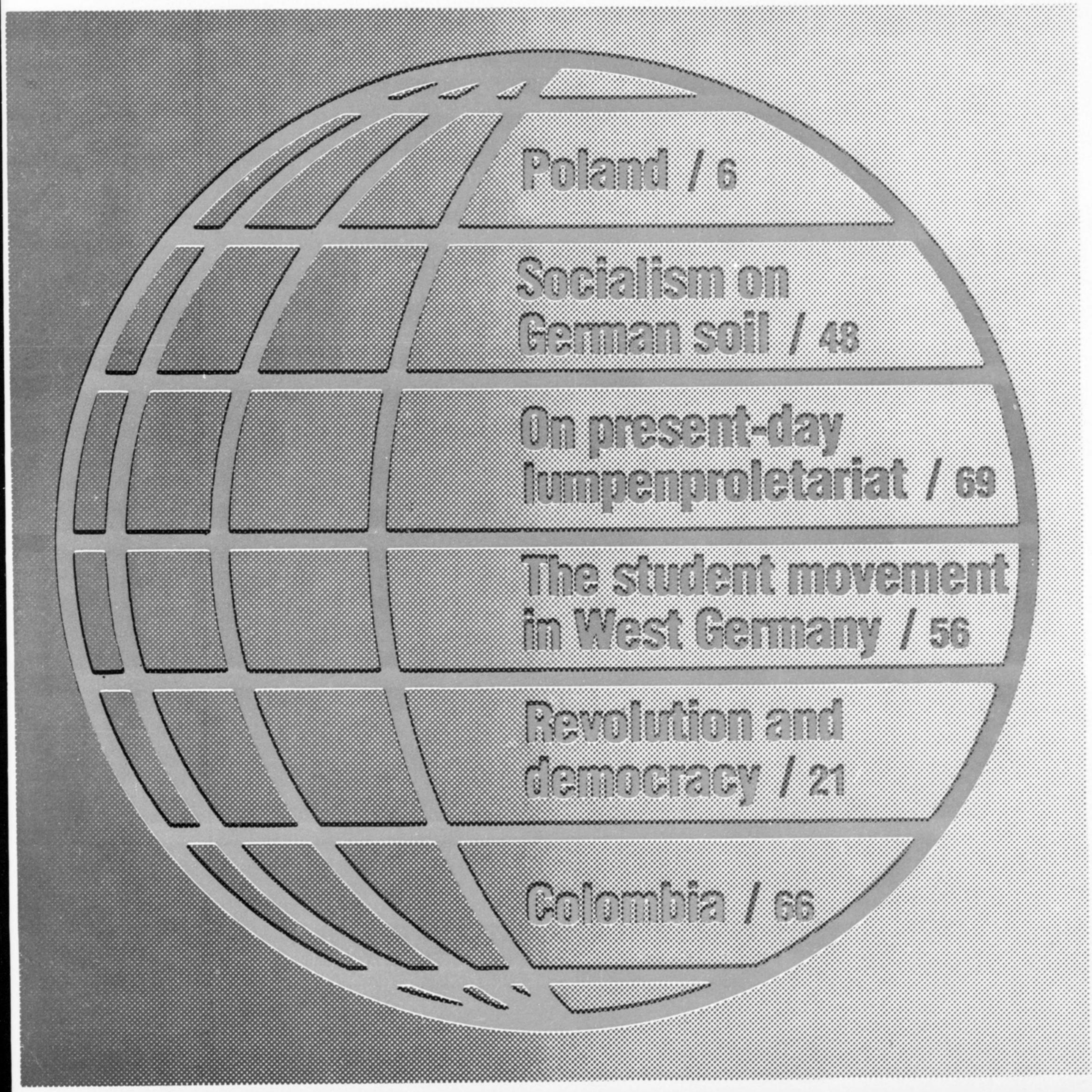
WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW

September 1979, Volume 22, Number 9 $1.00



Workers of all countries, unite!

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Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

September 1979, Vol. 22, No. 9

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Second class mail registration number 2352.
Printed in Canada. ISSN 0043-8642

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Canada and U.S., $7.50 a year. Other countries, $11.50. Institutions, double rate.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Flemish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Rumanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Turkish and Vietnamese.

Subscriptions may be obtained through PROGRESS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

In the USA from IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is published by PROGRESS BOOKS, 71 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5V 2P6.

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feature

Remember the past for the sake of the present and the future

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The Second World War, which broke out 40 years ago on September 1, 1939, was the most brutal and sanguinary of all the wars known in history. To one extent or another it affected all continents and wrought inestimable destruction. It is horrifying even to think what life would have been in the world had fascism and reaction not been stopped by the forces of freedom and progress with the material and spiritual might of the Soviet Union as their mainstay.

The experience of the war, of the defeat of fascism, and the experience of the postwar years have borne out the correctness of the communist-drafted revolutionary strategy of the working class, in which the struggle for the emancipation of the working people from exploitation, for freedom, democracy and social progress is closely linked to the struggle for peace, for the prevention of another war. Without attempting to give a comprehensive analysis of this experience, we should like to dwell on some of its key elements.

History teaches that the wars unleashed by imperialism, besides being wars of aggrandizement, have always pursued the objective of consolidating bourgeois class domination. They are aimed against the revolutionary movement at home and abroad, against the interests of the working class and all other working people. On the eve of the Second World War the reactionary governments of capitalist states had their sights not on preserving peace, although this accorded with the basic national interests of their peoples, but on destroying the world's first socialist state.[1] Fascism as such did not bother the political leaders of the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, world reaction joyously welcomed the opportunity of playing the fascist card for its mercenary aims, and saw the establishment of fascist dictatorships as consolidating the positions of capitalism, as a barrier to the spread of the revolutionary struggle. The encouragement and concessions given to the aggressor culminated in a military catastrophe, in the killing of tens of millions of people, and in the loss of colossal values created by the labor of many generations.

The defeat of nazi Germany spelled out not only a military defeat of nazism. It was a victory of reason over obscurantism, of civilization over barbarity, of the forces of the world's revolutionary renewal over the forces of world reaction. Nazi Germany doomed itself to defeat because it tried to use armed force to halt and reverse the law-governed and insuperable process of the rise and development of the new, just social system, socialism, which is replacing capitalist society.

However, to this day it can still be stated with apprehension that some imperialist circles have learned nothing from the experience of the past. They are sinking hundreds of billions of dollars into armaments for the USA and all the NATO countries undisguisedly for use against socialism and are nourishing neo-nazism and revanchism in the FRG and Italy. They would like to play the China card and to use the Peking leadership's aggressive actions for their aims. In addition to being fraught with a grave threat of war, plans of this nature are aimed against the struggle of the working people and of entire nations to remould the world on new just social principles.

The spokesmen of imperialism unabashedly falsify the history of the Second World War. They distort and belittle the part played by the Soviet Union in the defeat of nazi Germany and militarist Japan and the contribution of the communists in the Resistance. In the eyes of rising generations, who do not know the horrors of a world war, they try to exonerate fascism and the nazi criminals. Bourgeois propaganda uses falsifications of history to whip up anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, spread the myth of a 'Soviet threat', of 'socialism's aggressiveness' and justify the unbridled arms race.

In this light we feel that an objective picture of the decisive contribution made by the USSR to the victory over fascism will not only restore the historical truth but will also be of immense ideological and political significance in the class struggle today between labor and capital both in individual countries and on an international scale. We hold that the efforts to expose falsifications of history, combat anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, halt encouragement of potential aggressors, and show the historical and political untenability of the myths of a 'Soviet threat' and 'socialism's aggressiveness' are part and parcel of the entire struggle for peace and the emancipation of the working class and all other working people.

The internationalist character of Soviet foreign

policy was noted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in a resolution declaring that the peace policy of the USSR is aimed not only at defending its own security but also 'safeguards the life of workers of all countries, the life of all oppressed and exploited people. It signifies defense of the independence of small nations. It serves the vital interests of humankind.'[2] It was no accident that after the nazi attack on the USSR the Soviet-German front became the principal fron of the Second World War.[3] With the main burden of the war on its shoulders, the USSR was the leading force of the anti-fascist coalition. The Soviet people and their armed forces safeguarded their socialist homeland and discharged their internationalist duty to the peoples of the world. The lessons of the war are that no effective struggle can be conducted against imperialism, which is intrinsically inclined to engage in military gambles and violence, without reinforcing the international solidarity of the working class, of all the forces of democracy and progress. Proletarian internationalism is the basic principle of the international communist and working-class movement and it has been and remains a tested, dependable weapon in the struggle for peace, against the threat of war.

The military victory over fascism renewed the face of the world, ushering in a 'huge wave of socio-political changes that rolled across the entire planet.'[4] It was a victory of socialism in the broadest sense of the word and showed that imperialism is no longer able to achieve its class aims by military means. The stronger positions won by socialism, the emergence of the community of socialist states and the crumbling of colonial empires created new, favorable conditions for the further unfolding of the class struggle of the working people and for the democratic movement.

The significant changes that have taken place in the world since the Second World War have tilted the balance of strength in favor of peace and socialism. There is now a new socio-political map, and a great international peace coalition which, in addition to its main forces — the USSR and all other socialist-community states, and the international communist and working-class movement — includes the national-liberation movements, the non-aligned movement, the peace movement, the democratic progressive social streams and all realistically-minded political circles. The policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems now has a solid material basis.

Through the efforts of the USSR and other socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties, and other progressive social forces the threat of another world war has now diminished, and détente has become the overriding tendency of international life. Principles of international law envisaging the coexistence of countries with different social systems have been worked out and recorded in documents. The meeting between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Leonid Brezhnev and U.S. President James Carter and the signing of SALT-2 give grounds for hoping that mankind will resolve the basic problem of the struggle for peace and halt and reverse the arms race.

The experience of cooperation in the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the common struggle against the aggressor and the experience of postwar development bear out that peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems is a realistic and attainable aim. For more than one-third of a century peace has been reigning in Europe, scene of two world wars. The European powers, big and small, have signed the Helsinki Final Act recognizing the inviolability of existing frontiers, renounced attempts to change these frontiers by force, and are successfully, albeit in the face of understandable difficulties, expanding economic, scientific and cultural relations.

The principles of peaceful coexistence are winning growing support from large segments of the people in all continents and, willy nilly, they have to be reckoned with by realistically-minded political leaders and statesmen of the capitalist world. The principles of equal security are being asserted in international relations. Worldwide opinion is increasingly favoring the creation of a system of collective security.

But this does not imply a lessening, much less, the elimination, of the main contradiction of our epoch, namely, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. The communists are under no illusion that peace between states brings an end to the class struggle. The ineradicable conflicts between labor and capital, between the oppressors and the oppressed are not dying away. On the contrary, they are acquiring a larger dimension as contradictions embodying modern history. Hence the aspiration to banish war from the life of mankind and move the settlement of emerging conflicts to the field of diplomacy has nothing in common with pacifist 'non-resistance to evil.' It does not signify renunciation of internationalism, of support for the revolutionary, liberation struggle. It does not conflict with the right of oppressed nations and exploited classes to use any form of struggle they find most expedient under concrete historical conditions. It does not deny any people the right to resort to arms in order to defend themselves against imperialist aggression or help other peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

The experience of the two world wars and of postwar development underscores that the communists are right in concluding that a constant threat of war is inherent in the nature of imperialism. Inter-imperialist contradictions have now grown particularly acute. The economic, monetary-financial, energy and primary materials crises are brutalizing the rivalry between individual national and multinational groups of capitalists. These groups are determined, more than ever, to shift the burden of these crises to the shoulders of the working people, to the developing nations, and resolve the primary materials problem by gunboat diplomacy.[5] The imperialists respond to their de-

feat in social battles, to their loss of colonial possessions, to the breakaway of a steadily growing number of countries from the capitalist system, to the successes of the socialist community and to the mounting influence of the communist parties and other progressive forces in the capitalist states with a feverish arms race, with preparation for war. Their policy is undisguisedly directed against détente and disarmament.

For the working class and its political vanguard — the communist parties — the struggle for peace is a vital condition of the struggle for a just social order, for social progress, and the building of socialism and communism. The working class cannot want war with its annihilation of people and destruction of material values today because it is itself the principal creator of material culture and the standard-bearer of the struggle for a better future for mankind.

The communists, who are the most consistent and principled opponents of the war threat, hold that the struggle for détente and disarmament is more than a struggle against the threat of a shambles tomorrow. It is a significant part of the struggle of the working class, of all working people for a better life today. A prime task of all the forces of peace and progress today is to curb imperialism and expose and block its militarist, predatory ambitions.

For that reason, when the communists speak of peaceful coexistence of the two opposing social systems they do not mean coming to terms with imperialism and resting content with that. They mean compelling imperialism to accept a world order fettering international reaction, preventing it from encroaching upon the peace and security of nations; an order supporting the aspiration of peoples for national liberation, independence and economic and social progress, and contributing to the development of the healthy tendency toward détente, broad international mutually beneficial cooperation, and exchanges of scientific, technological, cultural and artistic achievements.

It is the duty of all who cherish peace to promote these positive tendencies in international relations and work unremittingly to deepen détente, expand mutually beneficial cooperation, end the arms race, begin disarmament and move forward toward strengthening peace and security. This line toward a peaceful future is actively pursued by the socialist community and it has the support of the international communist and working-class movement, the forces of national liberation and all the forces of peace and progress. Mankind sees this as the fulfillment of one of socialism's principal slogans, which reads, peace to nations.

1. This is most strikingly demonstrated by the signing of the quadripartite pact oby Britain, France, Germany and Italy in the summer of 1933. This was a conspiracy to divide the world into four spheres of influence. Germany was to dominate Russia, while Italy was to get a sphere embracing the Danubian and Balkan states. This pact was not ratified by France and for that reason it did not come into force. But these tendencies found expression in, among other things, the quadripartite Munich conspiracy that turned Czechoslovakia over to the mercies of Hitler. Properly speaking, the political differences between the Anti-Comintern Pact states (Germany, Italy and Japan) and the Agnlo-French alliance boiled down to the difference between aggression and encouraging aggression. In both cases this was a policy of war.

2. *VII Kongres der Kommunistischen Internationale*, Berlin, 1975, pp. 326-327.

3. During the 1,418 days of hostilities on the Soviet-German front nazi Germany and its satellites lost 607 divisions. The U.S. and British troops in North Africa and Western Europe destroyed or took prisoner 176 enemy divisions (A. Grechko, 'The great victory and its lessons,' *WMR*, March 1975).

4. L.I. Brezhnev, *Following Lenin's Corse*, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, p. 286.

5. In this context considerable anxiety is aroused by the quick-strike force planned in the USA. It is to consist of 110,000 effectives, including infantry, marine, naval and air units for action in remote regions of the world.

In memory of Otto Schudel

The sudden death has occurred of Comrade Otto Schudel, member of the Central Control Commission of the Swiss Party of Labor, and member of the Editorial Council of *World Marxist Review*.

Otto Schudel's long life was one of fine achievement. He joined the Communist Party of Switzerland in 1921, the year it was founded, and for several years was a member of the party committee in the canton of Basel, and represented the CPS in the International League of Fighters Against Imperialism. He was one of the founders of the International Workers' Aid Organization, an organization of proletarian solidarity. During the Second World War, Otto Schudel worked in the underground anti-fascist press.

After the war, Otto Schudel gave much time and energy to the party press, notably as editor and then as member of the Editorial Board of the newspaper *Vorwärts*, organ of the Swiss Party of Labor.

In the recent period, Otto Schudel was the SPL's representative on *World Marxist Review*, took an active part in its work, and conducted wide-ranging research.

The memory of Otto Schudel, communist and internationalist, a tireless fighter and a staunch friend will always remain with all his comrades and associates.

The lessons of September 1939

Piotr Jaroszewicz
CC Political Bureau member, PUWP,
Chairman, Council of Ministers,
Polish People's Republic

Nazi Germany's attack on Poland on September 1, 1939 started the Second World War, which gradually involved 61 states and cost between 50 and 55 million human lives. The Polish people were the first to take up arms in resisting the armed aggression of German imperialism in its ugliest, fascist form. From the first day of war to the last, it steadfastly fought for its independence and human dignity, made a tangible contribution to the victory over the Third Reich, and restored its statehood on socialist principles.

The Polish people emerged from the Second World War greatly exhausted and decimated, but rich in experience and a knowledge of the world and the laws governing social life based on its own sufferings. Its experience has international significance. It includes the truth, which is rooted in the people's minds and hearts, that it was the Soviet Army and the Polish People's Army, which fought shoulder to shoulder with it, that saved our nation from biological extermination and brought it freedom, that the brunt of the war against nazism was borne by the Soviet Union and its army, and that the Soviet people made the crucial contribution to the common victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition against fascism.[1]

'These three events: the tragic start of the Second World War, its victorious end and the revival of an independent Poland with the new socialist system and a new territorial structure,' Edward Gierek emphasized, 'are turning points in our history. These events are a source of the most profound knowledge and the most important conclusions which provided the foundation for the contemporary interests of the Polish state and a canon of Polish political thinking.'[2]

Mindful of the lessons and experience of the recent past, People's Poland has been steadily building up its socio-political and economic potential, strengthening the security of its borders, the unity of the nation in socialist construction, and deepening and strengthening its alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, our proved friend, with Czechoslovakia and the GDR, with the whole socialist community and with all the other forces of freedome and progress.

In our program documents and our political practice of 35 years, we have closely connected successful construction of socialism in our country and service of the interests of the working class and broad masses of people with the struggle for détente, security and disarmament and for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace.

Together with the whole Polish people, the government of the Polish People's Republic welcomed with profound satisfaction the signing of SALT-2 by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President James Carter of the United States. This historic event strengthens international security, reduces the danger of a global nuclear conflict and serves to consolidate and spread the process of détente. Poland fully supports SALT-2 and is deeply convinced that its ratification will lead to a further limitation of armaments and facilitate progress in other disarmament talks.

The 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War gives our nation the moral right to remind the world of the forces which prepared that crime against humanity and how they did it. The roots of the Second World War lay in the deep-going contradictions between the imperialist states in the political, economic and ideological spheres. Poland, which had won independence in 1918 as a result of its people's liberation struggle and the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, from the outset found itself at the center of the conflict engendered by the opposite interests, both between the victorious powers themselves, and between the victorious powers and defeated Germany, and also by the general urge of the capitalist world to prevent the victory and strengthening of socialism in the USSR.

Despite the fact that Germany had signed the Versailles Treaty, it launched upon a policy which at various stages was aimed to amend, revise and finally, undermine the whole Versailles system. German revanchism was primarily aimed against Poland. Berlin's policy and propaganda were designed to create in Europe a myth that Poland and the Poles were a 'season state,' a nation clearly 'incapable' of having its own statehood, and to suggest the idea that Poland's western and northern borders would be inevitably redrawn. The imperialist powers, for their part, tried to resolve their internal contradictions by setting up an anti-Soviet front and channelling Germany's expansionism against the USSR.[3] This became especially noticeable after Hitler's assumption of power in Germany. According to projections by Western politicians, he

was to attain the goals which had not been reached in the intervention against Soviet Russia.

Hitler's predecessors, seeking to redraw the borders with Poland, looked to means of diplomatic influence and economic pressure. Hitler gave the German urge to redraw the borders a new scope and content. He set the aim of establishing a 'new order' in Europe, completely recarving the political map, scrapping the political results of the First World War, seizing colonies, and winning world domination for Germany. This aim was to be attained by military means. Preparations for war were begun in the country behind a smokescreen of 'peace' declarations provided by foreign policy. Another means of camouflage was the Third Reich's programmatic anti-communism, which was institutionalized in the 'anti-comintern pact,'[4] and also in the moves by nazi diplomacy to dull the vigilance of potential victims and to isolate adversaries. The same purpose was served by resistance to international trends which Germany disliked, and the establishment of a common front of aggressor states.

However, the calls for a crusade against 'world communism' could not conceal the fact that along several lines Hitler's plans ran counter to the interests of the powers which had emerged victorious in the First World War. This gave Soviet diplomacy a platform for cooperation with the capitalist countries in the struggle to avert the war.

A group of Soviet historians writes: 'Following the fascist coup in Germany, the Soviet Union headed the forces actively resisting the program of aggrandizement of that country's new government. At all international forums, Soviet delegates warned against the world-war danger posed by Germany, the danger was discussed in the press, USSR diplomacy resolutely fought for peace.'[5]

One of the first steps taken by Soviet diplomacy in building a collective-security system in Europe was the USSR's entry into the League of Nations for the purpose of using it as an instrument of peace. From 1933 to 1935, work was carried on, on the initiative of the USSR and France, in preparation for an Eastern Pact.[6] However, nazi diplomacy torpedoed all these measures, which were designed to throw up a barrier in the way of war, to limit Germany's freedom of maneuver, and to force it to respect the principles of international law. At that time, Poland also took a negative stand on the Soviet proposals, preferring bilateral to multilateral non-aggression treaties.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern (July 25 to August 25, 1935) had a most important role to play in the struggle against the danger of war. It defined the new tasks of the international communist movement. An analysis of the situation in the world enabled the participants in the Congress to formulate this unambiguous conclusion: the fascist states had started direct preparations for another world war. In that situation, the key task before the communist parties was to create a united working-class and broad popular front for the fight against fascism and war.

Germany's intention to redraw its eastern borders forced Poland to regard security as the key problem facing the state and the nation. It based its security on an alliance concluded with France in 1921. But in the interwar period France was not a reliable point of support. Much too frequently it regarded Poland as a client instead of a partner, and it was one of the architects of the policy which sought to divert Berlin's attention from Western Europe and to aim German expansionism eastwards.

