boils down to making concessions on partial issues so as to avoid another open confrontation with the developing countries, like the one during the oil crisis in the winter of 1973-74, and to retain as large a part as possible of the present system of world economic ties.

The imperialist powers believe that this kind of limited remodelling could help to provide more stable external conditions for the development of the capitalist economy and simultaneously to tie the former colonial periphery more tightly to the industrial centers of the capitalist world. At the same time, they want to reduce the influence of world socialism in the liberated states, and in particular, to make the countries taking a socialist orientation depart from their chosen way. The imperialist strategists' main concern here is to prevent, at any cost, the movement for a new international economic order from growing into a drive against the very basis of imperialist exploitation, and to continue the 'North-South dialogue' within the framework of capitalism.

Those are the considerations which determine the capitalist powers' attitude to the concrete demands of the developing countries. Although there is a substantial difference in the attitude of individual capitalist countries, these have been markely smoothed over in the recent period, and on the whole one could now speak of a definite evolution of imperialist policy on the establishment of a new international economic order, from open resistance and attempts at diktat to more flexible diplomatic maneuvering and a search for compromise. The imperialist powers' new tactics is exemplified by the 1975 Lome Convention[5] which gave the developing countries concerned some economic privileges in exchange for closer economic integration with the EEC. This tactic is also exemplified by the Paris Conference of 27 (7 industrialized states, the EEC and 19 developing countries) on international economic cooperation, which was held from December 1975 to June 1977.

The Conference of 27 had several purposes. First, there was the need to transfer the discussion from the broad forum of the United Nations, where the West invariably found itself in the dock, to a narrow separate conference with a select number of participants. Second, there was the need to keep the socialist states out of the negotiations, and in that way not only to remove a number of fundamental questions relating to a future world order from the agenda, but also to deprive the developing countries of the necessary support in settling outstanding problems in their relations with the West. Third, there was the need to reduce the talks to the one and only problem which is of interest to the capitalist powers, namely, stability of raw-material supplies for the capitalist world economy, primarily oil supplies, and a mutually acceptable level of oil prices.

As could have been expected, the Conference did not reach an agreed decision on any of the main issues on the agenda, and ended in a statement of the differences. From the developing countries' standpoint, it was a fiasco. But from the standpoint of the capitalist powers,

it did its job, for it enabled them to effect a fundamental coordination of their positions on key economic problems like energy and raw materials, and to formulate a common approach to the question of settling the developing countries' financial indebtedness. It also gave them an opportunity to shake the liberated countries' unity, to reduce their pressure on imperialism and, metaphorically speaking, 'to let off steam.'

The policy aimed at dividing the developing countries began to yield fruit: a decision was adopted to freeze oil prices in 1978 by the votes of five OPEC members (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates) against eight. In this way, the imperialist powers managed to sow the seeds of discord in the OPEC ranks, and so markedly to weaken it.[6]

Characteristically, the countries which acted as 'strike-breakers' in this case were those which pursue a pro-imperialist policy and which have close financial and military ties with the United States.

There is no doubt that the capitalist powers will continue to play up the contradictions between the developing countries, to use the difference between the economic interests of individual countries and groups of countries, and to deepen the political disagreements between them in order to split the movement for a new international economic order and to prevent the liberated states from taking effective and concerted action.

The research group reached the conclusion that the industrialized capitalist countries' policy on remodelling international economic relations in the years ahead will, apparently, result from two trends: efforts to block the most radical and far-reaching demands of the liberated states, and partial concessions and privileges, together with some measures — put through under pressure, incompletely and with delay — to eliminate the most odious expressions of inequality in relations with the developing countries.

3. Socialist community's support

The research group's study of the socialist community's policy and its influence in changing the overall climate in international relations was an important aspect of its work. One of its main conclusions is that the prospects in the further struggle for a restructuring of international economic relations and, in particular, for effecting the developing countries' concrete demands will largely depend on further changes in the balance of class forces in the world, on the growth rate of the socialist community's economic strength, on the extension of its cooperation with developing countries and coordination of action on individual issues relating to the establishment of a new international economic order. Real advances in détente, and agreement on prob-

lems in limiting the arms race and going over to disarmament add up to the most important condition for positive changes in international economic relations.

The socialist community has been and continues to be a reliable bulwark of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle for liberation from every form of exploitation and oppression. Everyone now knows that it was the fundamental shift in the balance for forces between the two systems in favor of socialism that enabled the developing countries to issue an open challenge to imperialism in 1973 and 1974, and to demand the establishment of a new international economic order. The imperialists, who had until recently ruthlessly stamped out any attempts to infringe upon their economic interests, did not this time risk resorting to conventional methods, and had to sit down to the conference table.

There is a need to give a reminder of this because some political leaders in the liberated countries have clearly overestimated the changes in the relative strength between the developing and the capitalist countries. But a sober analysis of the realities in the modern world shows that, despite some undoubted successes for the liberated states in establishing effective national sovereignty over their natural resources, and despite the important achievements in industrialization and strengthening the national economy, the real instruments of economic pressure within the capitalist world economy are still held by the imperialist powers. These instruments include: industrial power and scientific and technical superiority, the international banking system and the bulk of the world financial resources, control over international trade, transportation and insurance, and the bulk of the world's export-food stock. It was only due to the above-mentioned fundamental change in the balance of world class forces, to the fact that socialism is exerting the crucial influence on the whole of world development, while capitalism has lost the historical initiative, that the countries released from political, colonial and semi-colonial dependence are able successfully to withstand the diktat of the imperialist monopolies and to secure more just, that is, more equitable economic relations, despite their growing lag in military, economic and technical potential.

The socialist states supported the liberated countries' collective demands aimed at democratizing international economic relations at the Sixth Special UN General Assembly, at UNCTAD-IV in Nairobi, and at other international conferences which considered general and particular aspects of a new international economic order, and their conviction in doing so was all the greater because the socialist community, since its establishment, has invariably advocated normalization of international trade and economic ties, eradication of neo-

colonialism, elimination of every form of politically and socially motivated discrimination, establishment of genuinely equitable and mutually advantageous relations between states with scrupulous observance of the principle of non-interference in each other's domestic affairs.

The USSR and other socialist-community countries not only supported such basic planks of the program for a new international economic order as adoption of a system of measures to stabilize trade in raw materials and ensure stable export earnings for the developing countries, facilitation of access for their manufactures to the markets of industrialized countries through the lifting of tariff and non-tariff restrictions, promotion of the liberated states' industrialization, elaboration of a 'technological transfer' code, establishment of effective control of the activity of multinational corporations, extension of preferential terms for the least developed countries, and support of measures for extending cooperation among the developing countries themselves, but also put forward, in a joint statement issued at UNCTAD-IV, a number of constructive proposals aimed at realizing these as soon as possible.

The socialist states' attitude to the developing countries' program for establishing a new international economic order is determined by its anti-imperialist tenor, and by the fact that it helps to unhinge the present system of neo-colonial exploitation and fetter imperialism in its moves. The crucial consideration here is that even an incomplete and partial realization of this program would mean a substantial advance in developing international economic relations as compared with their present state, and would provide a strategic bridgehead for carrying on the fight against imperialism.

An important feature of the socialist states' approach to a new international economic order is determined by the fact that they regard any restructuring of external economic relations in close connection with the overall changes in the international political situation in the present epoch as a component part of the historical process of democratic transformations of inter-state relations. That is why they attach primary importance to the task of further deepening international détente and ending the arms race as a necessary condition for ensuring peace. The socialist-community states believe that fulfillment of this task, with its exceptionally important and diverse consequences, will provide real opportunities for discovering additional resources for transfer to the developing countries, because only in time of peace is it possible productively to seek ways of solving the problems which agitate mankind, including the practical tasks of establishing a new international economic order.

4. Union of all democratic forces in a broad anti-imperialist front

A basic assumption of the socialist community, the world communist and working-class movement and all the other progressive and democratic forces in determining their attitude to the program for a new international economic order is that transformation of the system of inequitable economic relations in the capitalist-world economy is an objective historical process. It appears on the surface as a series of state acts and political initiatives by liberated-country governments. Their acts, quite naturally, pursue national and class goals. But behind the subjective form in which this is expressed lies the objective content, which is the requirements of the development of the world productive forces that have little room in the Procrustean bed of capitalism's international economic relations. This objective content of the struggle for economic equality turns the conflict between the liberated countries and the imperialist powers into a deep-seated antagonistic contradiction.

When assessing the program for a new international economic order the communists also take into account the fact that it is neither rigid nor final. It is enlarged, augmented and made more precise and clear-cut in the course of discussion and, especially, in the actual struggle for implementing these demands. On the whole, this struggle has advanced together with the world liberation movement. Its goals and principles reflect, even if not quite adequately, the aspirations and interests of billions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, their urge to escape the grip of hunger, backwardness and the existing forms of dependence. Elimination of the traditional forms of neocolonial exploitation, even if the struggle did not go beyond this, would be a major stride forward from the present situation, a stage of progress for the developing nations and for mankind as a whole.

Finally, the communists are fully aware that while the program for a new international economic order is indecisive and not always consistent, there are real potentialities for transforming the broad democratic movement for its realization into a factor intensifying the revolutionary struggle against international monopoly capital both in the centers of capitalism and on its periphery.

The objective logic of the struggle for a new international economic order could, in some conditions, carry beyond the ultimate goal of this movement, while the movement itself could become an even more important factor of progressive changes than can now be imagined.

What are the conditions in which this can take place, and how? In part, this will depend on the policy of imperialism. The greater the

subbornness with which it clings to its privileges, the tougher its stand on satisfying the liberated states' legitimate demands, the stronger its resistance to the long overdue changes, the more probable it is that the movement for economic equality, initially aimed to reduce the degree of imperialist exploitation, will develop into the struggle against its very basis.

But the main thing will depend on the policy of the revolutionary-democratic forces in the developing countries, the communist and workers' parties in the developed capitalist countries and, of course, on the active stand of the socialist community.

Here, the research group believes, four interconnected tasks can be traced.

First, the need to ensure closer ties between the movement for a new international economic order and the struggle for détente, an end to the arms race, and cuts in strategic armaments and for disarmament. The way to solve this problem is tirelessly to explain that the developing countries' demands can be met only in conditions of peace, by eliminating the danger of war, and that a reduction of military expenditures is the largest, if not the only, real reserve for increasing international financial assistance to the developing countries.

Second, the need to enhance the objective anti-imperialist content of the program for a new international economic order, by shifting the center of gravity in the struggle from a transformation of the distribution sphere to a restructuring of the sphere of production and a change in the developing countries' status in the international division of labor, and to intensify the anti-monopoly tenor of the movement by working ultimately to convert it into a struggle against the capitalist order. In other words, it is the need to convert 'anti-imperialism,' seen as a struggle against neo-colonial exploitation, into 'anti-capitalism.'

Third, the need to tie in the struggle for restructuring the external economic sphere with the mass movement for deep-going internal social transformations, for a radical renewal of the forms of social life. It is important to work for this in the developing countries so as to prevent the replacement of one goal in the struggle (restructuring the multi-sectoral society and overcoming backwardness) by another (transformation of international economic relations and elimination of dependence on imperialism), or contraposition of the two goals. In the developed capitalist countries, the awareness of the need for such a tying-in helps successfully to resist the monopoly bourgeoisie's drive on the living standards of the people under the pretext of a worsening of international economic conditions, allegedly in consequence of satisfaction of the developing countries' demands.

Fourth, the need effectively and consistently to tie in the struggle of the socialist community, the communist and workers' parties in the industrialized capitalist countries, and the revolutionary-democratic forces on the periphery of capitalism for concrete goals in restructuring international economic relations on democratic principles.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is sure to try to split the peoples' anti-imperialist front, by contrasting the economic interests of the working people in the industrialized capitalist countries and of the former colonial periphery, and by claiming that satisfaction of the liberated countries' legitimate demands would inevitably result in a lowering of living standards in the developed capitalist states. Actually, the solution of the restructuring problem consists not in lowering the living standards of the working people in the developed countries so as to raise living standards in the developing countries, but in making the exploiters give up their privileges, wherever they may be, in limiting the uncontrolled growth of the profits of international monopoly capital, and in creating conditions for reducing the gap between the advanced and the economically backward countries.

The internationalism of the working people of all countries and the unity of their vital interests require tireless efforts to strengthen solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy — internationally coalesced capital — and to solve the problem of democratizing international economic relations so that they would meet the true interests of the working class and all the other working and exploited people.

In working for this goal, primary importance attaches to the choice of the main line of struggle. It is suggested that, for all the importance of establishing fair prices for raw materials and energy resources, or of the question of relocating labor-intensive lines of production to the developing countries, or the payment to these countries of an equivalent of the indirect import taxes levied on their products, none of these can be such a main line.

It is the view of the research group that the main blow should be directed at the multinational corporations.

These giant international monopolies are the most powerful exploiters of the working people in the whole capitalist-world economic system. Struggle against them creates a real objective basis for pooling the efforts of broad masses of people in every sector of the capitalist world economy for the purpose of checking their uncontrolled operations.

That this is the right approach was fully shown by the advance of the energy crisis and the emergence of relative shortages of raw materials as a global economic problem. The multinationals used the increase in the prices of oil and raw-materials commodities, which was determined not only by short-term but also long-term objective

factors, in order to step up the plunder of broad masses of people in the industrialized capital countries and in the developing countries by getting the ultimate consumer to bear the increased costs of production. That is precisely why the profits of the international oil and raw-materials monopolies have invariably grown in the past several years, despite the establishment of state control of most of the sources of raw materials in the developing countries, and despite the substantial change in the structure of world prices.

The fact that monopoly capital has managed to adapt itself to the new conditions of raw-materials supply for the capitalist economy shows that if the new type of international monopolies — the multinationals — are to be held in check, it is not enough to take measures at the one pole alone — in the developing countries — and that there is also a need to establish effective democratic control over them at the other pole — in the industrialized states. Otherwise, international monopoly capital, which provides the direct impetus to internationalization of production and exchange in the capitalist world economy and which operates as intermediary and connecting link between its poles, will continue, in alliance with other exploiting forces, to plunder the working people wherever they may be, in the centers of capitalism or on its periphery.

At the same time, even a partial check on international monopoly capital in the course of the struggle for a new international economic order would be an important gain, because it would open up the prospect for a further offensive on the positions of the monopolies, and for eventually eradicating all the forms of diktat in international economic relations.

At one time it appeared that imperialist exploitation would be limited only with the transition of more and more liberated countries to the actual building of socialism or — as an intermediate stage — their adoption of the road of non-capitalist development opening up a socialist perspective. Even today, these social forms are the most radical means for eliminating the economic dependence on imperialism and overcoming age-old backwardness.

At the same time, in present-day conditions, the strengthening of the world socialist system, the total collapse of the colonial system, and the radical change in the balance of world class forces have opened before all countries the possibility of curbing, to a lesser or greater extent, imperialist and neo-colonial exploitation even before the abolition of the capitalist system in the chief centers of imperialism. This opportunity must be used, and the curbing of imperialist exploitation envisaged in the program for a new international economic order carried out consistently and to the end.

The Final Document of the 1976 Conference of Communist and

Workers' Parties of Europe says that 'the democratization of international relations and the development of international cooperation on the basis of equality and of mutual benefit to all peoples are aims of great importance in the struggle for the establishment of an international community free from imperialism and neo-colonialism wherein the great disproportions between developed and developing countries can be overcome, and which will be based on the full independence of each and every nation and on their active participation in the solution of mankind's problems.'[7]

No wonder the industrialized capitalist countries have stubbornly refused to accept the developing countries' demands, seeking to confine the whole matter to a compromise at the top, and to insignificant concessions in some spheres, so as to reject the main proposals for restructuring international economic relations. After all, this is a matter of changing the very principles of international economic activity, of a more or less important restriction of the freedom of action by international finance capital, and of a substantial reduction in the neo-colonial tribute they levy. That is why state-monopoly capitalism seeks, on the one hand, to kill the progressive content of any restructuring of economic ties and in this roundabout way to preserve its privileges, and on the other, to get the working class and broad masses of other working people in the developed capitalist countries to bear the inevitable cost of such a restructuring.

All of this calls for vigilance with respect to the moves by imperialism, and a multiplication of efforts by all the democratic forces to strengthen the peoples' anti-imperialist front and mount an offensive on the positions of international monopoly capital, and to purge international economic relations of every form of inequality and discrimination.

If this struggle is to succeed, there must be a connection between external economic democratic transformations and internal economic transformations, the use of concessions wrested from imperialism to boost the national economy and raise the living standards of broad masses of working people and realize the ideals of social justice. Without important changes in the alignment of class forces in the developed capitalist states and in the developing countries, it is hard to imagine the establishment of a truly new, equitable and just international economic order.

How world development will actually proceed, how deep the restructuring of world economic ties will be, and whether it will truly lead to the establishment of a new international economic order or will be confined to a top-level refurbishing of the old, will depend on many factors. An important one among these is concerted action by

all the progressive movements of our day and strengthening of the broad anti-imperialist front of the peoples.

1. The term 'developing countries' is here used in the sense accepted in UN practice and documents.

2. An association of developing countries in the United Nations numbering more than 120 countries.

3. Regarding world trade, the developing countries have put forward two fundamental proposals. One is aimed at stablilizing trade in raw materials ('integrated raw-materials program'), and the other at giving the developing countries' manufactured goods greater access to the markets of industrial countries. Both are of vital importance to the developing countries.

In the monetary and financial sphere, the developing countries seek an increase in the influx of funds and a bigger role in the management of the international monetary system. A most acute problem facing them is their external debt, which by late 1977 had sky-rocketed to $250 billion (including commercial credits).

Concerning the development of the productive forces and economic cooperation, their main demands include the following: assistance in their industrial production to increase their share of world industrial production to 25 per cent by the year 2000, substantially easier terms for the supply of new plant and technology, control over the activity of the multinationals by the nation-state, special privileges for the least developed countries, and broader cooperation among the developing countries.

4. Here meaning the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won political liberation from colonial and semi-colonial dependence.

5. It established new principles of relations between the EEC and the group of associated countries. It is due to expire in 1980, and a new convention is now being negotiated.

6. The increasingly feverish state of the capitalist economy, the mounting inflation and the steady decline in the exchange rate of the dollar forced the OPEC countries to adopt a decision in December 1978 for a phased increase in oil prices in 1979 totalling 14.5 per cent.

7. *WMR*, August 1976.

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A continent-wide problem

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CC Political Commission member, Secretary, CP Honduras

WMR has held an exchange of opinion on 'The Agrarian Question in Latin American Countries' with the participation of representatives of the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Peru, El Salvador, Uruguay and Venezuela, and also of scientists from Czechoslovakia, the GDR and the USSR. The discussion showed that this continues to be a central problem in Latin America's political and socio-economic development, and that agrarian reform is not only a vital requirement but also one of the primary conditions for social progress in the region. The article below was written on the basis of the discussion.

The transformation of the agrarian relations prevailing in Latin America is one of the most important tasks before the progressive forces, for its solution could help to find a way out of the acute structural crisis which has been in evidence in most countries of the continent over a long period. The resultant stagnation in agriculture is having an injurious effect on every aspect of social life, slowing the rate of economic growth, narrowing the potentialities of the domestic market, hampering industrialization, sharpening the food problem and compounding the already grave condition of the bulk of the population.

The degradation of agriculture in the region will be seen from the fact that from 1950 to 1975 its gross output (per head of the population) increased on an average by only 0.7 per cent a year, while its share in the GNP steadily shrank: from 20.3 per cent[1] in the 1950-52 period to 12.0 per cent in 1976.[2] The development of the productive forces has been most hampered by the concentration of landed property, which is unparalleled anywhere in the world. By the beginning of the current decade, 1 per cent of the landowners held 62.2 per cent

of the land, and 76.3 per cent of the owners, only 4.5 per cent of the land.[3] The continent can escape the grip of backwardness only if this disproportion is eliminated.

The Latin American peoples' struggle to change the existing state of things has now been going on for decades. It was especially fierce at the beginning of this century in Mexico, Argentina and several other countries. The question of handing over the land to those who till it was first raised on the continent by the Mexican revolution of 1910-17. The 1952 Bolivian revolution roused thousands of workers and peasants to struggle for the nationalization of the mining industry, and against the power of the big landowners.

The 1944-54 Guatemalan revolution challenged the powerful U.S. United Fruit Company, making a start on the first democratic agrarian reform in Central America, but was suppressed by imperialism. In 1959, the triumphant Cuban revolution realized the peasants' right to land, which was expropriated from the foreign and local latifundists. The progressive military men who came to power in Peru in 1968 put through a number of large-scale agrarian transformations, which did away with almost all the survivals of feudalism in the country. A dee-going agrarian reform was in progress in Chile, but it was cut short by the fascist coup.

That is the rich experience to which the progressive and revolutionary forces look today as the struggle for land assumes exceptional intensity and unprecedented scope.

To gain a full and precise picture of this struggle, one has to consider some of its aspects in the context of social development, taking into account the changes in the balance of forces in the international arena, with imperialism trying to adapt itself to the new situation.

Latifundism and the agrarian question

The connection between the development of capitalism and the existence of latifundia in Latin America is one of the most complicated aspects of the agrarian question. The landed estates remain under the control of a relatively small social group with much economic and political weight. In our day, the landed estates have, of course, acquired some new specific features, but that has not changed their substance, which, according to Lenin's definition, consists in combining various forms of exploitation (see V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 22, p. 50). Characteristically, they continue to use extensive farming methods, and make limited use of investments and modern machinery.

As landed estates move into the market, especially the external market, they become more dependent on the laws of commodity

production. For its part, as capitalism penetrates the countryside it does to some extent influence the archaic forms of land tenure, without eliminating them. But it, too, undergoes definite changes. Latifundism, as a system and factor of social life, slows down the development of the productive forces, leads to the dispersal of vast resources and causes the rural inhabitants to migrate. This worsens the problem of housing, transport and, especially, employment in the towns. From 1950 to 1976, more than 40 million people moved from the countryside into the towns. That is 'nearly one-half the natural growth of the population in the countryside, and over 50 per cent of the original urban population.' This migration tide 'markedly intensified during the said period: from less than 1 million in early 50s, to roughly 2 million in the recent period.

'The concentration and centralization of landed property also swell the army of indigent workers; in other words, persons who are left without the basic means of livelihood, so being forced to hire out to the latifundists or the rural capitalists. At the same time, the farms that remain have the worst, virtually useless land, whose owners cannot exist by farming it, and so move into the category of surplus manpower. Semi-unemployment now makes up (in accordance with the corresponding scale) over one-fifth or a quarter of the labor force.'[4]

The latifundists, who derive vast incomes from the high prices of land and farm produce, make very small investments in agriculture, and spend most of their profits on their own requirements or remit them abroad. When they do make investments, they prefer other sectors of the economy (banking, industry, especially export industries). For its part, the big bourgeoisie makes investments in land and agricultural enterprises.

In many countries on our continent, latifundists join foreign or local monopoly capital in setting up mixed companies in which capitalist methods of production are combined with semi-feudal or even semi-slave-owning forms of exploitation, like indenture, peonage, the colonate system,[5] unpaid work by family members, etc. This state of things is characteristic above all of the plantation economy.

The latifundists are the chief support of imperialism, and are a force which not only determines the agrarian relations and economic backwardness in most Latin American countries, but which also has tremendous political power.

One could say, therefore, that despite the strengthening of capitalist relations, which have become dominant, and which are bound to determine the subsequent course of socio-economic development, latifundism in Latin America continues to hold very strong positions.

Capitalist relations in the countryside

The Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean held in Havana in 1975 analyzed these tendencies and emphasized: 'The socio-economic structure of the Latin American countryside is characterized by uneven and contradictory development. On the one hand, farm output for export has increased and the technical level of production has grown. On the other, backward forms of land tenure persist.'

However, the extent to which capitalist and pre-capitalist relations are interwoven in the Latin American countryside is not always the same and does not always assume the same forms. Capitalist development in Latin America's agriculture is specific, for in most countries a sizable part of the farmland remains in the hands of the latifundists. The degree of capitalization of agriculture is determined by the amount of capital invested in the land, and not by the size of the land, although the cultivated area is, of course, of much importance. It is determined, Lenin says, 'in terms of output, in the development of livestock raising, the quantity of fertilizers, the scale on which machinery is used, and the like' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 69).

Apart from latifundism, there are various other obstacles to intensive agriculture in Latin American countries, and the chief of these is their dependence on imperialism, a factor which makes for the technical backwardness of agriculture in the region and for low crop yields and stock productivity despite the favorable climate. In most Latin American countries, labor productivity in agriculture — the synthetic indicator of efficiency in any sector of the economy — is about one-20th of that in U.S. agriculture.

The dependence of small, middle and even rich farmers on imperialist companies arises above all from the operation of external factors like deliveries of technology, the market outlook, etc. Besides, as ECLA and FAO studies show, there is growing penetration — both into the marketing and processing of agricultural produce — by transnationals operating on a global scale. The multinational monopolies, associated with local capital, control the production of farming machinery, fertilizers, herbicides and seeds, the marketing of farm produce, the credit system, etc. They own vast areas of land in many Latin American countries. Thus, in Brazil, from 1964 to 1968 U.S. monopolies made large investments in agriculture and bought some 32-34 million hectares of land. In Argentina, companies, most of them with a controlling foreign interest, own 26 million hectares of land.

In the past 20 years, capitalist relations in Brazil's countryside have

become highly dynamic, despite the sizable pre-capitalist survivals. In the State of Sao Paolo, the main supplier of farm produce, more than 80 per cent of the land is within 100-500 hectare estates employing nearly two-thirds of the wage labor.