The various projects for a 'European directorate,' a 'Quadrilateral Pact' (France, Germany, Italy and Britain) expected to solve European problems without taking into account the interests of Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, were an expression of the trends in French policy that were unfavorable to Poland. Let us recall that one of these projects was realized at Munich.

In the political realities of interwar Europe, with the growing German tendencies to a redrawing of borders, the USSR and Czechoslovakia were Poland's natural allies. But with both these countries, Poland's bourgeois-landowner governments had had relations verging on hostility.

Official Warsaw circles regarded Czechoslovakia as an 'exposition of Moscow's policy,' as an 'artificial entity' that would fall apart at the first serious upheaval.

For its part, Czechoslovakia's ruling bourgeoisie did not intend to burden its positions with a set of difficulties arising from Polish-German relations. It vacillated between mistrust of Poland and a desire to side-step Hitler's expansionist urges by engaging in caution diplomacy.

The shortsighted policy of the governments in Prague and Warsaw enabled Hitler to swallow up his victims one by one.

An even greater and more fundamental mistake of the interwar Polish governments was the failure to use the opportunities which arose from the natural identity of the interests of Poland and the USSR in the struggle to maintain peace, to avert German aggression and to strengthen the security of the states of Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Union sought to establish and maintain relations with Poland which were advantageous to both countries. These were bilateral relations and cooperation in tackling broader problems. In 1922, the Soviet Union invited Poland to conclude a treaty of friendship, in 1925 a treaty of neutrality and non-aggression, and in 1933 to sign a joint declaration expressing the desire of both parties to maintain and strengthen peace in the Baltic area. These proposals were not accepted.

Polish propaganda's official line equated tsarist Russia and Soviet Russia, and sought to incite in Polish society mistrust and hostility for the USSR, and spread the myth about a 'threat from the East.' When the crisis in Poland's relations with the Third Reich broke out, Poland had no mature or coherent plan for a defensive war against Germany, but it did have a ready blueprint for war against the USSR.

The class egoism of the social forces shaping

Poland's policy resulted in a situation in which the identity of Polish and Soviet interests in face of the threat of fascist aggression did not materialize in mutual commitments. Instead of having a treaty of cooperation with the USSR, Poland had a treaty with Rumania on cooperation against the USSR. Only in the early 30s the political consequences of the economic crisis and especially the evolution of French policy with respect to the Soviet Union led to the emergence of new elements in Polish policy. In July 1932, Poland and the USSR signed a non-aggression treaty. However, the signing on January 26, 1934, of a German-Polish declaration of friendship and non-aggression marked a new turning point in relations between Warsaw and Berlin and the start of a policy of rapprochement between bourgeois Poland and Germany.

The Polish communists alone understood, in the light of national interests, the importance of cooperation with the USSR for strengthening Poland's security and told the truth about the USSR's peace policy, warning against the threat posed by fascism to the nations. The Communist Party of Poland explained to society the dangerous consequences of rapprochement with Germany.

The communists said that Hitler regarded the signed treaty and the easing of tensions in relations with Poland only as a tactical move, as a 'certificate of respectability,' which he required to dispel the mistrust he faced in the first few months after his takeover. However, the Polish government regarded the treaty of January 26, 1934, as the start of a constant and stable policy. For a long time, it misinterpreted Hitler's intentions. It was recalled in Warsaw that Hitler was an Austrian, which is why he was allegedly alien to the traditional anti-Polish Prussian morality and that in his expansionist plans he would opt for a move to the south, where a clash would sooner or later occur between his interests and those of Britain.[7] These hopes collapsed on October 24, 1938, when the Third Reich government issued its project for a 'final solution' of the Polish-German problems envisaging the integration of Gdańsk with Germany, the running of extra-territorial highways into East Prussia and Poland's entry into the 'anti-Comintern pact.'

The German demands, which Poland rejected, were aimed to convert Poland into a vassal state and to harness it to the chariot of aggressive policy. They hit at the most sensitive points of Polish society's national pride, a society which had always had much mistrust of the policy started on January 26, 1934, and especially to the personality of Beck, the chief of Polish diplomacy. This proved that the communists had been right in declaring that the policy of cooperation with the Third Reich ran counter to Poland's national interests and in warning public opinion against its results.

At the beginning of 1939, there was a sense of inevitability of a Polish-German war with a marked imbalance of forces and means. Hitler scrapped the Munich Agreement. In Czechoslovakia, Germany seized hardware and weapons enabling it to arm about 40 divisions, and established control of Czechoslovak industry, making it serve the military needs of the Third Reich. The occupation of the Czech lands and the German army's approach to Poland's southern borders meant a definite worsening of the Polish army's strategic positions.

In face of a war with Germany, Poland continued to base its security on its alliance with France. But at the end of 1938 and in early 1939, there was serious consideration in Paris about abandoning the alliance; French diplomats wanted to rule out a situation in which a Polish 'no' would mean France's involvement in a war. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1938, two new elements appeared in the attempts to avert a war. There were the guarantees which Britain gave Poland, Rumania and Greece, and the Soviet Union's call to set up a common front against the fascist aggression. The policy of British guarantees was an attempt to stop Hitler by diplomatic means, while the Soviet Union's acts were aimed to confront Hitler with the fact that the armed forces of Poland, the Soviet Union, France and Britain had united.

Poland accepted the British guarantees and took a negative attitude to the Soviet Union's proposal. Despite the radical changes in the international situation, the Polish government stubbornly refused to abandon the dogmas of its policy, and objected to the USSR's participation in joint action to preserve peace, which meant objecting to a strengthening of Poland's security.

The negotiations between the military missions of the USSR, Britain and France in Moscow in August 1939 were the last attempt to preserve peace. At the time, the USSR government undertook to put up 136 divisions, 9,000-10,000 tanks, 5,000-5,500 planes for the joint struggle against the aggressor in Europe.[8] This proposal was not accepted. The governments of France and Britain did not negotiate with the USSR to reach any concrete international agreements.[9]

The negotiations were broken off during a discussion of practical measures ensuring the Red Army's participation in a war against Germany, namely, the provision of two corridors on the territory of Poland for letting through Soviet troops when, in fulfillment of the signed agreements, they would hasten to the assistance of an attacked Poland, France or Britain. The Polish government once again rejected cooperation with the USSR, having set its class interests against the national interests. Poland's stand led to a breakdown of the negotiations.

That is the genealogy of Hitler's attack on Poland. That attack was the logical consummation of the imperialist policy of conniving at the aggressor, of non-interference, of pushing the aggressor to the East. Blinded by anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, the political leaders of imperialism rejected the USSR's idea of collective security and refused or were unable to see the mortal danger which fascism, Germany's armament and then Munich spelled out for their own countries.

On September 1, 1939, German troops invaded Poland from the south, west and north, without any

declaration of war. The German Command hurled against Poland 80 per cent of its first-line units: 62 divisions, 2,800 tanks, and 2,000 planes, a total of 1.6 million men; the Polish Command could counter this with 39 divisions, 16 brigades, 870 tanks and armored vehicles, and 407 planes, or about 1 million men. The German preponderance in manpower would not have been so marked but for the enemy's tremendous superiority in tanks and his supremacy of the air.

Poland's defense continued for five weeks, and the battles were fierce and bloody. From the outset, Germany carried out a total war of attrition not only against the armed forces, but also against the civilian population. The German Command directed Luftwaffe attacks on cities, villages and millions of refugees.

The annals of the defensive war in Poland have preserved for us countless instances of the heroism displayed by army men and civilians who did not spare their lives to defend their country. They have also shown very well the incompetence of the army's High Command and the less than adequate operational and tactical training of most Headquarters and senior officers, who proved to be incapable of using the country's defense potential and the heroism of their men and the people as a whole.

The proletariat was in the forefront of Poland's defenders, and workers' battalions were formed in Warsaw. The communists went to the hardest sectors; their stand was epitomized by Marian Buczek, who left his prison cell at Rawicz to join the defenders of Warsaw and died in a counter-attack at Ozarow. Warsaw's heroic defense continued for 20 days and provided the war's first example of courageous resistance by civilians in a large city in total encirclement. Apart from everything else, the people will never forget the defense of Westerplatte, Gdynia and Hel, the battles on the Bzura and at Kock, and the civilian defense of the Silesian cities.

Although the campaign was lost, Poland's armed resistance was exceptionally valuable and essential. That first big campaign of the Second World War pulled the mask off fascism's bestial face.

The Polish people's resistance became a factor mobilizing world public opinion and it prevented Hitler from carrying out major operations in other theatres of war that autumn.

One of the main reasons for the defeat was the total bankruptcy of Polish policy, which looked to paper guarantees for the country's security. Despite the clearly formulated alliances with France and Britain, Poland fought alone. When the military operations were started on the Polish front, the German Command had 31 divisions in the West, and after September 10, 43 divisions, of which only 11 had their full complement. At the same time, the French Command had 90 infantry divisions, and together with Britain, an overwhelming superiority in tanks and planes. The German Command was surprised at France's passiveness during the war with Poland, Keitel said at the Nuremberg Trial.[10]

Under France's commitments to Poland, the French army should have started limited operations against Germany on the third day of the war, and inflicted a strike by the main forces on the 15th. But the French and British commands, with the consent of their governments, decided as early as September 12 to stop all offensive operations on the Western front generally.

While having a threefold superiority in manpower over Germany, a more than threefold superiority in the air, and an overwhelming superiority in tanks, Britain and France acted contrary to their commitments to Poland and simultaneously against their own interests: in the end the elimination of the Polish front created a dangerous situation in the West and enabled Hitler to concentrate all his forces on that direction. But they still had hopes that Hitler would advance, trampling the bodies in Czechoslovakia and Poland, to the East. A very high price had to be paid for these unused strategic opportunities, for the miscalculations and illusions, and for the political mistakes before and after Munich.

The September did not mean an end to Poland's war against the Third Reich. The people's war was carried into the underground and beyond the borders. The Poles fought against the nazi aggressors in Western Europe and in the Soviet Union. Polish soldiers fought in the Battle of Britain and at Monte Cassino, they helped to liberate Holland, they fought at Lenino, for Kolobrzeg, on the Oder, in the streets of Berlin and on the Elbe. Parallel with the battles, there was a fierce political struggle for the internal and external structures of the Poland which was to rise after the war. The outcome of this struggle became clear in July 1944, when the Polish National Liberation Committee, the government of the new People's Poland, emerged on the first piece of liberated Polish soil.

The Polish Workers' Party, formed in January 1942, was the architect of the new political orientation and notions about a new Poland based on socialist principles. In formulating the program for the future policy of the state, the PWP started from the experience of 1918-39, and drew the relevant conclusions. It declared: the alliances with France and Britain did not prevent Poland's defeat. At the same time, the policy of isolating the Soviet Union and limiting its participation in building European security was one of the reasons for the European crisis. Both the interwar and war periods showed the fundamental identity of the national interests of Poland and the USSR, as expressed in practice by the Polish-Soviet comradeship-in-arms, the blood shed together by the soldiers of the Soviet Army and the Polish People's Army, their joint experience and common stake in winning the war and ensuring peace, and acting for greater security in Europe and the development of international cooperation.

The idea of a Polsh-Soviet alliance 'for today and for tomorrow' as the cornerstone of the policy of reviving the state, and the foundation of the nation's security and successes, became one of the key conclusions drawn by the PWP on the basis of the past for the needs of the present and the goals of the future. This conclusion was reflected in the Man-

ifesto of the Polish National Liberation Committee of July 22, 1944, and the Polish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation of April 21, 1945.

The experience of the Poles, like that of other nations, confirmed the beneficial nature of the role which the communist movement had to play in the most trying period in the history of Europe and mankind. Before the war, the communists opposed the aggressive plans of imperialism and fought for the establishment of broad anti-fascist popular fronts in their countries, and for the collective-security system in Europe proposed by the USSR; in the war period, in the struggle against fascism and for the nations' freedom and rights, they were the most resolute anti-fascist force.

The Soviet Union, the first socialist state and the only country where a Communist Party was in power, was the chief force of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, which dealt fascism the decisive blow and which liberated and saved from extermination one-half of Europe. The communists in the occupied countries, including Poland, were the most reliable and dedicated force of the Resistance.

Communism, as an ideology and the organized movement of the working class, as a just and profoundly humanistic conception of social organization and peaceful coexistence of states and nations, showed the world its humanity and tremendous moral power, its commitment to the cause of peace and to the freedom and legitimate rights of working people. This strengthened its influence and authority among the peoples of the world, and was expressed by the victories of the people's democratic and then of socialist revolutions in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and the formation of the socialist world system.

It is quite clear that socialism was not brought to these countries by the Soviet Army, as some zealous and equally primitive ideologists and propagandists of imperialism claim. Socialism, as a social and state system, always grows on native soil and only where the internal conditions for it have matured.

The Soviet Army brought the countries involved, including Poland, liberation, while the socialist road was chosen in accordance with their will by the masses themselves, for they had been disappointed with the capitalist system and the bourgeois-landowner parties, which had led them to fascist enslavement. The masses trusted the communists and supported their program because they were impelled to do so by their class and national self-consciousness and their own collective and individual experience.

Today, 40 years after the start of the Second World War, one can say with satisfaction that the Polish people have drawn the necessary conclusions, that they have made a painful settlement of accounts with the past, and that they have solved, on that basis, the vital problems of their national existence and development for all time. In 1944, Poland was revived as a democratic state and an important part of the main worldwide tide of progress, a one-nation state with a new and just territorial location within the historical borders it has had always in the West. Having gained the full right to self-determination, it got down to building socialism. As a result of the historical change, which took place in the relations between Poland and the USSR through the efforts of the Polish and Soviet communists, the Polish people obtained a mighty and reliable ally. The changes in relations with other countries which took the road of socialist construction enhanced the guarantees of security, and this was expressed in the conclusion of bilateral treaties with Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania and the multilateral defensive Warsaw Treaty.

Thanks to the changes which took place in Europe as a result of the direct and indirect consequences of the Second World War, Poland is now, for the first time in its history, surrounded on every side by friends for whom Polish interests are their common interests. In 1939, the USSR, then the only socialist state, was unable to prevent the war, despite its tremendous efforts to do so. In 1979, the socialist states, with a powerful material base for their policy of peaceful coexistence, believe that their mission is to save mankind from another war conflagration. The period since the Second World War shows that it is not utopian to work against wars, for détente, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence, resting on respect for the rights of nations and states, and equal security for all. It is a realistic prospect and a goal that can be reached.

Poland, the Soviet Union and all the other countries of the fraternal socialist community have made the attainment of this goal the basis of their coordinated foreign policy, the substance and main content of their initiatives and acts for the sake of the vital interests of all the nations and the whole of mankind.

1. Bourgeois historiographers have tried hard to ignore or distort this fact. Their numerous books and articles understate the USSR's contribution to the victory, and overstate the role of the Western Allies. It is worthwhile recalling in this context what U.S. and British leaders at the time had to say about the importance of the fighting on the Soviet-German front. In May 1942, President Roosevelt wrote: 'This plain fact is clear: the Russians are killing more soldiers of the enemy and destroying more of his weapons and equipment than the other 25 states of the United Nations taken together.' (*The New York Times*, October 20, 1955). Winston Churchill was also forced to admit that it was the Russian army that had torn the guts out of the German war machine (Winston Churchill. *The Second World War*, Vol. IV, London, 1951, p. 613). — *Ed.*

2. *Trybuna Ludu*, May 8, 1979.

3. Thus, the Rhineland Pact between France, Belgium and Germany, which was signed at the Locarno Conference in October 1925, guaranteed the inviolability of Germany's western borders, while leaving open the question of the inviolability of its eastern borders. Locarno was the first attempt to separate Western Europe's security from Eastern Europe's, which is why the results of that conference were naturally seen as an indication of the way Germany should direct its expansion.

4. The name of the pact between Germany and Japan of November 25, 1936, later joined by Italy. The bloc of these three aggressors posed a great threat to peace. —*Ed.*

5. *A History of the Second World War. 1939-1945.* Vol. 1, Moscow, Voyenizdat, 1973, p. 277.

6. The name given to the Soviet Union's draft regional agreement of European states on mutual defense against aggression on the part of Germany. — *Ed.*

7. The Anschluss of Austria and the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1938 appeared to confirm such hypotheses.

8. *Sixty Years of the USSR's Struggle for Peace and Security*, Moscow, Nauka, 1979, p. 123.

9. The instructions received by the British delegation were to drag out the negotiations and avoid any binding commitments. 'Under such conditions,' W. Seeds, the British ambassador to Moscow, wrote to London, 'I consider that military talks are likely to produce no result beyond arousing once again Russian fears that we are not earnest, and are not trying to conclude a concrete and definite agreement' (*Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Series III, Vol. VI, p. 682).

10. *A History of the Second World War*, pp. 25-26.

Flexibility of form, firmness of principle

Georges Haoui
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SOCIAL CONTENT OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In the recent period, the social struggle throughout the world has become greater in scope, deeper and more acute. In the developing countries, action by the working class and other working people is becoming ever more organized, the influence of the trade unions is growing as they throw off the fetters, which in some countries turned them into instruments of the regime, and begin to assert their independence (we all witnessed the example Tunisia). The working people, intellectuals, women and ethnic and religious minorities are ever more insistent in seeking an extension of democracy and social progress. Patriotic and anti-imperialist attitudes among them are becoming ever more pronounced. In short, the class awareness of the masses is growing, and this is expressed in the spread of socialist ideas and an increasingly keen interest in scientific socialism.

The upswing of the popular movement in Iran was unprecedented. Daily demonstrations, a virtual general strike, which almost totally paralyzed the economy, the oil industry in the first place (where the forward-looking workers had a crucial role to play), developed into a massive uprising. The events in Iran are a specimen of the national, social and popular revolution. Even the religious slogans, which have played a big part in the historical events in Iran, cannot obscure their socio-political content.

The exacerabation of the social struggle in Asian and African countries is directly connected with post-colonial development, with the aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system, and also with the fact that, in accordance with the logic of the imperialist division of labor, it is the developing countries that feel its effects most strongly.

Only in a few of them, namely those where the national-liberation struggle is headed by communist parties which from the outset invested it with an advanced social content, has socialism won through non-capitalist development. But most of them rose to independence within the framework of neo-colonialist relations, which tie them to the imperialist states in a kind of integrated metropolitan area, whose influence rests on the subjugation of the economy in the neo-colonial periphery through investments and trade.

The new relations of dependence are designed to integrate the developing countries with the capitalist world economy. Such integration entails submission to the strong, who impose their laws and the imperialist division of labor on the weak; it means, in other words, that the less developed countries' manpower and natural resources are bing plundered, so further intensifying their relative and frequently absolute backwardness. Instead of harmonious growth, there is a lopsided expansion of sectors catering for the multinationals, and this converts enterprises and industries into monstrous excrescences which are in no way linked with the national economy. One need merely mention the production of oil and other raw materials for the external market. Another example is the acquisition of costly and glittering 'toys,' that is, turnkey plants built by countries like the FRG or France, without any preliminary study of the production conditions and possible marketing outlets. This falls as a heavy burden on the balance of payments and hampers the realization of projects which are less prestigious but more useful for national economic development.

At the same time, whenever some raw material becomes vitally important for the imperialist powers, they frequently start to produce it at home, on a broad scale, on a solid technical basis, and this leads to stagnation and even to a foldup of the corresponding production in the less developed countries. Countries that were once major producers and exporters of some types of agricultural produce start

to import them. Handicrafts that had flourished fail to withstand competition from cheap imported goods, decline and condemn ever great numbers of people to unemployment in countries where the creation of new jobs is one of the most acute problems.

All of this tends to widen the gap between a handful of nouveaux riches, who are linked with the foreign monopolies, and the rest of the population, and this produces ever deeper and more frequent social conflicts, which contain the potential of growing into a revolution.

Virtually none of the less developed countries has benefited from the capitalist way. They remain, even if with some minor reservations, agrarian, raw-material sources for imperialism. They are left to develop industries where labor productivity cannot be high for technical reasons, but where benefits can be had from greater intensity. Such is the situation in the manufacturing industries built up in some developing countries, like assembly, textiles, metal structures, etc. The imperialist monopolies prefer to make at home the plant these enterprises require.

There are at least two other reasons for which the imperialist powers have had to review their policy and to allow some very limited industrialization in the less developed countries. First, it is the concentration of immigrant workers in the former colonial metropolitan areas. This is now a source of alarm among their ruling circles, because despite the discriminatory laws and intimidation of this category of workers, they are beginning to organize, make demands and take part in social battles together with their class brothers, the workers of the developed capitalist countries, so gaining trade union and political experience and exerting a 'pernicious' influence on their relatives and friends at home.

The imperialist powers cannot ignore the aspirations of the peoples they oppress also because there is the example of totally different economic relations established with the developing countries by the Soviet Union and other socialist states.[1] These relations, which even patently anti-communist regimes have 'dared' to establish, are based on a rejection of colonialism, mutual respect and concern for mutual interests. They have continued to develop, and the most important thing is not their present state, but the fact that they have the future ahead of them.

The socialist community has also taken a clear-cut and principled stand in the discussion in UNCTAD of the highly concrete demands made by the progressive countries of the Afro-Asian zone, notably, Algeria, for the establishment of a 'new international economic order' and a change in the laws and practices prevailing in the world market.