Capitalist relations in Argentina's agriculture have been markedly strengthened, and this has had an effect above all on the level of its technical equipment. In cropping and stock-breeding, this was expressed in the 'Prussian way,' under which large landed estates coexist with capitalist forms of exploitation, so intensifying the growth of class differentiation in the rural areas.

In the Chilean countryside, capitalism has been developing in an intricate way. Together with the re-establishment of the traditional latifundias and the domination of a handful of landowners after the fascist coup, modern capitalist enterprises are set up to produce for export.

Let us note that on the Latin American continent capitalism has become the prevalent mode of production. But assessments exaggerating the degree of its development, notably, in agriculture, and failing to take account of our countries' real socio-economic structure, could lead to erroneous conclusions and an oversimplification of the problems of revolution in Latin America. Purely capitalist production and forms of property will be found mainly in the agricultural sectors producing for export. They are the ones which are being infiltrated by foreign capital, the financial oligarchy and the monopoly bourgeoisie.

A study by ECLA and FAO shows that in the agriculture of virtually all the Latin American countries there is a sector which is 'relatively modern and export-oriented that makes large-scale investments, with ever wider use of technology, credits and other basic types of services necessary for its development.'[6] This category includes 'a relatively limited number of commercial companies or large agricultural enterprises with large tracts of land that is frequently the best for cultivation from the ecological standpoint.'[7]

But, as ECLA and FAO say, 'traditional type agriculture prevails in Latin America ... The use of elements of production, notably labor and land, is on a much lower level than in other regions.'[8]

Changing class structure

These factors make for changes in the class structure of the rural population: a growth, on the one hand, of the agrarian bourgeoisie, which takes shape from among the traditional latifundists and through the influx of foreign and local capital into agriculture; and on the other, of the agricultural proletariat involved in the most modern forms of capitalist production and constituting the basic revolutionary

force in the countryside. It was noted at the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean that the agricultural proletariat makes up one-half of the wage-workers. Its importance is great also because it is part of the working class and so has to establish an alliance with the peasants, to neutralize their vacillations and to induce them to struggle for their demands. That is why its organization is a key task of the communists.

Seasonal workers are among the most disinherited sections of the agricultural proletariat. Their wages are low and in many instances they have no social security because they are forced to keep changing their place of work and for that reason are not unionized. The landowners seek to increase the proportion of such workers in the labor force employed in agriculture, which helps them 'markedly to cut labor costs, while getting the hired workers and peasants to shoulder a part of the cost of maintaining manpower in the countryside.'[9] Very few peasants become rich. The bulk of them remain middle or small holders and are converted into smi-proletarians or are totally deprived of their basic means of subsistence.

The bulk of the rural population in Latin America consists of small peasants, agricultural semi-proletarians and proletarians. The working-class party, Lenin says, has to give the utmost attention to these groups of the population because economically, socially and culturally they want to see the victory of socialism. That is what determines the main line of the communists' work in the rural localities.

The changes in agriculture have had no effect, and could have had no effect, on production methods and forms of land-tenure. Income distribution still presents a picture of high contrasts: 5 per cent of the rural population receive nearly one-third of the total income in this sector, while 50 per cent receive less than 14 per cent.[10] An ECLA report said that 'a majority of the rural population continues to live in dire poverty, and is denied all rights and discriminated against in the distribution of government social benefits.'[11] Moreover, poverty in the countryside has spread in the recent period, despite the fact that from 1950 to 1975 the agrarian sector's share of the GNP per head has grown. 'World Bank figures for 1969 show that, in accordance with its poverty criteria, it affected 38 per cent of the rural population, or 45 million people. Other regional or national studies show that the figure is even higher.'[12] Nor have the problems of obtaining food and agricultural raw materials been solved, as will be seen from the fact that over the past 30 years grain output per head of the population has gone up by cnly 0.5 per cent, despite the fact that grain is the staple food of a sizable part of the Latin American population.[13]

This tends to increase the countries' dependence on the imperialist

centers, which in many instances, as with grain, become their main supplier. Export of foodstuffs from the United States accounts for a sizable part of total U.S. export to Latin American countries.

Need for agrarian reform

The struggle for a deep-going agrarian reform is being intensified in most Latin American countries, involving not only landless and land-hungry peasants, but also the broad forces which believe that such a reform is part of the basic transformations in society.

The weight and influence acquired by the working class in Latin America, the scale of the structural crisis which has gripped the continent, and the objective possibility for democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution, all add up to an indication that the agrarian reform could become an important element in a series of uninterrupted progressive transformations bringing nearer the reconstruction of society on socialist principles. Such a prospect is realistic if the proletariat succeeds in uniting its contingents, establishing a solid and effective alliance with the peasantry, and other social strata with itself at the head, so ensuring the victory of a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution paving the way for socialism. Cuba's experience shows that broad sections of the rural working people will have a big part to play in this process. A meeting of representatives of 30 trade unions on the continent held at San Jose, Costa Rica, in April 1978, said: 'Experience shows that all the measures aimed to overcome the backwardness in agriculture succeed only when the working population of the countryside is effectively involved at every stage of their realization.'[14]

The Latin American bourgeoisie is now incapable of giving a lead in any truly radical agrarian reform. First, it fears to harm the 'sacrosanct' private property, because this process could also spread to the capitalist means of production generally. Second, to expropriate the big landowners (assuming that the latter would not give up their lands of their own free will), the bourgeoisie would have to have resolute support from the peasants, workers and all the other working people. But one must not lose sight of the strong economic ties between the landowners and the bourgeoisie.

For these reasons, bourgeois agrarian-reform projects have been mainly confined to plans for developing and handing over to the peasants waste lands which lie chiefly far away from the commercial centers and the major transport arteries, etc., because they do not cut at the roots of the landed property. In this context, Lenin wrote: 'All and any talk of "aid" for the peasants, of "improving" their condition, of "helping" them acquire land and other similar speechifying that the landlords and civil servants are so fond of, all this boils down

to hollow pretexts and subterfuges, as long as it evades the *principal question* — whether or not to preserve landed proprietorship' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 12, p. 274).

At the same time, a sizable part of the bourgeoisie has an objective stake in transformations in agriculture, because they help to expand the domestic market, and this creates real conditions for rallying large sections of the population around the slogan of agrarian reform.

The ever more pronounced anti-imperialist edge of the Latin American peoples' struggle — especially since the victory of the Cuban revolution — is a source of great concern for the United States and the other imperialist powers. Considering the peasant movement, in particular, they fear that the struggle for land could become revolutionary. That is why imperialism has not only encouraged repression and coups in Latin America but has also fabricated 'desarollo' developing projects, which means plans for technological modernization and economic growth so as to postpone any deep-going agrarian reform or to dull its edge. Alliance for Progress was a case in point, for its purpose was to prevent Latin America from escaping from the capitalist orbit, stopping the process of change and enlarging the social basis of dependent capitalism.

Situation in Central America

The agrarian question in Central America is even more acute than it is in South America, and there are more than enough reasons for this. First, most of its economically active population is engaged in agriculture. Second, the concentration of landed property in the region is very high. Third, industrialization began in the area relatively recently, which is why it is under strong influence from the multinational monopolies and the latifundists. Fourth, expansion of the domestic market depends on important changes in the income-distribution system. Fifth, most of the Central American countries have reactionary military dictatorships.

It cannot be denied that agricultural output in the region has increased, the volume of export has grown, labor productivity in the export sectors (bananas, cotton, coffee, sugar cane, etc.) has gone up, the archaic forms of land tenure (tenancy, the colonate system and peonage) which are inherent in latifundism, are gradually disappearing, the rural proletariat has grown numerically, and the wages of farm workers have increased. Many unused, long-fallow and fringe lands have become the property of peasants. However, this is only an indication that agriculture is being modernized, but not that a deep-going agrarian reform is being carried out.

From 1960 to 1970, agricultural output in the region has averaged 3.8 per cent, but this is lower than the growth rate in other sectors of

the economy — 6.5 per cent — and is close to the population-growth rate. At the same time, the share of this leading sector in the GNP has dropped from 33 to 27 per cent.[15]

In most Central American countries the agrarian reform, which is being put through by the authorities, involves the elimination of peasant bodies which in one way or another pose a threat to the ruling classes. That is why in Nicaragua, for instance, only peasant associations controlled by the government are allowed to operate, while in El Salvador even producer cooperatives are banned. In Honduras, the implementation of the agrarian reform has been suspended, and 'collective farming' in the valleys, lying along the northern and southern coasts (Guanchias, Aguan and Choluteca) is being stamped out.

Magnitude of the agrarian question

The acuteness of the agrarian question in Latin America is determined by the numbers of people employed in agriculture (in 1975, according to ECLA's Latin America Demographic Center, it came to 38.9 per cent), and by the make-up of the labor force (in most instances, almost 40 per cent of the economically active population). It is also sharpened by the fact that the existing social structure tends to slow down the development of the productive forces. On the other hand, the export of agricultural produce is an important, and in some countries of the region, the chief, source of foreign-exchange earnings. That is why the characteristic fluctuation of prices on the international markets in the recent period has had a negative effect on the stability of economic development in Latin American countries. As a rule, farm prices go up or rise to the old level only in a short spurt. The ECLA-FAO study says that from 1972 to 1974 'simultaneously with the rise in the prices of farm produce there was a rise in the prices of industrial goods. The higher prices of oil and oil products, the excessive leap of prices for fertilizers, the general rise of prices for machinery, equipment and farm hardware were the basic factors behind the recent recession in the agriculture of the world and Latin America.'[16]

Consequently, in most countries on the continent the provision of foodstuffs per head of the population has remained on the old level, and even dropped in some countries. The unequal terms of trade with the industrialized Western countries tend to worsen the already grave condition of the working people in town and country.

A recent WHO and FAO conference held in Mexico noted that the number of people facing a shortage of foodstuffs in Latin America has gone up to 46 million.[17] ECLA and FAO do not consider this figure to be quite accurate, because 'it only includes people with a calorie consumption below the "critical minimum," which is insufficient to

restore the loss of energy required even for moderate activity.'[18] According to peasant organizations in Latin American and Caribbean countries, this figure is close to 100 million.[19] The situation is all the more tragic because nearly 50 per cent of children under the age of six suffer from malnutrition.

That is yet another aspect of the problem and yet another factor urging the need for deep-going agrarian transformations.

The experience of Latin America, like that of other regions of the world, shows that there can be no genuine solution for the agrarian question without a revolutionary transformation of society, a conclusion which should not be seen as minimizing the gains in the countryside. On the contrary, these gains most resolutely promote the common revolutionary struggle, because the agrarian revolution is inseparable from the anti-imperialist revolution.

1. *Mercurio*, November 21, 1978.
2. *CEPAL Indicadores del desarrollo economico y social en America Latin*, 1976 (E/CEPAL/1021, version mimeografiada).
3. *Granma*, April 20, 1974.
4. *Comercio exterior*, No. 11, 1978, p. 1398.
5. *Peonage*, a system of exploitation of the peasantry in the form of forced labor and disguised debt bondage; *colonate system*, a form of tenancy relations. — *Ed.*
6. CEPAL. *Notas sobre la economia y el dasarrollo de America Latina*, No. 199, 1975, p. 2.
7. Ibid.
8. *Comercio exterior*, No. 11, 1978, p. 1395.
9. Ibid., p. 1405.
10. Ibid., No. 12, 1977, p. 1523.
11. CEPAL. *Notas sobre la economia y el desarrollo de America Latina*, No. 237, 1977, p. 1.
12. *Comercio exterier*, No. 11, 1978, p. 1398.
13. *Revista de la Universidad de Chile*, No. 113, 1978.
14. *Solidaridad*, April 25, 1978.
15. *Comercio exterior*, No. 6, 1978, p. 734.
16. CEPAL. *Notas sobre la economia y el desarrollo de America Latina*, No. 210, 1976, p. 4.
17. *El Mercurio*, September 7, 1978.
18. *Comercio exterior*, No. 11, 1978, p. 1399.
19. *Solidaridad*, April 25, 1978.

Some aspects of the Marxist-Christian dialogue

Robert Steigerwald
Board member, German CP

The struggle for influence among the masses in the Federal Republic of Germany entails a dialogue and development of cooperation between the communists and religious people. The Program of the GCP says: 'The growing participation by Christians in the struggle for peace and social justice, and for a humane society is highly important. The GCP respects the action based on creed, by religious citizens including many church leaders, for social progress. Cooperation with believers is of much importance for the GCP at the present time, and will be so in the future as well.[1] That is why it is so important to take into account the processes taking place in the minds, moods and orientations of religious people and also in theology. That is the only way in which we can find the right approach to solving the difficult problem of dialogue and cooperation between Marxists and Christians.

In our search for such an approach we come up against highly contradictory trends. Of course, the communists thoroughly consider the urge on the part of many Christians to break with the traditions of religious conformism, meekness and passiveness, and to find their place in the struggle for social justice and peace. But the balance of forces between progress and reaction which has now taken shape has resulted not only in positive changes in the ideological and political positions of believers and theologians. We find the clerical leadership trying to give a false orientation to those who seek. These contradictory trends were fairly pronounced, in particular, in the discussions at the 16th World Philosophical Congress in Düsseldorf, within whose framework a meeting was held by the American Society for the Philosophical Study of Marxism and the International St. Paul Society,[2] with the participation of Marxists and prominent theologians.

In view of the opposite ideologies of Marxists and Christians it has been and continues to be important to determine the problems that

In publishing this article on the dialogue and cooperation between communists and believers in the FRG, we invite readers to comment on the issues raised here.

should be central to the dialogue. It is superficial, to say the least, to deny the ideological contradictions. But what is more important: to discuss these contradictions or jointly to work out solutions to ensure mankind's existence? One need merely pose these questions to decide that the latter is of crucial importance. And that is precisely the answer, and a highly concrete one, that is given by some theologians.

But another trend has also emerged. Kolner, of the St. Paul Society, has put forward, as a preliminary condition for joint action by Marxists and Christians for peace and social progress, 'guarantees' from the Marxists for the existence of Christianity under socialism. He is clearly confusing two different questions. His demand would have been acceptable if he had said that, under socialism, when the Church is separated from the state, the Marxists should carry on ideological struggle against religion only by ideological means, in the light of the general legal provisions on freedom of conscience and performance of religious cults. That, incidentally, is precisely what is being done in practice. But he did not say this, and demanded, as a preliminary condition for joint struggle for peace, that Marxists should abandon their stand on the future of religion. That is an unacceptable demand, because the social roots of religion will wither away in the course of a long process, in the new, socialist social conditions.

We hold that, while implying mutual respect for each other's opinions, a dialogue also implies polemics on ideological problems for the purpose of securing cooperation on matters which are of essential importance for both sides. The atomic bomb is an equal danger to Marxists and to believers; similarly, unemployment hits working people without regard for creed.

We are aware of the formidable obstacles in the way to joint action by believers and Marxists when discussions are carried on about questions which are irrelevant to practice, and which are only of theoretical interest. Joint action by Marxists and believers in some fields has already produced more results than such discussions. These are the socio-economic struggle of the working class, the struggle for participation in management, and against the further fold-up of democracy, etc.

The communists' intentions in the dialogue with believers are well known. They want mutually acceptable socio-political solutions in the working people's interests, regardless of ideological differences.[3] But, on the one hand, the ideological motivations of such solutions on the part of believers are not a matter of indifference to us. On the other, we must always start from the ideological principles of our own movement. That is why as the dialogue between communists and Christians develops, increasing importance attaches to a critical

analysis of the philosophical and ideological substance of the latest theological conceptions of the Christian doctrine.

Turning to the question of how the new processes are reflected in theology, we note that there is evidence of a trend among Catholic theologians to move away from Neothomism to some extent. It is connected with a growth of irrationalistic views. This trend has been in operation for a long time now, and one will find an inner interconnection between it and the general line of development of bourgeois ideology in the imperialist states. This process is based on the deepening of the crisis of capitalism. The search for alternatives to the existing situation is being carried on in all ideological spheres, including theology. The important thing for the bourgeoisie is to prevent this search from going beyond the framework of bourgeois ideology and politics.

The search for such an 'alternative' in Catholicism is carried on *in form* by means of 'scientific methods' constituting the Thomist legacy. **But theology is no longer being substantiated by means of Neothomism but of an irrationalist philosophy of life.[4] What do we have in mind? An effort is being made to create the impression that** *science itself* needs a new theology. How is this done? It is done through a resurrection of the old thesis of the philosphy of life concerning the limitations of the rationalistic concept of science, with the destruction of the concept of science being presented as its expansion.

The basic lines of these efforts could be reduced to the following propositions put forward by theologians: 1. The theoretico-cognitive concept of truth should be enlarged to a point at which the theological **conception also acquires the rank of truth. Thus, the French Catholic theologian Marie-Dominique Chenu insists that the definition** of truth in the Bible is different from that in philosophy: 'Truth is authenticity, justice, confidence, accord, honesty,' and it springs from revelation.[5] 2. Theological truth is comprehended in the sacrament of man's contact with God, in prophecy, in experience.[6] 3. The concept of reason needs to be enlarged. The Dutch Dominican theologian Edward Schillebeechx, for instance, argues that there is a sphere in reality which is inaccessible to comprehension by rational and logical methods of theory. It can be comprehended only by a theology which allows of all the methods of epistemology, all the powers of imagination and poetic fantasy. And because all disciplines using the critical method are scientific, theology is also a science with **respect to its subject-matter and method.[7] 4. Theology is ultimately a science with an ideological orientation, and is something more than** the integration and reformulation of the results of other sciences; it is a 'science of faith' working for the Christian interpretation of man and the world.[8]

Why is this line of argument wrong? It is wrong, first of all, because it sets up as an absolute one of the necessary conditions for the scientific method, which is its *substantiation*. This suggests that everything that is substantiated is scientific. But has any obscurantist ever felt a lack in substantiating his acts? This criterion of science is untenable. This line of argumentation is also wrong because it confuses the problem of truth, i.e., the capability of science to reflect the objective state of things in consciousness with adequate precision, with another problem, namely, that of assessing practical behavior. There is no possibility here to consider in detail the interconnection between the theory of cognition and axiology. Let us note, however, that the Marxist social science makes a study of value problems.

In the Protestant theology the latest trends are connected with the teaching of Karl Barth. In addition, attempts are made to combine, on the strength of Heidegger's ideas,[9] the existentialist theology of Bultmann[10] with the historico-critical theology of the 19th century. Here one could refer, for instance, to Bonhoeffer's[11] development of Barth's theology, and also to the so-called political theology and the 'theology of revolution.'

In contrast to the traditional Catholic theology, which establishes a connection between the terrestrial world and God, Barth's premise was that there is absolutely no connection between the human and the divine; God, according to Barth, is incomprehensible for man and is completely distinct from him. The only real connection between man and God consists, he says, in a denial of all things secular and human. Consequently, Barth says, man's attitude to God is critical, and it can be comprehended only in a state of crisis.[12]

In consequence of its 'negative' attitude to God, this theology is called 'dialectical' theology, and it has suggested some important conclusions: because science and technology do not deal with God but with the secular world, it is quite possible to allow theology to take a positive attitude to science, technology and even to materialist philosophy. Hence the conclusion that Christian polemics against materialism is totally superfluous and even false.

Barth's theology asserts the existence of two worlds, of two truths and, consequently of two modes of cognition. This theory of dual truth is designed to retain the 'residual sphere' for theology. But, let us recall, the division of the world into a cognizable and incognizable one was also a feature of Kantianism and positivism. In this sense, the critique of Kantianism and positivism by the dialectico-materialist theory of cognition also applies to this conception. The material unity of the world, which is confirmed by the development of science and social practice, is the strongest argument refuting the dichotomy of the world which is inherent in Barth's theology. Science and

materialist philosophy do not accept the existence of things which are incognizable in principle.

The distinction between criticism of religion and criticism of Christianity in Barth's theology is equally vulnerable. Barth claimed that the Marxist critique of religion did not affect Christianity, the incomprehensible world of the divine which is beyond. But that is not so. Christianity has historical origins and is as an illusory product of historical man as all other religions from which it has borrowed many elements.

There are important changes not only in the theoretical but also in the political views of theologians. These changes have occurred over the past 10-15 years and are due to the fact that the Christian Church has had to reformulate its attitude to the problems which agitate modern man, above all, the problems of political struggle. In our day, deep-going revolutionary transformations of society are under way. Both theology and the Church have to work out their own concept of the ways of solving the problems of social development, if they want to retain their ground in the modern world.

The Catholic Church tried to do this during the long sessions of the Second Council of the Vatican (1962-65). The elections of the Pope at the end of 1978 also had a political character. Of course, the discussions continued even after these elections, rather these were speculations about what Rome would do now. Following the election of Pope John-Paul I, one journal wrote that 'in the Catholic world' there was a 'sigh of relief,' because the new Pope, a man of 'human spontaneity and spontaneous humanity' could popularize the Church in the masses better than his predecessors did.[13] By the time of the election of Pope John-Paul II the composition of the conclave of cardinals had changed with the entry of new men from countries in Latin America and other developing countries. Conflicts between reactionary, conservative and progressive elements are also reflected in the conclave. Cardinal Julius Döpfner, a herald of German reactionary clericalism, like the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* would like to see the new Pope merely doing the will of the big businessmen on either side of the Atlantic. But in the present epoch all roads do not lead to Rome but to socialism, and this orientation and urge of the peoples cannot be ignored by the clerical leaders over the long term.

There are growing differences between those who want a 'renewal' of the Church and the conservative forces. The former have support above all in Latin America, where the sharp and dynamic social struggles force the Church more actively to adapt itself to the realities of the present epoch. The Second Vatican Council and the Synods of Catholic bishops in 1971 and 1974 showed that the princes of the

Church in the FRG are prominent among the conservative and reactionary forces.

Still, critical voices are heard even among the clergy in the FRG (depending on the political outlook), with the history of the Church frequently providing the pretext. The fact that in the past the Church identified itself with conservative cultural and political values is deplored. The Catholic theologian Johan Baptist Metz is quite right when he says (and the statement carries political significance) that in the liberation battles of the new period the Catholic Church has always been reactionary. On every occasion it has responded negatively to social changes (as counter-reformation, counter-enlightenment).[14] Many contemporary theologians have given up loyalty to reactionary classes. But in our country, as they move closer to progressive positions on international and domestic issues, they are subjected to sharp attacks, including ecclesiastical administrative reprisals.

But there are also attempts to create merely the semblance of a 'renewal of the Church,' for which purpose diverse pseudo-alternatives are suggested. Many Catholic theologians who repudiate the compromising historical legacy of the Church borrow ideas from the latest conceptions of bourgeois philosophy (very frequently, the philosophy of life). The social theory of the so-called Frankfurt School was also a source from which ideas were borrowed over a period of several years, and the cult of 'man's alienation,' 'revolution in consciousness and morality,' 'convergence of capitalism and socialism,' and also claims to a 'third way' penetrated into theology under its influence. All such conceptions of present-day non-Thomist theology have one common tendency, namely, that of criticizing the existing order from ultra-leftist positions, but in such a way as to leave it intact. The Catholic theologian Walter Kasper declares, for instance, that there is a need to reject *any* coercion on the part of the system and to overcome every conception which is closed in upon itself.[15] What is characteristic is that the criticism is directed at the social system 'generally,' so suggesting that socialism is in no way better than capitalism. That being so, it is not worthwhile fighting for socialism. The way out is seen in a 'historically open-ended thinking.' in 'resort to the divine.'[16] The main thesis put forward by such Catholic theologians says: the world is so bad that the only real hope is offered by the world beyond.

Other theologians have run into conflict with the hierarchy, although they also find the progressive political stand unacceptable. Thus, Hans Küng[17] asserts that the Catholic Church has been working to bring together those who are 'unequal' in a 'solidarity of love.' Piety is declared to be a spiritual advantage which makes it possible,

already now, to put man in communion with that which cannot be bestowed upon him by his own efforts — neither through progress in bourgeois society, nor through the achievement of a classless society — but by God alone.[18] In socio-political terms, this idea amounts to a preaching of 'social partnership.'

A conception according to which the Church may take a negative attitude to socialist revolution and existing socialism is also being propounded in FRG evangelical circles. At the same time, this conception is intended to create an impression that there is a Christian alternative to Marxism. This conception is represented by Dorothee Sölle's political theology and the 'theology of revolution.' Under the impact of the 'theology of revolution,' a movement called Christians for Socialism has even emerged in the FRG. It is true that it is not independent in theological terms, and is highly checkered in political terms.

Sïolle deals with important social problems, assuming that theology must become political and social, and not individualistic. She thinks that theologians must regard present-day conditions as historically rooted, and to think without confining themselves to the framework of capitalist relations. Otherwise, theology will simply mean support for the class which defends the given system, and will be against two-thirds of the population of the world, against the disinherited of the earth.[19] Since men cannot live a human life under an inhuman state of society, there is a need to do away with that state itself, which engenders wars, hunger, and alienated labor, i.e., to do away with the capitalist system. Cooperation with that system is sinful, just as is the refusal to struggle against the mechanism by means of which that system bends individuals to its laws. According to Sölle, asceticism, departure from the world, 'revolution of rejection' by means of individual flight from social unfreedom in effect, sanction the existence of this unfreedom and are, for that reason, false propositions.[20]

The representatives of this 'political theology' recognize the existence of class contradictions and even the need to transform capitalist society. But in their criticism of capitalist society they do not go beyond existentialism supplemented with elements of the Frankfurt School methodology. They take part in attempts to revise Marxism and to elaborate a policy and strategy for a 'third way.'

Sölle, for instance, rejects even the possibility of a dialogue between Christians and Marxists so long as the latter refuse to abandon the materialist conception of history.[21] This 'political theology' urges restraint with respect to the organized working class and does not orient the masses upon the class struggle, of which it does not approve, but upon some messianic movement of the 'poor,' the 'underprivileged sections.' In contrast to the socialist and the capitalist

ways, it suggests a 'third way,' a 'third goal' which rejects the ideals of both systems, asserting that 'the new generation requires a new life form which goes beyond the framework of both systems.'[22] What, in that case, remains? There remain the same old 'flight from this world' and 'rejection,' which Sölle verbally rejects.

The overall relation of class forces and the course of the class struggle influence the development of the theological and political concepts of believers and the dialogue between Marxists and Christians. In the FRG, the stepped-up activity of the opponents of détente and of internal reactionaries is having a negative effect on the development of positive ideological and political trends among believers, and also on the dialogue. Thus, the *Internationale Dialog-Zeitschrift,* which was published by the theologian Herbert Forgrimler, was first sharply attacked and then ruined. Not only theologians who express progressive views (like Forgrimler and Hermann), but also Küng, who does not express progressive views, have been attacked and even subjected to ecclesiastical administrative reprisals. In the Evangelical Church measures like the profession ban (Berufsverbote) have been directed at clergymen. They are aimed against preachers who express not only socialist, but less than conservative views (the pastor Schulz in Hamburg[23] or Professor Kasemann in Tübingen). One could also recall the sharp official attack by the Evangelical Church in the FRG against the program for combating racism adopted by the World Council of Churches.[24] Political clericalism has been stepping up its 'European' demagogy, combining it with revanchist calls with respect to the GDR. There has been a revival of obscurantism in the conditions of crisis and the growing mood of hopelessness among a section of the population.

The recent publications also testify to a shift to the right in official FRG circles. One reactionary publishing house has issued a second book in the past two years[25] 'proving' that the Evangelical Church is some sort of front organization for the German Communist Party. Prominent theologians Künneth and Motschmann level dirty charges in that book at the former Chairman of the Evangelical Church Council Scharf and the one-time Mayor of West Berlin pastor Albertz, accusing them of sympathizing with terrorists and communists.

Indeed, for some time now conservatives of Zahrnt's type have been calling the tune in theological publications as well.[26] Theologians taking a progressive political stand (but not necessarily a progressive theological one) have to be published virtually in secret. Much attention in these publications is given to so-called youth religions or 'modern revival movements'[27] based on the philosophy of life,

ranging from the religious organization of Jesus People to Jones' sect, the People's Temple.

At the same time, the Christian Peace Conference has once again intensified its political activity (especially in the struggle against the neutron bomb). There has been wide circulation of a memorandum issued by the so-called Bensberger circle[28] criticizing the anti-socialism of the church leadership.[29] Believers, including church leaders, are prepared more actively to participate in the struggle against the unconstitutional profession bans and against neo-fascism.

Here is another highly important phenomenon. In the early autumn of 1978, a congress of German Catholics was held in Freiburg. It was attended by thousands of young people. The discussions clearly revealed two main trends: Catholic working-class youth was mainly oriented upon the workers' class stand in the discussion of socio-economic questions, including some aspects of the democratic struggle (the right to education and work, wages, profession bans). By contrast, the young intellectuals who took part in the discussions mostly sought a way out through flight from the 'technical world.' Let us also note in this context the trend toward religiously motivated utopianism: those who want to combat poverty must themslves be poor; those who want to overcome unemployment must be prepared for personal sacrifice. Asceticism is being broadly preached. The right-wing forces use these attitudes in an effort to direct the activity of believers into the channel of individual protest. Very few oppose this, arguing that the ocean cannot be drained with a teaspoon.

At the same time, during the Congress Catholics joined with Marxists in staging a manifestation at the memorial to the victims of fascism in Freiburg. This was evidence of an urge for a dialogue that would go beyond the bounds of the narrow circle of intellectuals.

In connection with what has been said, let us note some of the trends or new approaches. First of all, tremendous importance attaches to the efforts aimed to achieve practical cooperation. Dialogues like those held by the Vienna International Institute for Peace in cooperation with the Catholic Institute for the Study of the Problems of Peace at Vienna University could be useful. Furthermore, without ignoring the obvious problems or entertaining any false hopes, we should also like to continue our theoretical discussions with theologians. It is wrong to concentrate on issues which make cooperation between Marxists and Christians impossible. It is our view that there can be no broader cooperation without discussion.

The development of the democratic movement of solidarity with victimized clergymen or theologians at higher schools is highly important. In our conditions, projects like those jointly worked out by F. Heer, J. Kahl and K.H. Deschner could be an effective form of

conducting a dialogue.[30] It would also be useful to study the history of relations between Marxists and Christians which is already fairly long and quite instructive, for all its problems and conflicts.

I think that the importance of ideological work now tends to increase, and not only in connection with the dialogue. The above-mentioned Hamburg pastor Schultz says that Marx's critique of religion could be turned against the 'new' religiousness which emerges — and is far from always motivated by Christianity — as signalizing the profound dissatisfaction among the young and their urge to escape from the existing social order. This imposes a responsibility on us as well. Can we allow sensitive and critically-minded young people in our country to fall victim to new sects, new 'fürhers,' and 'miracle men' or 'miraculous saviors?' Dissatisfaction among a section of the young — this largely means the rising intelligentsia — is rooted in every sphere of social life, is connected with the collapse of bourgeois morality and bourgeois values, and also in the abuses of scientific and technical progress for the profit drive. Because the ideology of the bourgeoisie, anti-communism, especially in the form of a rejection of existing socialism, are deeply entrenched in our society, some of these young people, when taking the critical attitude toward the existing system, are inclined to seek alternatives which are neither capitalist nor socialist. There is a growing search for what seems to be criticism of capitalism from right-wing or ultra-left positions and an urge to join in such criticism. This prepares acceptance of existing pseudo-anti-capitalist trends based on various types of irrationalism and the philosophy of life. I cannot go into greater detail on the largely new, specific requirements which follow from this for the theoretical, propaganda and agitation activity of the FRG's communists. The field of activity here is very extensive. But in our work in this field we must take into account not only the breadth of the struggle, but also our historical experience.

The analysis of political and theoretical processes among Christians shows that the field of discussion, dialogue and cooperation is very extensive, and that it should not be limited to a definition of some general principles: the important thing at this time is to make a concrete analysis of these processes among Christians, in the Church and in theology, in all their diversity and in the light of our country's specific features. This is important and meaningful precisely because it will help to clarify the potentialities and prospects for cooperation with various groups of believers.

1. Programm der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei. Beschlossen vom Mannheimer Parteitag der DKP, 20-22 Oktober 1978, Düsseldorf, 1978, S. 80.
2. A Catholic society set up in the early 60s on the initiative of the theologian Erich

Kolner (FRG). It has arranged and held a number of dialogues between Christians, Marxists and 'neutral' scientists.

3. For a concept of dialogue between Christians and Marxists and on the relation between dialogue and cooperation see, for instance, "Differences in outlook and political cooperation,' *WMR*, June 1974. — *Ed.*

4. A subjective idealist trend in bourgeois philisophy which originated in Germany (Nietzsche, Dilthey, Simmel), and then also in France (Bergson) at the turn of the century. It marks the abandonment of the rational explanation of the mechanisms underlying the natural historical process, the abandonment of science and a switch to irrationalism and nihilism. — *Ed.*

5. *Die Zukunft der Kirche*. Zürich/Mainz, 1970. S. 11 ff.

6. Ibid., S. 54 ff.

7. Ibid., S. 29 ff.

8. Ibid., S. 64.

9. Martin Heidegger, a founder and chief exponent of German existentialism. — *Ed.*

10. Rudolf Bultmann, a German Protestant, theologian and historian of religion who sought to demystify Christianity. — *Ed.*

11. Dietrich Bonnhoeffer, a German Protestant theologian who took part in the Resistance against the nazis. — *Ed.*

12. Karl Barth, *Der Römerbrief*, Zürich, 1940, S. 84,85.

13. *Herder Korrespondenz*, No. 10, 1978.

14. *Die Zukunft der Kirche*, S. 98, 24, 51.

15. Ibid., S. 48.

16. Ibid., S. 49.

17. Here, one should point above all to his latest book, *Existiert Gott?* München, 1978, in which he gives a detailed exposition not only of his own theological views, but also an exposition and criticism of the critique of religion, as he sees it.

18. *Die Zukunft der Kirche*, S. 84.

19. D. Sölle. *Politische Theologie*. Stuttgart, 1971, S. 102.

20. Ibid., S. 118.

21. D. Sölle. *Das Recht, ein anderer Zu werden*. Neuwied, 1971. S. 18, 26, 106 f., 110.

22. D. Sölle. *Politische Theologie*. S. 104.

23. P. Schulz. *Weltliche Predigten*. Neun Texte des Hamburger Kirchen-Rebellen, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1978. The texts of his sermons show that he takes an eclectic ideological stand, combining the views of Heidegger, the Frankfurt School, and so on.

24. The theological criticism of this disgraceful decision is contained in a long and highly instructive article by the progressive Evangelical Professor Hans-Werner Bartsch, entitled 'The Evangelical Church in the Federal Republic and Violence,' which was carried by the weekly *Deutsche Volkszeitung* on November 16, 1978.

25. *Das neue Rotbuch Kirche*. Stuttgart, 1978.

26. H. Zahrnt. *Gott kann nicht sterber*. München, 1973.

27. P. Mainhold. *Aussenseiter in den Kirchen. Was wollen die modernen Erneuerungsbewegunden?* Freiberg 1977.

28. *Antisozialismus aus Tradition?* Memorandum des Bensberger Kreises zum Verhältnis von Christentum und Sozialismus heute. Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1976.

29. Concerning the development of left Catholicism in the FRG, see Martin Stankowski, *Linkskatholizismus nach 1945*. Koln, 1974, which contains a circumstantial analysis of this social phenomenon from the standpoint of a left-wing Catholic.

30. F. Heer, J. Kahl, K.H. Deschner. *Warum ich Christ (Atheist) Agnostiker bin*. Köln, 1977.

Guiding the building of a developed socialist society

Mikulas Beno
Secretary, CC CPCz

To attain the fundamental goals and ideals of socialism is a challenging task whose fulfillment takes considerable time. The international practice of achieving living scoialism has shown that building a developed socialist society is an indispensable stage of this process. It is a stage on the road to communism at which the operation of the laws of the first phase is given full scope and much more favorable economic, social, political and spiritual conditions are created for the attainment of social ideals. Czechoslovakia is currently at the stage of building a developed socialist society.

The efficacy of our efforts and the path and pace of our progress depend in very large measure on the leading political force of our society, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on its ideological and theoretical level and political experience, the strength of its bonds with the people, its consistency as well as flexibility in strategy and tactics, and its membership's organizational unity and ideological maturity.

We are convinced that nobody can understand socialist society or even form a reasonably correct idea of it if he overlooks the role of the Communist Party. The party's guidance of social development is a qualitatively new phenomenon unknown in past history.

The social class differentiation of socialist society produces an intricate intertwining of inter-class and intra-class interests. The dominant socio-political development trend of socialism is the gradual unification of all classes and strata, all social and political forces, on the basis of common fundamental interests and objectives. However, socialist society remains a class society until communism is built, which means that guidance of its development is necessarily a class activity and hence a political one. The special role of the Communist Party in building socialism and communism consists in the fact that the party takes into account and harmonizes differing interests and ascertains those interests of the working class that at the given stage are also the people's. Thanks to this coordination of the interests of diverse classes and groups under socialism, the Communist Party

operates as an integrating factor in social development: it gives society all-round political leadership and defines the political content of the processes going on in this or that sphere and the political implications of various measures.

Another factor to which the Communist Party owes its leading role in socialist society is that unlike any bourgeois party, which has a stake in preserving the social and political status quo, it sees its chief task in a continuous effort to perfect social relations. The party determines the ways and means of accomplishing this task and gears the activity of all social forces and socio-political institutions (the state, other parties, mass organizations, etc.) to socialist construction. This is why the formalization of the party's leading role in the Constitution of Czechoslovakia is not a pious wish but a reflection of objective reality and fruitful political practice.

The nature of socialism, under which there are no class antagonisms and the working people's fundamental interests coincide objectively, offers vast opportunities for consciously guiding every sphere of public life. The Communist Party translates these opportunities into reality by studying the trends and regularities of socialist construction, scientifically deducing the main lines of policy from them, and working for their implementation.

The CPCz won the right to lead society by waging class battles in pre-Munich Czechoslovakia, fighting heroically for national freedom and the renaissance of the state in the years of fascist occupation, defeating reaction in February 1948, and guiding the construction of a new, just social system in the country.

Our party has gone through a difficult evolution that has not been free of mistakes and miscalculations. The experience of the CPCz shows that past achievements, however great, cannot guarantee once and for all that a given Communist Party will enjoy unchallenged prestige and that the positions won by it are unshakable. To exercise its leading role, the party must by its actions continuously reassert its moral right to the role of vanguard and strengthen its links with the masses. It is only progress in building the new society under the party's leadership that convinces the masses of its ability to appreciate, express and realize their vital interests. The best indicator of a party's political soundness is its ability to map out correct strategy and sustain a spirit of criticism, self-criticism and democracy in inner-party life according to Leninist principles and standards.

In evaluating the role of the CPCz in the 70s, we proceed, first of all, from the balance of political forces in the country that took shape when the crisis of 1968-69 was resolved. This balance is forceful evidence that our party has a healthy class core. The CPCz learned the lessons of its mistakes, rid itself of revisionists and opportunists,

closed its ranks, and strengthened its position as society's leading political force. In carrying out new, complex tasks as a developed socialist society is built, it relies on and encourages the people's activity in industry and politics. We are well aware that to make rapid headway, we need something more than passive acceptance of socialist ideals by the masses, and so we go on combating right revisionist views, survivals of the bourgeois way of thinking and the influence of hostile propaganda. At the same time, we direct our efforts toward a creative, scientific elaboration of the new society's problems, applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism to the distinctive conditions of our country. In this way the CPCz wins the people's full support for its policy and enlists their conscious participation in its implementation.

To build a developed socialist society, it is indispensable to make an in-depth scientific analysis of the totality of social processes, evaluate the stage of development reached by the country, and work out a new social and economic strategy and a number of concrete political decisions leading to the attainment of the set goals.

The documents of the 14th and 15th CPCz congresses (1971 and 1976) sum up the party's activity in shaping a social, economic and political line at this stage. This exacting task was substantially facilitated by close friendly cooperation with the CPSU and other fraternal parties, by a study of their experience, and by exchanges of views. After defining the main content of the new stage of social development, the CPCz at its 14th Congress formulated the strategy of further economic development, stating its aim as steadily promoting the efficiency of the economy through maximum use of intensive growth factors. The main objective of this strategy is 'to meet the working people's needs more fully and increase their social security by continuously developing social production and raising its efficiency in accordance with the socialist way of life.'* This is in keeping with the role of the party as the exponent of the fundamental interests of every stratum of socialist society.

The 15th CPCz Congress fully reaffirmed ths strategic character of the set tasks. Moreover, it drew attention to the significant changes which had lately taken place in ths world economy and influenced Czechoslovakia's economic development. The congress pointed out that these changes made it still more imperative to raise the efficiency and intensity of production.

Our party would have been a party of visionaries if on having evolved a concept of the further development of society it had not set up a political mechanism for its implementation. The enhanced lead-

**XIV. sjezd Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska* (Prague: Svoboda, 1971), p. 39.

ing role of the CPCz expresses itself in the extension of its organizational and political functions. In this sphere, the party sees its chief task in strengthening its bonds with the people at every level of the political leadership of society. Lenin said that 'in the sea of people we are, after all, but a drop . . . we can administer only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of. Unless we do this the Communist Party will not lead the proletariat, the proletariat will not lead the masses, and the whole machine will collapse' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 304). Living bonds and a continuous dialogue with the people and close attention to their needs are important conditions for keeping our society internally consolidated and for safeguarding it against political tensions. Only by convincing the masses that party decisions reflect their experience and are consistent with the interests of every social stratum can we count on a considerable increase in their commitment and hence expect them to use every potentiality of our social and economic development. These 'uninvested' growth factors are a major manifestation of the advantages of socialism as a social system.

Recent years have seen a notable increase in the working people's initiative, as the growing scale and rise of new forms of socialist emulation indicate. Competition for the title of socialist work team has assumed vast proportions. It involves 195,000 work collectives, or over 2.5 million people. Cooperation among workers, engineers and scientists on composite rationalization teams, whose number exceeds 18,000 is expanding. These teams help test scientific and technological projects and plans for the scientific organization of labor. In encouraging the activity and initiative of the masses, we attach tremendous importance to devising effective forms of drawing the working people into production management. One of these forms, which has proved most effective in our conditions, is production conferences, at which workers discuss their pressing problems. Over 1.2 million recommendations of this nature were advanced in 1978 alone.

'The people's initiative, abilities and industry are our most precious asset,' said the CC report to the 15th Party Congress. 'Where the tasks have been defined correctly, where work is well organized, and people see the results of their effort and realize that they work for themselves, for the good of their socialist country, we have an inexhaustible source of strength.'*

To inspire everyone with this approach is a key task of work teams and the communists in these teams. We believe that labor moulds traits of the socialist individual such as collectivism, internationalism,

**XV. sjezda Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska* (Prague: Svoboda, 1977), p. 37.

patriotism, civic commitment, and respect for labor and public wealth. These are qualities of the working class. By consolidating its leading position in socialist society and seeing to its cultural, professional and ideological growth, the party also enhances the moral and political influence of the working class on other classes and social strata. This is a vital condition for creating a socially homogeneous society.

The political structure of society formed in Czechoslovakia over the years of socialist construction enables the different classes, social strata, and groups of the population to express both common and particular interests and influence the framing and implementation of internal policy.

A key component of the political system of socialist Czechoslovakia is the National Front of the CSSR, an organization making it possible to ascertain and coordinate different social interests. It unites under the leadership of the CPCz four other political parties and 23 mass organizations actively supporting the objectives of socialist construction. People's power at local level — in population centers, districts and regions — is exercised by national committees. The CPCz makes every effort to boost their efficiency. These committees administer public affairs in the areas within their jurisdiction, combining local with national interests and drawing citizens into the solution of every problem.

Democratic participation of the people in the realization of National Front electoral programs in rural committees, towns, districts and regions has justified itself in practice. Its extent is seen in, among other things, the results of voluntary labor, which in 1977 were estimated at 11,500m. crowns. We owe to it the construction of 384 kindergartens, 553 shops, nurseries, schools, gymnasiums, swimming-pools, medical and educational institutions, and other facilities. The fact that electoral programs are fulfilled shows that this initiative is increasingly recognized by the people and acquiring significance as a means of promoting broad cooperation among mass organizations and furthering society's consolidation.

Our party attaches great importance to mass organizations. The largest of them are the trade unions, which express primarily the interests of the working class. Their organizing and educational work helps to raise production efficiency, improve working and living conditions, evolve an effective system of material and moral incentives, and foster the socialist emulation movement.

We are certain that the party's work among young people is an important factor of our country's social and political progress. By passing on its economic and political experience to the rising generation, the CPCz helps maintain the continuity of the fundamental

principles of its home and foreign policy. Young people comprise over one-fourth of the leadership of mass organizations. Two-fifths of the deputies elected to representative bodies of diverse levels are under 35 years of age.

Increasing party leadership of developed socialist society does not prejudice the role of the state or the initiative of the masses. We urge the simultaneous development and consolidation of every component of our political system.

Party leadership as political administration of society does not mean that the party supersedes organs of state power or other public bodies. Its purpose is to assure the proper functioning of these bodies and oversee their work from the point of view of how far it helps achieve the main goals of social development. Lenin described this in the following general terms: '. . . It is necessary to delimit much more precisely the functions of the party (and of its Central Committee) and those of the Soviet government; to increase the responsibility and independence of Soviet officials and of Soviet government institutions, leaving to the party the general guidance of the activities of all state bodies, without the present, too frequent, irregular and often petty interference' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 33, p. 253).

The question of delimiting the functions of the party and the state is still on the agenda because in the early period of socialist construction and in the days when the effects of crisis development had to be eliminated, the party had to undertake some administrative functions. Today the CPCz concentrates on pivotal and long-range problems of political leadership. This is consonant with the fact that the party's tasks are expanding and becoming more complex as headway is made in building a developed socialist society. It is a standing task of the party to improve the political leadership provided by it, for its forms and methods are not rigid; they must and do change according to the given stage of society's development, the political activity level of the people, and so on.

In this sphere the party sees its main task in preventing petty tutelage over state and public bodies, eliminating duplication, and infusing all leading government officials and economic executives with a keener sense of responsibility. It expects communists in government bodies, mass organizations and other spheres to have a thorough grasp of the required forms and methods of economic management, administration and other executive work and to ensure more efficient management, never losing sight of the ultimate social and political goals of our society's development as a whole. In other words, pressing for more efficient government administration and economic management, we do not allow any reduction of political guidance by the party.

To delimit the functions of the party, the state and society does not mean that this or that sphere of public life should become the exclusive field of any specific component of our political system or that the party restricts the range of matters within its jurisdiction. One and the same set of tasks may be dealt with simultaneously by several public or political organizations, each of them doing it from a different angle and by its own methods. This is why the functions of the party, the state, and mass organizations must be delimited primarily with the aim of enabling the different echelons of our political system to apply the methods of leadership typical of them. Our socialist experience suggests that we are particularly successful when the party exercises its role of political leader to the fullest extent, scientifically, by the tried and tested Leninist methods: through ideological education and organizational work, by selecting and placing personnel and verifying the execution of decisions.

This fundamental position of the CPCz on the issue of perfecting social management finds expression in, for instance, its approach to steps to improve the organizational pattern and economic machinery of managing the economy. It is obvious that the strategic orientation of economic policy on enhancing the efficiency of production and improving the quality of output calls for measures to perfect the organization of production, scientific, and technological facilities, management methods, planning and production incentives, which should correspond to the level attained by the economy and take account of the increasing international socialist division of labor.

In working on the above problems, the CPCz holds that in the case of planned economic management, any change of method, instrument or organizational structure is only possible on the basis of democratic centralism, which is the fundamental, time-tested principle of managing a socialist economy. Centralism by no means implies administrative fiat or a bureaucratic approach. We know from experience how greatly bureaucratic methods can injure a socialist economy. But we also know what adverse effects can result from attacks on the principle of democratic centralism on the pretext of combating bureaucratic and rigidly administrative methods, for this principle calls for management combining centralized planning with extensive democracy, relative autonomy of the enterprises and amalgamations, and creative effort on the part of the masses. This is why the CPCz emphasizes the need for an optimal combination of democracy and centralism meeting the objective requirements of the stage of building a developed socialist society and harmonizing with the conditions and traditions of our country.

In view of the growing role of the subjective factor, the party makes a special effort to promote the ideological training of communists and

make ideological work generally more effective. We want ideological and political education and party propaganda and agitation to be tied in still more closely with the party's policy and to be based on a sound knowledge by all communists of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and the decisions and other documents of CPCz congresses, and the CC CPCz creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in our distinctive conditions. The study of the experience of the international communist and working-class movement, primarily the vast experience of building a socialist society in the Soviet Union and the experience of the Leninist CPSU, is a major element of the Marxist-Leninist education of the CPCz membership.

A sharp struggle is going on between the two different social systems. Bourgeois propaganda is engaged in a fierce and unprecedented slander campaign against existing socialism. It would like to stop or at least slow down the revolutionary process in the world, weaken the impact of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of existing socialism, mislead the working people of the capitalist countries, and divert their attention from problems posed by the deepening capitalist crisis. A large body of public opinion is offered the spectacle of 'concern' about allegedly undemocratic practices in countries of the socialist community. This 'concern' is at the back of the campaign for 'human rights,' said to be 'flouted' in the socialist countries. It is revealing, however, that those behind this fashionable movement find it harder and harder to disguise the class nature of freedoms and rights generally.

The Czechoslovak people have the experience enabling them to compare bourgeois and socialist democracy. In the late 60s, political practice furnished convincing proof of the demagogical character of grandiloquent talk about 'pure' democracy. Our people therefore reject fabrications hostile to socialism, well knowing from their relatively recent past that there has never been such a thing as supra-class, pure democracy, nor can there be, and that in reality it turns out to be bourgeois democracy.

The CPCz assigns a key place in ideological work to Marxist-Leninist training of its members through numerous party schools, political education houses, the party press, radio and television. The CC CPCz encourages a differentiated approach to the education of full and probationary members and non-party people. To meet the membership's requirements as fully as possible, party education is divided into three categories (basic, secondary and higher), which differ in both difficulty of the subject matter and teaching methods. These categories are interlinked, which makes it possible to conduct stage by stage ideological and political training of communists.

The party education system today encompasses nearly all commu-

nists plus 160,000 non-party people. The trade unions and the Socialist Youth League contribute their share to the political education of the people.

Problems of party building, the promotion of inner-party democracy and consistent application of the principle of collective leadership get the CPCz's unremitting attention. Its numerical strength has grown in recent years; its social and age composition has improved, and it now has a larger working-class core. After the 14th Congress, over 540,000 people were admitted to probationary membership; 62 per cent of them are workers and over 90 per cent are young men and women under 35 years of age. The proportion of intellectuals is growing; they total one-third (32.1 per cent) of the membership. The party's social composition assures its strong connection with and direct influence on every class and social group of our society.