Even the reactionary regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America have not dared to give open support to the imperialist powers, which find themselves in total isolation in UNCTAD, and in the so-called dialogue between the 'North' (meaning the capitalist West) and the 'South.' The only thing these regimes, notably Saudi Arabia, have managed to do at the non-aligned and Group of 77 conferences in Delhi, Lima and elsewhere, is to prevent the 'South' from pushing through resolutions condemning the system of capitalist relations in the world market. The forced 'desertion' of imperialism's most loyal allies testifies to the deep crisis of this dead-end system, and simultaneously, to the growing influence of the masses on the policy of the developing countries ruling circles.

Ties between the countries of Asia and Africa and the socialist community are being established not only on the state level. The CPSU and other ruling communist parties have been extending and strengthening relations with the progressive forces of the developing countries, both those in and those not in power. The progressive forces of the West, notably the communist parties, have also been establishing ties with them.

The imperialists must reckon with all this, but while handing out numerous promises, they do not at all intend to live up to them. Sadat's Egypt provides a good example. That is why despite the different versions of capitalist development in Asia and Africa (dependent capitalism, attempts at relatively independent advance along this road), it has not led to a structural remodelling of the national economy, without which backwardness cannot be overcome.

The objective requirements of national development increasingly clash with the narrow framework which capitalism sets for the solution of the most burning problems.[2] And if the situation is such even in countries whose governments seek to resolve this contradiction in favor of national requirements, without, however, daring to take an open stand against imperialism, the reason lies in the fact that the vicious circle of capitalist evolution sharply limits the potentially transformative role of advanced sectors of the economy. India's example, for instance, testifies to the very limited impact of state industry on small-capitalist and small-commodity production, and to an ever lesser impact of that industry on the big monopolies. Hardly anything can be said about the transformative role of state capitalism and even of private captialism in the reactionary states of the Middle East, where the hypertrophied development of oil production to suit the multinationals has not gone hand in hand with an adequate growth of the other sectors.

The failure of the attempts of Asian and African countries moving along the capitalist road of escape from underdevelopment is reflected in the growing bipolarization of society and the sharpening of social tensions.

It is the social forces representing national capitalism, which tends to grow from below, including a mass of small and middle entrepreneurs, whose dissatisfaction has repeatedly erupted in the political life of Egypt, India, Sri Lanka and other countries, that have been cheated. These forces are now a component element of the anti-monarchist movement in Iran. At the same time, there is a growing army of wage-labor, above all of the working class and also of the urban middle sections, in these countries. On the other hand, the decline of

agriculture has had tragic consequences for the demographic balance. Hasty and disorderly urbanization has resulted in a spread of shanty towns around the big cities and a mass growth of the semi-proletarian (lumpen) section. Fanatical henchmen are recruited by the authorities from these sections, which also produce mindless rioters who take part in various demonstrations and disorders to express their disappointment by means of force. More and more intellectuals have also been joining in the struggle, because ever broader sections of the intelligentsia are being proletarianized and because there is a growing protest against cultural dependence.

The economic and social policies pursued by governments which conventionally could be designated bourgeois, perhaps in order to emphasize the capitalist orientation of the regime rather than the class origins of its members, are on the whole oriented upon the enrichment of the élite, and this further compounds the organic defects of capitalist evolution and accelerates the formation of a powerful pole of social discontent.

The role of the working class in the social life of the Asian and African countries needs to be specially noted. It has become the ruling force within united Vietnam, in Laos, Kampuchea and other countries. The April 1976 revolution in Afghanistan was won under the leadership of the working-class party. Vanguard parties expressing the interests of the proletariat and other working sections have either been formed or are taking shape in a number of socialist-oriented Asian and African countries, notably the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

In the past few years, the Afro-Asian proletariat has increasingly made itself known as a mighty and independent social force. The trade unions of Tunisia have officially declared their autonomy from the ruling party and in 1978 staged a general strike to defend their independent existence. In Iran, the strike movement at oil-extracting and other enterprises was a key factor in the toppling of the Shah and his regime.

In my country, Lebanon, despite the civil war and the division of the country, all the workers, Christians and Moslems, living in areas controlled by the patriotic movement and in the zone held by the fascist bands of the 'Lebanese Front,' responded as a man to the call issued by the General Working People's Confederation for a strike to force the 'holy alliance' of employers and government to make compensation payments for the inflation. Caught unawares, the fascists did not dare take action for fear of exposing the falsehood of their social demagogy, which has enabled them to main inflence among a section of the Christian workers. Strikes and other action by the proletariat have become a constant phenomenon in India, Pakistan, Turkey and other countries.

That does not mean, however, that the working-class and the popular movement as a whole has matured everywhere. But the discontent is very great. It may take the shape of spontaneous action capable of developing into a major social explosion, as the January 1977 events in Egypt show. This makes it clear that objective conditions are taking shape for genuine mass action which can win if it has an effective leadership expressing the interests of the masses.

But it is also important to prevent the reactionary, clerical, extremist and bourgeois circles from increasing their influence on the working people. After all, it is not only in Egypt but also in Pakistan, Indonesia and other countries that the reactionaries in power claim to represent the people and in some instances still continue to have an influence on the population. Now and again, some reactionary regimes manage to channel the people's discontent along a false course and to mislead them in identifying those who are really to blame for their troubles. This is done by means of a wide range of well-tested instruments, including ideological brainwashing and brute force. Here, use is made of special relations with imperialism, which poses a direct military threat in the form of foreign bases and armies.

Let us now consider the military, ideological and political functions of neo-colonialism.

Military 'cooperation' between developing countries and imperialism confronts countries in Asia and Africa with the danger of losing their actual sovereignty and of being converted into 'regional policeman' in the service of imperialist monopolies. This role has been assigned to Israel, pre-revolutionary Iran, Zaire, Morocco, present-day Egypt, and a number of other countries, among them Maoist China.

The super-militarization of the less developed countries entails the waste of tremendous resources which could be used for productive purposes, and converts their armies, equipped and trained by the United States, France or some other imperialist power, into a sword hanging over the heads of their rulers, in the event they try to make any independent move. That is why the succession of military coups, most of them reactionary, is not some kind of accident or a 'malaise' of underdevelopment. These coups are inspired, and now and again directly organized, by the CIA and other intelligence services. But it also happens that the weapons forged by imperialism are turned against it, for, after all, every army contains men who are not indifferent to the sufferings of their brothers, whom they have the duty to put down.

In the ideological sphere, the relations of neo-colonial dependence impel the less developed countries to establish a bourgeois-reformist order and to create a system of 'values' exploiting and distorting the sense of patriotism, for which is substituted the most extreme nationalism that extols the most reactionary elements in these countries' past, ignores everything positive and progressive in their history, encourages religious fanaticism and obscurantism, as Nicolas Chaoui, Chairman of our party, wrote on the pages of this journal (*WMR*, No. 6, 1979), or goes to the other extreme of national nihilism in an effort to imitate the 'Western world' in all things and to set it up as a model. Thus,

'liberalism' is presented as a political doctrine, and any criticism of it is tagged as administration by injunction, totalitarianism, lack of freedom, encroachment on democracy and human rights, etc.

Actually, this 'liberalism' simply means integration of developing countries with the 'free world,' entailing complete freedom for the flow of imports from the imperialist countries, even where this leads to a decline of national industries and destruction of agriculture, and freedom for the monopolies to stifle small-scale trade, in short, freedom of imperialist plunder, the rule of might, denial of genuine democracy and freedoms for the people, and deprivation of the working person of every elementary right.[3] While talking about 'liberalism' and 'modernization,' the imperialists and their servitors unconditionally support and fortify the most obsolete and reactionary social institutions, the most anti-popular regimes — despotic monarchies relying on 'Praetorian Guards' trained by U.S. and other advisers. Nowadays, no one will be duped by this kind of pseudo-liberalism, which is why imperialism resorts to the well-worn instruments of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Imperialism needs a smoke screen, a clique which at least still looks respectable, and which makes use of 'leftist' arguments while agreeing to conduct a joint slanderous anti-Soviet campaign. Imperialism believed that it had found such a partner in Maoism, which continues to speculate on the great hope produced in the hearts of Asian and African peoples by the 1949 socialist revolution in China, although Maoism itself has long since turned its back on the revolution, and the tremendous and rapid successes scored by that country in the 50s thanks to the Soviet Union's selfless, extensive and all-round assistance. But Maoism, steeped in great-power chauvinism and wild anti-Sovietism, no longer produces any illusions. Its influence is on the wane, and Maoist foreign policy turns it into a bitter enemy of Asian and African peoples.

In the political sphere, neo-colonialism seeks to cut short any attempt to win genuine independence and to hamper the growing understanding by the nations and the working people of the indissoluble connection between national aspirations and socialism. For this purpose, it has to return to its policy of pacts and establishment of 'police states,' like the tripartite 'holy alliance' between Egypt, Israel and the United States under the sponsorship of the latter, for which Washington with the help of Bonn and other imperialist capitals has been actively seeking new partners.

Close cooperation with China's Maoist leadership turns out to be equally necessary for neo-colonialism, because the former has harnessed itself to imperialism in resisting new, social trends within the national-liberation movements. While Washington regards these phenomena as a threat to the orientation imperialism is trying to impose on the developing countries, Peking, constantly facing the nations' rejection of the Maoist model of social organization, finds that the radicalization of the social content of the liberation struggle is beyond its control and so regards it as undesirable.

Peking's unilateral abrogation of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union was a high point of its anti-Soviet crusade.

However that may be, in the past few years, the enemies of genuine national liberation and social emancipation have suffered a number of defeats and many of their strategic schemes have collapsed. It is true that none of this took place all at once. We must accept the historical truth, however repugnant it may be: after all, one must admit that the Americanized Iran of the Shah did exist, just as did — and for many years — Maoized Kampuchea, where, as Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, aptly said, the 'Chinese model of political organization was implanted, and the mass extermination of people in Kampuchea was nothing else but a Sinicized "culture revolution" in action on the territory of another country.' Indeed, despite his obvious betrayal, Sadat still manages to cheat broad section of Egyptian society.

But just as the peoples put an end to the Shah and the Pol Pot clique, they will be able to sweep away all the other barriers along the way to a happy future. An earnest of this comes from the successes already scored in the struggle, the invaluable assistance of the socialist community, and the vigorous action by the vanguard forces. And one other thing: in assessing the present state of the national-liberation movement, one should not confine oneself to appearances, sensational events, the victory of imperialism here or its defeat there. What is much more important is what is going on in the deeper layers, the small quantitative and qualitative changes which pave the way for major events. One must see the deepening of the social struggle and the rise of socialist ideas everywhere. The experience of the 70s has shown once again that new social revolutions are making headway in Asia and Africa.

The capitalist system has failed to find a solution meeting the requirements of economic development and social progress, the need to put an end to age-old backwardness and to ensure national independence. This means that the national-liberation struggle is a class struggle aimed against the capitalist system itself. Consequently, because of their class nature, the reactionary coalitions in power in some developing countries cannot give a lead to this movement. What is more, they can act only as its fiercest enemies.

As for the revolutionary democrats, who come from the middle and petty-bourgeois sections, and who in the process of socio-political differentiation have moved away from the social alliance under the hegemony of the Conservative forces and initially running the struggle for independence — they present a more complicated problem. They were impelled by an urge to enrich and consolidate political independence, by combining it with genuine independence, social progress, and higher living stan-

dards for the working people, to whom they themselves belong. The revolutionary democrats were swept to power by the tide of radicalization of the masses in countries where for the most part there were no working-class parties. Wherever such parties existed and even where they were active and influential enough to promote such radicalization, these parties proved to be inadequately prepared to lead the movement themselves.

The objective reasons for this were the small numerical strength and inadequate organization of the working class, cultural backwardness, a low level of class consciousness, etc. Subjective reasons were also present, like the inability to formulate a program expressing the correct class stand on the national question and on the question of the liberation movement, clearly defining the forms assumed by the class struggle at every definite stage, and also the ways of harmonizing the national and the social aspects of the liberation process. There was also the ability to evade the reefs of the 'frontist' illusion, on the one hand, and of sectarianism, of 'splendid isolation,' on the other, for these are, in fact, only two aspects of one and the same unscientific attitude and usually come together.

The revolutionary democrats now need to make the key choice concerning the methods of completing the process of national liberation and social emancipation, and to determine the prospects of development. On this will depend whether the imperialist counter-offensive can be stopped, a counter-offensive designed to undermine the exceptionally important political, economic and social gains won under the leadership of revolutionary democracy and to re-establish imperialist hegemony in countries and regions where it has been badly shaken as a result of progressive transformations.

This choice is dictated not by theoretical discussions but by the hard struggle which outwardly appears as a conflict between advocates of different trends among the revolutionary democrats, but which is, in fact, based on the class struggle between the proletariat and broad masses of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and foreign capital and its allies, on the other.

One alternative the revolutionary democrats could opt for implies that they will definitely come out for a socialist orientation, deepen the socio-economic gains, take steps to extend economic and social democracy, ensure active participation by the working class and the other working people in running national affairs, create the conditions for the free development of mass initiative, defend the freedoms, resolutely break with imperialism, stand up to the pressure exerted on every side, and simultaneously strengthen their alliance with the USSR and the rest of the socialist community. The other alternative would mean that out of fear of the masses they would install regimes of personal power, restrict the freedoms, start to persecute communists and other democrats, refuse fully to break with imperialism through a false understanding of the substance of independence and non-alignment, throw doubt on the Soviet Union's sincerity, and start desperately to cast about for a third, middle way based on eclecticism, compromise and concessions to the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois conciliatory stand (and it does not matter what kind of formula is adopted: special socialism, Arab, Islamic, African, moderate socialism and what have you).

In the latter instance, whatever their good intentions, such revolutionary democrats would deprive themselves of an invaluable advantage which they could derive not only from the broad potentialities of mustering the masses at home in support of their policy, but also of the changes in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism and progress taking place in our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. They would also deprive themselves of tremendous and selfless economic, technical, military and political assistance. They would not only jeopardize the achievements in which they can justly take pride, but would offer a helping hand to the higher strata of the bourgeoisie, the elements directly linked with foreign capital, and ease their return to power, which means their own removal.

Some revolutionary democrats are aware of this on the strength of their experience in government and an understanding of the difficulties in building the society they envisage, and the impossibility of advancing toward their goals without a revolutionary vanguard party inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and accepting scientific socialism. They are also helped in this by the influence of the forces of progress in the world and in each concrete region and by the living model of the socialist countries' actual experience. The example of the Yemeni Socialist Party, which started out as a front bringing together all the anti-imperialist forces, is very convincing. However, other revolutionary democrats still vacillate, while still others have even taken the extremely dangerous and defective way of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

In some countries of Asia and Africa, as I have sought to show, objective conditions are maturing for radical changes. It is only a matter of the subjective element. The Lebanese Communist Party starts from the assumption that only a broad coalition bringing together all genuine anti-imperialist forces and representing all the social sections and classes working for change and a socialist orientation can ensure and consolidate the victory of the revolution. That is why our party seeks to put forward slogans and formulate program propositions capable of mobilizing the broadest masses of people and uniting the utmost number of forces, parties and organizations fully determined to carry on the anti-imperialist struggle. Of course, it is not enough to put forward slogans and draw up programs; there is a need to overcome expressions of touchy vanity and vacillation, to convince the irresolute — and there are many of them — and to combine flexibility of form with firmness of principle. It is not words, not long speeches that will bring success, for it stems from practice, from the flames of battle. That is why the communists' efforts to set up such a front consist of painstaking, dedicated and protracted

struggle which may have its pains and disappointments, partial reverses, errors of growth; but that is the only possible way and the communists are fully determined not to be diverted from it.

The communist parties in the developing countries of Asia and Africa do not demand that the working class should be 'given' the vanguard role, do not proclaim themselves leaders of the movement, do not decree themselves the governing force of society. They realize that in this epoch of the highest stage of capitalism and the eve of socialism, the role of the working class does not depend on its numerical strength, but on the degree of its militancy, on its capacity to lead the other working sections, the small and middle bourgeoisie, the capacity of its party to answer the main questions bearing on the goals of national liberation and social emancipation. The communists are working to realize these necessary conditions, in order to ensure, through the vanguard role of the working class, the best guarantee of success for national and social revolution.

1. For example, in 1962, the CMEA countries maintained trade relations with 34 countries within this group, and in 1977, with 75 countries, including 34 African countries. In 1918, Iran was the Soviet Union's only trade partner in Asia, but today the USSR trades with more than 25 Asian states. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have helped many other countries, notably, Egypt and India, to build up basic industries, the foundation for subsequent genuine industrialization.

2. Among these are an undeveloped industry, backward agriculture, an extremely low level of the productive forces and labor productivity, mass illiteracy and a clear discrepancy between the educational level and the demands of the times, backward technology, an almost complete absence of modern industries, limited availability of national funds and a tremendous external debt, whose servicing falls as a great burden on the budget, to say nothing of the obsolete political regimes and hopeless dependence on foreign states.

3. Reformist experiments have also been staged within the framework of such 'liberalism' (the much-vaunted 'white revolution' in Iran) and attempts made — all of them futile — to replace feudal and archaic relations with some kind of capitalist merger of all the earlier modes of production.

Commentary

Rodny Ohman
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LIST TO THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT'S RESPONSIBILITY

In 1976, the social democrats, who had run Sweden for over four decades, surrendered their government seats to a bloc of three bourgeois parties. At that time there were many statements to the effect that this heralded a swing to the right in other West European countries as well. This forecast now seems to be justified.

The Spanish communists noted that the 'government party ... emerged from the March 1 (1979 — *Ed.*) elections with a heavy list to the right.'[1] In May, the Conservatives took over the government in Britain from the Labour Party. In the FRG, the post of President went to a representative of the right-wing opposition, a former nazi.

Almost simultaneously, the Communist Party, the leading party of the left wing, lost several seats in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate during an unscheduled parliamentary election in Italy. In the June elections in Luxembourg, the 'left-centrist' government lost the support of the electorate, and the key role in parliament went to the right-wing Christian-Social People's Party. In Portugal, reaction is trying to invalidate the democratic and social gains of the 1974 revolution. The Ninth Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party emphasized that the right-wing drive was being carried on 'along every front and sector of national life.'[2]

As a result of the direct elections to the European parliament, the conservatives, liberals, Christian-democrats and respresentatives of other organizations and trends falling under the head of 'rightists' won a considerable preponderance over the socialists and communists.

How is all this to be assessed? Can it be assumed that these are merely scattered and nationally isolated phenomena, or should they be seen in interconnection, as links of one and the same chain of events, constituting some sort of overall process characteristic of the capitalist world at the end of the 1970s? It will take more than one article by more than one author to give a circumstantial answer to these questions. Here I shall deal only with some of the problems which arise in the light of the West European election returns this year.

The time has cme when the left cannot hope for success: such is the virtually unanimous conclusion now being drawn by the openly jubilant capitalist-controlled press, and bourgeois and kindred ideologists. 'The recent elections — both national and European — have everywhere brought decisive preponderance to moderate or right-wing forces,' says one Paris paper.[3] It is echoed by a Milan paper: 'Since 1978, moderate or conservative trends have been winning all over Europe (except Austria),' so it is not surprising that 'the elections to the Italian parliament revealed a general retreat of the left and an advance of the right-centrist forces.'[4] The

Economist quotes the learned opinion of the historian Lord Blake, who has established that 'there is a wind of change in Britain and in much of the democratic (meaning the capitalist — *R.O.*) world, and it comes from the right not the left.'[5]

Somewhat earlier, before the spring electoral campaigns, a Madrid weekly handed down this simple judgment: 'The world is now constantly listing to the right.'[6]

Thus, the ideological apparatus of the monopolies and their servitors is being geared to spreading the idea that one has no alternative but to accept the switch of mass sympathies to the bourgeois-conservative parties. It is being assiduously suggested that the tide of the left-wing movement, which has indisputably been on the rise since the war, has now been damped down and is being rolled back across the non-socialist world. Directly or indirectly, substantiation is offered of the belief that in the zone of developed capitalism, at any rate, the peoples' gravitation toward the idea of social change, an idea traditional for the left-wing movement, is on the wane, and this has, accordingly, been reducing the potentialities and depressing the motive forces of the revolutionary process.

Those who hasten to produce such generalizations and conclusions make at least two crude mistakes, which if one could say so in this case, are methodological. The first is the suggestion that the prevailing political trends in the non-socialist part of the world should be judged in the light of the situation in Western Europe alone. This is relapse into the obsolete ideology of 'Eurocentrism,' which clearly distracts one from a clarification of the actual and fairly complicated processes going on in the political life of present-day capitalism, processes which are uneven and contradictory in the various countries and regions. Thus, the list to the right which one will observe in Western Europe's political life does not warrant the conclusion that there is some sort of 'right-wing turn in world development.'

Another weak point in the arguments of those who suggest that the right-wing forces now have stronger support from a popular majority is that electoral returns are taken as the chief, if not the only, indicator. But these quite often say more about the peculiarities of a given eletoral system than about the conscious preferences of the population or the actual alignment of class and political forces.

Take the results of the elections to the European Parliament. As a result of the direct elections, the make-up of this political forum of the Common Market turned out to be more right-wing than it had been in the past, when it had been made up of persons appointed by the national parliaments. The statistics even suggest that the electors of the European Parliament had managed markedly to swing to the right in the short period between the elections to the Strasbourg chamber and the latest elections to the national legislatures. Let us recall that, all told, the socialists and the communists won 156 of the 410 seats while the right-to-center groupings won 209 seats.

If one assessed these figures according to the rules of arithmetic, one would have, of course, to draw the conclusion that a majority of adults in the EEC countries has displayed a growing attachment to the policies and iedology of the right. That is precisely what the bourgeois press has been saying. But it has carried enough reports to make one doubt this conclusion. Take the fact, for instance, that less than two-thirds of the electorate went to the polls in the Europarliament elections. In Britain, for instance, only one in three persons with the right to vote did so. Incidentally, the Tory candidates won 48.5 per cent of the poll, but received 74 per cent of the seats. It turns out that the arithmetical majority, on which the rightists in the European parliament allegedly rely, is, in fact, from the standpoint of actual, political realities, a minority, and a fairly modest one at that.

In short, the 'international' electoral victory of the right gives no ground for saying that they have managed to win the hearts and minds of a majority in the nine countries of Western Europe. But it does show very well that the system of EEC political institutions, like its economic structures and mechanisms, is well geared to the interests of capital, and enables the bourgeoisie confidently to expect not only to maintain its power but also to strengthen it by means of the outwardly democratic procedure of direct elections.

Of course, the distribution of votes in an election is an important indicator of the balance of forces in the political struggle. It should not be ignored. But history and our own day equally show that, under bourgeois democracy, socio-political processes capable of exerting a definitive influence on the fortunes of society are reflected in election returns only approximately, only 'to some extent.' The mechanism by means of which parliamentary seats are distributed operates in accordance with its own laws and rules, which should never be confused with the laws of social development, and which allow of only a partial expression of the vital class interests of the popular majority and its actual sympathies and attitudes.

To find the right approach in assessing these events, one should, evidently, compare them with the well-known long-term historical process of change in the balance of forces between the right and left in the political life of the capitalist countries.

Let us recall that the rout of fascism led to a sharp rise in the prestige of the left and a strengthening of their positions virtually all over the world. This was also expressed in the revolutionary changes which increased the family of socialist countries, in the radicalization of the national-liberation movements, which succeeded in overthrowing colonial regimes, and in the rapid growth of the political strength of the communist parties in the national life of a sizable number of capitalist countries. In many West European countries, the communists joined the government. In Sweden, where this did not occur, our party nevertheless scored electoral successes that were a postwar record. In the

working-class areas, its candidates won up to one-third of the poll. On the Stockholm Municipal Council, it had 17 of the 100 seats. The social democrats also won considerable influence at that time; on the political scene of the whole of Western Europe, they succeeded in markedly gaining on the right-wing, avowedly bourgeois parties.

That was a truly deep swing to the left, which was also simultaneously rooted in the fact that the war had been won above all by the forces of democracy and socialism, led by the Soviet Union, and in the fact that the wartime crisis had brought out most explicitly the qualitatively greater role of the working class and of the other working people in deciding the future of society.

Naturally, monopoly capital and imperialism could not remain indifferent to this sharp and dangerous swing in the political development of the world, and they discovered the cold war as the main means of self-defense and counterattack. The rampaging anti-Sovietism and anti-communism which accompanied it did not pass without effects on the political balance of forces between the right and the left. In many countries, reaction managed to restore some of its lost positions. In Western Europe, the communists were ousted from the governments. The intimidated electorate frequently did not dare vote even for the social-democratically oriented parties.

But soon the shakiness of the positions taken by the right in an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria began to show in one country after another. The peoples demanded of the right-wing parties in power an answer for every successive economic recession, for the aggression in Vietnam, and for the whole atmosphere of fear which was built up by the 'brink-of-war' policy. It was increasingly clear that the bourgeoisie's potentialities for making political capital on hysteria and cold-war myths are very limited, and that only the parties prepared in one way or another to display concern for the interests of the working people can hope to have real support and trust from the masses, from the popular majority.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the world witnessed a further retreat of the right, their defeats and bankruptcy. In many capitalist countries, this went hand in hand with a growth in the ranks of the communist parties, and a fresh and substantial growth in their political influence. On the whole (although this cannot be said unconditionally about Sweden), the stock of the social democrats was once again on the rise. Soon they had control of the governments in most West European countries, including Britain and the FRG. In France, the united forces of the left-wing opposition became so strong that the removal of the political groupings of the bourgeoisie from power was seen as a virtual possibility.

This leftward movement was not confined to Western Europe, and was expressed in other full and diverse forms, apart from parliamentary-election procedures. In this period, the Vietnamese people scored their victory over the imperialist aggressor, which was simultaneously a victory for the forces of the worldwide democratic anti-war front, and an unquestionable political victory for the left. In Sweden, it was welcomed by the whole people, while the country's working majority, all the democratic forces justifiably regarded it as their own success and achievement.

In the early 1970s, came the Chilean revolution. In Africa, the national-liberation movement against the doomed colonial and racist regimes entered a phase of new advance. There followed the Portuguese revolution, the overthrow of the military dictatorship in Greece, and the inglorious end of the fascist regime in Spain.

Behind all these changes were invariably the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms of capitalist society, and the radical contradictions between imperialism and the peoples rejecting its oppression and diktat.

It is impossible to overestimate the role which the changes in the international climate had to play in the unquestionable gains of the left-wing forces. The vigorous foreign policy of the USSSR and other socialist countries helped markedly to improve the world political situation. The swing toward détente did not only bring new qualities to the relations among states with different social systems, but seriously undermined the positions of those circles in the capitalist world whose ideology and policy were closely tied in with the obscurantist tenets of the cold war. In short, détente visibly tilted the political balance in favor of the left.

This question arises: could one say that now, at the end of the 1970s, the operation of the basic factors which had so powerfully limited and reduced the field of influence of the right and attracted ever greater masses of people to the parties of the left has been exhausted? Bourgeois ideologists argue that that is so. Some emphasize the thesis that the class struggle is waning, others keep saying that 'détente has petered out.'

Actually, however, the class antagonisms in the capitalist world, which is in the grip of inflation, unemployment and fear of every OPEC conference, have not cooled in any sense. Their intensity has grown tangibly, compelling more and more sections and groups of the population to seek alternatives to the system and the order which doom the working people to painful struggle against privation, and which block their way to a life in human dignity. This objectively extends the sphere of identity of the diverse social interests in the broad movement against the power of the monopolies. Accordingly, the left-wing forces have tremendous potentialities in the struggle to win support from the popular majority.

Despite the obvious resistance by imperialist reaction, international development has continued to run along the lines laid by the initiatives and influence of the socialist community and the peoples' worldwide struggle for peace, and for a democratization of the world system of political and economic relations among states. This development has to face considerable difficulties.

Its way is not one of unqualified success. But it has not stopped. It has maintained its momentum, obtaining ever new vistas, as will be seen very well from the Soviet-American SALT-2 agreement signed in Vienna.

Consequently, the skew to the right in the institutions of legislative and executive power in many capitalist countries does not warrant the conclusion that the basic processes of world development unsettle the revolutionary and generally left-wing movement, or that there is some kind of incipient worldwide trend toward a stabilization and strengthening of the power of the bourgeoisie, or imperialism. The very opposite is, in fact, the truth. An eloquent reminder of this comes not only from the fresh gains of the democratic, liberation movements ranging from Afghanistan and Iran to Nicaragua. Indirect evidence of this also comes from one of the distinctive features of the current offensive by the right-wing forces, namely, that quite often they are compelled to adopt 'left-wing' slogans and to adapt themselves to the democratic demands of the masses.

Thus, on the whole, both the national conditions of socio-political life in the capitalist countries and the international situation continue to favor the left-wing forces, which seek to put an end to monopoly exploitation, to diktat, to violence and the dangers of war which imperialism brings to the world.

Quite naturally, the left-wing parties have a great responsibility for using these favorable conditions. To be equal to this responsibility means coming forward with programs and pursuing a policy which truly meet the interests and aspirations of the laboring majority, and which are capable in practice of leading society out of the critical dead-ends created by capitalism. The communists are aware of this responsibility. Hence their constant efforts to formulate an effective and constructive alternative to the bourgeois strategy of national development.

It will be clear, however, that when it comes to the responsibility of the social-democratic parties, it is the ruling parties, wielding the instruments of power, that have to face the most direct and stringent demands of the masses. From them, the peoples have the right to expect real measures and acts meeting their promises to rid society of the economic and social ills of capitalism. We think that this is the aspect of the matter that needs to be borne in mind in the first place when assessing the 'crisis of the left' as expressed in the electoral returns of the past few years. This will make it clear that the election returns, which gave the preponderance to the rightists, do not indicate a growth of popular sympathies for the bourgeois parties but a loss of popular trust in the half-way, time-serving policy of social-reformism, if not in all the countries being considered here, then at least in most of them, and in Sweden, at any rate. Indeed, behind the redistribution of the votes, one will clearly discern the disappointment of the masses in the social-democratic parties, which in their period in office did not dare and did not want to renew the forms of social life on the basis of principle, and to take steps toward the actual emancipation of labor from the power of capital.

The period when, on the basis of the steep rise of the left-wing movement, the social-democratic parties took over the helm of the ship of state or markedly strengthened their positions in many countries coincided in time with an exceptionally painful sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism. This time it was not the rightists, the avowed advocates of the interests of capital, but the social democrats who had to answer for all the ills of the capitalist social system.

But this coincidence should be seen not only as a piece of bad luck for social-reformism, but also as its fault. Our party has repeatedly stressed that the basic defect of Swedish social-democracy is that it pays lip service to socialism but in practice merely expresses the urge to provide capitalism with the most efficient system for running its affairs. When preparing for its Congress in 1975, the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Sweden put in a great effort to work out a program which it was then to realize. Tens of thousands of rank-and-file social democrats took part in the discussion. Through their efforts, propositions were adopted to increase the role of workers in the life of society, and it was emphasized that socialism is the party's goal. But what happened in practice? The best answer to this question appeared in the newspaper of the Central Trade Union Association of Sweden, which is controlled by the social democrats. It said: 'We have witnessed an unbridled bourgeois campaign in the course of which the leading social democrats tried to invalidate the decisions of the Congress, and just about expressed regret about their adoption.'[7] Is it surprising that the reformist leaders had to pay for this policy the price of the loss of votes and of ministerial posts?

And did not the leaders and ideologues of social-democracy everywhere, and not only in Sweden, swear over the decades that they knew how to ease and remove the defects of the capitalist system? Did they not promise to ensure an efficient but smooth evolution to socialism, free from any aggravation of class conflicts? If these oaths and promises turned out to be hollow, they have apparently only themselves to blame, when the ballot boxes reveal a shortage of ballot papers in their support.

I think that such an approach to explaining the results of the series of recent elections, both national and 'European,' is in line with the basic assessment given by the communist parties. Labour's 'social contract policies had cut real wages, attacked the social and public services, created mass unemployment, and deepened Britain's crisis,'[8] says the leadership of the CP Great Britain in assessing the reasons for which the votes switched from Labour to the Tories. The 23rd Congress of the French Communists reaffirmed the conclusion that the Socialist Party 'bears full responsibility' for the defeat of the left in 1978 because it opted for a 'policy of settling the crisis in the in-

terests of capital.'[9] In Portugal, says its Communist Party, the socialist leadership used its period in the government not to develop the gains of the revolution but mainly to reverse the process of progressive transformations.[10] As a result, it itself fell political victim to the line of abetting the bourgeoisie.

Shortly after this article appears, elections will be held to the Swedish Riksdag. But the public opinion polls indicate that the left-wing forces can hardly expect to win a majority. Why not? First of all because the Swedish population has not yet forgotten the picture of the social democrats in power with their readiness to indulge big business, and sacrifice to it the national interest, the interests of the working people, and their own promises to create 'an affluent society for all.'

Consequently, the present arrangement of political forces reflects the disappointment of the masses with the conciliatory tenets of reformism. But while one should welcome the release of public opinion from reformist illusions, one cannot, of course, fail to notice that together with it there is also a growth of the danger from the right. Just now the bourgeois parties are living off the crisis, and not without some success. Tomorrow they could very well try to mount an even more intensive drive behind a screen of social demagogy.

In face of this threat there is also a growth of the political responsibility of the left-wing forces with a new quality to it. In this context, one has to emphasize most definitely that in Sweden, for instance, the communists do not at all feel any joy or satisfaction whenever the social democrats are defeated by the right. Our assumption is, unquestionably, that the bourgeoisie is the chief class enemy of the working people, and the bourgeois right-wing parties, their chief political adversary. That is why we believe one of the key tasks today is to beat back the right-wing menace by the combined forces of the left, including, of course, the masses following the social democrats. The substance of this task is to safeguard the democratic gains of the masses, an important result of the long working-class struggle under capitalism. Its substance is also to prevent any weakening of the healthy, peaceful trends in national foreign policy, which have had a considerable role to play in advancing the process of détente, with some of the merit due to the social-democrats as well. In this context, we do not in any sense minimize either the positive potentialities of social-democracy or the importance of cooperation with it in rebuffing the right.

But from this it does not at all follow that we merely regard yet another switch of the parliamentary majority to the left as the alternative to the political power of the bourgeoisie. As the events described here show once again, this in itself, far from paving the way for socialist transformations, actually holds out the threat of repeated comebacks by the bourgeoisie to direct political rule of society. The communists believe that the true alternative to the power of capital is a radical transformation of the class nature of the state, which alone can ensure a real and irreversible victory for the left-wing forces.

1. *Mundo obrero*, March 11, 1979.
2. Alvaro Cunhal. *Relatorio da actividade do Comite Central as IX Congresso do PCP*. Lisbon, 1979, p. 24.
3. *Le Figaro*, June 14, 1979.
4. *Corriere della Sera*, June 12, 1979.
5. *The Economist*, April 21, 1979, p. 39.
6. *Triunfo*, December 23, 1978, p. 31.
7. *Aftonbladet*, September 20, 1976.
8. *The Morning Star*, May 14, 1979.
9. *L'Humanité*, May 10, 1979.
10. Alvaro Cunhal. Op cit., p. 14.

Mao's Betrayal
by Wang Ming

As a long-time member of the politbureau of the CPC, and Chinese representative on the Comintern, the author is eminently qualified to trace the development of Mao's deviation from Marxism-Leninism. From first-hand experience he analyzes struggles at the various congresses; citicizes Mao's interpretation of Chinese history and identifies the ideological fallacies in Mao's major writings.

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exchange of views

Revolution and democracy

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

The second part* of our survey of the proceedings of a scientific conference on 'Revolution and Democracy,' sponsored by the HSWP Central Committee jointly with *World Marxist Review,* presents the various views of its participants mainly on the problems of transforming the political structure of society in a socialist revolution with an eye to the place and role of the various parties, their relations with each others, and influence on the masses. A special section contains views on the importance of the struggle for the working people's social rights in advancing the revolutionary process.

Various aspects of these problems were considered in papers, speeches, and remarks in the course of the discussion by *Hans Arvidsson,* Board Department Secretary, Left Party — Communists of Sweden; *Oliva Björkbacka,* CC Political Bureau member, CP Finland, Secretary, Department of Agitation and Propaganda; *Alvaro Delgado,* Central Executive Committee alternate member, CP Colombia; *Naziha Duleimi,* CC member, Iraqi CP; *Ivan Frolov,* Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences, Executive Secretary of *WMR; Girgin Girginov,* D.Sc. (Philos.), CC member, Bulgarian CP; *Emile Habibi,* CC Political Bureau member, CP Israel; Professor *Antonio Jannazzo* of Rome University; *Monty Johnstone,* member of the Theoretical-Ideological Committee, CP Great Britain; *Kemal Kervan,* representative of the CP Turkey on the *WMR;* Professor *Yuri Krasin,* Prorector, Academy of Social Sciences, CPSU Central Committee; *Sandor Lakos,* CC member, HSWP, Director, Institute of Social Sciences, HSWP Central Committee; *Jose Lava,* CC member, CP Philippines; Professor *Adam Lopatka,* CC alternate member, PUWP, Director, Institute of the State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor *Jose Luis Malo de Molina* of Madrid University; *Manuel Diaz Menendez,* representative of the CP Cuba on the *WMR; Sarada Mitra,* National Council member, CP India; *Maria de Piedade Morgadinho,* CC member, Portuguese CP; *Ib Nørlund,* CC Executive Committee and Secretariat member, CP Denmark; *Essop Pahad,* Ph.D., South African journalist; *John Pittman,* CC Political Bureau member, CP-USA; *Bert Ramelson,* representative of the CP Great Britain on the *WMR; Otto Schudel,* member, Central Control Commission, Swiss Party of Labor; *Alexander Sobolev,* D.Sc. (Philos.), Department head, Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CPSU Central Committee; Professor *Rolf Stöckigt,* Deputy Director, Institute of the History of the German Working-class Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SUPG Central Committee; Assistant Professor *Ladislav Tomasck,* Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Czechoslovakian journal *Tvorba; Eduardo Viera,* CC Executive Committee member, CP Uruguay; *Horst Wilhelms,* functionary of the Board, German CP; *Hecham Youri,* member, Egyptian CP; *Konstantin Zarodov,* D.Sc. (Hist.), Editor-in-Chief, *World Marxist Review.*

All the statements are presented in abridged form.

II. THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE DIVERSITY OF SOCIAL INTERESTS

Revolutionary transformations and majority interests and will

Prominent in the discussion were problems arising from the transformation of the political structure of society and the working out in the course of the revolutionary process of political and institutional forms which make it possible to take into account the interests of the various strata of the population when advancing from bourgeois democracy to socialist democracy, and also ways of winning a majority for the revolution and overcoming the resistance of the class enemy. In this context, the question of 'political pluralism' and the content of the term were discussed on a theoretical plane.

Considering the possibilities for advancing to socialism in Spain, *Jorge Luis Malo de Molina* emphasized the importance of the struggle against the authoritarian trends in present-day capitalism, and for political pluralism, whose distinctive feature, in his opinion, is the alternation in power of various political forces on the basis of universal suffrage. In contrast to the others, he said, this model does not start from available experience, while the theory of the question has yet to be fully elaborated and that is why, perhaps, grave mistakes have been made.

The speaker said that the working-class party can come to power within the framework of a functioning democracy by winning a majority. From day to day, the 'democracy of the overwhelming majority,' he said, will become ever more important as a 'revolution of the overwhelming majority.' This springs from the fact that the dialectics of the

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* Continued from Nos. 7 and 8, 1979.

development of state-monopoly capitalism constantly produces on the part of the overwhelming majority of society a growing opposition to the interests of the oligarchic minority which rules the state. He added that the strength and depth of democracy are a prerequisite for effecting a socialist strategy in conditions of freedom.

The speaker explained that this entailed not only an electoral or parliamentary majority, but a majority ensured by mustering the masses, and the working people's steadily growing consciousness, something that is reflected in the day-to-day practice of the class struggle and in society. If a consensus could be reached, power could be exercised on the basis of such a consensus. Such is the theoretical basis which allows one to speak of pluralism, the maintenance of civil rights and even of bourgeois parties, and also of alternation in power.

Whether peaceful or violent and whatever institutional forms it takes, *Monty Johnstone* said, a socialist revolution is fundamentally democratic in that it entails winning a majority (both 'political' and 'arithmetical'), along with mass participation in struggle for the establishment of a society in which political and economic power is placed in the hands of the working people. He does not see revolution in Britain as a single act but as a process of struggle, in which the election of a new type of Labour government, committed to left policies, would represent an important stage. This government would be backed inside and outside parliament by a broad democratic alliance, in which the working class would be the leading force. The labor movement would be shifted further to the left in the course of the sharp class struggle, in which a strengthened Communist Party would have a very important role to play.

It is widely believed in Britain, he said, that the socialist society we work for would entail a curtailment of cherished rights and freedoms and the concentration of political power in the hands of a ruling group not subject to effective democratic control. A question often put by workers to communists is: 'If we elected the kind of government that you want, would we be able to get rid of it and put the other side in if we chose to?'

The answer to this question implies, Johnstone said, a statement of one's position with respect to political pluralism. In analyzing this concept, he drew a distinction between bourgeois pluralism and socialist pluralism. He described bourgeois pluralism as a snare and a delusion. When its theorists speak of power being diffused between blocs of interests, they are obscuring the extent of undemocratic power concentration in societies, where the state and the economy are dominated by monopoly capitalism. The basis for socialist pluralism, he said, is the breaking of this monopoly power and its replacement by that of the working class and its allies, corresponding in essence to the traditional Marxist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We envisage socialism providing demonstrably greater democracy than the people have known under capitalism — both by extending full democratic control through the expropriation of the monopolies and the establishment of socialist ownership and planning, and by consolidating their civil liberties and democratic rights won through centuries of struggle. This entails freedom not only for other socialist organizations but also for opposition parties, hostile to socialism which are prepared to operate within the law.

Johnstone further said that it would be impossible to justify to the people the denial to such parties under socialist democracy of the rights that opposition parties hostile to capitalism have enjoyed under bourgeois democracy. The parties opposing socialism (and also their ideas) could be more effectively defeated in open confrontation.

One cannot refuse to respect the verdict of the electors, Johnstone emphasized, even in the unlikely event of a genuinely left or socialist government being defeated at the polls. The people of countries like ours, he said, attach much importance to their hard-won right to decide by majority vote the parties that will govern them. He added that if the reactionary forces attempt to regain power in defiance of the freely expressed verdict of the people, there would be no hesitation in using coercion to suppress such illegal and anti-democratic actions.

Far from entailing a downgrading of the role of communist leadership, Johnstone declared, socialist pluralism would make it even more important because it would have to be exercised day in and day out in battle with opposing ideas that were receiving continuous public expression. Whether or not historical conditions allow for such forms of party pluralism in any given socialist state, pluralistic structures of one kind or another are, he said, an essential feature of socialist democracy.

In a remark *Eduardo Viera* asked: Is it suggested that pluralism and the existence of an opposition are the sole indications of democracy? If in the course of the revolution, the bourgeois parties expose themselves as an anti-popular force, why should they be allowed to function? The existence of opposition parties during the transition to socialism depends on concrete conditions, above all on the political behavior and attitudes of these parties themselves.