The more difficult the tasks accomplished by society in building socialism and communism, the higher become the demands made of people, of their professional, political and moral qualities. Communists and party bodies and organizations guaranteeing the exercise of the party's leading role at local level are active in every sphere of our socialist state. One-third of the party membership hold elective posts in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and 17 per cent work in or assist government bodies.

Firmly implementing the fundamental line charted by its 14th and 15th congresses and relying on the people, the CPCz is carrying out its historic mission of building a developed socialist society. The innermost national and international meaning of socialism — serving the good of the people, universal progress, and lasting peace — is being realized through the attainment of this goal.

The uphill road to unity

Gilberto Vieira
General Secretary, CC
CP of Colombia

Recent years have seen Colombia's working people step up their struggle, with the working class gradually winning vanguard positions. Labor and civic strikes take place. The shortage of urban housing compels working people to seize vacant lots. Peasants occupy uncultivated lands.

The working people's growing activity is not typical of our country

alone. Latin America is going through a new revolutionary upsurge after the retreat caused by fascist-like military coups in Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and other countries.

A salient feature of the labor and popular movement unfolding on the continent is the desire to achieve unity of action with account of past experience. This is evident in Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Venezuela and elsewhere. General strikes in Peru and struggles by miners and other working people against the military regime in Bolivia likewise tend toward unity of action.

In view of the present stage of the struggle on the continent, WFTU General Secretary Enrique Pastorino has advanced the following two theses: one, unity of action is the main source of the working people's strength, and two, the working class must seek closer cohesion. The experience of the Colombian working class, while being part of the Latin American proletariat's experience, has its peculiarities. We think the communists of capitalist and dependent countries may find familiarity with it useful. So let us look at some pages of the chronicle of our labor movement.

It was after World War I that the Colombian working class emerged as a new historical force playing a role in national development. Its early actions were strikes by Magdalena River deck-hands and stevedores, railwaymen, coffee pickers and workers in oil-fields owned by big imperialist companies. The first trade unions, structurally linked with nascent socialist groups and, above all, with the Socialist Revolutionary Party, came into being in that period.

The period ended in the historic strike at the banana plantations of the American United Fruit Company (1928). The strikers demanded higher wages, cash allowances for victims of accidents, collective insurance, housing meeting elementary sanitary standards and the abolition of *comisariatos*.[1] The strike assumed a vast scale and was backed by the whole people.

However, the 1928 strike movement was brutally crushed by General Carlos Cortes Vargas' troops; thousands of strikers and members of their families were killed. The ultra-reactionary government of the time imagined that by massacring banana plantation workers it had nipped the revolutionary working-class movement in the bud and eliminated it for all time. Yet a mere six months later the capital, Bogota, was the scene of a popular demonstration protesting against frauds by the municipal authorities. And when mounted police led by the selfsame General Cortes Vargas attacked the demonstrators a general strike broke out that forced the butcher general and several cabinet ministers to resign and paved the way for the victory of the Liberal Party in the 1930 presidential elections (until then, the country

had for 45 years been under undivided Conservative rule). In July of that year a group of members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party leaning toward Marxism-Leninism founded the Communist Party of Colombia at the recommendation of the Comintern.

Trade union unity was achieved in 1935. That was a time when a people's anti-fascist front began to form while power was in the hands of a national bourgeois government under Alfonso Lopez Pumarejo, a Liberal. A trade union center, the Confederation of Colombian Workers (CCW), was founded. The workers scored some gains in the struggle for a more just labor legislation and for their pressing demands.

In 1946 the Conservative government tried to split the trade union movement by backing the Union of Colombian Workers (UCW), a Catholic federation that had just been formed as a counter to the CCW, with the secret support of Jesuit priests and big employers. In the dark decade of reactionary bloody dictatorships (1948-58), the UCW became the officially recognized union center. As for the CCW, it was persecuted. In 1950 it split as a consequence of the activity of liberal bourgeois leaders, who had joined in an anti-communist campaign and thereby earned U.S. support. The labor movement was put down by the military fascist tyranny, an act for which revolutionary forces in roughly 30 areas of the country retaliated with a peasant guerrilla war.

The fall of the military dictatorship in 1957 was followed by the formation of a parity government system under which the two traditional bourgeois parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, each took over an equal number of posts in the state apparatus and legislative bodies. The system gave the Communist Party legal political status, although subsequently its members were for years treated as second-rate citizens, being denied the right to put forward their candidates in national elections. 'In the new conditions of legality,' said a party document, 'the fledgling and inexperienced proletariat of numerous factories began to break the chains of the employers' spying, repression, and divisive activity, which had tied its hands throughout the long decade of dictatorship. Furthermore, a reorganization of industrial and regional federations of labor and class trade unions enabled veterans of the working-class movement to pass on their immense experience to the proletariat and to help it adopt the orientation and achieve the solidarity needed in its struggle for pressing demands.'[2]

The reorganization of the trade union movement within the framework of the CCW was led by the communists, who this time acted in alliance with Liberal labor leaders. The CCW went fast from strength to strength, forcing the entrepreneur-dominated Catholic UCW to a secondary place. It made gains at the time the Cuban revolution

triumphed, the example of which also had an impact on our proletariat. This explains why agents of U.S. imperialism in the labor movement and the government made another all-out effort to split the CCW. They succeeded in this at the Cartagena Congress (1961), at which provocateurs willing to use any means went as far as to demand that the Organization of American States mount an invasion of Cuba to overthrow the revolutionary government under Fidel Castro. The communists and independents, who took a stand against this monstrous provocation, were removed from the hall by police. Afterwards they were expelled from the CCW along with the federations and trade unions they represented. This was how agents of the United States, that bastion of 'representative democracy,' proceeded.

The federations and unions expelled from the CCW set up a committee for trade union unity and solidarity which became a unifying center for the labor movement. It existed until 1964, when the founding congress of the Trade Union Confederation of Colombian Workers (TUCCW) was convened.

The labor movement entered a new stage. Having won prestige and influence among the working class, the TUCCW became a union center second in strength to the UCW. The CCW, which after the split fell under the control of agents of U.S. imperialism and the liberal bourgeoisie, was losing its positions even though it still controlled some important unions, such as those of railwaymen and stevedores. However, working-class unity came up against a new obstacle with the increased activity of ultra-leftists — Maoists and Trotskyites — who turned some unions into political groups that the employers routed easily. Speaking on behalf of the unions, the bigmouthed leaders of these groups called for armed struggle, justifying kidnapping and claiming that every strike was 'a spark bound to set the country on fire.' They advocated rabid anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which enabled them to win favor with the employers. An anti-proletarian trend was also manifest in student vanguardism and occasionally in its peasant counterpart, which consisted in exaggerating the importance of guerrilla warfare in Colombian conditions.

At the same time, 'economism' (trade unionism) became widespread even in unions affiliated to the TUCCW, as a reflection in the labor movement of the bourgeois ideology of class collaboration.

Under the parity system of government, all official propaganda media plus bribery were used to subordinate the working class to capital, which had entered the phase of monopoly concentration and centralization. This bourgeois ideology has lately found expression in the so-called concerted economy of employers, workers and state on the British Labour model. However, the most that the partisans of

concerted economy could do was to set up a National Council for Wages representing only the CCW and UCW.

The Communist Party fought steadfastily against all anti-proletarian trends. It opposed ultra-leftist adventures and talk as well as reformist, 'economist' trends. This struggle is continuing except that conditions are more favorable now, for the only 'achievement' of the ultra-leftists is that they have been the cause of many a setback of the workers and middle strata. The reformists, too, are in an impasse due to their support for the social and economic policy of the ruling circles of the big bourgeoisie, which always tries to put the whole burden of inflation and resultant difficulties on the shoulders of the working people. The communists guide actions by the proletariat and middle strata, mount campaigns of solidarity with the masses, and back the demands which the CCW and UCW leaderships put forward under pressure from the workers. Furthermore, they establish contacts with new organizations, such as the General Confederation of Labor (GCL) founded a few years ago on the initiative of the Christian Socialists.

The main slogan of the Communist Party in the labor movement is unity of action. This watchword articulating the vital interests of the proletariat is interpreted by the reactionaries as a 'communist ploy' designed to subordinate 'democratic trade unions' to our party. Ultra-leftist groups, in turn, describe unity of action as a 'revisionist slogan' undermining the militancy of the working class. The alternative proposed by the 'leftists' is 'ideological unity' on the basis of their sectarian Maoist or Trotskyite concepts. Nor is it accidental that the ultra-leftists are supported by the national bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists — for a divided working class suits them well.

Pressing forward the policy for unity of action as a long-term task has been a test for the Communist Party's political firmness. If we can now speak of the early substantial gains of this policy, it is because even in the most difficult period, when the working class was split, the party put up a determined fight to prevent trade-union fragmentation, the most negative factor in the Colombian popular movement.

We have had to fight unrelentingly against sectarian sentiments even in the party. Some comrades, invoking the need to resist 'economism,' ignored working people's actions for the solution of urgent problems. This induced the 11th Party Congress (1971) to warn against indiscriminate use of the term in evaluating specific mass actions in defense of economic interests.[3] In combating opportunism, some comrades failed to distinguish between bourgeois agents in the trade unions and the unions themselves, and

underrated the importance of unity both at grass roots and in the leading bodies.

The communists' sustained and patient efforts to achieve working-class unity of action bore tangible fruit. On March 8, 1971, the TUCCW joined in a strike called by the Catholic UCW. In 1973 it held a nationwide meeting for trade union unity. On February 13, 1977, a national protest day was held against martial law. The action involved trade union and political organizations of different trends. On March 4, 1977, demonstrations of solidarity with the oil workers, who have their own autonomous union, took place in the major cities. On May 1, 1977, demonstrations organized by the TUCCW and GCL in common with unions unaffiliated to them took place all over the country. In 1978, the UCW and CCW also took part in May Day celebrations. On December 6 of that year, on the initiative of the TUCCW, the four main trade union centers held a joint demonstration on the 50th anniversary of the banana plantation workers' historic strike.

These and many other popular actions indicate that unlike the past, when revolutionary peasants and students were in the forefront, the popular movement is now led by the working class. This is due to a variety of factors, including the numerical growth of the working class. The latest surveys set Colombia's economically active population at 8.2 million (total population, 25 million). In 1975, the manufacturing industry employed 465,187 of these people. Colombian bourgeois sociologists adhere to a concept fashionable in capitalist countries which claims that the proportion of workers is diminishing while that of office employees is growing. But in our country very many of those who are really workers and are, moreover, among the lowest paid, are classed as office employees. Besides, under a law passed in 1968, the authorities regard workers employed by government agencies as office employees and on this account deny them the right to make demands and sign collective agreements. As it happens, one of the demands fostering unity of action in the trade union movement is the demand that the state respect the agreements approved by the International Labor Organization and confirmed in Colombia as laws defining the rights of employees of the public sector and the legal principles giving them a status distinct from office employees.

The biggest working-class action in Colombian history was the national civic strike on September 14, 1977, which we would like to mention in some detail.

Civic strikes are a distinctive form of mass struggle in Colombia. They encompass a whole city or area and are directed against government policy, especially in the services industry. These strikes,

particularly the 1977 national civic strike, are indisputable evidence of the growing strength of the proletariat and its ability to provide political leadership.

On May 1, 1977, the TUCCW called for a national civic strike to protest against higher prices for necessities and increased charges for public services authorized by the government, which had at the same time approved wage cuts, making the working people foot the bill of the 'social cost of inflation.' The GCL was the first to respond to the call and the UCW and CCW followed suit after heated debates. The strike was led by the chairmen and general secretaries of the TUCCW, UCW, GCL and CCW. The maneuvers of the government and the employers, who wanted to provoke a split, fell through. The battered slanderous and provocative slogan of anti-communism was rejected by the lower echelons of the trade unions and their leaders.

The organizers of the strike established contacts with mass civic organizations, neighborhood committees, communal service juntas, student associations, and peasant organizations. From the outset, political parties and alignments of the left — the Communist Party, National Opposition Union, Socialist Revolutionary Union and Socialist Bloc — contributed to publicizing and organizing the strike. By contrast, the Maoists did their best to wreck the action. The government and employers took preventive measures. Decree 2004 declaring martial law was issued; it provided for 180 days of prison for strikers. The owners of many enterprises formed armed groups of strike-breakers. The President of the Republic went on the air to declare that normal activity and traffic would be ensured at all costs.

The strike encompassed the whole country. Alvaro Delgado, a noted analyst of the struggle of the Colombian working class, has estimated that the strike involved 1,285,000 workers and other employees of the manufacturing industry, construction, trade, transport and government agencies. Traffic in many cities was paralyzed, all communication between municipalities was virtually broken off, and seaports and airlines were brought to a standstill.[4]

The government took drastic measures against the participants in the protest movement. Over 7,000 persons were arrested in Bogota alone. Ranking government officials and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces ordered troops to fire on the strikers. The tragic result of this criminal order was that 28 persons lost their lives. A curfew was enforced and the united leadership of the strike resolved to continue the strike (originally planned to last 24 hours). Where the strikers proved weaker the employers gave vent to their fury: over 1,000 employees were dismissed from 40 enterprises. The government froze the funds of 35 trade unions (without daring, however, to apply the same sanction against the trade union centers).

What made the strike distinctive was that for the first time ever, large numbers of peasants joined in an action of this nature. They made common cause with the industrial working class and the middle strata.

The strike had political repercussions. Differences in the government compelled four ministers, including the minister of the interior, to resign. But the most important result was the founding of the National Trade Union Council (NTUC) to coordinate tasks and joint struggles; leaders of the four trade union centers became members. Among the working people's gains was a common list of demands, including the demand for lifting martial law, which the four centers presented to the government. One of the immediate social advances was an increase in minimum wages, which improved the condition of the masses to some extent. In Bogota the government had to call off the monthly increase in charges for electricity and water. This measure eased the condition of roughly 300,000 families.

Bourgeois spokesmen tried to talk the workers into believing that the national civic strike had failed since not all of its demands had been met immediately. But while it is true that not all demands were met, does this mean that, to quote Marx, 'the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation ... By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement' (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Sel. Works,* Vol. 2, Moscow, 1969, p. 75).

The national civic strike was followed by other actions for unity led by the NTUC. Among them were the demonstration on November 18, 1977 over repressive measures against oil workers, declarations condemning the military fascist regimes of Latin America, a message to the Ninth WFTU Congress, which was attended by delegates from the TUCCW and CCW, recommendations for the formation of regional trade union committees, the May Day demonstration of 1978, and firm support for the national forum in defense of human rights in Colombia (Bogota, March 30, 1979).

The big capitalists and their men in the government as well as agents of U.S. imperialism try to prevent working-class unity of action. The American Institute of Free Labor Development wants to impose its formula of 'unity,' which implies a merger of the CCW and UCW to isolate the TUCCW. To this end the institute helps CCW and UCW leaders with substantial financial aid through its branches, which are in fact an instrument of the CIA. Nevertheless, the idea of

unity of action on a trade union basis is gaining ground among the workers of our country.

Proletarian solidarity increased with the formation of the NTUC. At the moment there is no consensus on political problems in the Council, for it comprises trade union leaders who belong to the Conservative, Liberal, Christian-Democratic or Communist Party. However, there is consensus on the economic and social policy of the government and on specific actions of the working people.

The ultra-leftists condemn the communists for developing the dialogue with the leaders of reformist and employers' unions. They refuse to understand that unity of action is needed to resist exploitation and defend the interests of labor. Besides, unity of action helps modernize the antiquated trade union structure of Colombia, as by forming sectoral trade unions.

The mission of the Colombian working class is to lead the struggle for the far-reaching structural changes the country needs. The surest road to this is the one leading to unity of action, which the Trade Union Confederation of Colombian Workers champions.

By promoting and expanding unity of action, we communists hope to achieve in due course organizational unity as well. We are confident that the Colombian working-class movement will be equal to fulfilling its historic mission.

1. Monopoly shops where the workers were compelled to buy foodstuffs at abusive prices fixed by the monopoly.
2. *Treinta anos de lucha del Partido Comunista de Colombia*. Bogota, 1960, pp. 146-47.
3. *Por la unidad obrera y popular hacia el socialismo*. Bogota, 1972, p. 106.
4. *Voz Proletaria*, January 5, 1978.

The communists and the trade unions

DISCUSSION IN HELSINKI

The importance of the trade unions in Finland's social life today will be seen from the following figures: its population is 4.7 million, and of them nearly 1.5 million are unionized. Quite naturally, the communists give special attention to this most massive organization of the working people.

Problems in the party's work within the trade union movement were considered at a discussion arranged by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland with the participation of

WMR. Taking part were *Olavi Hänninen,* Vice-Chairman, CP Finland, Second Chairman, Central Trade Union Organization of Finland; *Hannu Vuorio,* CP Political Bureau member; *Yrjö Tirri,* CP Secretariat member, CC Trade Union Department head; *Reino Lohikivi,* department staff member; *Elsa Aaltonen,* Second Chairman, Textile Workers' Union; *Mauri Perä* of the Building Workers' Union; *Tapio Vallin* of the Water Transport and Electic Power Stations Technical Workers' Union; *Timo Näsänen* of the Commerce and Service Personnel Union; *Tuula Sarrola* of the Office Workers' Union; *Lea Väänänen,* chief shop steward of Nokia Electronics, and *Helja Tammisola,* chief shop steward of the State Social Insurance Office.

The discussion, a review of which is presented below, centered on three questions, which its participants believe to be the most important.

1. Basic trends and problems in the country's trade union movement today

The participants in the meeting set themselves the task of identifying, above all, the trends and problems which today induce the communists to gain a deeper comprehension of the strategy, tactics and methods of their work in the trade union movement. In this context, Hänninen emphasized the special importance of the trend toward working-class unity. In our activity, he said, we have always been guided by Lenin's idea that divisions are the main obstacle to the advance of the working class in its struggle. That was also our assumption ten years ago when, on the basis of the joint decision of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, the trade unions got together and set up the united trade union center (CTUO). This produced a totally new situation in the country and yielded many positive results.

In the past ten years, the trade unions affiliated with the CTUO have tripled their membership, to over 80 per cent of all the unionized labor. This is one the highest figures in the world. The growth trend has continued and this creates good organizational prerequisites for advancing the class struggle.

Another characteristic phenomenon, the comrades said, is the working people's growing struggle for their rights. In the recent period, Tirri, Vuorio and Perä emphasized, more working people have taken part in strikes than ever before. Most of them were not intimidated by the crisis and the attendant threats to their welfare. Nor can one say that the working people's demands have in any way been relaxed.

The traditional notion of trade union struggle and of the range of

problems arising in its course, they said, is being largely upset. There is no doubt that the trade unions continue to concentrate on the working people's vital needs, so that the main struggle is, as a rule, over the bargaining for collective agreements. But here are some facts. The workers of the Värtsilä concern began to fight against the growing unemployment and eventually demanded the nationalization of the concern. The working people of Karhulan Konepaä demanded that new production equipment should be purchased in the Soviet Union or other CMEA countries, and succeeded in arranging a trip to the Soviet Union to study such equipment. This is a highly characteristic orientation of the trade union struggle, which combines an urge to extend the framework of economic cooperation and strengthen ties with the socialist countries, while developing and establishing workers' control.

Ever more frequently today the trade unions, standing up for the working people's daily interests, are confronted with the combined power of the state and the monopolies, and have to find answers to questions relating to the life of society as a whole and to determine their stand in every sphere of socio-economic policy. The very content of the basic collective agreements is now such that it bears directly on fiscal and financial policies and on social and labor legislation, while realization — on the state and national level — of the economic measures put forward by the working people, something for which the trade unions insistently work, inevitably requires political decisions.

The CTUO, it was emphasized at the meeting, is now a force which strongly influences decision-making in the country's economic policy. Characteristically, spokesmen for big capital now also have to admit as much. One of the, Vuorio said, recently declared that a kind of 'government of all parties' operates whenever basic collective agreements are negotiated, because questions, which according to the laws of parliamentarism, must be decided on the basis of the government's recommendations in parliament, are in most cases discussed and on the whole decided through negotiations between the trade unions and employers' organizations. More, in addition to wage problems, these concern all central issues of economic and social life. Vuorio stressed that the trade unions' consistent stand in such negotiations and the support given to that stand whenever necessary, by mass action on the part of the working people must and does serve as a guarantee against these relations developing in the spirit of social partnership.

The potentialities and orientation of the present-day trade union movement are largely determined by the fact that the trade unions now have a new generation whose minds were shaped by the extensive growth of political and social self-consciousness. At the same

time, a new generation has entered the employers' organizations. Vallin noted that the outwardly polite and even genial employers, with whom it was possible to make arrangements, have given way to calculating and brusque lawyers, and it is the language of state-protected laws that is now in force. This also helps the working people to understand that their problems cannot be solved only through struggle at their own enterprise; their consistent and complete solution can be achieved only through radical socio-economic and political transformations. At any rate, favorable soil is here being prepared in this sense for the communists' explanatory work. At the same time, joint efforts have become a necessary condition for the working people's defense of their rights. That is why industrial and office workers and technicians at an enterprise or in an industry increasingly have to act together.

For a long time, Näsänen, Vallin and Tirri said, office workers assumed that in status and mentality they were closer to the employers than to factory workers. Now that the real wages of some of their categories tend to fall even faster than those of the workers, and there are no guarantees against massive layoffs, a sort of re-appraisal of values is going on. Growing activity in defense of their rights and adoption of forms of struggle used by the working class warrant the assumption that office workers are gradually moving to the left.

However, other comrades said, this is not a simple process in any sense. Even today, the employers seek to maintain the traditional impression that the employee is a person with a higher status than the worker. At the enterprises, this is expressed, in particular, in the fact that industrial workers and office workers have different catering facilities, use different entrances and exits, and so on. Office workers have some privileges, which do not cost the employers a great deal. Frequently, Sarrola said, office workers cling to these 'privileged' positions to the last, so trying to convince others — and themselves as well — that for the time being their wages are still tolerable on the whole, while unemployment may, after all, not affect them personally.

Right-wing forces have been skillfully using for their own interests the fact that office workers differ in family background, ideology and social status, and that there is still no solidarity between office workers employed by different corporations or even by the same corporation. In some trade unions there is, regrettably, evidence of an urge to separate or isolate the office workers from the industrial workers so as to prevent the traditions and experience of the working class from influencing the former. At the same time, workers themselves frequently continue to regard office workers, notably technical

specialists, as employers, although there is less and less reason for doing so: only a small group of office workers now ranks among those who receive a part of the surplus value.

There is a growing need among office workers and members of various petty-bourgeois groups to join trade unions and take part in strikes, and this is already reflected in statistics. In 1977, for instance, nearly 40 per cent of all those involved in strikes were office workers. As a rule, these were so-called unofficial political strikes, to protest against arbitrary acts of employers, dismissals, infringement of the rights of shop stewards, and so on.

One could say, Hänninen said, that there is a clear trend toward proletarianization of the whole trade union movement. That does not mean that someone has been consciously working out such an orientation or directing the process: such is the objective course of things. The question arises of developing cooperation among all the organizations now representing wage and salary earners (in Finland, apart from the CTUO, which has 1 million members, there are three other central trade union organizations mainly uniting office employees). Such cooperation — which is highly important, the communists believe — is needed not only for joint action to solve the internal problems confronting the working-class and democratic movement, but also in view of the incipient common approach to key foreign-policy issues and joint participation in various international trade union acts connected with the struggle for peace, disarmament and international solidarity.

Consequently, Hänninen emphasized, in the past ten years the trade union movement has become qualitatively different, because its scale, tasks, content of work and membership have changed substantially. Extension of the trade unions' activity, the growing politicization of their struggle and the urge for unity and cooperation — all these objective trends offer new opportunities for increasing the communists' influence in the trade unions, while making the latter deepen in many ways their traditional view of the party's work in this field.

2. The lines of party work in the trade unions

The latest, 18th Congress of the CP Finland in June 1978 adopted a political document, whose name itself defines its orientation. It is called 'For Democratic Change.' This implies political and economic transformations ensuring not only better conditions for the people today but also favorable prerequisites for the struggle for socialism.

Now that the prestige of the trade union movement has been considerably enhanced and its potentialities broadened, there are tangible prerequisites for closer unity and concentration of the forces working for democratic change, Vuorio emphasized. When one

speaks of 'the new role of the trade union movement,' one means above all, I think, that the important problems facing the country and the working people cannot be solved through purely reformist activity, that they cannot be solved only 'at the top.' There arises the objective need for a program to improve the working people's living conditions, a program containing not only material demands, but also the tasks of deeper social transformations. This can be implemented only through reliance on the strength of the masses now represented by the trade unions. Such a program, we believe, is outlined in the document 'For Democratic Change.' One of the basic tasks before the communists today is to organize work in the trade unions so as to get the masses to accept our program.

In the light of the present situation in the country — the stepped-up activity of the right-wing forces, their urge to lower the working people's living standards, and to whittle down the democratic rights they have already won — the communists accentuate the issues on which the main struggle now centers, and seek to provide the masses with a reliable compass in this struggle by connecting the present tasks with long-term goals.

Unemployment is one of the socially acute and most alarming problems for the working people. Roughly half a million people in the country are out of work in production for a more or less considerable period in the course of the year. When at its peak, unemployment comes to 8 per cent of the active labor force, hitting working people in all the industries, including specialists and office workers. At present, more than 64 certified engineers, 48 technicians, over 65 economists with a higher education, 350 economists with a secondary education, 73 forestry engineers and agronomists, etc., now queue up for every available job.