Viera pointed to the connection between the term 'pluralism' and the concept of 'bourgeois democracy.' But, he added, it would be doctrinaire to fail to see that in the transition to socialism with the use of parliamentary forms the 'majority' could be opposed by a 'minority' acting within the framework of the opposition allowed by the law. In accordance with Uruguay's specific conditions, Viera anticipated the possibility of pluralism taken in a different sense. There are no fundamental grounds for rejecting the possibility of participation in the transition to socialism of various parties and groups which have already united in the struggle for national liberation. This view, he said, does not cut across the general uniformities of the revolution. After further analyzing the situation in Uruguay, Viera said, that the re-establishment of the rights of

all the parties which have not compromised themselves under the fascist regime and establishment of the hegemony of the working class are important lines of struggle for democracy in the country.

Joining in the discussion, *Emile Habibi* asked: But is any limitation of rights and freedoms a breach of democracy? A genuine democrat will always accept a ban, like the ban on the propaganda of war, aggression, colonialism, racism and fascism. Why then should a socialist society connive at the activity of forces advocating a return to the system of exploitation, wars and unemployment? This argument is presented: this will allegedly be evidence of loyalty to democracy. But the capitalist class allows the activity of the communists, who oppose the capitalist system, not out of any loyalty to democracy. It is confronted with this choice: either to allow the communists to act legally, or to force them to go underground. Why? Because so long as there is a working class, at whose expense capital flourishes, it is impossible to get rid of the communists. But under socialism there is no capitalist class, there is no need for one. That being so, there is also no need for a party representing the interests and ideas of the capitalist class. Why then produce theoretical propositions with a view to maintaining rights for the adversaries of socialism?

Let us imagine that such ideas were actually effected in some socialist country, Habibi continued. What sort of response would there be to this kind of 'unlimited' democracy, which allows, for instance, to issue calls for aggression against neighboring countries? And what kind of image of socialism would such a democracy produce among the working people of the non-socialist countries?

Habibi drew attention to the danger of standing up for bourgeois democracy against socialist democracy, the danger of whitewashing bourgeois democracy and of crossing out the advantages of socialist democracy. The quest for new ways to socialism, he concluded, can only be made on the principled basis of the revolutionary experience acquired by mankind, especially the experience gained out of establishing socialism. To fail to take this experience into account would mean impoverishing the theory of scientific socialism and depriving one's theoretical quest of the reference points which have been tested in practice.

Bert Ramelson disagreed with the view that 'pluralism' is a concept which becomes meaningless in the absence of antagonistic classes. Pluralism, he said, does not necessarily imply the presence of many parties. He described pluralism as the right to combine to express points of view and implement policies which may differ from those advocated by the governing bodies. It is absurd artificially to set up parties in a situation in which there is no ground for doing so. There could also be other ways of expressing different standpoints.

Considering further the leading role of the working-class party basing its activity on Marxism-Leninism, Ramelson emphasized that the party must play such a role to bring about the success of socialism. But the party's leadership cannot be won once and for all: the party must constantly strive to win and hold the support and trust of the masses. He added that he failed to understand why in a socialist society there is a need to legally enforce the party's leading role. Such a role is accepted by the people in consequence of their own experience, and not in virtue of law.

In a review of the legal enforcement of the Communist Party's leading role, *Alexander Sobolev* said that the question is decided in the light of the specific political relations in a given country. This does not, of course, eliminate the problem of further consolidating the party's leading role in society through its daily work with the masses. Here, there is no ground at all to contrast the law and the experience of the masses. In the USSR, for instance, the law does not merely proclaim the party's leading role in the state, but formalizes it in close connection with the main trend in Soviet society's advance along the road to communism. Thus, this problem has been solved on very good grounds in theoretical, political and practical terms.

Sobolev went on to disagree with the view concerning the possibility of not just a constitutional change of government, but the alternation in power of opposite class forces. It would mean tremendous regress if there were a return to capitalism in a country in which steps had been taken toward socialism. Only the forces of extreme reaction, but never democrats could be interested in such a thing. In this case, this would evidently entail extremely heavy losses not only for socialism, but also for democracy.

In a remark, *Jose Lava* considered the idea that open confrontation in struggle against ideas and policies hostile to socialism had its advantages. But what are the guarantees that those who intend to challenge the new authority will confine their activity to discussion and debate?

The question of pluralism as an indicator of democracy, *Horst Wilhelms* said, has been raised by the bourgeoisie and right-wing social-democracy in its different aspects in the FRG. First of all, there is the urge ideologically to prepare for the possibility of removing the communists from power through a vote, through elections in the event they come to power. Further, the demand put forward by the adversaries of the communists for diversity of views and ideological attitudes in the party is designed to show that the Communist Party is non-pluralistic and is, for that reason, alledgedly undemocratic as an organization. The propaganda of pluralism is also designed to camouflage the class character of power relations in the FRG and to separate socialism from democracy. The latter is clearly seen in the slander campaigns against the GDR.

Wherever capital is no longer able to maintain its power by means of bourgeois democracy, it discards pluralism and resorts to dictatorship, to fascism, as the case was in Germany in 1933. Today, the working people's democratic rights are being increasingly folded up in the FRG. As a result of the job prohibitions and the system of surveillance over citizens, many democrats are hesitant and openly

fearful of making public statements. The surveillance system also operates covertly, and our comrades or other democrats discover that they have been under surveillance only when they want to get a government job, become teachers, etc. The passage of new police laws, the restriction of the right to stage manifestations, of the right of immunity of domicile, secrecy of correspondence, and so on, all of this shows very well what the ruling class in the FRG means by pluralism.

Pluralism, *Antonio Jannazzo* said, joining in the discussion, implies the transformation of the framework of the struggle for democracy, the transformation of the relations between parties, and between various social groups, relations which are jeopardized by political alienation. The structure of the working class has changed as a result of the advance from traditional industrialization to a more complicated industrialization based on numerous intellectual components. It now involves broader and more diverse strata which can be attracted to our side only by elaborating a democratic conception and standing up for effective democracy which assigns a primary role for mass participation in management.

The struggle in the new conditions, Jannazzo said, implies consideration of the numerous changes in the social structure and also of the innovative and crucial role of superstructures in present-day society. It is necessary, he said, that state intervention in the Italian economy should be given a democratic content so as to make territorial and local organs of self-administration effective. At the same time, new criteria of efficiency have also to be found in the public sector of Italy's economy. None of this can be achieved by abandoning the democratic system, or economic and political pluralism. When speaking of pluralism, he said, we take into account the dialectics of social institutions in which democracy acts as a form of control over decision-making and management.

Pluralism does not rule out the principle of hegemony. On the contrary, the question of hegemony should be settled in the light of the central role of new historical forces, i.e., the traditional working class, the working class in the new sectors of the economy, and also the strata of the intelligentsia connected with scientific and technical progress. The party's role is to rally all these forces, safeguard them against the danger of integration with the capitalist system, and help them understand the revolutionary perspective.

The working class, *Ladislav Tomasek* remarked, has been constantly developing. For instance, under the impact of the scientific and technical revolution changes have taken place in its trade and sectoral structure, and the role of the scientific and technical intelligentsia has also changed. But it is impossible correctly to comprehend these new phenomena unless one holds to the starting and fundamental concepts produced by scientific socialism which do not characterize the working class as a conglomerate, not as a mechanical sum-total of old and new strata, but as a coherent social entity. That is the only methodological basis on which the distinctions in its midst can be objectively assessed.

John Pittman described pluralism under state-monopoly capitalism as an instrument for splitting the masses in order to maintain a regime which ensures their exploitation, as a fraud, a means of diverting attention from actual class problems in the political struggle, as a way of keeping the masses away from the democratic process.

In the USA, the policy of the state is determined by the monopoly parties. The potentialities open to other parties are very limited even in the presence of political pluralism. Pittman recalled that in the 1976 elections, the CPUSA was able to run in 30 of the 50 states, while the Trotskyites managed to nominate candidates in 40-45 states with the help of the CIA. Despite all this, he said, U.S. communists use pluralism to carry their program to the people and take part in electoral campaigns. They have no illusions about the role of elections in the revolutionary process. Pittman recalled Togliatti's idea that parties like the CPUSA have no chances of representation on the federal, state or city level so long as there is no system of proportional representation.

So total and comprehensive is the grip of monopoly on the socio-political, economic and ideological spheres of U.S. society that there is literally no area of life which could do without democratization. There are structural obstructions to involvement of the masses in economic and political decision-making and administration. To these should be added non-representative spheres of power in the state apparatus, the police and military forces, the banks and monopolies, and the mass media.

Analyzing the reasons for the slow maturing of the subjective prerequisites for a socialist revolution in the United States, Pittman noted monopoly capital's success to date in restricting the development of political organizations of the working class, and even containing its economic organizations. In contrast to the developments in this sphere in Japanese and West European state-monopoly capitalism, where working-class parties and political organizations have won representation in legislative and administrative posts on certain levels of government, until now even minor victories in this area have been prevented or held to the barest minimum by U.S. monopoly capital's monopolization of politics. They involve them in confrontation with the legal and political superstructure and the ideas that support it. They engender disillusionment with capitalist democracy and its promises that are always honored in the breach. In this way the struggles for democracy accelerate the process of overcoming the lag of the subjective factor.

The word 'pluralism,' *Yuri Krasin* remarked, is very vague and frequently leads to misunderstandings, because totally different things are meant by one and the same term. Socialist democracy takes into account the interests, requirements, views and notions of various sections and groups of

the population. The diverse interests of all the sections of the population are expressed in all the socialist countries, whether they have multi-party or one-party systems.

Taking a closer look at the concept of pluralism as freedom of action for opposition forces, Krasin said that it was wrong to apply this view to the established socialist society. At the same time, there has not been a single revolution which did not face resistance from the opposition. A revolution is such only when it is capable of defending itself. That is why it has elaborated and will inevitably continue to elaborate in the process of its development norms and laws restricting the activity of hostile forces. By violating this new, socialist legality which is taking shape, the forces hostile to socialism will thereby confront the new power with the need to resort also to political means of restriction. It is methodologically wrong to abstract oneself from the analysis of the content of this process and to regard the problem only from the standpoint of form, in the light of some abstract principle of compensation: you allowed us to be in opposition within the framework of bourgeois democracy, that is why we will allow you to play the same role under socialist democracy. There is a certain logic in the class struggle which makes the adversaries of the revolution inevitably violate the norms which it has adopted to defend its gains. It is important to anticipate this element of content when considering the problem of continuity of form.

Krasin further pointed to the importance of bringing out the will of the majority. A formal poll very frequently gives the advantage to the 'conservatives,' who fear innovation. That is the point in any small reform; it applies to an even greater extent to fundamental revolutionary transformations. The role of the party of the advanced class, the revolutionary vanguard, which operates from scientific positions, consists precisely in making use of the various means, and not only voting or even a formal poll of public opinion, to bring out the will of the majority and to structure party policy accordingly.

Swiss democracy, *Otto Schudel* said, is apparently a more developed form of bourgeois democracy. But that does nothing to alter the fact that the country is run by a state and government apparatus in the service of the industrial and financial monopolies. Swiss democracy has some instruments which make it possible to put forward progressive demands before the whole people, although they do not always make it possible to put them through. These instruments are the right to legislative initiatives and the referendum.

Theoretically, socialism could be introduced in Switzerland by means of ballot papers, Schudel remarked. But in practice this is impossible because the monopolies, having tremendous financial resources at their disposal, would use them for propaganda aimed against such an initiative. Besides, the government and the conservative parliamentary majority would prevent a national vote on the ground that such an initiative was allegedly aimed against the pillars of the so-called free democratic system.

Schudel said that the Swiss communists' proposal against the high cost of living and inflation, known as the crisis initiative, which collected over 90,000 signatures, was rejected on the grounds that it violated 'unity of subject-matter,' that is, that it brought together various measures which could allegedly be voted on only one by one.

The rights existing in Switzerland, he said, give popular movements multifaceted opportunities for defending and extending the existing freedoms. In a class society, these laws can be evaded, and the ruling classes do indeed evade them, but they are still a good instrument for defending and popularizing the interests of the working class, and for mustering the popular forces for the fight against monopoly capital. In countries like Switzerland, a new, socialist society can be built without a sanguinary civil war. But if the doomed class resorts to violence, the new, socialist forces will naturally have to counter it with violence as well.

Of course, *Oiva Björbacka* said in a remark, referendums and elections are of great importance, but they are not the only way to bring out the will of the majority. In 1948, for instance, there was a discussion in Finland of the question of concluding a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. Many parties — both the Social-Democratic party and the bourgeois parties — opposed such a treaty, which was supported by the People's Democratic League and some far-sighted and realistically-oriented bourgeois leaders. If a referendum had been held at that time, he said, there would have been no treaty. Today, 30 years later, no bourgeois party or political leader opposes it. But even in 1948, the treaty met the interests of the majority. Consequently, the will of the majority is not always determined by voting results or public opinion polls.

Speaking on the question of winning majority support in the course of a revolution, *Adam Lopatka* drew a distinction between the interests and the will of the majority. Interest is something objective, while will is a subjective attitude which people take on this or that issue. It happens in the course of the revolution that the working-class party expresses the interests of the majority of the people, while the will of the majority of the population has yet to be shaped in its favor. Thus, in postwar Poland, the working-class party had sufficient support to take and hold power, but in that period it did not yet have a majority on its side. Consequently, a situation may arise in which there is already sufficiently broad support, but the majority has not yet been won over. If a referendum were held in such a situation, the new power would not get a majority.

Lopatka said that from the standpoint of the advance of the revolution it is hardly right to wait until the majority expresses its will through an election, by voting for the revolution. This could put off for a long time the point at which power passes into the hands of the revolutionary forces. The main thing is

for the new power to conduct a policy in the interests of the popular majority, seeking to win its support as soon as possible.

Monty Johnstone asked in a remark: But is it right to take power without relying on a majority? The scientific comprehension of historical development gives a longer view of it than the masses have, but that does not give a minority the right to thrust its interpretation on the rest of the people, but merely imposes on it a duty to explain the advantages of socialism in the course of the struggle, and on every occasion to explain the way which leads to it. After taking power, even when relying on a majority, it is wrong to abridge the existing rights.

In connection with Johnstone's remark, *Bert Ramelson* said that the communists have the right to take power before a majority of the population comes fully to support their program. After all, for over two decades even capitalist Britain did not have a government enjoying the support of a majority of the electorate. This means that the real problem does not consist in obtaining over one-half of the votes. The point is how to behave when in power. It is possible at some stage to win over a majority and them to impose on the nation a policy contradicting its interests. Power should be used to win the people over for socialism and to pursue a policy in the people's interests.

The majority question, *Sandor Lakos* said, should be considered in concrete terms. There is a direct connection between the nature of the goals and the qualitative features of the majority. A revolutionary majority does not take shape spontaneously but depends on the political line pursued by the working-class party.

Speaking of the term 'pluralism,' *Ivan Frolov* emphasized that there is no point in arguing about words. The main thing is the content of this or that concept. For instance, he said, one could speak about the pluralism of historical roads meaning that the historical process had many variants. He stressed that it is a tradition of Marxist thinking that no concept elaborated by science is alien to Marxism.

The communists' quest of ways to socialism, Frolov went on, is not based only on some kind of purely theoretical assumption, as some believe. It rests on large-scale practical work which the communist parties have carried out, on the struggle which has been going on for decades and which has already yielded tangible results. The struggle for a socialist future, for freedom and democracy, has been led by the communists in many countries. They become a real national force without which it is impossible to solve society's basic problems. In this struggle, democracy cultivates the soil on which it itself grows; it cultivates that which has been gained by the working class. This is not a simple, but a very intricate process. It shows that the revolution should not be regarded outside the context of the general processes of social development going forward in this or that country, of the many structural changes occurring in the sphere of democratic freedoms.

A controversial problem in the theory of revolution, *Ib Nørlund* said, is the question of the concrete form in which the transition to socialism is to be effected, considering the existing circumstances, the way in which the potentialities of the 'overwhelming majority,' that is, the working class and its allies, are to be converted into a force transforming society in accordance with the interests of that majority. In other words, the problem is to find the forms through which the masses can move to revolutionary positions. That is the angle from which Nørlund assessed the importance of the struggle for democracy.

It was emphasized in our discussion, he said, that 'democracy' and 'pluralism' are concepts with a different content. However, it is much more constructive to take the concept of 'democratic struggle' as the starting point. It means above all defense of the interests of the people, of the working people, of their political and social demands and rights. The important thing is to see that the overthrow of the power of the exploiting classes and elimination of capitalist relations of production is not a prior condition for realizing these demands. In this sense, there is a distinction between democratic struggle and the struggle for socialism. But the antithesis between revolutionary and reformist policy consists in the fact that the former does not set any limits to the democratic struggle, but seeks to develop it on the basis of mass experience into a struggle for socialism. In other words, the democratic struggle is a condition of the struggle for socialism, which, for its part, opens up fresh prospects for democratic movements and helps them gain considerable achievements. The socialist revolution entails the mobilization of broad masses of people in the struggle for democratic goals. The key feature of the current democratic struggle is its anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist tenor.

Nørlund emphasized that the processes of the development of mass initiative and activity in the struggle for democratic goals — ranging from those of the workers, peasants and soldiers of Russia, mobilized under the slogans of 'peace, bread and land,' who carried out the Great October Revolution, to those of the East European nations which rose to national-liberation, anti-fascist struggle against the invaders, and the Cuban people, who came out against the Batista dictatorship — have many features in common. For Marxist-Leninist science it is vital to study the experience of democratic struggle in its diverse ties with the socialist revolution.

Some lessons of the revolutionary experience

Some problems dealt with in the foregoing section were also discussed at the conference in retrospect, in the light of the practice of accomplished revolutions which is the criterion of truth.

Bourgeois, reformist and Trotskyite interpreters of the October Revolution in Russia, *Konstantin Zarodov* stressed, accuse it of being anti-democratic and present its experience as unsuitable for the struggle for democracy and socialism in our day. In this connection, Zarodov dealt with some key as-

pects of the relationship between revolution and democracy in the light of the experience of the October Revolution, and posed the following questions: Is it possible to conceive of a revolution that does not venture to go beyond limits set on the development of democracy by the class power of the bourgeoisie? Is it right to say that electoral mechanisms will alone suffice for transition to the new social system? Is it right to seek a bloc with other parties for the sake of unity, and is such unity necessary in any circumstances?

The working people of Russia had to take power and to establish the proletarian dictatorship through an armed uprising. But arms were first used widely not by the revolution but by the counter-revolution. The Bolsheviks did not abandon the peaceful way to power. On the contrary, they worked for it to the very end. They did so despite the fact that the leadership of the Menshevik and the Socialist-Revolutionary parties refused to come to an agreement (in spite of the tremendous pressure from the grass roots in these parties, which frequently united with the Bolshevik grass roots). Of course, that leadership spoke of democracy, of a gradual democratic way of development. Georgy Plekhanov called this a 'line of ascent' from the government of the bourgeoisie to a government of the 'left-wing forces.' Unless this 'sequence' was observed, Plekhanov emphasized, the 'enthronement of the extreme rightists,' a 'triumph of reaction' could ensue.* In other words, one has to wait for one's turn peacefully, while, of course, carrying on a struggle for economic and political progress. But for how long? Will the bourgeoisie ever agree calmly to observe the advance of the parties in 'Plekhanov's sequence?' The bourgeoisie in Russia, for instance, seeing that the 'sequence' was moving in a revolutionary way, tried to stop it by force of arms on many occasions in 1917 (one need merely recall the bloodshed in July or the Kornilov mutiny). Reaction, the dictatorship of the right-wing forces did not triumph because the Bolsheviks, having used up all the peaceful possibilities, roused the masses to an armed uprising and won.

Zarodov noted that in the preparations for the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks were winning over the masses by democratic methods. He showed that in preparing the revolution, the Bolsheviks won the support of the majority: first, in the biggest industrial centers; second, in the working-class organizations, the trade unions and the factory committees; third, in the army and navy, and fourth, in the Soviets, the chief organs of popular representation. This was also expressed, in particular, in the results of the elections in which the conciliatory parties — the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries — also took part, but their influence declined from month to month.

The leaders of the right-wing social democrats in Russia looked more to the 'right' than to the 'left' and pinned greater hopes on the use of bourgeois parliamentarism in order to invalidate the people's democratic gains and to establish a bourgeois-dictatorial regime in the country. The reformists took an active part in forming and consolidating appointed organs of bourgeois power like the Provisional Government, the Provisional Council of the Republic ('pre-parliament'), and so on, instead of the organs elected by the people. Besides, whenever the conciliators in Russia joined the Bolsheviks, their aim was to weaken Bolshevik influence and make political capital on the alliance.

Zarodov emphasized that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had always acted on the possibility and desirability of cooperation with other left-wing parties on a principled basis. Even after the Mensheviks and the right-wing SRs walked out from the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the Bolsheviks left the door open and were prepared to share power with them. Left-wing SRs were in the first Soviet government together with the Bolsheviks, and their cooperation was one of the factors behind the development of the revolution. And the Bolsheviks were not to blame for the fact that other political parties ranged themselves against the revolution, decided to fight it by organizing counter-revolutionary mutinies and plots and taking part in the reactionary organizations and 'local governments' set up to counter the Soviets.

The real problem facing analysts of the experience of the October Revolution, Zarodov said in conclusion, is much more complicated than the questions related to the efforts to cure the chronic disease of 'rightism,' a symptom of which is the classification of methods and forms of struggle under the heads of 'democratic' and 'undemocratic.' It is absurd, from any standpoint, to qualify the October armed uprising, for instance, as an 'undemocratic' measure; let us recall that the U.S. Declaration of Independence proclaimed the people's right to throw off a government it does not like. In terms of facts, it is hardly necessary to explain that in the October events the uprising had an overwhelming preponderance precisely because it relied on the will of the popular majority.

The concepts of democracy and pluralism cannot be regarded as self-contained categories, *Rolf Stöckigt* said. At various phases of the transition from capitalism to socialism they are invested with a different content, although there is, of course, some continuity. That is why these concepts should be analyzed in the light of the concrete specifics and tasks of the given phase of the revolutionary process.

On the strength of the GDR's experience, Stöckigt considered some problems in transforming the political-party structure at the stage of the revolutionary struggle when imperialism comes under a direct attack in every sphere of society. In the GDR, this stage is known as the anti-fascist democratic revolution. He said that in his countrys' concrete conditions it was necessary to re-establish the old structure of activity of democratic parties. After 12 years of the one-party fascist dictatorship, he said,

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* G.V. Plekhanov, *Two Lines of Revolution*, 1917, p. 9 (in Russian).

its removal was linked in the people's minds with a multi-party system. It took years for the people to understand that the number of parties is a secondary question, that the crucial thing is ultimately the content of democracy. The new democracy can be built only together with the people, who understand such a democracy.

He went on to say that the political-party structure was changed under the influence of socio-economic processes, notably, the relatively rapid elimination of the foundations of the power of the monopolies and the big landed estates. The ideological and educational work of the communists and ideological discussions also had an important role to play in these changes.

Stöckigt stressed that some traditions of bourgeois parliamentarism were used in setting up the new superstructure at the stage of anti-fascist and democratic transformations. However, they were supplemented and enriched with democratic forms and institutions going beyond the framework of traditional bourgeois democracy. Besides, the old traditions and institutions were being transformed as the definitive influence of the working class on the country's political life grew. But the new was established to the extent to which the allied parties was always able to follow the communist line and policy, so that the cart would not be put before the horse.

The class struggle, he went on, made special demands on the GDR communists. In the GDR, the question of allowing some opportunities for the activity of parties taking opposite class positions has always been connected with direct and indirect interference by reactionary forces in the FRG, whose aim was to eliminate the people's power.

The character of power in the GDR changed in the transition to socialism. It acquired the functions of a proletarian dictatorship. In consequence, any sharing of power already became impossible. It is impossible to share power with the classes which cannot 'leap over their own shadow' and accept socialism, he said. But it is quite another thing that representatives of other social forces can also take part in the administration of power which meets the interests of the working class. Throughout the almost 30 years of the GDR's existence, representatives of all the four friendly parties have held important posts in the state apparatus. Today in the conditions of socialism, the aim of cooperation among the parties consists in having the whole people broadly participate in the administration of power, also through these parties, through their activity.

On the strength of an analysis of the experience of the revolutionary transformations in Czechoslovakia, *Ladislav Tomasek* said, political pluralism can remain at various stages of the working-class struggle for power. In Czechoslovakia, the traditions of political pluralism were strong. In the pre-war period, there were over 20 political parties. But this pluralism did not at all rule out a 'monism' of power, its solidly capitalist-class character. In the period in which the democratic revolution grew into a socialist revolution the political system in Czechoslovakia retained some features of pluralism. But this was no longer a bourgeois pluralism, because the role of the working class, the leader of the revolutionary process, was growing in the political organization of that period (although the bourgeoisie still had considerable influence in it). A characteristic feature of the pluralism which existed in Czechoslovakia at that time, the speaker said, was not just the presence of many parties, but above all a sharp class struggle to determine the orientation of the country's social development, a struggle between parties and within the framework of social and state organizations, and in the mass media. One of the lessons of the Czechoslovak experience, Tomasek said, is that it is not bourgeois pluralism but the development of the democratic revolution and its growth into a socialist revolution that creates the conditions for the communists' participation in government.

He went on to consider the question of the peaceful development of the revolution, and noted that in Czechoslovakia, in February 1948, a period of acute clashes with the bourgeoisie, the arming of the working class and the formation of a people's militia were an important guarantee of this development. Civil war can be averted and attempts at armed action by the counter-revolution cut short only if account is taken of both alternatives: of the peaceful and non-peaceful development of the revolution. Whether a revolution is accomplished peacefully depends not only on objective factors, but also and largely on subjective ones, that is, the ability of the working class and its party to create a broad popular alliance which effectively isolates the counter-revolution.

Opposition parties existed at the intitial period of the revolution in Bulgaria, *Girgin Girginov* said. They had an opportunity publicly to express and stand up for their views. But that does not mean that democracy in that period was at a higher level, because the opposition tried to use it to eliminate the revolutionary gains and to prevent the people from building socialism. When the people understood the actual intentions of the opposition, they withdrew their support from it. The opposition parties were dissolved in accordance with democratic procedures. The dissolution of these parties was helped by many of their rank-and-file members, who sided with the people, with the working class.

When trying to envisage the kind of socialist society that will be established in this or that country, *Adam Lopatka* said, one should not convert the concept of political pluralism into a dogma. This should not be done especially during the struggle for power. Revolutions do not reckon with dogmas. Besides, the dogmatic approach to pluralism would hamper the development of the revolutionary initiative of the masses and the winning over for the revolution of those who want to change, instead of preserving, the old patterns of political life.

At the initial period of the people's power, Lopatka said, political pluralism may turn out to

be necessary, even from the standpoint of the further development and strengthening of that power. In Poland, a year after the establishment of the people's power, two opposition bourgeois parties were allowed to operate legally. As the revolution developed, changes occurred in the opposition parties, their policy became different, and this enabled them in one way or another to take part in building a people's Poland.

In Poland, where a majority of the people consists of Catholics, the question of cooperation between Marxists and believers is of special importance. It is also important for the development of socialist democracy in the country. At one time, the ideological contradictions took the form of acute political struggle between the socialist state and the leadership of the Catholic Church. But the state and the party, on the one hand, and the Church leadership; on the other, reached the conclusion that the struggle between faith and materialism must not hinder the people's political unity.

Lopatka drew attention to the concrete historical content of the concept of 'hegemony.' During the people's democratic revolution, the forces of progress, rallied around the working class and its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist party — fought for democracy for the working people against the legal opposition and the armed reactionary underground, and succeeded in winning over a majority of the people for the revolution. With the advance of social transformations, both the system of socialist state institutions and the mechanism of mass organizations and social movements were strengthened. At the present stage of development — the stage of building a developed socialist society — the existing political and social institutions ensure an ever fuller expression of different views and satisfaction of the interests of various classes and social groups. Here, the working-class party has an especially important role to play.

According to *Sandor Lakos,* the presence of one or several parties is not a fundamental issue in the socialist transformation of society, because this ultimately depends on the concrete historical situation. In Hungary, there are no substantial, long-term interests affecting major social groups which contradict the social interests represented by the working-class party. We operate within the framework of a one-party system not only because it has been so shaped historically, but also because this system guarantees constant consideration of different interests.

Monty Johnstone asked Lakos to explain an assertion he had come across that in Hungary the working-class party must act simultaneously as a ruling and an opposition party. He wanted to know how this dual function was being exercised.

When it is said that the ruling party seeks to work in such a way as if it is its own opposition, *Lakos* replied, the idea is that it should, when formulating decisions, have a knowledge of the interests of the various social sections, consider them correctly from a standpoint of principle, and take a self-critical approach to the decisions being discussed. The ability to bring out and take into account the whole diversity of interests implies the ensuring of inner-party democracy on a level at which different views can be freely expressed, with all its members having the possibility of controlling the work of the party. Social, state and trade union organizations with a definite independence also have an important role in expressing and consolidating various interests. These organizations are in a position to express their attitude to the party's policy and decisions, and that is also a kind of control. There are also other outlets for opinion outside this organizational framework, like the mass media. The party seeks to give the utmost attention to all views.

After the victory of the revolution in Cuba in January 1959, and the ouster of the bourgeois-latifundist bloc, *Manuel Menendez* said, a revolutionary power of the masses was established. This power represented above all the interests of the working class and the toiling peasantry. But it also expressed the interests of the samll urban bourgeoisie and other strata allied in their opposition to imperialism and the local oligarchy. The Cuban revolutionary process confirmed the need to break up the old state apparatus; the political parties connected with tyranny were dissolved. The Insurgent Army, consisting of workers, peasants and students, was the main guarantee of defense of the revolutionary gains. In the first few months after the victory of the revolution, economic measures of a popular democratic and anti-imperialist character, meeting the interests of the people, were put through.

Menendez noted that in the first period of the Cuban revolution, everyone wore badges saying 'Thank you, Fidel!' But this did not at all mean that the revolution was supported by the whole of Cuban society. This became clear when the counter-revolution resisted the revolutionary transformations effected by the new power.

The advocates of imperialism and pseudo-revolutionaries, Menendez went on, talked much about the absence of democracy and freedom in the Cuban revolutionary process, and about the need to 'humanize and democratize' the political apparatus of Cuba's socialist state. But, he stressed, we have our own view of freedom and democracy. For instance, we have no press defending the counter-revolution. The socialist revolution has involved not just isolated groups and sections, but the broad working masses in the making of history, and provided the people with an extensive field of activity. Despite the fact that for several years the state structure was of a temporary character, this did not hamper nationwide discussion of all the basic decisions and consultations with the people. One of the foundations on which the revolution rested was powerful mass organizations which acted as a connecting link between the party and the whole people. These organizations brought together virtually 90 per cent of the country's population. Later, the organs of people's power, a

specific form of proletarian dictatorship in our country, were set up. Menendez emphasized that socialist democracy is much higher than bourgeois democracy, which is a cover for the dictatorship of a minority. He added that calls for 'pure democracy' in the present conditions would signify rejection of the class approach.

Political and social aspects of democracy

A number of questions raised in the discussion were related to the interaction of the political superstructure and the struggle for social progress and for the working people's social rights,and the fundamental distinctions between social reformism and revolutionary policy.

Sarada Mitra said that under capitalism, democracy contains its own inner contradiction. While it remains a form of political domination of the bourgeoisie, at the same time it gives the working class a possibility to conduct its struggle legally, using the rights and liberties it has won for the purpose of extending its social rights and limiting the power of capital. But the relation between the social and political aspects of democracy does not remain the same in all situations. In the firmly established societies of developed capitalism, where the class struggle proceeds more or less within clearly defined limits, the political aspects of democracy may become pivotal for advancing the class struggle and lending democracy new social content. In societies going through the stage of national and political consolidation, it is the social aspect of democracy that assumes prominence.

Illustrating his idea with the example of India, one of the few developing countries practising bourgeois democracy, Mitra said that the experience of the last three decades has shown that the national bourgeoisie was incapable of accomplishing even bourgeois democratic reforms and this is evident from the continued existence of precapitalist modes of production, mass illiteracy, and absence of elementary democratic rights in the social and economic life of the vast majority of the population. All this is leading to ever increasing social conflicts, stimulated by the urge of the ruling class to restrict and, if possible, to eliminate the people's democratic rights altogether. Broad sections of the toiling masses, especially in the countryside, more easily understand the social aspect of democratic demands than the political aspect, but they too are coming to realize that the absense of political liberties inhibits their struggle for social change.

In this context, Mitra raised the question of seeking a state-political structure which would be more in accord with the interests of the people. At present, he said, in the socialist-oriented countries social reforms constitute the main vehicle for mobilizing the masses. These reforms meet the interest of the popular masses, ensure their support for the revolutionary governments and constitute the democratic foundation of progressive political regimes.

But, Mitra said, even in some of these countries the problem of the relationship between the social and political aspects of democracy is fairly acute. This is due above all to the prevailing objective situation created by the conflict with imperialism and by the internal and external subversive activity against the progressive regimes. With the reactionary elements, whose interests are infringed by the social reforms, intensifying their resistance to social transformations — these could be jeopardized if unlimited political freedom were to be made available to such elements. But any limitation of freedom must have a strictly class character and must be aimed against reactionary, exploitive forces. Only then, Mitra said, would it be justified. Unfortunately, now and again the ruling circles' subjective urge has gone beyond the necessary limitation of democracy, so gravely weakening the connection between the revolutionary leadership and the masses. Such a trend could well lead to a bureaucratic degeneration of the regime and cut short the revolutionary process.

Hecham Youri pointed to the dangers latent in this trend, and went on to analyze its development in Egypt. He noted the great importance of the socio-economic transformations of the Nasser period, and emphasized that the absence of political democracy at that time was the main factor which halted and frustrated the national-democratic revolution in Egypt. The class substance of the regime was expressed in the grave errors it made in running the country, the most indicative of which was the establishment of an authoritarian government, and also a hostile attitude to the organized mass movement, especially the trade unions and the political organizations of the working class, including its vanguard party. The ruling circles sought to present their power as an institution that existed over and above classes and the social struggle, suggesting that it is a fair and honest arbiter constantly working to reduce social distinctions. Actually, Youri said, the concept of 'national unity' aimed at reaching a compromise with the right-wing forces and satisfying their aspirations, intensified the reactionary trends. The absence of democracy and elementary freedoms for the people led to a growth of regressive phenomena and then in the post-Nasser period to a complete abandonment of the revolution by Egypt's ruling élite.

Naziha Duleimi noted the exceptional importance of political democracy as an instrument for defending and deepening social democracy, and emphasized that it was wrong to contrast the two, even if this were done on the pretext of deepening the socialist orientation, as, she said, was the case in Iraq. The Baath Party, she went on, has eliminated the working people's right to organization and strikes, and has put through voluntarist laws trampling on the free expression of will and convictions. It has monopolized the sphere of activity of trade unions and social organizations. It has pursued a policy with respect to the National Progressive Front aimed to do away with the independence of the parties involved in it and to isolate them from

the masses. The 'leading party' concept in effect means subordination of the other participants in the front to Baath policies and ideas. Since 1978, the Baath Party has been carrying on an extensive terror campaign against the Communist Party.

But the constriction of political democracy weakens the front against imperialism, narrows down social democracy, and creates the prerequisites for counter-revolution. It is impossible to combine anti-imperialism and anti-communism, just as it is impossible to have a socialist orientation while fighting the Communist Party.

In the Portuguese revolution, *Maria Morgadinho* said, two erroneous conceptions were brought out. First, the right-wing opportunists, who regard democracy as the sole goal and specific feature of the new system, insist that transformations in the economic and social structures are superfluous; and second, according to the leftists, democratic freedoms are allegedly useless if capitalist exploitation is maintained. She showed the emptiness of these conceptions and stressed the importance of political democracy for defending the social gains of the Portuguese revolution. Until recently, she said, the country's reactionary forces tried to re-establish the positions of big capital, the landowners and the imperialists, without jeopardizing the existence of the democratic system. But the small headway reaction has made in face of strong resistance on the part of the working-class and popular movement forced it to understand that it was impossible to effect a radical change in the political situation within the framework of the present state system, and so, with the support of imperialism, it has launched an offensive against the people's democratic gains across the whole country. The present government's policy is one of restoring the power of the capitalists, the landowners and the imperialists. It is aimed at returning the means of production to the capitalists and the big landowners, intensifying the working people's exploitation and restricting their social rights, and finally, wiping out democratic freedoms. Resistance to this policy by the working people and democratic forces is assuming the form of a mass struggle (strikes, demonstrations, etc.), and also of activity by their representatives within the organs of power.

Considering the evolution of democracy in Sweden, *Hans Arvidsson* said that back in the second half of the 19th century, when a period of intensive industrial development began and a working class took shape in the country, the struggle for broader democracy became the chief political task of the working-class movement. This struggle continues to this day in a different situation in which the social aspects of democracy are intensified. Its component part today is the struggle for shop-floor democracy, for demands like the right to call trade union meetings during working hours, the right to strike, the right of trade union veto which they could use in various situations, and the right for workers to discuss policy on the shop floor. If these demands are met, the workers will acquire stronger positions in the fight against capitalism.

Alvaro Delgado dealt with a number of specific features of the struggle for democracy in countries dependent on imperialism. In Latin America, he said, democracy is usually identified with the capitalist system, especially with the political regime of the United States. The model of civil liberties spread by the anti-colonial movement in the United States was accepted by all the leaders of liberation revolutions in Latin America in the early 19th century. Its concepts are still popular in political and economic writings. Some leaders still praise the U.S. way of life, as if it was the anti-colonial democracy in the United States during the 1775-83 war, when it did, in fact, exist.

Delgado showed that this attitude was wrong and added that once capital has put through the bourgeois revolution it has no need to seek new revolutions. On the contrary, it tries to prevent them and to set up bourgeois-democratic forms and institutions designed to paralyze any social change. The working people regard bourgeois democracy as a constant sphere of struggle and also as an instrument capable of extending their class potentialities and helping them to win new rights. In the dependent countries, he stressed, this struggle runs a course that is different from that in the citadels of capital. In the former, the distortion of the economic structure caused by imperialism results in greater restrictions on bourgeois democracy, including its total elimination in practice, despite the fact that imperialism, neo-fascism and racism use bourgeois-democratic catchwords.

Kemal Kervan said that there was no clear-cut dividing line between bourgeois democracy and reaction, and noted that although Turkey does have formal parliamentary democracy, with elections and the activity of many parties, the ruling class can no longer maintain its power without the overt use of bloodshed, without anti-democratic laws and without a state of emergency. Turkey is Europe's last country in which the Communist Party is still banned. The immediate task in Turkey is a democratic revolution of an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-feudal character. We in Turkey, Kervan said, call this revolution a 'progressive-democratic revolution.'

In this context, he considered the potentialities of bourgeois reformism, which he believed to be very limited, because the ruling class did not have an adequate material basis for maintaining its influence. The way of reforms alone, that is, a way which does not entail a change in the class character of power, does not lead very far, since 'democratization' on the basis of bourgeois reforms leads to a dead-end.

Bourgeois reformism in developing countries, *Jose Lava* said in continuing the discussion of this problem, protecting its own class interests and, balancing between the contradictory pressures of the reactionary classes and foreign monopoly, on the one hand, and of the organized working people, led by the revolutionary vanguard parties, on the other, has formulated a classless concept of the state allegedly obliged to balance the interests of an-

tagonistic classes through a 'revolution from the center.' But the working people and their mass organizations are still prevented from participation in policy-making, even in the implementation of government policies and decisions affecting them. This gives broad opportunities to the diehard opponents of social and economic transformations to sabotage and delay the much needed reforms. As a result, bourgeois-reformist governments lose credibility among the masses of workers and peasants and become easy targets of destabilization. Progressive socio-economic reforms, *Lava* emphasized, can be implemented only if the working people, led by revolutionary vanguards, intensify the class struggle.

Speakers at the conference also noted the futility of social-democracy in the newly-liberated countries. Some sections of European social-democracy, *Essop Pahad* said, have been actively preaching the concept of 'democratic socialism,' as an alternative to scientific socialism. High-minded phrases such as freedom, equality, justice and solidarity, are assiduously propagated in order to attempt to distort and, if possible, break the natural and indispensable alliance of the socialist-oriented countries and the socialist community, and to divert the revolutionary forces in Africa from Marxism-Leninism. Here two questions come immediately to the fore: democracy and freedom for whom? For which class? There can never be equality between the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed, the perpetrators of the crimes of racism and its victims. Concepts such as freedom, democracy and equality are filled with real living content if they contribute to overcoming the legacy of colonialism, economic and social backwardness, poverty, disease, hunger and ignorance.

Considering some methodological aspects of the theory of revolution, *Girgin Girginov* stressed that a genuine social revolution is immanently democratic. At the same time, democracy is one of the chief issues in a social revolution, its condition, instrument, method and, in a sense, its goal, because it ensures the utmost unfolding of the revolutionary creativity of the masses. The interdependence of revolution and democracy also consists in the fact that the type of democracy depends on the type of revolution with which it is connected. Socialist democracy emerged and developed precisely because bourgeois democracy could not and cannot solve the vital problems of social progress.

The dialectics of the revolutionary and the democratic, Girginov went on, characterizes not only the objective, but also the subjective aspect of social progress, the type of consciousness which adequately reflects it while simultaneously being an active factor in stimulating it. Such is the dialectico-materialist consciousness, in which the revolutionary and the democratic interpenetrate each other, constituting a dialectical unity. Truly scientific thinking is in essence revolutionary, because it does not recognize any final truths and requires of the scientist a creative and innovative approach to any problem. On the other hand, scientific thinking is intrinsically in need of democracy, because any new idea makes headway in struggle with the old, the conservative, and only in a democratic atmosphere, which ensures the free contest of ideas and arguments which science requires. Scientific thinking can materialize in revolutionary practice only if the laws of democracy are observed.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

The world on the threshold of the third millennium: myth and reality

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What will the world be like on the eve of the third millennium? That is a question which confronts mankind today for a very good reason, and not only because the start of a new millennium is a major milestone, for it induces the psychological desire to look into the future. The accelerating processes of socio-economic and cultural development, which are highly impressive in the socialist countries advancing along the road to communism, and the successes and new problems in the struggle of the revolutionary forces, on the one hand, and the crisis upheavals in the capitalist world, the danger of more calamities for the working people, the growing number of unsolved social problems and the sharpening of political contradictions, on the other — all of this most forcefully stimulates the effort to comprehend the prospects before human society.

Mankind's historical development has now reached a stage beyond which the further acceleration of the rates of industrial and scientific-technical progress is becoming dangerous without the appropriate social and humanistic direction, without a clear-cut understanding of the consequences it may have. Less than ever before in its history can mankind afford to err.