The result is that more and more working people seek to join the trade unions, as they come to realize the strength of organized struggle. They also make greater demands on the content of the trade union economic policy.

But the communists are concerned about a counter-trend. Aaltonen said that she had seen trade union activists of a number of enterprises, which are now closed, who are greatly worried over the fact that their former comrades who are now jobless refuse to see anyone or to meet them at home to discuss any problems. This may be an extreme, but there are many examples showing that unemployment produces passiveness, a state of social and political inertness. That is a grave problem for the communists working in the trade union movement. We have to think about ways of reactivating those who have lost all hope, who feel that they are useless in society, for our common

struggle whose purpose is precisely to break down the wall of hopelessness.

When collective agreements are concluded, Aaltonen said, trade unionists are faced with this difficult problem: how to secure an improvement in the workers' condition without letting it worsen the problem of employment. We have to think about how the army of unemployed is to be reduced. In this sense, it is highly important for the communists working in the sectoral trade unions, as I am, that they can now address the masses with concrete proposals formulated by the party.

In order to improve the state of employment, the communists proposed, in particular, an extension of school and vocational training, a lowering of pension age, primarily for persons employed in industries where labor is especially arduous and hazardous, and to shorten the working week to 35 hours without any reduction in wages. The party advocates broad government measures to ensure employment, and also to increase public investments and extend the scale of housing construction. What is especially important for increasing employment, the communists emphasize, is development of trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Today we face phenomena, Tirri emphasized, whose development shows that the communists' proposals not only on the current problems but also on the long-term prospects are understood and supported by the masses. For instance, we have put forward a programmatic demand for democratic nationalization. The characteristic thing is that now, during the economic recession, when large-scale enterprises face grave complications, the working people ever more insistently demand the conversion of these enterprises to public ownership. For that reason, in particular, the state has been forced to take over most of the shares of the Kemiyhtiö enterprise in the north of the country, and this saved several thousand jobs. The demands put forward by the communists at the enterprise were backed by a very broad political front.

Some time ago, Aaltonen added, a similar situation took shape in the textile industry manufacturing woolen fabrics, where there was a threat of a total fold-up of production. Despite the fact that a majority in our trade union belongs to the social democrats, we succeeded in mounting a political struggle as a result of which the state took part in developing the industry. This was, it is true, an expression of the national interest as well, but I think that no such approach would have been taken but for the action by the working people. It is the communists who displayed the initiative in this case. Of course, that does not amount to democratic nationalization, which we favor, that is, a

complex of measures, including democratic planning, democratic control, etc., but it is a step toward it.

Another question which is now being broadly discussed at virtually every enterprise and which is closely connected with the problem of employment is that of *rationalization and automation of production.* There is no doubt that large-scale investments for the purposes of rationalization, Lohikivi, Tammisola and Väänänen said, lead to a loss of jobs. The present demand to reduce working hours is not always supported and has caused many discussions precisely because it may result in ever greater rationalization of production processes and massive dismissals. The workers are beginning to fear new technology. Office workers feel defenseless in face of the advance of electronic computers. An announcement at Siemens, for instance, says that automation would cut 40 per cent of the office jobs, and one can well imagine the state of a family whose bread-winner finds himself in this 40 per cent. All of these are real problems.

But we communists, Väänänen declared in this connection, cannot oppose technical progress. Those who argue that the current problems spring from the development of technology and recommend a 'zero cycle, or an 'economy of small production units,' merely help the bourgeoisie, the communists believe, to find ideological justification for the present state of crisis. On the contrary, the party believes that the decision to cut subsidies for scientific development should be revoked, and the funds used actively to expand technological projects. It is quite another matter what character automation and rationalization acquire in present-day conditions, and whom they serve. We must convince the working people that unemployment does not spring from new technology, but above all from the existing socio-economic conditions, and that to fight against unemployment today means fighting for a change of these conditions.

In Finland, Tammisola said, organizations of working people and employers were unable to reach any hard-and-fast agreement on measures to rationalize production. The goals of rationalization meet only those of the capitalists. By means of rationalization, the employer seeks to boost labor productivity, cut labor costs and insure themselves against any complications that may arise if the working people resort to strikes. But little is being done to have automation ease human labor and eliminate arduous and unpleasant operations which now and again produce a state of stress. At any rate, man continues to be an appendage of the machine. What he is actually released from is frequently the right to work, his daily wage. The employers take no interest in whether and how the redundant manpower is to be used.

The communists demand that the working people made redundant

because of rationalization must be provided with jobs and retraining at the employer's expense. This demand is supported by the trade unions.

The working people's class struggle, speakers in the discussion said, is now centered not only on concrete issues relating to working and living conditions, but increasingly on a general extension of rights and opportunities to exert an influence on these conditions. In this connection, there is much emphasis on the workers' participation in management. The bourgeoisie and the social-democratic leadership, Vyorio, Tirri and Perä said, easily accept nominal forms of democracy in production and develop all kinds of 'models' of participation, but in practice this boils down to a discussion of no more than secondary issues with the workers. On July 1 of this year, a new Law on Cooperation is to enter into force. It was adopted in response to massive pressure from the working people. Participants in the discussion said that it does not, in effect, give the workers and employees greater opportunities to influence the formulation and solution of problems bearing on their vital interests. At the same time, the communists intend to use this law to carry on the struggle for implementing the propositions which will help to extend the working people's rights in practice.

While the communists believe that the workers' real participation in management can be effected only through a radical change in the socio-economic conditions, they advocate that the working people should have more realistic opportunities for influencing production even today. They demand, in particular, that workers and their organizations should have all the necessary information concerning the economic condition of the enterprise, its plans, property relations and use of profits, information on investments and deliveries, the origin and make of equipment, the availability and transfers of manpower; the trade union organizations should have an opportunity effectively to participate in drawing up production plans and controlling their realization.

The communists' demands relating to problems which are of vital importance for the people are ever more frequently supported by the trade unions and are reflected in their economic policies. This undoubtedly helps to improve the political education of the working people through trade union activity. But we cannot say, participants in the discussion emphasized, that today this opportunity is being fully used, above all because the growing strength of the trade unions has not gone hand in hand with a corresponding strengthening of the communists' positions at the enterprises.

When it comes to a working-class party, said Hänninen, the importance of shop-floor activity is self-evident. While we have advanced in

the recent period in organizing this activity, we have fallen far short of the results we now need. There are advances, but considering the marked increase in the numerical strength of the trade unions and the role of the trade union movement in every field, including political life, we must admit that this does not fully accord with the scale of the party's work at the enterprises.

At the same time, practice shows that the communists enjoy the trust of broad sections of the working people. They have been elected shop stewards at many large enterprises. This trend is increasingly manifest among office workers as well. I myself, Tammisola declared, am the chief shop steward at an enterprise with nearly 5,000 employees, and most of them are inclined to bourgeois attitudes. I am sure that the election of communists as shop stewards has a very positive effect on the party's practical work among the masses. But it is a paradox that in trade union elections the communists do not receive the support one could expect them to have judging by the results of shop steward elections. That is a question which is now being seriously considered in the party.

For decades, Aaltonen and Perä declared, we worked to induce men and women to put forward demands. However, for the time being we have gone only half way to creating a force in the localities that could secure implementation of these demands. In a sense, we do not seem to have translated into the trade unions the high level of organization and readiness among the working people to participate in various forms of activity and struggle.

That is why it is highly important, the communists believe, to extend the network of party of organizations and groups at the enterprises, to seek ways of spreading the party's ideas among the masses more actively, to present its concrete alternatives to the workers, to make fuller use of the education system by means of which the party can give practical help to the comrades working in the trade union movement.

At the same time, the communists believe that there is a need to establish closer contacts with the new forces now joining the trade union movement. For a long time, the communists traditionally worked in the industries, and did not at once notice the trend toward changes in the structure of the population and the emergence of new sections of wage and salary earners. There were no party members from these sections — and it is hard to exert any influence from outside — we did not know their mentality or their problems, or where the main emphasis should be. This explains why employees and workers in the services spheres did not 'find us,' so to speak, and did not come to feel that we were also acting in their interests, to say

nothing of the strong bourgeois influence among them which engenders anti-communist preconceptions.

It is said, now and again, that the entry of new forces into the trade union movement will limit the influence of the communists in it, so that this is a trend that should not be encouraged. We believe that this is a narrow-minded approach, and that these phenomena should be considered in their objective development. And the objective developments are such that unless we manage, at this crucial moment, to establish contacts with these new forces and strengthen mutual understanding among workers and employees, we may really narrow down the party's influence among the masses substantially.

The communists working in the trade unions, Lohikivi emphasized, are helping employees and representatives of a number of other sections to become aware of their social status and to have less fear in backing the workers' policy, the working people's policy, joining political organizations and establishing a network of such organizations in their own sectors.

The communists believe that development of the anti-imperialist struggle and solidarity action provides real opportunities for uniting the working people's forces, thereby ensuring the crucial condition for the further struggle to restructure society.

3. *Cooperation of the two working-class parties*

Work in the trade unions, Tirri said, is a sphere of the communists' activity where we directly cooperate with the social democrats, with the communists having a majority only in five of the 28 sectoral trade unions within the CTUO. How is such cooperation effected in practice, and is it always feasible?

We are working most consistently to prevent any in-fighting between communists and social democrats within the trade unions, and to have our common struggle directed against the capitalists. But in so doing we always retain our political and ideological independence and our party's distinctive features.

In the trade unions, where we have a majority it is, naturally, easier for us to influence the formation of the tasks in the struggle. But even where the social democrats have a majority, we seek to prevent our goals from clashing with theirs, and at any rate to have them similarly oriented. We could say that in the recent period the spirit of cooperation is being increasingly established within the CTUO framework.

This is all the more important in the light of the CTUO's history. At one time, all communists, to a man, had to withdraw from its apparatus. Then, in the CTUO the Communist Party was represented by one man who was allowed to handle statistics. Today, as I am aware from my experience as the second chairman of the CTUO,

Hänninen said, no letter is issued with the signature of a social democrat alone. We jointly conduct the official negotiations with the government and the employers. The CTUO's stand on key problems is jointly formulated. There is an understanding on the balance of forces and it is now such that communists and other members of the People's Democratic League make up 37 per cent of the leadership, the directorate, the CTUO departments and so on.

We are not quite satisfied with the existing situation, for there is still some discrimination against communists in a number of trade unions. But the basic orientation today is development of democracy within the trade union movement, and this undoubtedly helps to strengthen our positions. Already two-thirds of the trade unions affiliated with the CTUO adopt the principle of proportional representation in electing delegates to congresses, members of the leadership and in adopting cardinal decisions, and that is something the communists have always demanded. Under the old system of 'absolute majority' we were unable to send even a single delegate to a congress despite, say, a 40 per cent vote in our favor.

Now the communists have the opportunity to reach a political understanding on joint work with the social democrats before the congress of each trade union — on the basis of representation of both sides reflecting the real situation and the mood in the grass-roots organizations — so as subsequently to reach joint decisions. Roughly 90 per cent of all decisions are taken by the CTUO unanimously. One could say that we have found a common language in drafting them. And because these decisions are joint, they provide an opportunity for developing a massive struggle to realize demands which are designed for attaining higher goals.

The CTUO, Hänninen said, has worked out a joint stand with respect to the government. While insisting that the trade unions should be independent of the government, it also believes that the communists and the social democrats should be represented on the government because the trade union movement has greater trust in a government in which both working-class parties are involved. Nor does this remain on paper. The CTUO decision on the latest electoral campaign provided that both parties were to receive considerable and highly important financial support, personnel for effecting various measures, and space in the trade union press which is circulated in over a million copies.

The CTUO has defined its line in international affairs, and it is largely oriented by the communists. The struggle of the trade unions, notably their grass-roots organizations, for peace and international solidarity has already gone beyond the framework of mere humanism, Perä said, and it is now a highly important part of the revolutionary

movement, helping to generate a spirit of internationalism and political consciousness among the masses.

On the whole, the CTUO takes a more left-wing stand than the Social-Democratic Party, the comrades emphasized, because the main pressure from below is directed at the trade unions and not at the social-democratic leadership. As a result, CTUO decisions are closer to those of the Communist Party, and this is of substantial help in our work in the government, because the demands advocated by communist ministers are backed up with powerful CTUO support.

We are satisfied that the Communist Party can now accept the propositions set forth in the CTUO's principled program aimed at realizing not only economic demands but also profound social transformations going all the way to socialism. These fundamental propositions, the communists believe, epitomize the new role of the trade union movement. At the same time, we cannot be satisfied with how the program is being implemented, Hänninen said. Too many things remain on paper. Too often votes are taken on individual points, and the communists are left in a minority. Frequently decisions, notably those on collective agreements, are taken without the communists.

We cannot, of course, demand that CTUO decisions should fully reflect our party's standpoint. But we have to prevent these from being social-democratic decisions alone. All CTUO decisions are compromises, but these are not compromises which result in abandonment of principles. We seek to intensify the class struggle so that the formulation of demands should itself clearly reveal the will of the working class, which determines the will of the whole trade union movement, and so provide a basis for bringing to maturity the common stand of the communists and the social democrats. That is one of the main lines of our further struggle.

At the same time, it was pointed out, there is increasing evidence of a need to give greater depth to the organizational aspects of the matter. In the recent period, the social democrats managed to extend their influence in some trade unions, and not through their policy but clearly through organizational activity: in their party center they have markedly strengthened the forces working in the trade union movement. For the time being, the communists have been unable to respond to this.

We have discussed very self-critically the system which we have developed for work in the trade unions, the comrades emphasized. We have given serious thought to improving some echelons of this system. No success can obviously be achieved without a strong political organization. This means that ways must be found to strengthen the party organizations in all the trade unions. Those who work in the trade unions must know how the party responds to the

host of problems which arise in our days. This means that there is a need for a collective body to express the party's opinion, and we are now trying to rearrange our work in the CC Trade Union Commission to help it become a truly competent party agency.

The penetration of bourgeois parties into the trade union movement is another acute question; the right-wing forces seek to arrange direct contacts with their supporters in the trade unions. This means that we must bring out and use every opportunity for extending the communists' influence outside the CTUO framework, in the trade unions of scientific workers, employees and new sections of the working class. Party and trade union leaders' style of work now also appears in a new light. New problems require a new approach. Meanwhile, numerous reports from research centers, scientific institutes, universities and statistical agencies which we have always sought to have, and which we now have, frequently remain unused because of a lack of scientific training among us and also because of excessive pressure of work. We must give thought to how the situation may be changed, and how this highly necessary information should serve the party in its concrete work with the masses, because to go on groping today, in the old way, means failing to understand modern problems and ways of solving them in the working people's interests.

The communists still have to do a lot to make use of all the opportunities for work among the masses, Tirri emphasized, so expressing the view of all those taking part in the discussion. An intricate struggle among various ideological forces is now going on in the trade union movement, the struggle to win the trust and support of that tremendous force, which the working people's most massive organization now is. The communists are clearly aware that their practical work today, and its content and organization provide the basis for attaining long-term goals and establishing the party's authority and prestige among the masses.

Why we are with the communists

We continue our series* featuring interviews and letters in which people of different walks of life, nationality and profession state their reasons for joining the Communist Party, voting the communist ticket or just participating in mass actions organized by the communists. The following interviews were taken by our correspondents in Cyprus and the Republic of Ireland.

CYPRUS

Kostos Phellas welder (Limassol)

I began to understand what the Communist Party stood for while I was serving in the National Guard when the military junta ruled Greece and the majority of officers in Cyprus were the junta's henchmen. We were made to attend special lectures on anti-communism at which we, young soldiers, were stuffed with humbug about the communists. I recall that my reaction to these lectures was the exact opposite of what was expected — I found that I wanted to know why communists were so ardent and self-scarificing in upholding ideals which were explained to us in such uncomplimentary terms. Gradually, many facts came to light that made me doubt the truth of what I was told at these lectures, and my sympathy for AKEL began growing.

After I was mustered out of the National Guard I started reading more, with greater purpose, and looked deeper into politics. By this time my views had more or less crystallized and I joined the progressive youth organization EDON. I was living not far from Limassol in a village known for its reactionary and conservative sentiments, and our youth organization had a hard time of it. But we were encouraged by AKEL. I realized that this was the only party with which I wanted to be associated. Its traditions and the role it played in our country's history and in the day-to-day struggles for the working people's interests, and the people whom I knew to be members of AKEL — all this helped me make my final choice and I, too, joined AKEL. In Cyprus, of course, there are other parties that are not indifferent to the people's interests. But I feel that often they either lack vigor in upholding these interests or their understanding of them is much too narrow.

* See *WMR* of May 1977.

My family, too, influenced my choice. My father, mother and elder brother are all members of AKEL. But, I think political views are formed when a person starts living his own life. To give an example I have a friend who comes from my village. At home, with his parents, his upbringing was undemocratic. We served together in the National Guard, and he made a lot of trouble for me for he would report my political conversations to the officers. After he finished his term of service he went to work at an asbestos plant. When he started earning his own living and facing his first difficulties his opinion of the communists began changing, softening, I would say. He started looking for the right road and I think he is beginning to find it.

I was elected secretary of the youth organization in our village. This keeps me very busy, and besides I work here in Limassol. We try to win over as many people as possible in order the better to counter reaction in everything, in big things and small. There has been a change of mood in our village. Before the putsch, the Turkish aggression and occupation, we communists were often viewed with distrust, even prejudice, and the general mood was often sceptical when we explained that Cyprus was to be turned into a NATO, an imperialist springboard. However, after the tragic events that descended upon our people, many of those who refused even to listen to us, now feel ashamed, for our party was speaking the truth and they understand this. They are embarrassed by their behavior. Those who opposed us before now come and say they want to work with us. As for us, we cannot stand aloof from those who want to see Cyprus free.

Elini Michail packer (Nicosia)

We workers must stick together. How else can we get what we want? In Cyprus there is no other party except AKEL that unites the workers. The very atmosphere in other parties is alien to us. As for AKEL, its policy is clear. In our party branch at the factory we freely discuss our personal and common problems and this helps us to understand the party's policy. It is the most influential party in Cyprus. I trust my comrades and whatever happens I shall always be with them. I know and I believe that the work the party is doing, that each of us is doing is very important for the country's independence and freedom, for a better life, for socialism, and we try to show the people just why ours is the correct road.

I have seen that women, especially working women, do not have too much time for party work and as we get older we have even less time. Many have families and children, and after work there are chores at home. However, I think what is important is not how much time we are able to give to social work, but the fact that at the factory

we work together and support one another. Our party is highly appreciative of the support of working women, and we want as many of them as possible to share our views and ideas.

Dimitris Constantinou production manager (Nicosia)

I joined the party when I was 17, when it was in the underground and our people were fighting the English for independence. Those were difficult years for everybody. Many people were trying to find their place in the common struggle. I found mine as a member of AKEL, the reasons being that that was how I was brought up and I was attracted to the communists. I always tried to measure up to them and follow their example. True, there were things I did not understand. I wanted an opportunity to avenge the death of comrades murdered by the fascists. I am still very hot-tempered, but in those years I was always itching for a fight. But my comrades, the party were against any kind of terror. Today I realize that this policy was correct.

The party helped me to form my political and moral views and to mould my character. Certainly many AKEL members go through this formative school. One other thing: I have been a party member for over 20 years — a good part of my life — and I have found my identity in the struggle for our common cause. This has given meaning and content to my life. It is wonderful to know that if today there exists the Republic of Cyprus this is largely the result of the struggle organized by the party.

Andrula Ftochidou biochemist (Nicosia)

I had not been to Cyprus for six years because I was studying abroad. When I returned I was quite baffled by what I saw. I became friendly with some young people who were educated in Greece. We discussed politics and the country's problems at length, and to me they seemed to be true revolutionaries. I felt their views were close to my own and I decided to join their party. But gradually I began to sense that the people in that organization wanted something different from what I was striving for. At first I though this concerned only a few. But when I saw that there seemed to be a multitude of views: social-democratic, and Maoist — you name it, we had it. But most of all I was greatly disappointed by the party leadership — among rightists they were rightists, among leftists they were leftists. The general atmosphere was insincere and false. So I wrote the leaders a letter stating that I no longer wished to remain in their party because of a difference of views and ideology.

I am a biochemist by profession. At first I worked in a clinic. Then, my friend and I borrowed money to purchase our own small laboratory where we work together. But I always believed in the necessity of

social work. Nothing can be achieved single-handedly. I joined the youth organization EDON and was active in other non-partisan mass organizations. This work helped me to learn more about AKEL and its genuinely revolutionary tactics. When I joined I was well aware of the full measure of responsibility I was taking upon myself: it was a very serious step. Being a member of AKEL means working for the people, for your country.

IRELAND

Eddie Glacken 32,
employed by the Dublin Municipal Authority

My first involvement in politics came about nearly 15 years ago when I had just left school and was a clerical worker in a state company. I found that after many years devoted to studies in school, when I started working I was on very, very low wages and it would take at least 20 years before I would be receiving a decent living wage. This was a factor which made me question the value of the education that was meant to prepare me for the world.

After I left school, I was struck by the fact that all the values I had been given in school and which I had been taught to believe, all the Christian values of 'love your neighbor,' and so on, I found that these were very shallow when applied to the real world that existed outside of school. Lip service was paid to all these values by the government, by politicians, by the major press and radio. But, in fact, these values did not amount to very much in real life in society, as I saw it, based on hypocrisy and a denial of these values. This led me to question many of them.

Things like the very considerable poverty in Dublin brought me at one time to a voluntary religious organization. We used to visit old people in their homes to help them. But then, I started questioning the value of what this organization was doing, of my work. I mean, I could come to some old person, make a cup of tea, talk to him for a while, but when I went away the poverty and loneliness were still there. And I questioned this also, this society which led these people, after they had given all their work to society, to end their days in these conditions, in squalor and loneliness. This also led me to question the values which I had been given in school. And, through the combination of these experiences, I began to look for something which would give expression, meaning, to these criticisms in my own mind, and new values.

It was around this period that I first attended a meeting of the Connolly Youth Movement which was only being formed as the youth organization of the Communist Party.

Gradually I became more and more involved in this movement because I found there young people who had the same questioning attitude as myself to society and who were not afraid to say that there was an alternative that could be realized if people worked together to achieve it.

So, basically, this was how I became involved in politics. Afterwards, I took part in the Anti-Apartheid Movement, a very big movement in Ireland. I represented the Connolly Youth Movement (CYM) on the Executive Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. I was already on the Executive Committee of the CYM and eventually became Chairman of the CYM.

It was through this movement that I came into contact with the party because many of the CYM leaders were young party members. One thing that struck me about the party was that, as a young person growing up in a capitalist society, in the early 60s there was all this talk about a generation gap and the total divorce and division between old and young people. But, when I looked at the party, I was able to see people of all age groups cooperating together on the basis of their common beliefs and ideology, both young people and older people who, until then, I and my generation blamed for all that society was lacking. This had a big effect on me because I could see no other organization that could bring young and old together on this same basis.

I found that in the party were ordinary working-class people with a great sense of dedication and ready to make tremendous scarifices for what they believed in. All this impressed me greatly and so, in 1969, I decided to join the party. After that much of my work was still in the youth movement until 1975. Then I began to work in the party as Education Secretary covering the Republic of Ireland.

I am also actively involved in the trade union movement. This, again, was something that I learned from the party because, though I had been a trade union member before joining the party, I did not appreciate or understand the importance of trade union work, of educating the workers to understand their own power and strength.

So, although I am working in the party, I have also learned a great deal from the party, and have been elected Chairman of the section committee at my job in the Municipal Authority of Dublin. Our trade union has about a thousand members. This involves me a good deal in negotiations on a day-to-day basis representing workers who have been discriminated against or victimized in some way by the employers. I try to organize the workers through the trade unions, to get them more involved in seeking better wages and working conditions for themsleves, better facilities, holidays, safety regulations, etc.

One of our main goals is to try and politicize the activities of the workers, to bring a class consciousness to the workers, to get the workers to understand that the trade unions by themsleves cannot fundamentally alter the conditions of their existence, that the trade unions are an effective weapon of the working class but that they are essentially defensive, in the present circumstances, a defensive mechanism to seek to mute the worst excesses of capitalism and protect the workers from them. And we, communists in the trade union movement, obviously seek to transform the unions into fighting class-conscious organizations of the working class, capable of playing their role in pursuit of national independence and socialism.

Q. Did your family have any influence on the formation of your thinking?

A. No, my father was a policeman, definitely not a communist. My mother was never interested or involved in politics at all. What political beliefs my parents had could be said to be orthodox, right-wing, capitalist, but not ultra right-wing. Basically, they just accepted capitalism as a society; that's the way the world is and it cannot be changed, is their view.

My political involvement created many difficulties at home. Several times I was on the verge of leaving home, My father was very embarrassed by my involvement in what he saw as subversive organizations. The political differences are still there between us but there is no longer the personal tension there was for many years. So, my home environment was certainly not conducive to political involvement. My experiences in work, when I started working — that was when the changes came, really.

Q. How about the young people, do many of them join the party?

A. Well, this is an interesting question because the average age of the membership in the party has been dropping steadily over the last ten years or so. When I joined the party in 1969 the majority of members was 40 years old or more. The bulk of our new members today are young people, the average age is 30, maybe younger. This includes a shop steward, an activist in the trade union movement or in the local tenant or community organization. Many of them come to the party through the CYM.

The ideas of the party are gaining ever greater response among the young people in Ireland. They are a more questioning, critical and searching younger generation.

Stephanie Gallacher 30,
works in a small confectioner's shop

Progressive ideas did not come to me easily. The influences I received from my mother and father were typical, particularly for their genera-

tion brought up in a rural area. They tried to bring us up on their old-fashioned views of life. My mother and father would tell me: 'You do what your husband says, he is the breadwinner, he goes out to work and you stay at home and have children and look after them.'

When I finally came to realize what was happening and the injustice of it all, and started asking questions requiring explanations, my parents could not understand what had happened to me. And even today, with the world changing as we watch, they cannot understand why I talk so much about women's equality, women's liberation, about the different role women have to play in society, about man's equality and man's liberation. They are old people and find it difficult to change their ways.

About five years ago I started showing an interest in communism. A young chap I used to know would talk to me about the position of women in Ireland and the issues and difficulties they came up against, things that I had experienced. He seemed to put into words just what I was thinking. He would explain why women in Ireland did not have equal rights with men, why we were backward, etc. Slowly but surely I was becoming aware why this inequality existed, particularly in industry. I started reading up on various magazines and sometimes the Communist Party monthly paper.

Gradually I started accepting communist ideas, and I am still learning today. Every day I learn something new but, what is most important, I look at things differently now. My thoughts about women, about their role in society, changed. Knowing the little that I do today, I realize we have an awfully difficult struggle ahead of us.

Take the place where I work. It is difficult to organize in a trade union because it is a small confectionery shop. There are only five girls working there and it's down to a very personal level. The boss comes in in the morning and says 'hello' to each of us calling us by name, patting us on the shoulder, this sort of relationship. You can't really ask for any more money, he doesn't give you the extra hour off if you do a favor for him, so you end up by sort of working it for nothing. And there are lots of other such small favors that you find yourself doing constantly.

But we must come to understand that without our own trade union movement we cannot go to the boss and ask for normal working conditions like the girls in some of the bigger stores have. We are going to have to organize, but it will not be easy.

After I got closer acquainted with the Communist Party I started taking part in its campaigns and other functions. I would like to say a few words about the general election in June 1977, when we voted for the Communist Party candidate Gerard McIntyre. This was in North-east Dublin where I live. This is in the Catholic part of Ireland and it is

the first time there was a communist candidate and, to tell the truth, we expected the voters to be more negative.

After work, in the evening, my sister and I (she also supports the communists) would go canvassing, knocking on doors and asking for support for our candidate, and we couldn't believe the good response we were getting. Despite what the bourgeois media wrote, people were not afraid of the word 'communism.' They would listen to us, and this was wonderful. We certainly did not expect such a response.

McIntyre got hundreds of votes. This may not sound like much compared with the tousands you need to be elected. But it was a breakthrough. People weren't afraid of communists and did not shut doors in our face. They talked with us and we became confident that in the next elections the communists would gain even more.

At home, as politics have made their way into the family, our relations have improved somewhat. My father still can't get rid of his old beliefs and views. Traditionally, he still votes for the conservative Fianna Fail Party,. although he doesn't necessarily know what the party stands for or what the political issues are. He lives in the past.

Just one example. When I told my father I was earning 40 pounds a week — and this is not much what with the big chunk taken by taxes and social insurance — all he said was: 'When I was your age I earned 10 pounds and we lived on it.' He thinks we should be grateful just to have a job and a roof over our heads. This is important, of course, because of the mass unemployment in Ireland. But I cannot accept the notion that we should not fight for something better.

My father has more respect for my sister and me now. He knows we are with the communists, that we are close to the party. He doesn't approve and often argues with us but our arguments often slip into good discussions of problems that affect us, that concern us. This is very important for me and my sister, for we think this will help us to win over the younger members in our family.

It is very hard to change tradition in our country, but this must be done sometime. When you do this together with such convinced people as the communists you are certain that if not today, then tomorrow, success will come.

John Mooney 57, worker

I have been a member of the Communist Party for 32 years. I joined in Britain, not in Ireland, because I emigrated like hundreds of thousands of other Irish men and women due to the depression. The Second World War had begun and there were greater possibilities of getting work in Britain. Five days after I arrived I was employed as a construction worker. I am a house painter by trade. I was put in the construction industry, an essential industry at that time. The war was

on, they needed factories, airports, hospitals, they needed everything that would help in the war effort.

After the war was over in Europe, a Labour government came to power in Britain and it seemed that there would be no danger of any unemployment. Already then, however, I happened to be working in James Park in London on the construction site of a labor exchange. This led me to believe that the Labour government did not have any faith in its own promises to provide jobs for everyone.

Well, I was somewhat disillusioned with what was happening in Britain at that time and I started reading socialist literature, particularly by Irish authors. James Connolly had a big influence on me. I kept thinking of conditions in my own country and this literature helped me to see that Britain would never stop its oppression of people seeking national independence. At that time Malaya was a good example of this. The Malay people were fighting for their independence and the so-called workers' government in Britain was responsible for sending troops to slaughter the freedom fighters there. This, of course, gave me a lot of food for thought.

At that time, though I had socialist leanings, I nevertheless was not in any party. Well, while on the job I heard a speaker once, he was a member of the CP Great Britain, and what he said had a great effect on me, to the extent that I agreed to sell the *Daily Worker*.

The time came when I said to myself: 'Now is the time to join a party, and it is the Communist Party of Great Britain.' That was late 1946 or the beginning of 1947. Of course, being an activist before joining, it was no trouble for me to become fully activated and I could give all my free time, even Sundays, to selling literature.

Q. When did you become active in the revolutionary movement of Ireland?

A. Once I happened to hear some Irish speakers in London's Hyde Park. They, of course, were all out for socialism. I became very interested in what they had to say because they were talking about my own country. Soon I had to divide my time between the CP Great Britain and working with Irish immigrants explaining the truth about their plight and telling them of the alternative proposed by the communists.

Well, in time, of course, I had to return to Ireland. I came back and in 1952 joined the Communist Party of Ireland and to the present day I am still an activist. I have learned many lessons in my years in the party and it has been a wonderful experience. Maybe I have made but a modest contribution but I am proud of this. In my family there are five of us in the party — myself, two sons, my sister and brother, not bad for one family.

Q. A small party organization in the family?

A. Yes, I suppose you could call it that. One of the lessons I have learned in my years in the party is the importance of unity of the working people for the success of the class struggle.

Back in those days when my socialist convictions were just starting to take shape, I saw that it was useless to fight alone, that it was necessary to join up with other like-minded people. I am saying all this because in order to succeed in what we believe in, that is, world socialism, all the communist parties must pull together in tight unity, and this is the lesson gained from the experience of each party and of every communist.

Maureen Mooney 48, housewife

I come from a poor working-class family. My father died when I was just a youngster. There were five of us and we had to live on my mother's widow's pension. Most of the women in working-class families were in a difficult position and took on cleaning jobs or would do laundry. But mother had to look after us, we were still small, and so she couldn't do even that much.

My brother emigrated to England during the war and I started working at a clothing factory when I was 14 earning about 6 or 7 shillings a week. The conditions were appalling. My next job was in a shirt factory where conditions were no better if not worse. I stayed there for two and a half years. There was no union there. From the age of 14 to 21 I worked at seven factories. I was sacked out of six of them for trying to organize the workers in the trade union movement.

At about 16 years of age I became interested in joining some sort of political party. I had letters from one of my brothers in England and he wrote me that he had joined the British Communist Party. In his letters he would explain to me what the party was working for. When I was 17 I joined the Youth Movement, a new movement just started in Dublin.

The conditions under which we lived and the conditions under which I worked, the experiences of my family and background led me to the conclusion that it was very important to join a working-class movement. It was a kind of natural progression that I should join the Communist Party of Ireland.

Q. What were the conditions then for working with the masses?

A. In my early days in the party, during the cold war era, it was very difficult to be a communist in Ireland. Our monthly paper, *The Irish Worker's Voice*, was quite difficult to sell. And it wasn't unusual to be beaten up. In fact I was very badly beaten on one occasion. This was in the center of Dublin one evening when we were selling the paper. I was with a male comrade. We were beaten up by some of the people in a pub and we were bleeding badly. Some of the people there

objected to this but they still felt we deserved it for provoking people by selling the communist paper.

Since then opinion has changed quite a lot. Some may disagree with the communists, there may be hostility, but not in the vicious way of those early days. The climate has changed in the world and people are more tolerant to our ideas.

Q. Do you take part in the women's movement in your country?

A. There is the National Women's Committee in our party, and I am its member. I can say that women are becoming more interested in left-wing politics.

In 1975 I attended the World Congress of Women in Berlin. It was the first time I attended such a huge gathering of women. I represented the Communist Party of Ireland. I found the Congress very inspiring. When I returned home I thought it would be a good idea if we could arrange some big event that would relate to the women in the world.

I had heard of International Women's Day and I decided this would be a very good thing to start here, to bring women in Ireland together on one particular day and to make them aware of the international women's movement and to let them see that women the world over have similar problems, that many have won their rights and are more advanced.

So, we organized our first International Women's Day gathering in 1976. We invited representatives from the Soviet Union, Chile, the Republic of South Africa and Britain. There were over 500 people and it got good coverage in the press, radio and on television. In 1977 we also had a very successful meeting.

And in 1978 again, there was a successful meeting but with a greater social content. It was necessary to have a forum whereby women from the various organizations in Dublin could come and meet and talk to each other and exchange views. The whole idea of International Women's Day, quite apart from bringing the idea of international solidary to the women of Ireland, is also to bring unity into the women's movement here.

Today, our strength lies in our unity for it is a mighty weapon in the struggle for better living and labor conditions, against discrimination, oppression and exploitation. Only united efforts can force the government to carry out the necessary social, economic and political reforms.

As I look back at the road the party has travelled I am happy to see the successes scored by the communists of Ireland, but I also see that there still are many difficult problems coming up ahead and for every communist it is an honor to participate in solving them.

science, culture, ideology

New frontiers of Soviet economic science

Academician *Nikolai Fedorenko*
Director, Institute of Economics and Mathematics, USSR Academy of Sciences

The Soviet economy today is the economy of a developed socialist society. It is a powerful, integral economic entity encompassing all links of social production, distribution and exchange. It develops through the combination of scientific and technological achievements with the advantages of the socialist system. A drastic switch is being made to intensive development. A qualitatively new level and magnitude of production have been reached that allow tackling the task of building the material and technical basis of communism, ensuring a steady growth of the people's living standard, and registering significant gains in the economic competition with capitalism.

The pivotal aims of the CPSU's economic strategy in the current five-year plan period and over a longer term are to continue building up the nation's economic potential, enlarge and fundamentally renew production assets, and ensure a stable, balanced growth of heavy industry, which is the foundation of the economy.

Achievements and tasks

In Soviet society it is not the custom to rest content with what has been attained. We are perfectly well aware that the successes of the socialist economy could have been even more impressive: we are not satisfied with the state of affairs in many sectors of economic construction. Of course, there are objective factors that cause certain difficulties in the development of such a large and rapidly growing organism as the economy of the Soviet Union. These are, for instance, the growth of the scale and complexity of inter- and intra-branch links and the involvement in the economic turnover of economically undeveloped or inadequately developed territories. Also, some circumstances of a demographic character are holding up the enlistment of new labor power into production. Moreover, account must be taken of ecological factors that are today making it

necessary to inaugurate large projects to protect the environment and to intensify the use of natural resources.

However, there also are subjective circumstances, chiefly shortcomings in the management of individual branches of the economy and certain miscalculations in planning. Further, the present practice of planning and economically stimulating production does not yet ensure a total coincidence of the interests of individual collectives and individual workers with the interests of society as a whole, and without this we unquestionably cannot count on utilizing all the advantages springing from the large socialist, centrally managed economy.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have laid a solid foundation for the economic theory of socialism. But they were unable, of course, to foresee all the practical aspects of economic advancement under socialism, much less foresee the concrete economic problems and processes in a developed socialist society.

It must be stated candidly that at the outset of its history Soviet economic science did not clearly see the solution of many problems, elementary in the light of present-day notions, that arise during the transition from the capitalist to the socialist system of economic management. The economy of the new type, based on public property in the means of production and on principles and regularities that rule out exploitation of man by man, is a totally new economy in the history of humanity. The principle of managing the economy by plan on the scale of the whole of society, laid down by Marx, Engels and Lenin, has brilliantly demonstrated its viability in the practice of the Soviet Union. However, the actual forms of planning and running the economy under centralized management had yet to be found and worked out. They were constantly modified, developed, and re-examined.

Since the establishment of Soviet power Soviet economic science has undergone both quantitative and qualitative changes. All the Union and many autonomous republics now have large bodies of economists. Altogether, there are some 150 specialized institutes for economic research. We have about 30 economics journals, and annually publish up to 1,000 books on economics with a total printing running into tens of millions of copies. The time is thus nearing when we can speak not only of the relative, historical youth of our science, but also of its maturity.

In evaluating the contribution that Soviet economic science has made to the solution of problems of socialist and communist construction three main conclusions may be drawn:

first, alongside the political economy of capitalism, evolved by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, we have now developed, through the

collective efforts of the party's economic cadres, a harmonious science of the economic laws governing the development of socialism, i.e., the political economy of socialism, which has been tested in the USSR and other socialist countries. A system of branch and special applied economic sciences has been evolved on its basis;

second, Soviet economic science has, particularly in recent years, deepened theoretical research and, at the same time, stepped up its influence on the practice of economic management;

third, there has been a renewal of the scientific apparatus of economic study, linked chiefly with the development of economico-mathematical methods.

From the shortcomings and omissions that we still have, and these we see and note, we Soviet economists draw the conclusion that we have to redouble our efforts to make our economic science a more effective factor of economic progress in the Soviet Union, which will thus be placed in a position to render more effective assistance to the party in directing communist construction.

At the 25th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev noted: 'The party and the state will benefit from research into problems connected above all with the all-round development and management of production, and recommendations making it possible to substantially enhance its efficiency.' In the program for the advancement of economic science charted at the Congress the accent was placed on in-depth studies of the development trends of socialist relations of production and the productive forces. This program calls for the study of, among other things, the character and content of labor under mature socialism, changes in the social structure, the improvement of distribution according to work, the combination of moral and material incentives, questions of the socialist way of life and the promotion of culture, environmental problems, the utilization of nature, the mapping out of demographic policy and so forth.

Face to face with practice

Theoretical problems can only be resolved when the closest possible link is maintained with life. This concerns any science, economic science, I would say, in particular. Scholastic theorizing can only be a hindrance. In working to ensure organic unity between fundamental theoretical development and applied research, Soviet economists act in accordance with an established Marxist-Leninist tradition.

In this context I should like to make a short digression. The thesis that science is becoming a tangible productive force of society is accepted universally. However, the widespread view that this concerns the natural and technical sciences but does not apply to the social sciences can hardly be regarded as correct. One should not

forget the close relationship between sicences, and in this light it would be all the more unpardonable to play off one against another. In a situation where the productive forces have grown gigantically, it is becoming a vital task of economic science to define the ways and means of their further development, the possibilities of preventing the effects of this development prejudicing the environment, and so on. This science has a great role to play in the practical solution of problems concerning the place, orientation, and scale of the use of achievements of the natural sciences and technology in accordance with the aims of social development. This explains why today we are making not only theoretical but also practical demands of politico-economic research. It is important that theoretical analyses of the relations of production should produce conclusions that could be used as the basis for practical decisions and thereby enhance the role of economic science as one of society's tangible productive forces.

Of the areas studied by Soviet economic science special mention must be made of the following:

— the specific character of the economic relations among socialist countries and the problems of socialist economic integration;

— the scientific and technological revolution and the new phase in the development of socialism's relations of production;

— the close relationship between the rise of the people's living standard and the development of the productive forces under socialism;

— development of the forms and methods of managing socio-economic processes. Optimal combination of the centralization of plan decisions with the creative activity of the people in elaborating and carrying them out;

— the general crisis of imperialism and the new role of the socialist countries in the world economy.

Needless to say, this is only a general picture of the areas of study in which Soviet economists are at present engaged. Each area consists of many scores and hundreds of problems, which are intensively and jointly studied by economic research bodies.

Soviet economists strive to bring out all of developed socialist society's advantages and possibilities for economic growth and map out the practical ways of utilizing these advantages in the building of communism. They are working on the theoretical problems of building the material and technical basis of communism, erasing the distinctions between labor by brain and by hand and between town and countryside, and merging cooperative-collective-farm and public property into integral communist property. An important place is held by the problems of distributive relations linked with the implementation of socialism's principle of 'from each according to his abilities, to

each according to his work,' and also of the ways and means of gradually effecting a transition to the communist principle of 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.'

Of the major works in economic theory, mention must be made of the two volumes of the encyclopedic *Political Economy*, and the two-volume textbook *Political Economy*. A number of other studies have been completed. Practical suggestions and recommendations for the promotion of the nation's economy are being worked out on the basis of the theoretical propositions contained in these works.

The studies conducted by the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences underlie the materials that have been prepared for a fundamental work on the political economy of socialism. A team of authors consisting of leading Soviet economists has been named. This work will be devoted to current complex problems of the economy of a developed socialist society, an analysis of how the advantages of the socialist system of economic management are being used, and a study of the laws governing the evolution of socialist into communist relations of production.

An appreciable shift toward theoretical elaboration has taken place in the study of the problems of siting productive forces. This development of economic science has led to the formation of a new topical discipline: regional economics. Jointly with research institutes, the Council for the Study of Productive Forces has drawn up a general chart of the location of the nation's productive forces up to the year 1990. In this context, special note must be made of the work of a large team of scientists at the Siberian Division of the Academy of Sciences, who have conducted comprehensive economic investigations in the zone of the 'project of the century,' the Baikal-Amur Railway, which embraces a huge territory in East Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Economists have drawn up detailed recommendations for the economic development and settlement of these regions, for which a great future is opening up.

Soviet economists do not confine their studies to internal problems of the USSR. In concert with economists of other socialist countries they are studying problems of the functioning of the socialist world economy and also fundamental problems vital to the development of the socialist world system, particularly for speeding up and deepening the socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries. A major collective work, *The Socialist World Economy (Problems of the Political Economy of Socialism)*, is in the process of preparation.

Soviet economists give much of their attention to problems of socialist construction in the period of transition. The experience of the USSR in their field is, of course, not only of historical interest. It legitimately attracts growing attention from Marxist-Leninist theoret-

ical thought, since the reshaping of the economy during the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism is one of the most pressing problems of world development. By showing the content of this process in the concrete conditions of the USSR, Soviet economists are making, we believe, a definite and quite important contribution to the collective theoretical work of the international communist movement. The publication of the collectively written *Political Economy of Modern Monopoly Capitalism,* whose authors were awarded a state prize, was a noteworthy event in the country's scientific life.

Mention must be made of works by Soviet experts on international economics, who theoretically generalize the major trends of world development and profoundly study all the useful aspects of the theory and practice of economic management, particularly in industrialized capitalist countries. For instance, in addition to studying the dynamics of economic development in the USA and working out the strategy for economic relations with the USA and Canada, the Institute of the USA and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences studies the managerial experience of U.S. concerns and factories in order to use it at the Kama Auto Works and several factories in the Urals. The efforts of experts in international economics are thus acquiring an applied character as well. Of course, in their work they do not forget Lenin's injunction that '*not a single* professor of (bourgeois. — *N.F.*) political economy, who may be capable of very valuable contributions in the field of factual and specialized investigations, can be trusted *one iota* when it comes to the general theory of political economy .... The task of Marxists in both cases is to be able to master and refashion the achievements of these "salesmen" (for instance, you will not make the slightest progress in the investigation of new economic phenomena without making use of the works of these salesmen) and to *be able* to lop off their reactionary tendency' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 14, pp. 342-343).

Comprehensive approach

The fact that socio-economic and economic processes are growing increasingly more complex has led to essential changes in economic science, which is being increasingly linked with mathematics, sociology, law and history.

Entirely new branches of knowledge are appearing at the borderline between economics and allied disciplines. These are economic cybernetics, economics of ecology, system analysis, and economico-mathematical modelling. Hence, today one should speak not of a single science — economics — but of a system of economic

sciences. As we have noted, the political economy of socialism is the core of this system.

During the current five-year period the accent in Soviet economic development is being placed on achieving greater efficiency and better quality. Here, too, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and the improvement of the mechanism of management are acquiring decisive significance. A comprehensive program of scientific and technological progress and its long-term socio-economic effects is at present being drawn up for this purpose. This work is involving hundreds of research institutes: experts in the technical, natural, and social sciences are closely cooperating with economists.

The singling out of major economic projects as objects of study is one of the key methodological principles underlying the elaboration of the comprehensive program. It allows substantiating the ways and means of intensifying production and speeding scientific and technological progress that require not so much additional production resources and investments as their correct redistribution among the various spheres and branches of the economy and, of course, their effective utilization.

In the process of the work on the comprehensive program, in which economists play the key role in elaborating the socio-economic aspects, it is important to note the close combination of forecasts of a technical character with social forecasts, and the certain subordination of the choice of priorities of various technical orientations to an account of socio-economic tasks. Of course, these tasks are established on the basis of a study of the actual possibilities for developing the nation's economy and scientific and technological potential — here we find a dialectical relationship in operation. A scientific understanding of the tendencies of technological development, machine systems, and the general and special training of personnel is necessary mainly for solving the problems of mechanization, making working conditions easier, and erasing the essential distinctions between physical and mental work.

The development of the socio-economic aspects of scientific and technological progress is closely linked with their mounting impact on the development of science and technology, with the enhancement of efficiency in social production. Economists study not only problems of the growth of the people's living standard — these problems are central — but also various aspects of what is known as the social climate, the motivations of labor activity, and the influence of material and moral factors. On the same plane are the problems of the socialist principle of distribution according to work, the enhancement of the role of the state's social policy, the social consumption funds and so on.

Economists have drawn up a series of recommendations aimed at improving planning and economic management. These recommendations are based on a probing study of the experience, accumulated in recent years following the economic reform of 1965-66, of using new methods of planning and economic incentives, and new forms of organizing management. A generalization of this experience has shown the positive results of the reform and brought to light some shortcomings in the existing system. The recommendations envisage the development of the positive aspects of this system and the elimination of its shortcomings.

Here attention is focussed on further improving centralization in the planned management of the economy and, at the same time, broadly encouraging popular initiative, and increasing the incentives and responsibility of work collectives for efficient management. From the angle of raising the scientific level of the methodology of planning it is necessary to set up a mutually-agreed system of long-term, medium-term, and current plans embracing production, circulation, finance and credits. Under conditions where the entire country is an integral economic complex, it is now a compelling task to optimize economic development, work out indicators of efficiency of social production, and create the conditions for a dynamic balance of all its branches.

In this context Soviet economico-methematicians are developing an optimal functioning system for the economy (OFSE). It is intended to devise that system in several stages linked with the purposeful improvement of the economic mechanism, with enlarging the sphere of the application of economico-mathematical methods, and using automated management systems.

Economics and mathematics

Had a new factor not appeared in the development of economic science, all these new effective studies would probably not have been so successful. We mean the emergence of the economico-mathematical orientation within its framework. When we say that this is a new field we do not forget, of course, that from the very outset Soviet economic science had attached considerable significance to mathematical quantitative methods alongside qualitative methods of research. The world's first-ever, inter-branch balance, based on Marx's patterns of extended reproduction, began to be evolved in 1923-24 in the then young Soviet Union. Subsequently, this method, developed in the West by, in particular, the well-known American economist Wassily Leontief, became widespread as the input-output method. When the first five-year plan was being drawn up the Soviet economist Grigory Feldman created economico-mathematical mod-

els, which are justifiably regarded as the forerunners of modern theories of economic growth. Lastly, mention must be made of an immensely significant discovery made by the Soviet mathematician Leonid Kantorovich, today an academician, who in 1939 substantiated the principles for the optimal distribution of economic resources and laid the foundations for linear programming.

However, it was only the last 15 or 20 years that witnessed the rapid development of economico-methematical research in the Soviet Union. The English economist Alfred Zauberman even coined the term 'mathematical revolution in the Soviet economy.' He was wrong in saying that mathematics was forcibily introduced in Soviet economic science against the resistance of 'official political economy' and 'bigoted planners,' although, as is always the case when something new appears, there were debates and arguments. However, the important thing is that the economico-mathematical orientation was supported by the scientific community and by the CPSU, the leading force of Soviet society. The great significance of economico-mathematical modelling, system analysis, and automated management systems was noted by Leonid Brezhnev at the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU.

The economico-mathematical orientation quickly came to the fore in Soviet economic science. Economic cybernetics departments and chairs have been set up at some universities. Leading managerial personnel are learning new methods at refresher institutes, the Academy of the National Economy, and other educational establishments.

It may be said that economic science is successfully forming and streamlining a modern research apparatus. However, the characteristic of the importance of the economico-mathematical orientation would be incomplete if this were all we said about it. The point is that the combination of economics, mathematics and cybernetics embodied in this apparatus led to the formulation of new pressing problems of economic science, strongly influenced its development, and changed much of its conceptual system. It should be borne in mind that among new concepts there are some that had once been unfoundedly regarded as intrinsic only to bourgeois economic science. Even today not all Soviet economists understand that many instruments of economic research, useful instruments at that, are by no means the exclusive province of bourgeois economic science. In the same way that there is no 'bourgeois' internal combustion engine, developed by Rudolf Diesel, there neither is nor can be a 'socialist Tokamak,' although the underlying idea was advanced by Soviet physicists. Similarly, the method of inter-branch balance and linear programming in economics and the theorems of Yevgeny Slutsky have become the

property of world science. Also, the Neumann-Morgenstern theory of games or, say, improved production functions — results of the work of Western scientists — are widely and productively used by Soviet economists in carrying out plan tasks and in production.