Awareness of the dangers which scientific cognition has brought out through an analysis of the current trends in world development has naturally

led to efforts to make it governable and to channel it along a perspective favorable to mankind. In this form, the potential future begins to exert an influence on the present by inducing a quest for new social guidelines, new meaningful goals and new solutions for old and new problems.

The future is a subject of constant concern for the communists of the whole world. The Marxist methodology requires a historical approach to the question 'not only in the sense of explaining the past, but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement' (V.I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 72). The anticipation of the actual prospects for the future now, in effect, becomes one of the necessary conditions for governing progress and even for ensuring mankind's continued existence. That is why prognostications relating to the next millennium have now become so important in world politics. For the same reason, the sphere of the future, the determination of its contours and ways toward it have become a key sphere of the socio-economic and ideological contest between socialism and capitalism. The communists regard it as one of the most pressing political and theoretical problems.

Consequently, it is not some abstract philosophical utopias that now matter (although these cannot be rejected out of hand) but the actually existing theoretical and socio-political problems which have a direct bearing on the main contradictions of our epoch. These problems are now being considered not only by futurologists,[1] but also by leading politicians and public figures, governmental organizations in some countries, UN agencies, etc.

President Carter[2] and Pope John-Paul II,[3] avowed advocates of capitalist business, and social reformists of every stripe, theorists and practitioners — all now look to the turn of the millennium in an effort to influence the solution of many important socio-economic, political, ideological and moral problems from the class stand which they uphold, and this is most frequently done not only in terms of national but also of global aspects relating to mankind as a whole. There is frequent emphasis on general 'global' humanistic ideas in accordance with which the need to change the 'human quality' is a prerequisite for all other social changes.[4] But in fact, this is in many cases a 'humanistic accompaniment' — naive and impracticable at first sight, but very practical and effective on analysis — of the basic topic of bourgeois-reformist futurology: a future-oriented apology for capitalist relations. This is most clearly evident in many social utopias concerning the year 2000 produced with the 'technocratic optimism' approach. This idea was staked out, among others, by a group of U.S. sociologists.[5] While pinning their hopes mainly on scientific and technical progress, the authors of this global prognostication characteristically allow only for some modifications of the capitalist society in the future and expect the whole world to travel in the wake of the United States, an idea also spelled out in another collective work.[6]

One cannot say, of course, that these prognostications do not contain any objectively motivated concrete facts that could be of interest to Marxists as well, but the general conclusions drawn by the bourgeois futurologists are identical with their class stand an designed to vindicate capitalism and consolidate it today and in the future.

Nor is the overall picture any different because some of them suggest some new methods which would make it possible to fit capitalism into the perspective of the third millennium. Whatever is proposed (including reforms of the capitalist mechanism), the ultimate goal is to avoid the socialist alternative. The French sociologist Jacques Ellul says: 'What we have to do is to totally reconvert our financial, economic, and even technological system — but without setting up a socialist regime. Our aims can be achieved perfectly well under a semi-capitalist type of organization.'[7] Moreover, many authors of the above projects have no doubt as to what the fate of the capitalist society would be if their forecasts do not come true. 'The death knell of Western civilization is perhaps being sounded unless we can find a new sense of mission, purpose and reason.'[8]

However, only fully committed bourgeois futurologists consider the need for rescuing capitalism so openly. The global prognostications contained in the reports of the Club of Rome produced under UN auspices by Nobel Prize Winner Wasily Leontief of the United States and a group of authors[9] are on the whole much more critical with respect to the future of capitalism and its present-day contradictions.

The capactity of capitalism to create dangers that are global in scale and character has now become important and, for the masses at large, convincing evidence that it has no historical prospects and is doomed. The very existence of that system presents a global danger today. The state-monopoly regulation of the economy has not changed the spontaneous and anarchic character of capitalist progress.

While rejecting bourgeois-reformist futurological myths, the Marxists have given a positive, scientific answer to the question of mankind's perspectives, and not only in general terms, proceeding from data on universal historical development, but also quite specifically, taking into account the novelty of the existing situation and the importance of solving global problems in the context of mankind's advance toward socialism and communism, of the working people's struggle against imperialism. But, being realists who rule out the possibility of violently prodding and accelerating revolutions, Marxists believe that their overall strategic goal, far from excluding, presupposes a search for solutions relating to the future of mankind and its development under peaceful coexistence, on the basis of cooperation between countries belonging to the different social systems, socialism and capitalism. Only in the light of this reality and this perspective is it apparently possible to structure models of the future and make concrete prognostications concerning the world on the threshold of the third millennium.

Of substantial importance here is the methodology of global modelling put forward by the Marxists, which includes the complex, systemic approach to the object of analysis, taking into account its change and development in the concrete historical context of our epoch through contradictions, through a struggle of opposites. The Marxist methodology orients researchers upon an analysis of the dialectics of the general and the particular, the international (and in this sense, global) and the national, the human and class aspects of the world's development at the turn of the millennium. In contrast to the 'projections of the future' with the use of bourgeois methodology, which is in many instances confined to an arbitrary selection of some parameters, regardless of the degree of their importance, the Marxist methodology accentuates a hierarchic subordination of the global parameters and problems, depending on the causal nexus between them in actual life, and on their acerbity and priority rating.

In this sense, we can bring out some groups of global problems, the character and forms of whose solution will apparently determine the face of the world at the turn of the millennium. These groups of problems are connected both with relations between the main social entities of mankind today (socio-economic systems, and their constituent states, classes, nations, etc.) and with the man-nature, man-society relations.

It goes without saying that in this context *the problem of war and peace* is the key one. Because the solution of the whole complex of global problems requires the concerted efforts of mankind as a whole, a climate needs to be created on the globe to make this possible. There is only one way to do this: continuation of détente, an end to the arms race, disarmament, abandonment of war as a means of solving international problems. Without risking an overstatement, one could say that a return to confrontation and cold war, of which the imperialist hawks are dreaming, would be doubly perilous: it would sharply increase the danger of war and at the same time lead to a substantial exacerbation of all global problems.

There must be an end to the arms race, disarmament and a deepening of détente in order to take the edge off the global problems for yet another reason. After all, even a partial easing of these problems, which is theoretically feasible by the turn of the millennium, calls for tremendous material and intellectual resources. And the only realistic way to obtain these is to halt the arms race and go on to disarmament, for this will also help to ease a number of social problems now facing the working people in the capitalist countries. Today, the preparation of war diverts vast resources from the implementation of social programs vital for the masses, and from the effort to raise living standards. The arguments of the bourgeoisie's ideologues, who claim that the arms race helps to provide jobs, ultimately prove to be hollow. Even bourgeois economists now have to admit that military appropriations create considerably fewer jobs than similar-size investments into the civilian sectors of the economy.

Thus, peace and disarmament are an imperative of our epoch and a condition for human progress, in the third millennium as well. Socialism is in the van of the struggle for peace and disarmament because, as Lenin emphasized, these are its ideal. Only in the past several years, the socialist countries launched many important peace initiatives aimed to end the arms race and start on practical disarmament on a regional and world scale. Practically all the current talks on disarmament problems have been initiated by the socialist countries. SALT-II, together with a protocol to the treaty and other pertinent documents were signed in Vienna on June 18, 1979, by the USSR and the United States. The complete implementation of its provisions would open up fresh potentialities for ending the build-up of nuclear-missile stockpiles, and ensuring their effective quantitative and qualitative limitation. The solution of this problem would, for its part, pave the way for a substantial reduction in armaments and realization of the supreme goal: a complete halt to the production of nuclear weapons and elimination of their stockpiles. That would be a major contribution to ensuring a peaceful and safe future for the whole of mankind.

Advance toward the solution of this chief and basic global problem is largely determined, as we have seen, by the actual successes of socialism, which over the long term will play an ever more decisive role in world development. That is why, as the final document of the meeting of CC secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties of socialist countries in Berlin from July 3 to 5, 1979, emphasized, 'it is important broadly to inform the public of the socialist-community countries' peace initiatives and their growing contribution to the solution of the global problems facing mankind today.' The advantages of socialism will exert a growing influence on the outcome of its historical contest with capitalism, and the growth in depth and breadth of the world revolutionary process and the national-liberation struggle. With this is substantially connected the overall socio-economic development of the world on the threshold of the third millennium, notably the gradual *bridging of the gap between developed and developing countries*. And that is yet another key global problem facing mankind in its historical development over the long term. Unfortunately, instead of becoming less acute, this problem tends to sharpen as the world advances to the third millennium. The economic, social and cultural trends in the world widen the gap between the living standards and way of life of the various parts of mankind. A slowdown in the rise of living standards and the level of well-being in developing countries, which lag behind the developed capitalist countries, is a trend that will remain in the foreseeable future. Similarly, the movement of large masses of the population in developing countries from the traditional to the modern urban way of life will entail high social

costs (growing unemployment, poverty, inhuman and hazardous living conditions).

The dangerous and noxious influence of capitalism results in a crisis sharpening of the whole complex of global problems in our day. Of course, the various global problems confront the developed capitalist and the developing countries taking the capitalist road with a different degree of acuteness. But there is close interaction and interdependence between them, and this stems from the general principles of the world capitalist economy, which has a constant tendency toward instability, and is permanently fraught with crisis recessions, despite all the artificial measures taken in the recent period to avoid them. Hence the pessimism that constantly accompanies even those forecasts which are designed to produce confidence in the future of capitalist society.

This is most evident, for instance, in the forecasting of growth rates for the world capitalist economy. Over the next two decades further convulsions, and ever greater complications await the capitalist economy. Among the reasons for the slowdown in its growth rates is the reduction in the rate of profit in view of the rising prices of energy resources, notably oil. This confronts the capitalist world with a most acute problem, and there is no end to the flights of fancy for its solution. But if the capitalist mode of production continues to undermine the very basis of mankind's existence, nothing can be done in this matter even with the most runaway imagination and the boldest and scientifically and technologically sound projects. That is why the problem of labor and employment will become ever more acute, and unemployment will continue to grow. Nor is there an end in sight for the dehumanization of the bourgeois way of life despite the efforts of 'social engineering' in capitalist society. Man's growing alienation, spiritual emptiness and the crisis of social ideals, all these are natural features of the bourgeois way of life which exclude capitalism as a prospect for mankind's way of life, although the bourgeois propaganda machine has been claiming that it does present such a prospect, tantalizing the developing nations with the high living standards attained in the industrial countries, above all as a result of the long exploitation of these selfsame nations.

In this situation, the socialist mode of production and way of life increasingly come to the fore as the prospect before mankind. Of all the present-day socio-economic systems socialism alone effectively solves the problem of employment, and creates real guarantees for everyone's right to work. Similarly, socialism is the only system under which the change in the structure and content of labor brought about by the scientific and technological revolution does not prejudice the working people, because the problem of humanizing labor is being solved, because labor is being converted into a sphere of man's creative development. This trend is a stable one, and it will apparently exert a growing influence on the overall processes of world development on the threshold of the third millennium. That is why it is wrong to say, as the bourgeois prophets do, that we are witnessing a general crisis of industrialism, a crisis which obliterates the boundaries between capitalism and Soviet-type communism.[10] On the contrary, as the socialist world steadily develops (naturally, not without its own contradictions and difficulties) the basic human and social problems, some of which have become truly global, are being tackled with increasing success.

The second group of global problems includes those which arise in man's relations with nature. Over the long term some will be even more acute for the whole of mankind. Others affect only some nations, although in the long term they also substantially affect the life of mankind as a whole, and on how they are solved depend the relations between the various parts of mankind on which they have a different impact.

The problem of natural resources. The world economy's steadily growing requirements in natural resources and mineral raw materials makes it necessary seriously consider to what extent the depletion of the proved and available resources is possible over the next few decades. This prospect can be put off through the elaboration and application of new materials from poorer sources which are more difficult to reach and are not economically workable today; through rational and thrifty use of natural resources in production and through the development of more efficient technological methods of extraction and processing, and the development of recycling. The uneven distribution of natural resources between countries in a situation where rich, accessible and economically workable deposits are diminishing in developed capitalist countries can bring about dangerous international conflicts. The capitalist — developed and developing — countries already engage in heated debates over both resources of a universal nature (continental shelf, the ocean) and the wealth coming under the national sovereignty of the developing countries. The dangers here can be averted only by structuring relations among all nations on a democratic basis.

The energy problem. Mankind's energy requirements have not been diminishing. On the contrary, in the perspective of the third millennium, they are expected to grow both in absolute and in relative terms, in terms of per head of the population. However, with the existing technological methods energy resources accessible for extraction and use are close to depletion (especially oil deposits). The energy problem has become a real nightmare for the developed capitalist countries, the United States in the first place. Take the Club of Rome report published at the end of 1978 under the title *Energy: The Countdown*, which says that the energy crisis holds the same danger for mankind as atomic war. There is an intensive quest for a solution of this problem, notably through a change in the energy balance, with a reduction in the share of oil and gas, and an increase in that of coal and other types of energy: atomic, electrical, etc. New energy-technology projects are being studied, but most of the promising

methods, far from being ready for industrial use, have yet to be completed in scientific terms. Solution of the energy problem will call for considerable efforts on the part of mankind, and here socialism is once again in the forefront.[11]

Meanwhile, capitalism blocks any optimal solution of this problem. This will be seen, in particular, from the outcome of the conference of the heads of seven major capitalist countries in Tokyo on June 28 and 29, 1979, where a fresh attempt was made to join efforts in overcoming the energy crisis not so much through the use of internal resources as the continued neo-colonialist exploitation of developing countries. It is quite clear that any project envisaging, for instance, a 'solution' of the energy problem with the use of force and the forcible takeover of resources belonging to other countries have to be ruled out: after all, this is a sure road to armed conflict. Those are the kind of 'solutions' now being mooted by some circles in the United States, where a task force is being built up for operations to take over, say, Arab oil.

Environmental problems. Pollution of the environment, disruption of ecosystems, and extermination of many plant and animal species have reached menacing proportions. The growing impact on nature and the use of new technological schemes (with ever more dangerous consequences for the environment) could have disastrous effects. Negative anthropogenic influence holds out the prospect of a disruption of the basic cycles of nature, and the restorative capacity of the biosphere and its individual elements. What makes the prospect of removing the danger of an ecological crisis even more difficult is that every measure for the protection of nature requires high investments, which do not yield immediate economic returns, while their broad application will call for a remodelling of the whole structure of the economy.

This is not an easy problem for socialism either. But under capitalism it is assuming disastrous proportions despite the fact that much more money is now going into the protection of the environment.

The food problem. Rapid population growth in the developing countries has run ahead of the production of foodstuffs. Meanwhile, the potentialities of traditional farming have been virtually exhausted. This is also a dangerous trend holding out the prospect of starvation over a sizable part of the globe. The population of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America can be provided with food only through a complex of socio-economic measures combined with the introduction of new agrotechnology, etc. The experiements already staged here show very well that the food problem cannot be solved by any 'green revolution' without a substantial change in the socio-economic structures.

The population problem. Over the past decades, there has been a radical change in the conditions of mankind's demographic existence. They will continue to change as it moves to the year 2000. The scale and importance of these changes have yet to be fully understood by scientific thought and public opinion. Meanwhile, every year brings out more and more new links between the economic, sociopolitical and cultural development of various countries, and demographic problems. While rejecting Malthusianism, many scientists now advocate an active and effective demographic policy, and conscious governance of demographic processes. They stress that such a policy, although it does involve some limitations, should not demean human dignity. It goes without saying that of crucial importance here is not only the form in which an active demographic policy is pursued but also its connection with the overall processes of socio-economic development. This is determined by the specific features of the social order in this or that country, its dominant ideology, traditions, etc. An organic combination of the scientific and humanistic approach in demographic policy is achieved under socialism, which here again blazes a new trail into the future for the whole of mankind.

The problem of health. The changing way of life under the impact of the scientific and technical revolution is having some unfavorable influence on human health. There is a spread of so-called civilization diseases. Despite the substantial advances in medicine and public health, these diseases present a definite danger now and in the future. If they are to be overcome, there is a need not only to develop medical science and public-health practice, but also to put through a whole complex of social measures, which are unfeasible under capitalism.

Meanwhile, the necessary hygienic standards have yet to be attained in the developing countries, and there are epidemics of cholera, the plague and other dangerous diseases. The developing countries cannot eliminate these dangerous phenomena on their own because of their backwardness, which stems from colonial exploitation and also from neo-colonialism which, in effect, tends to conserve the old social ills.

The third group of problems which determine mankind's perspectives includes those in science, culture and education. What are the trends mankind has to face in this field on the threshold of the third millennium?

Problems of scientific and technical progress. In the epoch of the scientific and technical revolution, ungoverned scientific and technical progress becomes a source of many grave problems. Of course, science continues to play its positive social role, opening up before mankind fresh knowledge and possible ways of using it in production. But unfavorable trends also tend to grow out of scientific and technical progress and to engender dangerous prospects. The most dangerous of these are the imbalances caused by the arms race (as a result of which scientific and technological progress tends to increase the danger of war) and by the growing gap in the scientific and technical development of various countries and regions, which goes to compound the existing inequalities in their development. These STR trends are rooted in capitalism. Conversely, the governance of scientific and technical progress under socialism designed to eliminate

its dangerous contradictions, and the new social guidelines for scientific and technical progress put forward by socialist society, together make it possible to link the positive prospects of scientific and technical progress with the socialist way of development.

Problems of culture. In this area, grave crises now tend to arise in view of the ever greater divergence of the 'two cultures' — the scientific and the aesthetic — although there is also a growing conviction that they could converge in an ideal harmony of science and art. Another conflict is more obvious. It is the conflict between élitist and so-called mass culture, which in the developed capitalist countries is usually an ersatz of culture. The growing gap between the two types of culture — the culture for the ruling élite, and the ersatz for the masses — is undoubtedly an acute social problem. Under socialism, there is no such division of culture by class, and this designates the determining trend in its development on the threshold of the third millennium.

Problems of education. In connection with the so-called information explosion (the sharp increase under the scientific and technical revolution both of the volume of generated information and the volume of information required to socialize the individual and provide him with educational and cultural training) some futurologists have suggested that the traditional forms of education are in crisis. There is a quest for new forms and methods of instruction, new guidelines are being laid down for education (development of creative thinking instead of unproductive learning by rote, limits to initial and basic knowledge, because of the impossibility of further extending curricula, etc.). These most complicated tasks will be tackled over the next two decades, although it is highly unlikely that optimal and final solutions for them will be found in that period.

Meanwhile there is still a high level of illiteracy in the developing countries, and also among the exploited classes in the developed capitalist countries. Mankind will evidently enter upon the third millennium with many millions of illiterates and semi-literates. In contrast to the problem of new forms of education, this problem is undoubtedly of social origin and is connected with the social inequality existing in the non-socialist zone of the world. The experience of existing socialism shows that illiteracy can be wiped out in social conditions which rule out inequality and man's exploitation of man. This means that in this field as well mankind's perspectives are identical with those of socialism and communism.

This makes all the more obvious the general conclusion that transition to a communist civilization will help to rescue human civilization itself; the advance toward socialism and communism is the condition for even greater scientific and technical achievements glorifying human reason and investing scientific and technical progress with a humanistic tenor. A communist future for the whole of mankind is the triumph of man as history's 'end-in-itself,' and complete realization of all his 'substantial powers' (Karl Marx).

The problem of man and his future, his adaptation to new social and ecological conditions, and free and all-round development in the perspective of the third millennium is now, for that reason, a global problem which focusses and magnifies all the other global problems. While capitalism jeopardizes and distorts man's development, the perspective of socialism and communism opens up fresh potentialities for man's spiritual and physical improvement.

Solution of the world problems facing mankind on the threshold of the third millennium has exerted and will continue to exert an ever growing influence on international affairs. Of course, the solution of global problems is not merely an international question. It is organically woven into the fabric of the present-day class struggle in the capitalist world, the contest between the two social systems — capitalism and socialism — and the socialist countries' internal social and economic policies. That is why the communist and workers' parties have given ever greater attention to these matters, formulating concrete problems for their practical solution for the benefit of the working people of their countries and for the whole of mankind.[12]

The solution of global problems also depends on the efforts of the national states, governments and peoples of the individual countries, on their urge to reckon with these problems when working out various aspects of their development strategy. But the coordination of the these efforts and the most effective merging of mankind's economic and scientific potentialities are possible only on the basis of international cooperation.

Under the influence of the need for cooperation in tackling global problems there is ever greater internationalization of mankind's life, which proceeds with the internationalization of its economic and cultural development, etc. In the long term, the internationalization of mankind's life will become a necessary condition for the further development of human civilization.

The communists regard the internationalization of mankind's life as a positive process. At the same time, they reckon with the fact that although the objective trends in world development ever more frequently compel a reappraisal of the principles of international relations to meet the requirements of social progress, and of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, the forces of imperialism and reaction try to impose on mankind a strategy for overcoming global contradictions that would open up the prospect for capitalist internationalization, and the harnessing of all of mankind's productive forces to imperialism. The communists have been fighting this dangerous trend because it distorts the actual direction of mankind's development, produces false perspectives and deepens, instead of solving, actual problems.

In the restructuring of international relations required for solving the problems facing mankind,

existing socialism will undoubtedly have an ever growing role to play. Leonid Brezhnev said: 'The internal development of the socialist part of the world and its approach to international relations set a good example of how best to solve the big problems facing mankind. But, of course, it cannot solve these for the whole of mankind. This requires purposeful efforts by the people of every country, extensive and constructive cooperation among all countries and nations. The Soviet Union is fully committed to such cooperation. A closer look will show that that is the content of the foreign-policy line which we call the line of peaceful coexistence.' The struggle to establish this line in international life and for a responsible approach to observing its new norms is one of the key tasks of our day. It will remain central and definitive throughout the whole of the world's development toward the third millennium, and on this above all are pinned mankind's hope for the future.