Among the theories that owe their origin to the economico-mathematical orientation, mention must be made of research into the economic criteria of optimality (a concept introduced into economic science by the economico-mathematical school), the study of the problem of social usefulness stemming from general formulations of the basic law of socialism, and also some new aspects in the measurement of socially-necessary outlays, the improvement of price-formation, and assessment of the economic efficiency of capital investments and the effectiveness of the use of natural and labor resources. A deep-lying link has been found between commensurable expenditures and results, on the one hand, and problems of social usefulness and criteria of optimality, on the other; in effect, this link underlies the conception usually called the theory of the optimal functioning of the socialist economy. Research in thie field is conducted on the basis of the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee 'On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and the Enhancement of Their Role in Communist Construction' (August 1967).

At present research into the principles of the optimal functioning of the socialist economy is developing in the direction of accentuating the social aspects of this theory. Much attention is given to analyzing distributive relations and the formation and development of requirements. Formerly, at the initial stage, it was believed that the criteria of optimality were a purely economic category; today a quest is being made for the theoretical foundations for the formulation of socio-economic criteria of optimality. In this case we are guided by the humanistic principles of socialism and by the task of building a communist society.

The present transition from optimizing the development of individual branches and industries to optimizing the development of groups of branches forming multi-branch complexes must be regarded as a fundamentally new step in the development of economico-mathematical modelling. The formulations of branch complexes mirrors the objective intensification of the links between branches of the national economy.

There is today practically no industry or branch of the national economy that in one way or another does not use the methods of optimizing the development and siting of production. This work has ranged far beyond research and the episodic solution of individual problems, which has, as a matter of fact, brought the national

economy a saving of hundreds and even thousands of millions of roubles.

The fundamental possibility of creating systems of models of economic planning springs from the accumulated experience of planned economic management in the USSR and some other socialist countries — from research into economico-mathematical modelling, and from the development of sophisticated computers.

The new ideas produced by economic science are used in the innumerable automated management and planning systems that have been or are being created in the Soviet Union. This would have been inconceivable without the effective development in the USSR of the designing and production of electronic computer technology. Automated management systems are now being equipped with third-generation computers, known as the Integrated Computer System, developed in close cooperation by scientists, designers, and workers in the USSR and some other socialist countries.

A major advance was the commissioning of the first section of the Automated System of Plan Computations of the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the state planning committees of the Union republics. In this system computers solve nearly 3,000 plan problems, of which some 1,000 are solved directly at the State Planning Committee. Work is under way on the second section of that system. Also in operation is the first section of the Automated System of State Statistics, which allows for the fuller utilization of reports and, in the processing of reports, for the receipt of considerably more analytical information vital for planning and forecasting the national economy and its branches. Experience is gradually being accumulated of large-scale electronic processing of data and the creation of automated information banks and computer centers for collective use. The future State Automated Information Collecting and Processing System for Planning and Managing the National Economy is being developed and designed on the basis of this experience. It will be an interrelated network of computer centers and information processing systems such as not even the most developed capitalist country has or can have because it only can be based on public ownership of the means of production. The creation of this system must be ranked among the greatest projects of our time.

Soviet economists will participate in the realization of this project along with cyberneticists and specialists in various technical sciences. This will be the material foundation of the system of the optimal functioning of the socialist economy, which will thus embody the unity and interrelation of the processes of planning, optimizing the economic mechanism, and improving the organizational structure and the modern technical basis of management.

viewpoints

Resisting enemies of the revolution

Antonio Gervasio
Political Commission member,
CC Portuguese CP

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN EVORA

Evora is Portugal's fifth most important city, ranking second after Setubal in the south. It is called the capital of Alentejo Province, one of the main agrarian reform areas. This is a city with revolutionary traditions running back to the popular risings of 1385 and 1637 against landowners and other oppressors. It was there that the heroic captains of April 1974 met to act.

The December 1976 elections placed the United People's Alliance (UPA), consisting of the Communist Party and Portuguese Democratic Movement (PDM), at the head of the Evora municipality (see table). This victory was due to the overwhelming vote for the agrarian reform and the April revolution.

	Votes	Per cent	Seats
EFPU (UPA)	11,258	41.5	3
SP	8,991	33.1	3
SDP	2,976	11.0	1
SDC	1,767	6.5	—
PDU and others	984	3.6	—

EFPU — Electoral Front for Popular Unity, renamed the United People's Alliance; SP — Socialist Party; SDP — Social-Democratic Party; SDC — Social-Democratic Center; PDU — People's Democratic Union.

Under UPA leadership the Municipal Chamber takled the most burning issues worrying the population. It laid plans for the transformation of the district. One of these was a pilot plan for the purposeful development of the city and the district. It provided for measures to put the district on a sounder economic basis, improve the city's water supply, lay out a municipal park, and solve the housing problem, as well as problems of education, the health services and sports.

Thanks to cooperation on the part of the population and aid from the Chamber, dozens of small projects were carried out in the city and rural communities: roads and pontoon bridges were built, schools and dwelling houses were repaired, a sewer system was installed, and electricity was put in. The Chamber kept in constant contact with the population through public and plenary meetings.

This sustained effort by the Chamber, carried on democratically and guided by a group of UPA deputies, antagonized the rightists and the local SP group. Hence the calumnies and intrigues aimed at Abilio Fernandes, President of the Chamber, and other deputies; hence also the maneuvers to wreck the work of the Chamber.

On July 11, 1978, SP deputy Jose Antonio Bagulho, who had masterminded the intrigues against the Chamber, tendered his resignation. He said he had done so because the Chamber was guilty of 'serious anomalies' (which have yet to be made public). On July 17 his example was followed by the two other SP deputies and on August 11, by the SDP deputy. The Chamber stopped functioning for lack of a quorum. The Municipal Assembly formed an administrative commission and set new elections for November 19, 1978.

Alarmed by the growing strength of the left as a result of the work of the Chamber, the SP group of deputies refused to go along with the opinion of the majority of the Evora electorate and decided to bring down the Chamber. It allied itself unhesitatingly with the reactionary right and joined the SDP and SDC in an attempt to remove the UPA from the presidency of the Chamber to prevent it from 'becoming a PCP stronghold.' Such is the logic of those who advocate 'democratic socialism.'

The SDC made equally outspoken statements. A communiqué released in October 1978 said that the SP deputies resigned in order to form 'a front of the democratic forces of Evora' and 'strike at the communist hegemony in Alentejo.' The SDC courted the SP and SDP, urging them to agree to 'put forward a single list backed by the three major democratic parties,' but they rejected the idea. The SDC described their decision as 'regrettable.' Why did these three parties fail to join forces against the UPA? Evidently, they could not come to terms on the distribution of the key posts in the Chamber.

The SP, SDC, and PDU, in common with the neo-nazi groups in the MRPP and CPP (ML),* launched a campaign of foul slander against the communists. The SDP took a more moderate stand, but the SDC was exceedingly active; its members tore down UPA post-

*MRPP, Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party; CPP (ML), Communist Party of Portugal (Marxist-Leninist).

ers, put up posters reading 'Communists out of the Chamber,' provoked fights, etc.

The SP, as well as attacking Fernandes, the UPA and the PCP, engaged in a cheap demagogical campaign that angered public opinion. It put up no posters on the grounds this would 'soil' the city; instead it showered the streets with leaflets and blared out its propaganda through loudspeakers mounted on cars which toured the city and vicinity from morning till late into the evening. Through these loudspeakers its members shouted: 'By voting for Paixao (who headed the SP list), you will vote for a clean city,' 'By voting for Paixao, you will vote for a native of Alentejo," and so on, and so forth.

The people of Evora were not taken in by this demagogy. Many of the meetings planned by the SP, SDP, SDC and the 'leftist' groups hardly drew anybody or were ignored altogether. For the most important meetings to be addressed by the celebrities of these parties, people were brought from the environs in rented cars.

The UPA, with the PCP as its main force, was at the threshold of a major political showdown. It was perfectly clear that after wrecking the work of the Chamber, the anti-communist and other reactionary forces would try to use this for their subterfuges and for the formation of anti-democratic alliances.

These forces spread rumors that the PCP was losing its influence in Alentejo and that the working people no longer backed the agrarian reform as they had. They concentrated large material resources and many of their people in Evora.

This assault on the UPA involved the SP, SDP, SDC, PDU, MRPP and CPP (ML) (the latter ceded its positions to the SP shortly before the elections). While the campaign was on they all said they were certain of winning and of removing the UPA from the presidency of the Chamber. Even the PDU insisted that it would win a seat in the Chamber.

The UPA, and more particularly the PCP, had to accomplish a very difficult task, which was to isolate the enemies of the agrarian reform and democracy, expose them, and make them pay dearly for their maneuvering. An electoral defeat of the UPA would have seriously prejudiced the agrarian reform and democracy. The task was to 'shear' those who were out for wool.

This meant that the UPA had to win from the first and forge ahead. And to this end it was essential to organize a new type of election campaign, provide it with competent leadership, expose the lies with facts, keep calm and refrain from political gossip. It was essential to direct the campaign while keeping in touch with the population, going from door to door, travelling to the farthest corners of the district,

talking to people, telling them why the Chamber had fallen, and laying bare the sinister schemes of the enemies of democracy. The campaign had to be directed toward solving specific problems.

Moreover, the whole organization and closest allies of the party had to be drawn into that big political battle, and the tasks and the line to follow had to be planned. The PCP and UPA began intensive organizational, political and explanatory work. The party held enlarged meetings of its organization in Evora to discuss electoral tactics. The UPA called meetings of its own and these drew from 400 to 500 or more participants. Dozens of promotion committees were set up.

During the election campaign and the elections themselves, the UPA, PCP, women and young people gave about 90 explanatory talks. Open-air concerts and film shows were arranged. These functions drew more than 40,000 people. Various publications were brought out in a total of 80,000 copies.

The several 'door to door' campaigns that were held proved very successful. In the course of a weekend, two hundred members of the PCP and PDM, candidates, district deputies, and independents toured the district, including its remotest parts, in cars equipped with loudspeakers, talked to people, and personally handed them various publications.

UPA acted with the utmost tact during the election campaign. Its members neither put up posters, nor painted slogans on walls. The campaign was carried on under the slogans 'Don't litter the streets with leaflets' and 'Don't arouse hostility among people.' On voting day, the UPA and PCP formed transport teams and sent them to different parts of the city and to rural communities to take to the polls old and sick people who could not get there by themselves. This was welcomed.

Throughout the election campaign the population showed that it sided with the UPA. The halls where the UPA held its meetings were invariably filled to capacity. There was not a single instance of UPA posters taken off the stands or torn up. The UPA found favor with the people over all the others: it comprised four PCP, two PDM, and four independent candidates, all of whom enjoyed considerable prestige in the district.

The UPA won an impressive victory; it garnered most of the votes in all the rural and in three of the four urban parishes. In only one urban parish, Sao Pedro, did it fall short of victory (by 10 votes).

The number of seats held by the Alliance in the Chamber rose from three to four (out of seven). Compared with 41.5 per cent of the votes polled in 1976, it now won an absolute majority, 53 per cent, or 1,400 votes more than all other parties put together.

The SP suffered a serious reverse, losing 54 per cent of the votes it

had previously commanded. Instead of the earlier three seats in the Chamber, it now has only one, which means that it has slipped from second to third place. Since the election to the Assembly of the Republic, the SP has lost 6,200 votes in Evora. The SDC, too, was soundly trounced — it lost 27 per cent of its voters.

As for the 'leftist' groups, the number of votes cast for them dropped from 984, or 3.6 per cent, in 1976 to 535, or 2.2 per cent, in 1978. They lost about 46 per cent of their electorate. The 'leftists,' who persist in their divisive and adventurist policy, are finding the ground slipping from under their feet.

Although the SDP won more votes, this was achieved at the expense not of left-wing parties but of the SDC and right-wing supporters of the SP. It collected 21.5 per cent of the votes as against 11 per cent in 1976. The SDP now has two deputies in the Chamber instead of one, and has forced the SP out of second place.

The UPA victory in Evora showed that the electorate supported the agrarian reform, democracy and the liberation ideas of April 25, and emphatically condemned the policy of the right directed against the revolution and pursued by the SP and SP/SDC governments and the governments under Nobre da Costa and Mota Pinto.

This victory of the people of Alentejo means that the electorate voted against anti-communist and anti-popular policies. It is incontrovertible proof of the enhanced influence and prestige of the PCP and the democratic forces generally. It confirmed the correctness of our party's policy line, its policy for unity, its staunch defense of the April gains, the Constitution, and national independence.

This important victory, which guaranteed the people of Evora a democratic leadership in the Chamber, showed that the people were standing firm against pressure from forces attacking the agrarian reform and democracy.

The arrogance and aggressiveness of reaction's spokesmen, first of all the local SP organization, boomeranged in the end. The people of Evora rejected provocation, lies, demagogy, slander and vile insults; they rejected anti-communism.

The UPA victory in Evora, as in the recent elections in Mirandela, S. Pedro de Fins and Fanhoes, is indicative of an obvious shift in the attitude of the electorate toward the left and support for PCP policy; it is a sign of the voters' resolve to defend the April gains. The drift of Portugal's governments to the right prompted the masses to draw closer to the left-wing forces.

Contrary to the allegations of reaction, the outcome of the Evora elections shows that the PCP has no intention of 'losing' its influence and is, in fact, building up its organization and its prestige among the masses. The people have seen who really champions the agrarian

reform and who is trying to destroy it. They have seen who is fighting with devotion for a national policy of economic renaissance and who is working shamelessly to restore the positions of the capitalists, latifundium owners and imperialists.

The people see who really sides with them, is prepared to champion their legitimate interests, and furthers their unity, and who capitalizes on division and daily adds to their burden. They see who fights for unity of action of all democratic and patriotic forces, resists the offensive of the right, defends the Constitution and other gains of the people, and who opposes this unity, makes concessions to reaction and forms alliances with it.

The SP was badly beaten. It is safe to say that the same lot is in store for the SP in the municipal elections in 1979. This is a consequence of that party's drift to the right. If the agrarian reform is under furious attack, this is primarily the fault of the SP, which drafted the notorious Barreto Law, pushed it through the Assembly of the Republic, and then set out to enforce it. This law is the main reason why the SP is losing ground; unless it abandons this path it will be overtaken by further reverses. The SP is mainly responsible for the laws used by the right to attack the April gains and for the formation of undisguisedly reactionary governments. The people censure it for its swing to the right.

There is a growing body of opinion that the forces which have ruled the country since the sixth provisional government took over, that is, from September 1975 to this day, can neither lead Portugal out of its deep crisis, nor end its age-long backwardness. The interests of these forces run counter to the needs of the country and the people.

The Evora victory of the UPA speaks of the necessity for a new policy, for a democratic government capable of ending the national crisis and upholding democracy. The working people must be represented in this democratic government. It should protect the agrarian reform, nationalization, control over factory managements, the Constitution, and other gains of the April revolution. It should muster material and manpower resources for a real economic recovery in Portugal. Such is the significance of the municipal elections in Evora and the voice of the people of Alentejo Province.

Your letters answered

WHAT EDUCATION FOR PEACE MEANS

Very many of us, members of a society in which the mass media and literature spare no effort ot preach violence and even toys serve as vehicles of militarist education, welcomed the UN General Assembly's Declaration on Education of the Peoples in the Spirit of Peace. I would like to know that document in some detail. Who proposed the Declaration and why? What measures and actions does it provide for? I would be grateful to the journal for an answer.

Nico Vriend, Student, Netherlands

At the request of *WMR* this reply is from Emil Wojtaszek, Polish Foreign Minister, CC member of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The draft Declaration on Education of the Peoples in the Spirit of Peace was submitted to the 33rd UN General Assembly by the Polish People's Republic. After discussion it was approved by an overwhelming majority. What were the antecedents of our initiative?

Poland proceeded, first of all, from the fact that the maintenance and consolidation of peace have always been and will be a hallmark of socialism. It is embodied in Lenin's historic Decree on Peace, the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the great Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU and carried forward by the 25th, the program approved by the Seventh Congress of the PUWP and congresses of the fraternal parties of other socialist countries, and the sustained efforts of these countries to promote peace and peaceful cooperation between states with different social systems.

Creative substantiation elaboration and application of the principles of peaceful coexistence in keeping with the international relations taking shape in this period of history are noteworthy theoretical and practical achievements of Marxism-Leninism. Also they are a major source of inspiration to Polish foreign policy.

The Polish proposal for education in the spirit of peace was, moreover, prompted by our people's experience, especially the tragic lessons of World War II, the humanism guiding Poland as a socialist country, our national aspirations, and our awareness that the security and progress of Poland and its people, like those of all other peoples, are inconceivable without durable peace.

Lastly, the Polish initiative was based on an analysis of the inter-

national situation. While the principles of peaceful coexistence are increasingly recognized by the peoples of the world and some headway has been made toward détente as a result of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the war menace has yet to be removed completely. Further, there are signs of increasing activity in centers intent on undermining the present strategic balance in the world and reversing progressive changes. There are still tensions due to conflicting interests, distinctions between the development levels of countries, and the extension of ideological differences to the economic sphere. So far it has been impossible to eradicate colonialism and neo-colonialism altogether.

That the adversaries of détente have not thrown in the towel and use every pretext to drag the world into new complications is seen only too well in Peking's armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This action, unanimously condemned by all progressive forces, is a most flagrant violation of the principles and Charter of the UN and a mocking challenge to the international community. The activity of the Chinese leaders, who have renounced the ideals and principles of socialism and broken with Marxism-Leninism, and virtually cooperate with world imperialism and reaction in the military, economic, and ideological spheres, seriously imperil peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

War and peace are still among the unsolved problems of mankind. The arms race imposed by imperialist military-industrial complexes is not only one of the main sources of tension but a direct threat to the world's very existence as a biological community. The need to banish war from the life of mankind is becoming more imperative as means of warfare are perfected and stockpiled. This is particularly true of the continuous improvement of weapons of mass destruction, the application of new techniques in the sphere of armaments, and the growing effectiveness of conventional arms.

In spite of the resistance of enemies of détente, we consider that war can be eliminated from international life and that peace and security can be promoted by thoroughly restructuring international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence. This necessity is realized more and more. The forms of international cooperation are being extended and new ones devised, and recognition of existing realities, especially the unshakable cohesion of the socialist system, is gaining ground. We see unfailing respect for and implementation of the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act as the main condition for furthering détente and reshaping international relations in Europe on the basis of peace and security.

The visible changes for the better in the international political climate of the 70s have confronted mankind with a new task, which is

to consolidate what has been achieved and create a reliable structure for transition to a new phase of the effort for lasting peace. This task calls for persevering efforts in every sphere of international relations. The effort to consolidate and further détente must receive priority.

In our view, the general level of armaments can be lowered without endangering the security of any state. We are convinced that the surest way to achieve this goal is indicated by the comprehensive initiatives of the Soviet Union, Poland and other countries of the socialist community. A new important contribution to more durable peace, security, détente and the effort to end the arms race was made by the Declaration which the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee adopted in Moscow on November 23, 1978.

A major task of mankind is to remove all flashpoints of a world conflict and put an end to apartheid, racial discrimination, colonialism and national oppression. As in the past, the problems of hunger, disease, natural calamities and environmental pollution, which can only be settled in an atmosphere of peace and growing détente, brook no delay. This is the broad international context in which Poland's years-long efforts in this field should be assessed. Educating the peoples in the spirit of peace would be an important factor in helping to consolidate world peace and security and remove the war menace.

The Declaration on Education of the Peoples in the Spirit of Peace is an expression of an idea formulated by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, in his address to the 29th UN General Assembly (October 10, 1974). 'Let us,' he said, 'make the training of the rising generation for life in an atmosphere of peace and friendship among nations one of the most important objectives by giving a practical form to the profoundly humanist ideals of the UN Charter. Let us incorporate them in the educational program of all countries.'

A year later, speaking at the Helsinki Conference, Edward Gierek enlarged upon this idea: 'In educating the rising generation,' he said, 'we must turn to sound traditions, foster respect for the achievements and values contributed by every nation to the common treasure-store of mankind and promote mutual friendship.'

Poland took further steps in this direction at the Belgrade meeting by submitting (on November 11, 1977) a document calling for concrete measures in this field.

Poland's efforts to secure the materialization of the idea of educating society for peace culminated in the submission to the 33rd UN General Assembly of the draft mentioned earlier. It was approved by the Assembly after a debate in which there were many speakers.

Let us consider the key aspects of the Polish concept as endorsed by the UN. It proceeds, first and foremost, from a fundamental human right, the right to live in peace. It binds all states to educate

people in the spirit of peace and demands a ban on the cult of war, racial discrimination, enmity, and violence. This is an important provision, for these phenomena are still to be observed in a number of countries.

A specific of the Polish concept is its comprehensive approach. In speaking of the duty to educate people, primarily young people, in the spirit of peace, it appeals not only to states as subjects of international law but to all nations. It expects the education process to involve not only the school and family but the mass media. This is a cause which literature, the theatre, and the cinema must serve, as must, above all, those who give young people their way of thinking. How effective education will be depends on the extent political and other organizations, societies of friendship among nations, and so on, take part in it.

The Polish initiative is, in effect, a constructive program providing for education in the spirit of mutual respect and tolerance, and study of the history, spiritual and material culture, language, customs, and everyday life of other peoples. It also calls for a better knowledge of the organization of life in conditions of lasting peace and for the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means. It urges everyone to realize that use of the enormous financial resources that could be released from the barren, deadly sphere of armaments for social and economic development programs and scientific research for peaceful purposes would benefit the whole of manking and serve peace, the freedom and independence of nations, and the vindication of justice, human dignity and happiness. It is, thus, a program of steadfast and consistent activity covering every sphere of life.

The purpose of all education is to make people see that *the natural state of human relations is not war but peace,* which is vital to everybody, and that today the only alternative is between peace and the annihilation of mankind. In other words, the purpose of the Polish initiative is to bring to people the firm conviction that a just, durable and constructive peace must be established and safeguarded for the present and future generations.

Education in the spirit of peace should, therefore, imply the elimination of negative patterns and views, on the one hand, and the promotion of friendship among nations and respect for the values and achievements of each of them, on the other. One of the tasks that should have high priority in educational programs is to popularize the goals and principles of the UN and the foundations of international law generally, acquaint people with the Helsinki Final Act, and back initiatives designed to promote peace and international cooperation.

The problem of disarmament has been given a special role in education for peace. In pointing to the danger posed by the arms

race, it is essential to convince people of the need to curb this race, reduce the military potential and achieve disarmament.

Cooperation among international government and non-governmental organizations, especially within the UN and UNESCO, is an essential condition for translating the idea of education in the spirit of peace into reality. Its purpose should be to exchange information and use the accumulated experience in educating people, particularly young people. Poland is making a substantial contribution to this; it does a great deal to revise textbooks, especially geography and history, so that nations can understand each other better.

Cultural and scientific agreements and agreements on exchanges in the sphere of the mass media, as well as between unions of creative workers and publishing houses, are important instruments of bilateral cooperation between countries in educating people in the spirit of peace.

Furthermore, research into ways and means of consolidating peace and settling international conflicts by peaceful means should be carried forward. Research done by Poland and other socialist countries in these fields is helping to strengthen international security and expand all-round cooperation. It also performs an instructive function by contributing to the education of Polish society in the spirit of devotion to peace.

We would like to stress, however, that Poland's initiative has nothing to do with pacifism. Indeed, as long as the reactionary and imperialist forces continue to resort to aggression and wars of conquest continue to break out the peoples will be compelled to defend their freedom and national independence. This is why education for peace does not rule out preparedness to defend one's country or fight for national liberation. However, this education is entirely incompatible with education in a militarist and chauvinist spirit instigating the seizure of foreign territories and the enslavement or even annihilation of other peoples.

Poland's efforts for the materialization of the idea of education in the spirit of peace are prompted by the conviction based on the experience of mankind that people's right to live in peace can be really and dependably guaranteed, not on the false principle 'If you want peace, prepare for war,' but on the principle 'If you want peace, prepare for it.' We consider that every effort must be made, as Edward Gierek has said, for 'the last quarter of our century . . . to become a period of building peace and educating for peace.' We hope the governments and peoples will give their close attention to our intiative and accept it with a deep realization of our generation's responsibility for guaranteeing mankind the right to live and develop in peace.

the press

Articulating the people's will

Takis Mamatsis
Alternate member, CC PB,
CP of Greece

THE MASS MEDIA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC AND REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE, FOR SOCIALISM

It is beyond question that the mass media play a crucial part in moulding public opinion and that their role has been growing in step with the expansion of radio and television. Even so, the basic issue is still that of who controls the media and what policy they follow, as participants in the discussion organized by *WMR* have pointed out.

The rulers of capitalist society understandably use the media in their own interest, for purposes running counter to the goals and aspirations of the popular movement and the progressive forces. But as these information and propaganda vehicles try, in accordance with the nature and position of the class controlling them, to justify capitalist exploitation and oppression, social inequality and injustice, and as, in so doing, they are compelled to resort increasingly to lies, falsification, slander and provocation, their propaganda becomes ever more vulnerable and its impact on the masses less and less effective. They can no longer decisively influence developments or check progressive trends. In other words, the growing crisis of the bourgeoisie's ideology inevitably affects its propaganda.

By contrast, the propaganda of the communist parties and consistently democratic forces, propaganda based on truth and meeting with the people' interests and aspirations, is appreciated by them more and more even though under capitalism, as in our country, these parties and forces have scant means and limited opportunities. It is not accidental, therefore, and is due, among other things, to the very existence of communist media that the capitalist propaganda machine, especially the press, is forced more and more often to use 'democratic' camouflage in reporting or publishing news, commentaries, and articles concerning communist activity and policy and the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

This comprises both the strength and weakness of the bourgeois

media. It lends them strength because this kind of propaganda still misleads many people. On the other hand, it is a sign of weakness because it indicates a retreat, a modification of form and method necessitated by the impossibility of carrying on as in the past.

This is the trend that has emerged in postwar decades. In Greece the official media found themselves controlled by reaction, which came to power immediately after British imperialism's brazen military intervention in December 1944, in the wake of liberation from fascism. The result was that for decades they monopolized information and used their position to promote the tenets of imperialism and domestic reaction; they carried on rabidly anti-communist propaganda aimed at justifying terror, arbitrary arrests, court sentences, banishment, torture and the execution of many communists and other unvanquished democrats.

Under the military junta's fascist dictatorship (1967-74), control of the media was tightened and the propaganda conducted through them grew more reactionary. All their efforts were directed toward extolling the junta hated by the people, toward promoting fascist ideology, primitive and rabid anti-communism.

However, this junta propaganda proved ineffectual. The overwhelming majority of the people, including conservatives opposed to the fascist dictatorship, switched to foreign broadcasts. These included broadcasts from Moscow in Greek, which were heard with close attention and interest, as well as from the capitals of other socialist countries.

Throughout those years, with the Communist Party outlawed (since 1947), the communists' main propaganda vehicles were *Rizospastis*, published underground by the CC, and other newspapers, underground appeals, slogans, and leaflets, plus Radio Free Greece (called the Voice of Truth between 1961 and 1974).

The struggle of the Greek people, primarily democratic youth, for the overthrow of the military fascist junta benefited particularly by broadcasts from the Athens Polytechnic. These broadcasts did much to mobilize patriots and give popular support to the courageous rising of Polytechnic students, a rising which shook the fascist regime to its foundations and marked the beginning of its end. The whole population of the Greek capital and Piraeus hung on the broadcasts of this round-the-clock station, whose call sign was 'This is the Polytechnic calling.'

Significant political changes took place in the mass media in July 1974, after the junta was removed from power. First, *Rizospastis* resumed legal publication after 27 years of illegality and indescribable persecution; it became a daily. Other democratic publications appeared almost simultaneously. They were followed by periodicals of

the CPG and other progressive and democratic parties and organizations. As for the press which had backed the dictatorship, it had to revise its policy. The only exception was *Eleftheros Kosmos*, a newspaper which tried to keep alive the spirit of the junta; its circulation dropped sharply. Anti-communism was thus dealt a telling blow and this showed in official propaganda — its vehicles were compelled to stop or tone down their anti-communist slander and their attacks on the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

But with the passage of time and as a result of the policy of the government under Karamanlis, leader of the principal right-wing party demagogically calling itself 'New Democracy,' the official media, in particular, radio and television found themselves in the hands of this government, which wanted, in effect, to establish an authoritarian, anti-democratic state and championed the interests of deomestic and foreign companies. Entirely in line with the government policy of discriminating against the CPG even in parliament, the radio and television stubbornly deny equality to our party. They report on its activity very rarely, and in many cases deliberately distort its name by the addition of the workd *Exterior*. This anti-democratic and occasionally provocative attitude draws protests, not only from the communists, but from all consistent democrats. They consider as intolerable the fact that a substantial segment of the people who vote communist, get no information about the party from the state-controlled radio and television while having as all other citizens to pay for the upkeep of that network.

Another characteristic of the official media in our country is that a TV network called the Information Service of the Armed Forces (YENED) operates in addition to the ERT, the official radio and television network. Set up during the civil war, it is maintained by the Karamanlis government as a special uncontrolled agency specializing in whipping up anti-communism. This is done in the face of vigorous protests from the people, who demand the closure of the YENED or its merger with the ERT.

Both the ERT and the YENED generally ignore or falsify strikes and other struggles of the workers and other working people or of young people, join in smear campaigns over alleged human rights violations and the 'persecution' of dissenters in socialist countries. As for their programs, 60 to 70 per cent consist of imported items, 'thrillers,' gangster films, and other products of the 'American way of life,' which prejudice the education of young people. The rest of the programs, or the Greek part proper, is likewise substandard, with very few exceptions.

Faced with the new notable gains which our party scored in the municipal elections last October and with its increased influence both

at home and abroad, as the celebration of the party's 60th anniversary showed again, the Karamanlis government and the reactionary forces generally have lately mounted a new anti-communist campaign orchestrated from one center. It was begun by two cabinet members; Stefanoupoulos, Minister to the Prime Minister, and Balkos, Minister of Public Order, both of whom made anti-communist speeches at rallies held on the anniversary of the events of December 1944. While saying nothing about the actual meaning of these events, during which the people of Athens rose against undisguised military intervention by the British imperialists, reaction interprets them in an anti-communist vein, falsely accusing the communists of 'massacres.'

This new anti-communist campaign, which is plainly associated with imperialism's overall effort to halt détente and return mankind to the dark years of the cold war, involved the official media, primarily the ERT and YENED, as well as the rightist press. It is equally revealing that virtually every statement made by the USA or NATO in a cold war spirit is echoed by the official media. This also applies to every calumny against the Soviet Union or other socialist countries.

Utilization of the state-controlled media on these lines certainly runs counter to the interests of the people and nation and draws massive emphatic protests. The democratic forces criticize radio and TV programs and insist that anti-communism be excluded from them and that they should supply information meeting the people's requirements. In February 1978, communist MPs demanded democratization of the official media and a revision of their programs according to the people's needs and democratic convictions. They stressed that the state-controlled media should stop playing the role of mouthpieces of the ruling party and that an end should be put to discrimination against opposition parties, especially the CPG. The communist MPs insisted on an end to the armed forces' control of the YENED, on the latter's merger with the ERT, and on a halt to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, which were damaging relations between Greece and the socialist countries and were contrary to our national interests. They called for excluding products of the 'American way of life' from programs, reshaping these programs to meet public tastes, and improving the working conditions of radio and TV broadcasters.

'The ERT and YENED,' said a communist MP in parliament, 'spend the people's money to justify a policy directed against our national independence, a policy of returning Greece To NATO, taking it into the EEC, and so on. Nor is there any possibility to oppose that policy through these propaganda media. The CPG considers that such utilization of the mass media must be stopped. Radical steps must be taken to democratize them and make them as independent of the government as possible.'

Another communist MP said: 'The greater part of the Greek people — over 50 per cent in this case — does not have at its disposal what it pays taxes for. It has no opportunity to hear the opinions of those it trusts and has voted for in elections. . . . This is why the mass media must be made official vehicles in the true sense of the word instead of serving as a mouthpiece of the ruling party.'

Democratization of the media is also demanded by MPs from other democratic opposition parties.

Some time ago, ERT actors went on strike for better working conditions and remuneration according to the standard of performance. The strike lasted three months. We think coordination of the actors' struggle with the struggle of other employees of the official media plus pressure from the democratic forces and opposition parties can and should result in democratizing the media and in revising programs so that they will serve the people and help promote democracy, peace, and social progress.

It is perfectly obvious that the general dependence of our country on imperialism leaves its imprint on the official media. This will be seen by anyone who analyzes programs, the material for which is supplied by U.S. and West European news agencies, for it is they that provide the media with guidelines and keep up their anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

There is evidence that an Institute of Anti-Communism has been set up under the direction of the CIA to publicize anti-communist material through the media. It follows that the struggle to deliver our country from imperialist dependence is also a struggle to rid the official media of imperialist influence and interference.

In campaigning for the democratization of the official media and resisting the negative influence of the monopoly-controlled press, our party makes a special effort to improve *Rizospastis* and the journal *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi,* increase the circulation of the Greek edition of *WMR,* bring out and circulate propaganda material, and improve ideological work as a whole.

We are guided by the directives of the Tenth Party Congress (May 1978) on the need to step up the struggle against bourgeois ideology, right-wing revisionism, 'leftism' and petty-bourgeois 'socialism.' In spite of serious difficulties, we have registered notable achievements. *Rizospastis,* the chief publicity vehicle of our Central Committee, has justifiably won prestige as the most consistent democratic newspaper, a determined and courageous champion of the interests of all working people, an uncompromising opponent of dependence on imperialism and imperialist meddling in our country's affairs, a staunch standard-bearer of the struggle for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism, and a proponent of friendship and cooperation with the

Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. No other paper gives as much space to the problems and pressing needs of the working class and other working people as *Rizospastis*. Its influence among the people and its circulation are growing in direct connection with this. *Rizospastis* has the third largest circulation among the morning papers of Athens, having out-stripped the semi-official *Kathimerini,* to say nothing of the revisionists' paper, whose circulation is one-fourth that of *Rizospastis*.

Our daily, which articulates the true interests of all working people, makes its columns available for statements, interviews, and articles by politicians, trade unionists and other public figures who do not belong to the left. Many of them, including even Seraphim, Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, took part in the campaigns conducted by *Rizospastis* for the repatriation of Greek political exiles living in socialist countries, for the abolition of foreign bases on Greek soil, against anti-communism, etc. Our contributors include many democratic personalities in literary and artistic life.

Rizospastis and other CPG periodicals expose the anti-popular policy of the government and the sinister aims of the conservative right. Simultaneously they campaign against the revisionists, whose party has become an anti-communist and anti-Soviet group virtually following a policy of submission to the bourgeoisie. We also fight from positions of principle against 'leftism' and against the policy of the Chinese leadership and the various Maoist groups active in our country, whose adventurist and provocative tactics encourage attacks on the democratic and popular movement.

In the struggle which the CPG is carrying on jointly with the Communist Youth of Greece and the left-wing and democratic forces cooperating with us, we do our best to inform and enlighten the working people and resist reactionary propaganda directed by foreign imperialist centers. In this struggle we also use other forms and methods of propaganda, such as leaflets, appeals, posters and panels. We use them particularly in parliamentary and municipal election campaigns and during the celebration of memorable events, for instance, the 60th anniversary of our party. The impact of these mass forms is seen in the fact that recently the Minister of Public Order drafted a law banning wall posters on the pretext of protecting the capital and other cities from, of all things, pollution.

Invariably making a large effort to improve its propaganda, our party strives to make it more incisive, more militant and effective and to ensure that it wins increasing support among the masses. We regard this work, which we are carrying on along with the campaign for the democratization of the official media, as an alternative to imperialist propaganda.

Book reviews

A CONSISTENT, PRINCIPLED AND CREATIVE POLICY

Kadar Janos. *A szocializmusert — a bekeert* (For Socialism, For Peace). Beszedek es cikkek 1972-1978. Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1978, 657 pp.

This is a selection of articles and speeches by Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, covering the period from 1972 to 1978.

The wealth of material and its pivotal ideas, presented in the collection, give a clear picture of the specific historical development of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, development of which has been consistent, with a steady renewal of the policy which the party has steadfastly pursued. This purposeful, principled and realistic policy, which takes into account the lessons of the 1956 counter-revolution and the changing external and internal conditions, has been perfected from congress to congress, and constantly enriched through the critical approach organic to the whole of the party's activity.

This collection covers a highly meaningful stage in our country's multi-faceted development and its material and spiritual upswing as it faces the task of building a developed socialist society. It presents a broad panorama of the party's constructive and intensive efforts over the past five and a half years in every sphere of our society's life, with a creative application of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country's specific conditions, efforts which have been well expressed in its international activity in the interests of peace and social progress.

Janos Kadar shows our society in its dynamic development and with all the contradictions inherent in advance, and carries the reader to a clear understanding of the fact that socialism is not something that is solidly rigid or static. He writes: 'Now and again it is said that the gains of socialism do not signify an ideal solution. That is true, but, after all, socialism is not a granite monument which the stone-cutter has chiseled once and for all, and which will remain such for ever. Socialism is a living organism, it is being transformed, it is in constant movement and development; through our work, efforts and concern, this society will become better and better' (p. 629).

These ideas, which are an inspiration to the further development and perfection of the socialist society, testify to a profoundly

humanistic approach, with man at the heart of it. This will also be seen from the idea, which is expressed in the book on various occasions and in different contexts, but which keynotes the whole work, that the steady rise to an ever higher level in the satisfaction of the working people's material and spiritual requirements, and the creation of ever better conditions for the individual's all-round development, and for strengthening and developing our socialist way of life tend most forcefully to come to the fore as the developed socialist society is built. Janos Kadar makes a point of closely tying in the attainment of this fundamental goal with the actual conditions and the country's present economic state and potentialities, and goes on to emphasize that the 20-year period of fruitful development has created the conditions for advaincing to a historically higher stage, which more fully meets the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution. Accelerated transition to this new stage of development is also motivated by intricate processes like the rising prices on the world market, which affect our economy, and the worsening balance of trade. Kadar's in-depth analysis suggests the conclusion that the key to further economic development required for the successful solution of a number of important social problems lies in a transformation of our production structure that would ensure production meeting international standards of quality and cost. This requires that our internal resources should be used today, that they should be multiplied through active participation in socialist economic integration.

The collection gives a full picture of political life in Hungarian society. The reader comes to realize that the political atmosphere in our country has been shaped in accordance with the requirements of socialist development, and that this has resulted from guidance of society in which the long-term goal of building developed socialism is combined with close attention to current problems. Because our party has pursued an open and sincere policy, because its program expresses the interests of the broadest masses of working people and of the whole nation, because these interests are realized in practice, in other words, because of the party's style of leadership which fully takes account of the opinion of the masses and which is designed to be accepted by the working people, and finally, because the principles and practices of the HSWP equate party work and service to the people's cause, a healthy political atmosphere has taken shape in Hungary, with close ties between the party and the masses, and solid unity of the whole people in the struggle for peace and socialism. In his speech at the Ninth Congress of the Young Communist League, Kadar said: 'There is much evidence that the overwhelming majority of our people accept the party's policy, and that the building of a

developed socialist society has become a truly national program' (p. 423).

A reading of the collection clearly shows the ever more pronounced contours of the developed socialist society being built in the country, and its constantly changing face, as it is enriched with new features. Kadar's analysis of the deepest layers of socio-economic processes gives an idea of a socialist society which has absorbed Hungarian reality while making use of the experience of the fraternal parties and countries, always taking into account the general uniformities of socialist construction. At a Plenary Meeting of the HSWP Central Committee on November 19, 1978, to mark the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Hungary, Kadar said: 'The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has always believed it necessary to consider in its theoretical and practical work at all times the general uniformities of Marxism-Leninism, and simultaneously the historical experience of its own working class and people, our country's conditions and its national uniqueness. We seek to learn from the example of the fraternal parties, especially from the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was founded by Lenin.'

Characterizing our party's theoretical platform and practical activity in the international arena, Kadar defines our goals and clearly says on whose side we are, who are our friends and who our enemies. At an electoral meeting in 1975 he said: 'Ours is a consistent policy which rests on an unambiguous and principled basis. We have openly proclaimed our goals and aspirations. In the international political struggle we stand, in word and deed, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and thus it will be in the future as well. The cornerstone of our foreign policy is the urge for unity; the urge to fight together with all the progressive, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces. Our policy with respect to the capitalist countries is also clear and unambiguous: We adhere to the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and we seek to implement this principle in practice. Such is the main line of our international policy, the substance of our activity' (p. 346).

In a consistently Marxist-Leninist spirit, organically tying the struggle for peace and social progress, Kadar analyzes the historical achievements of the progressive, peace-loving forces, and the successes of the policy of détente, which was so strikingly manifested at the Helsinki Conference on European Security. At the same time, he exposes the acts of the most reactionary imperialist circles and the Chinese leadership. He traces the trends in the ever more complicated international situation and notes that the course of development in the world is still determined by the forces which stand for détente,

but the trends which slow down and hamper this process now also make themselves felt more acutely. This shows that 'we are taking only the first step in fulfilling a complex program which is designed for a long term,' and that 'much effort is still required' to implement this program. (p. 634). In other words, even today advance in the struggle for peace can be made only through persistent and purposeful action, constantly uniting and consolidating the alliance of all the forces concerned with peace. He adds that with the imperialist powers whipping up a fresh round of the arms race, the fraternal socialist countries must, for the maintenance of peace, see to it that their own defense capability is on an appropriate level.

An important section of the book contains an analysis of current problems in the international communist and working-class movement, which is characterized by its invariably principled stand and loyalty to revolutionary ideals and convictions. Kadar emphasizes: 'The state of the international communist movement is, in the main, characterized today by the development and growth of the forces and influence of the parties, which goes hand in hand with the constant change in the conditions of their struggle. In consequence of this, the communist parties must provide answers to new problems arising from the changed conditions of development. For this purpose, they have thoroughly to consider the international and specifically national conditions of their struggle, taking into account their countries' traditions and of necessity modifying some elements of their policy. That is not only each party's right, but also its duty' (p.635).

At the same time Kadar emphasizes: the available experience also shows that this natural right and duty of the parties are realized without hindrances and produce the desired results only when the elaboration of the ways leading to socialism and the construction of socialism itself are based on an understanding of the dialectical connection between general uniformities and national specifics, when the efforts taken within the national framework are combined with international solidarity, and when the revolutionary struggle rests on a coordination of national and international interests. In formulating these demands, Kadar expressed them concretely in application to our country and our party in his speech at the June 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, when he said: 'We are sure that socialist construction in the Hungarian People's Republic, the development of our democratic system and our international activity not only serve the interests of our people, but also help to strengthen the international positions of socialism and consolidate the cohesion of the socialist countries. At the same time, we are aware that the international solidarity, which we have always felt on the part of the progressive forces of the world and, above all,

on the part of the socialist countries and the international communist movement, is an important and even a necessary source of strength in building socialism' (pp. 433-434).

This collection of Kadar's articles and speeches provides further striking evidence of our party's patriotic and simultaneously internationalist character. It gives a precise reflection of the experience of socialist construction in Hungary, of our achievements and difficulties, and broadly shows the HSWP's constantly developing activity, which is aimed at preserving peace and strengthening the unity of the international revolutionary forces, so shedding a strong light on the conditions in which the building of a developed socialist society is being successfully carried on in our country.

Karoly Lipkovics

THEIR OBJECTIVE

The Hoa in Vietnam. Dossier. Foreign Language Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, 181 pp.

This booklet consists of feature stories and articles reprinted from the newspaper *Nhan Dan,* and also illustrations and a selection of Vietnamese and Chinese documents on the so-called problem of ethnic Chine (Hoa) in Vietnam.

The materials in this book irrefutably give the lie to Peking's charge that socialist Vietnam is 'persecuting, ostracizing, and expelling' Hoa. They shed light on 'Operation Nanquiao' and the designs of the Chinese authorities, and explain the solutions proposed by Vietnam to settle this problem. Moreover, the inclusion of Chinese documents is incontrovertible evidence of the compilers' desire to be objective, to give a truthful exposition of the facts.

Since *World Marxist Review* has given an account of the developments linked with the exodus of Hoa and the subsequent Chinese orchestrated provocations on the Vietnam border,[1] I shall confine myself to the facts stated in the booklet, giving a closer insight into the reasons behind these developments.

In the multinational Vietnamese socialist state there were 1,200,000 Hoa, i.e., 5 per cent of the total population (p. 19). Most lived in the southern provinces, mainly in Ho Chi Minh City and other large population centers. In North Vietnam they were concentrated in Guang Ninh Province, which borders on China. The majority of the ethnic Chinese (they are mainly working people, although among them there are small and middle traders and even big compradores) have acquired Vietnamese citizenship.[2]

Relative to the Hoa the Communist Party of Vietnam — this is

lucidly shown in the booklet — had from the moment of its founding adopted a class and internationalist attitude. The political program of the Communist Party of Indochina[3] (October 1930) declared: 'The workers and laborers among the Chinese nationals are allies of the Vietnamese revolution' (p. 23). A resolution passed by a party plenum in 1939 noted: 'In the last few years, as a result of the movement to support the Chinese people's resistance, feelings of mutual affection and a close relationship have developed between the two peoples' (Ibid.). And in 1941 the party Central Committee issued a directive to all party and mass organizations, which stated in part: 'The workers and laborers among the Chinese nationals constitute a reserve force for the revolution in Indochina. It is therefore imperative to step up agitation and propaganda work among them' (pp. 23-24).

As the outcome of this principled and consistent policy many ethnic Chinese took part, along with their Vietnamese brothers, in the revolution of August 1945, in the resistance to the French colonialists in 1946-1954, and in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors. They were active in the socialist transformations in Vietnam, particularly in the north.

Needless to say, the ethnic Chinese residing in the SRV enjoy the same rights as other Vietnamese citizens, and many of them have been elected or appointed to positions of responsibility. In Ho Chi Minh City, for instance, three members of the National Assembly, five members of the City People's Council and 30 members of ward and district people's councils are Vietnamese of Chinese origin.

However, some of the Hoa — small and middle traders, and particularly the big compradores[4] in Ho Chi Minh City — did not accept the socialist regime and the policy of encouraging them to invest their capital in production. They continued to engage in hoarding and profiteering, sinking into the mire of fraud, bribery, corruption, tax-evasion, sabotage and so on. The steps taken by the SRV government in accordance with its policy of socialist transformation were exploited by Chinese propaganda to whip up a psychological campaign that led to an exodus of ethnic Chinese. Furthermore, Peking used trained agents and had recourse to the most subtle and ruthless actions. All this is strikingly described in four feature stories: 'Operation Nanquiao: Second Act of an Ubuesque Farce,'[5] 'Mechanism of a Campaign of Coercion,' 'The Exodus Fever in a Border Province,' and 'The Hoa People in My Neighborhood.' These must be read to understand why thousands of Hoa, who had worked peacefully and had been content in Vietnam, suddenly, as if possessed, fled to China with all their belongings, leaving behind relatives and close friends in a country they had regarded as their homeland.

The documents and facts presented in the booklet eloquently show that 'Operation Nanquiao' was a psychological campaign launched by the Chinese authorities to compel ethnic Chinese by means of flattery, threats and blackmail to return to China, portray this provoked exodus as resulting from alleged persecution by the Vietnamese authorities, and utilize this allegation to discredit the Socialist Republic of Vietnam politically and dislocate its economy as 'punishment' for the SRV leadership's fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and for denying the Peking leaders assistance in the attainment of their hegemonistic and expansionist ambitions.[6]

This is a valuable booklet not only because it shows what actually caused the sudden exodus of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam. It gives a clearer picture of the strategic plans of the Chinese leaders and of the methods used by them. It is particularly valuable to the people of Southeast Asia, which has large colonies of ethnic Chinese (totalling more than 20 million) and where Maoist-inspired organizations and parties are active, still blindly following all the political twists and turns of their Peking mentors. Many facts indicate that these political twists and turns spell out a serious threat, chiefly to the peoples of Southeast Asia, and that ethnic Chinese, particularly the Chinese bourgeoisie, are accorded a significant place in the designs of the Peking strategists.

From recent history it is well known how Peking used the ethnic Chinese minority in Indonesia, how it attempted to inspire anti-government actions in Burma, organized an 'insurgent movement' in Malaysia and split the national-liberation movements in the Philippines and otherwise interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. The newspaper *Patriot* recently reported that Peking plans to form a 'corridor' in South and Southeast Asia (from Thailand, where five million ethnic Chinese reside, across Burma and some Indian states to Tibet) to serve as a springboard for interference in the internal affairs of the countries in this region.

In this context it would be well to remember Mao Tse-tung's declaration in August 1965 that this entire region had 'to be secured.' If to this is added Peking's recent heightened interest in the Huatsiao (overseas Chinese), the special conference on this question in early 1978, the examination of this question by the National People's Assembly, Peking's public pledge to 'protect the rights and interests' of overseas Chinese and its policy of regarding all overseas Chinese as 'members of one big family,' and, lastly, the proclaimed intention to form a 'united patriotic front of overseas Chinese' and the inclusion of this front into an 'anti-hegemonistic' front, the question arises whether there are guarantees that the scenario played out by the

Chinese strategists in Vietnam is not repeated by them in other countries of Asia.

Jose Lava

1. *WMR*, February 1979.

2. In north Vietnam they were granted citizenship as a result of agreements signed in 1955 and 1957 with the People's Republic of China. In south Vietnam, from 1956 onward, all persons of Chinese origin acquired Vietnamese citizenship first as a result of coercive measures by Ngo Dinh Diem and later of the economic handouts offered by Nguyen Van Thieu.

3. The name by which the Communist Party of Vietnam, founded in 1930, was known until 1951. — *Ed.*

4. Under the U.S. puppets in south Vietnam (particularly under Thieu) 80 ethnic Chinese compradores became billionaires. In business circles they were called 'uncrowned kings.' They held a monopoly in three major sectors of the economy: manufacturing, distribution, and credits. Li Long Than, the most powerful among them, was able to meet with Thieu, his wife, or the U.S. Ambassador at any time at 15 minutes' notice. He was called the 'actual president' of south Vietnam.

5. Ubesque — derived from Ubu, a grotesque personage in Afred Garry's play *Ubu roi*. — *Ed.*

6. After this review was written China committed an act of aggression by invading the Socialist Republic of Vietnam soon after Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to the USA. This invasion bears out the conclusions of both the booklet and the review about the present Chinese leadership's expansionist and hegemonistic ambitions, which are imperilling peace.

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