1. The futurological boom over the oncoming millennium which broke out in the West in the 60s, especially with the publication of H. Kahn and A. Wiener's book, *The Year 2000* (New York, 1967) and a collection of papers edited by Daniel Bell, *Toward the Year 2000* (Boston, 1968) has been snowballing. Since 1974 there has been a World Federation of Studies of the Future, of which 15 futurological organizations are members. An international research center, Mankind in the Year 2000, has been set up, while the international non-governmental Club of Rome has published some widely circulated reports mainly on global problems.

2. See, for instance, his recent message to Congress on his Administration's policy on science and technology for the future (the 80s and beyond).

3. In his very first encyclical *Redemptor Hominis*, the Pope spoke of global problems today and in the year 2000.

4. A. Peccei. *The Human Quality*, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1977. Press reports say a seventh Club of Rome report on the 'human dilemma' has been prepared in elaboration of these ideas.

5. H. Kahn, W. Brown, L. Martel. *The Next 2000 Years. A Scenario for America and the World*. New York, 1976.

6. *Europe 2000*. Ed. by P. Hall. London, 1977.

7. *Images of the Future: the Twenty-First Century and Beyond*. Ed. R. Bundy. New York, 1976, p. 32.

8. Ibid., p.3.

9. W. Leontief. *The Future of the World Economy*. New York, 1976.

10. A. Toffler. 'The Ecospasm,' *Report*, No. 7, 1975.

11. See A. Alexandrov. 'Scientific and technological progress and nuclear power engineering.' *WMR*, June 1979.

12. These problems have been dealt with in the following issues of *WMR*: No. 6 for 1972, No. 11 for 1975, No. 4 for 1977, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8 and 10 for 1978, and Nos. 4 and 6 for 1979.

Economic policy: communist alternative

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE

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Complete mastery of economic theory and an ability to produce a realistic and profoundly argumented economic program are an indispensable condition of effective political struggle by the communists for the interests of the working class and the popular masses. Such is the lesson of our party's long experience. This has been especially true since the tragic events of July 1974, when we in Cyprus faced a situation requiring not only urgent efforts to raise the economy and the working people's living and cultural standards, but also to build up a powerful economic front serving as the basis for our political struggle. In May 1975, AKEL made public, ahead of all the other forces in Cyprus and the government itself, its emergency economic plan to bring about a swing in economic polity. Our party's Central Committee recently worked out and published its proposals on the third emergency plan for economic activity (1979-81). The communists believe that this plan should be keynoted by 'acceleration within the available potentialities of the rate of development to bring about a substantial and stable rise in the living standards of the working people, and of the whole nation.'

A non-ruling Marxist-Leninist party, AKEL has worked out an economic policy centering on the working people's interests and the needs of the Cypriots' liberation, anti-imperialist struggle. Two aspects of this policy — the internal and the external — are analyzed here.

Our party has put forward the central demand for broad state intervention in the country's economy and the establishment of a powerful public sector. AKEL has always regarded such intervention as the most important prerequisite for developing and democratizing the economy. We are convinced that this is the right approach not only by the extensive international experience (let us recall that a public sector has been established in many developing countries, notably those taking the socialist orientation, in order to accelerate economic growth, overcome economic backwardness and check the private-property element), but also the experience of Cyprus itself, especially in the light of the conditions which took shape after the tragic events of 1974. The state can and must influence economic life actively by direct investments or through a financial and social policy, and, of course, through the nationalization of various enterprises and services. Such economic development is needed not only to promote economic growth and increase the national income, but also to benefit all working people, so as to raise their material and cultural standards.

AKEL believes that the establishment of state en-

terprises in industry and in the services can help to overcome the difficulties facing our economy, to stimulate its development and make it more dynamic. The extent to which these measures have matured will be seen from the refusal of private entrepreneurs to invest in some sectors of the economy (as the government itself has admitted). This is not surprising at all. After all, the main thing for a capitalist is not what happens to nationally important sectors, but where he can obtain the highest rate of profit. But instead of making state investments, the government has continued to provide private capital with opportunities for making large profits.

The communists do not agree with this practice, and want the establishment of a public sector in which investments will not be made for the sake of higher profits, but to meet the requirements of the country and the people, and to advance the whole of the economy. Of course, state enterprises should pay their way, but not in the capitalist sense, because for the capitalist profitability and profit are virtually the same thing.

Nor can one accept the assertions of opponents of the public sector that the absence of any personal stake among exeuctives of state enterprises (because the latter do not belong to them) will not only dampen their initiative but also have a negative effect on the productivity on these economic units.

First of all, it is wrong to say that there will be no personal material and moral incentives at state enterprises. There is any amount of room for initiative at such enterprises because they operate on the basis of an independent economic calculus. Moreover, they provide better opportunities for harmonizing concrete production interests (including those of thee producers themselves) and the broader social interests, without allowing the two to clash. The state organization of production also helps to bring group and personal interests into harmony with social interests. Does private initiative or a narrowly viewed personal stake (which is in effect the striving for profit) actually provide such a harmonization of personal or private interests with social interests? It does not. It is, in fact, the constant clash between private and social interests that engenders the crises shaking contemporary capitalism and individual capitalist enterprises. The much-vaunted private initiative is absolutely incapable in our day of yielding the greatest results, as businessmen have always claimed since the origination of capitalism. In Cyprus, for instance, it is not private enterprises but cooperatives operating with the support of the state that are the most vigorous economically.

The establishment of state enterprises with a modern scientific organization means the formation of large economic units from whose existence society benefits. In contrast to the private sector, the public sector in industry and the services will be more stable, operating under a plan and on the basis of the governmnet's economic programs. Everyone in our country, including the ruling circles, admits the need for programming the economy as the key factor in bringing about an economic upswing. AKEL has proposed the establishment of state enterprises in the key sectors, and the appointment of a commission to work out and propose measures to establish control of mines, banks and insurance companies, including their nationalization, and so on.

But it would be wrong to assume that the very existence of a public sector economic development will give reasonable and realistic goals. Such development will become possible in our country if the government pursues its announced policy of creating a stable economy, and if the latter provides the basis for our political struggle and serves to improve the people's living conditions.

To secure this, the communist economic program proposes the introduction of public control of profits, prices, rent, social security and the quality of goods and services. Such control should be exercised through parliament and through the working people's involvement in the management of various organizations and enterprises, and the participation by the working people's mass organizations in mixed commissions on economic and social policy, on which the state, employers and trade unions are represented.

The government's financial and social policy, which is the basis on which the national income is redistributed, has a special role to play in economic life. AKEL believes that a fairer distribution of the national income is the primary task of economic policy in Cyprus. If it is to benefit the working people, the party believes that the following measures should be taken:

wages should be increased as the economy develops and labor productivity grows;

the incomes of the peasants, middle sections and all the other working people should be increased;

the entire tax policy should be reviewed, with special emphasis on changing the income-tax law, new forms of taxation should be introduced to increase taxes on the incomes of the wealthy classes, taxes on luxuries should be increased, and indirect taxes on consumer goods reduced;

the grave housing problem has to be solved, and control established over rent and charges for the use of production premises;

the burning problem of debts and interest indebtedness of persons who have left the areas occupied by the Turkish army and who have suffered from the occupation needs to be solved;

social security must be improved and further developed. This calls for an appropriate system of social insurance and an increase in pensions and aids to a point at which they would meet the present conditions in the country and international conventions, and introduction of free and universal secondary education and state medical services.

Finally, let me add that AKEL does not regard economic development or its proposals in this area outside the context of the overall socio-political situation. The latter must help to create the conditions for genuinely free development of the country's economy. In a speech in parliament, AKEL

General Secretary Exekias Papaioannou singled out, as important steps in this direction, a purge of the state apparatus and the security organs, democratization of political and social life, an end to discrimination against the left-wing forces, and a fresh rapprochement between Greeks and Turks on the island.

I have dealt with only the burning problems of Cyprus's internal economic development, where the communists' views help to gain a better understanding of the general line and philiosophy of our party's economic policy. Equally indicative in this respect is AKEL's line on foreign-trade policy, especially that part of it which pertains to Cyprus's ties with the European Economic Community (since 1972, our country has been associated with the EEC).

In a speech in parliament, Dinos Constantinou, AKEL's Central Organizing Secretary, emphasized: 'Life itself has shown how right AKEL was in opposing Cyprus's association with the EEC in 1972. At the time, the party already saw where the country would be taken and what consequences this would have for its economy.' The communists criticized, in particular, the article of the EEC association agreement which provided for a 15 per cent reduction in tariffs on imports from that group of countries and said that this would cut state revenues from import tariffs and have a negative effect on the country's industry. AKEL believes that instead of association with the EEC there was a need to work for a trade agreement, as other Mediterranean countries have done.

As then, so today, the communists resolutely oppose the country's association with the EEC, for it creates insuperable barriers to the development of our trade and the whole of our economy, to say nothing of the proposed entry into the Community, a step that would plunge Cyprus into an economic crisis and be a political stab in the back for the country. Operating through the EEC, first with economic and then with political methods, the imperialist circles would then go on to 'NATOize' the island, gradually establishing full control of it. Today, the EEC is the chief and most dangerous instrument for economic and political penetration by imperialism facing the Cypriots.

Furthermore, our party has repeatedly pointed out, on the strength of concrete examples and figures, that association with the EEC tends gradually to isolate us from other countries, both economically and politically. In the most trying period (1975-76), The EEC countries cut back their imports from the island. They also put forward humiliating conditions for the country's transition to the second stage of association, and official Cyprus accepted these.

Today, after several years of ties with the EEC, it is safe to say that even at the first, trial stage (1972-77) association has had an unfavorable effect on the country's trade with third countries. The recent negotiations with the EEC show that, first, the conditions of the present, second stage of association have worsened; second, Cyprus will not obtain the concessions provided for by the EEC's Mediterranean policy; and third, our trade with other countries will be further hampered as association is completed. It means intensified 'import' of all the vices of capitalist society and is fraught with witting or unwitting participation in elaborationg and implementing an anti-popular, counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist policy on a national and European scale. But international monopoly capital wants more. Guided mainly by political considerations and seeking to exert pressure, the EEC has opposed Cyprus's transition to the second stage of association. It has also revoked its 1972 commitment to give our country economic and technical assistance.

Many ask: what are we to do in this situation? The bourgeoisie has no hesitation in saying: 'Join the EEC in order to maintain our democratic (i.e. capitalist — *N.K.*) system.' That is these circles' chief argument in favor of entry. The communists take a fundamentally different stand. We say: *Our trade policy should be brought into accord with the foreign policy on non-alignment pursued by the state.*

What does this mean? It means, first of all, that we have to maintain and develop trade relations with all the countries of the world, and see to it that our ties with the EEC should not assume a form that would hamper such a policy. Guided by these considerations, our party has proposed the abrogation of the association agreement and negotiations on the conclusion of a trade agreement.

Nor should the political aspect of the problem be forgotten. It is hardly right to give most-favored-nation treatment in trade to states resisting the Cypriots' struggle. Cyprus' foreign-trade policy should be oriented on countries which, while being advantageous trade partners, also actively support our people's struggle. This means the non-aligned states and, especially, the socialist-community countries led by the Soviet Union.

The main planks of our economic program, especially on state intervention in the economy and re-orientation of our trade policy, reflect the interests of the working classes. These are not 'propaganda slogans,' as our economic demands are described by the bourgeoisie and those who serve it. AKEL is a people's party, a party of Greek and Turkish working people. When formulating its economic policy, it regards the *advance of the Cypriot people's liberation struggle and the raising of their material and cultural standards as its main goal.*

Let me emphasize that the Cypriot communists' economic program is a unifying one, and this explains its importance for the unity of the progressive, patriotic and anti-imperialist forces. For many years, the Cypriots have been fighting fascism and imperialism, and this calls for the closest unity of the people. This goal is promoted by AKEL's economic policy, which is an integral part of its Marxist-Leninist policy. The latter starts from the need for advancing the anti-imperialist, liberation, anti-occupation struggle by our people to the ut-

most and for defending the genuine class interests of the working people of Cyprus. This policy is closely connected also with the interests of the international working-class and communist movement, and with the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle of all the nations.

HALT THE INFLATION GALLOP

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Ungovernable inflation is today a distinctive feature of the capitalist world economy. The inflation rate is particularly high in some countries, Israel among them. Whereas in the developed capitalist states the prices rose by an annual average of between 6 and 10 per cent in 1974-78, in Israel the inflation rate was approximately 40 per cent, while since 1976 it has been growing even faster, reaching the present astounding 60 per cent mark.

The classical mainspring (which was essentially the only one under pre-monopoly capitalism) of the inflationary rise of prices is the increase in the issue of paper money exceeding circulation requirements, which in turn is determined by the entire range of prices of offered goods and services with account of the turnover speed. This increase is usually linked to a state budget deficit due in large measure to the growth of military spending and to state financial support for capitalist enterprises. At the monopoly stage of capitalism this classical cause is compounded by the monopoly high prices of goods and services. The internationalization of inflationary processes in the capitalist world as a result of the activities of the multinationals is also a contributing factor. This activity is one of the principal elements behind the energy crisis, which the multinationals use as a means of steadily increasing their profits.

All the basic causes of inflation operate in Israel: the enormous military expenditures that maintain a chronic budget deficit and keep the state debt growing; the unceasing encouragement of private capital at the expense of the budget; the emergence of monopolies setting monopoly prices; the rising cost of fuel and primary materials; the import of inflation as a result of the inflow of U.S. dollars, whose purchasing power is dropping steadily, and so on. In Israel each of the inflation factors is more pronounced than elsewhere. As a result, the galloping inflation with all its ensuing consequences has acquired a structural character, in other words, it has become a phenomenon integrated into the Israeli economy.

Of the factors generating the swiftly mounting inflationary process, priority is unquestionably held by the militarization of the economy, which has become particularly pronounced since 1967. This aspect of the problem merits closer attention.

In terms of finance, militarization is expressed by the share of military expenditures in the budget and in military imports that have given Israel an unfavorable balance of international payments. Since 1967 direct military expenditures have been absorbing between 30 and 50 per cent of the Israeli budget; during the two years preceding the 1967 war they amounted to between 20 and 26 per cent.

A point to be stressed is that the total official military expenditures do not show the actual burden of militarization. The fact is that the huge spending on the arms race and on the occupation have brought a chronic deficit to the state budget. To offset this deficit the government is compelled to seek huge loans, both external and internal. But loans have to be repaid, and in order to determine the exact burden of militarization we must also take into account the amount of money that goes for the settlement of debts, including the payment of interest on these debts.

The latter expenses amounted to 19 per cent of the budget in 1976, 26 per cent in 1977, and 29 per cent in 1978. The share of the military expenditures (including the repayment of debts) in the budget amounted to 61 per cent in 1976, 66 per cent in 1977, and 65 per cent in 1978. As regards the import of military hardware and the role of these imports in the balance of payments deficit, the relevant statistics for the past five years are as follows.

Direct military imports and the deficit of Israel's balance of payments

	Direct military imports (U.S. $'000,000)	Current deficit (U.S. $'000,000)	Share of military imports in the deficit (%)
1974	1,225	3,397	36.1
1975	1,846	4,061	45.5
1976	1,496	3,316	45.1
1977	942	2,260	41.7
1978 (estimate)	1,630	3,184	51.2

Source: *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 1978, p. 198 State budget for 1979-80 (Parliamentary document).

Even according to official statistics military imports are the main cause of Israel's unfavorable balance of payments, and the share of these imports has been growing in recent years.

There have been several stages in the development of the inflationary 'function' of militarization in Israel since 1967. At the first of these stages, 1968-70, the annual growth rate of the cost of living did not exceed 11 per cent. The reason for this relatively 'slow' (as assessed in Israel) rate of growth was that at the time militarization was conducted under conditions when the Israeli economy was moving out of a cyclic crisis. On the other hand, the rapid growth of military orders to industry and the accelerated development of the military infrastructure allowed increasing the nation's production capacity and ensuring employment to practically the entire able-bodied population. The expansion of the domestic market coupled with the additional requirements of the population of the occupied Arab lands made it possible with relatively no pain, i.e., without any excessive growth of prices, to 'digest' the additional money placed in circulation by

the government and this helped to promote industry.

At the second stage of militarization (1971-73) the distinctive feature was that the possibility for expanding industry and construction had, in the main, been exhausted and the problem of financing the military budget grew acute. The government had to float more internal and external loans and, in addition, increase the tax burden in order to get the money to purchase armaments and military equipment, build strategic installations, and colonize occupied territories. During these years the inflation rate averaged nearly 15 per cent.

At the third stage (1974-77) militarization proceeded under conditions of an economic recession, a drastic decline of productive investments, and the swelling of the services industry. Industries linked to military production (for instance, metallurgy and electronics) continued to develop, but non-military industries began to lag behind. The economic recession reached its lowest ebb in 1977, when, compared with 1976, investments fell by 18 per cent in industry and by 22 per cent in housing construction. This was the period when the negative economic phenomena generated by continuous militarization were seen in particularly bold relief.

Inflation moved from the category of 'normal' (according to the yardstick in Israel) to that of galloping: consumer goods prices rose annually at an average rate of 36 per cent.

Second, dependence on external sources of financing budget expenditures (up to approximately 20 per cent according to official statistics) is growing sharply. Imports of capital, chiefly from the USA — largely for military purposes — annually amount to $2,000-$2,200 million.

Third, the rapid inflationary rise of prices has caused a considerable flow of capital from production to finances (mainly into share and bond speculation), trade, and services. Money and material wealth concentrated quickly in the hands of the finance tycoons. Bank profits (prior to the deduction of taxes) amounted to 3,400 million Israeli pounds in 1977,* as against 1,400 million in 1976, in other words, they grew by 143 per cent nominally and by 80 per cent in real terms in the course of a single year. Meanwhile, per capita real incomes dropped by 7 per cent in 1975-76 and recovered only by 4 per cent in 1977.

The fourth stage of militarization and inflation, which began soon after the Likud bloc came to power in June 1977, witnessed an exacerbation of all the negative economic phenomena of past years. There was a sharp growth particularly of direct military imports (from $1,100 million in 1977 to $1,600 million in 1978, i.e., by 45 per cent). To finance these imports the Likud government had to go into debt in 1978 in foreign currency to the tune of roughly $2,000 million, i.e., by 58 per cent more than in 1977. In 1978 the consumer goods price index rose by 46, while in terms of all prices it rose by as much as 55 points. The militarization of the budget and of the entire economy, which generated this growth, continued at a faster rate than ever, although investments in production again increased.

Essentially a socio-economic process reflecting the undermining of the credit-monetary system of modern capitalism, inflation (and its rates) is due in no small measure to the character of the redistribution of the national income by the capitalist state in the interests of a definite social class.

As everybody knows, the social effects of inflation are prejudicial to the working masses. As regards the capitalist entrepreneurs, the situation is not the same in all cases. On the one hand, the decline of real wages increases the profits of industrialists. But, at the same time, inflation leads to a shortage of loan capital and engenders instability in prices and marketing conditions, in other words, it is accompanied by certain, sometimes substantial, expenses. However, by controlling credits and also all sorts of deals involving shares, bonds, and foreign currency, finance capital uses inflation to make unparalleled super-profits.

Officially, the Likud government proclaims that in the socio-economic sphere its prime aim is to slow down inflation. Actually, however, it helps to speed up its rates by increasing allocations for military purposes, importing armaments, giving the capitalists generous tax benefits or entirely exempting them of taxes, and subsidizing private investors (21,000 million Israeli pounds in 1978), exporters (3,000 million Israeli pounds in 1978 and 5,000 million in 1979), and buyers of foreign currency. Further, the government is cutting its subsidies for prime necessities, thereby giving the green light for the rapid rise of the prices of these goods; it is increasing the size of all sorts of taxes from the population; it is going deeper into internal and foreign debt, whose repayment swallows nearly one-third of the budget; state regulation of some industries is being folded up with the resultant emergence of shortages of some goods and profiteering in these goods. In 21 months under the Likud government, from June 1977 to March 1979, the result of this policy was that the consumer price index rose by an astronomical 122 per cent.

There are grounds for believing that within the next few years the galloping inflation will have even more ruinous consequences in our country. The separate treaty with Egypt is by no means leading to a reduction of Israel's military expenditures: there has been no change in the impact of militarization on the inflation rate or on the structure of the budget and the economy. Hypocritically called a 'peace agreement,' the Carter-Begin-Sadat deal threatens world peace, the independence and security of Israel and other nations of our region, and the Israeli economy. Instead of strengthening Israel, the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the attempts to ignore the rights of the Arab people of Palestine will seriously weaken it politically, economically and socially.

*In April 1979 the exchange rate was U.S. $1=22 Israeli pounds.

The Communist Party of Israel is convinced that only a policy of genuine national independence, peace, and neutrality will safeguard the nation's security and help to resolve difficult economic and social problems. In February 1979 our party put forward a program for fighting inflation, normalizing the economy, and improving the working people's living standards.

In drawing up this program, our party proceeded from the premise that the galloping inflation has become a phenomenon that no longer depends on any stage of cyclic economic development. The facts indicate that the inflation rate grew in the period of economic recession (1974-77) and in the period of animated business activity that followed. Having commenced on the basis of the economy's deep-going structural anomaly, which, in its turn, was engendered by this prolonged militarization of the economy, inflation has acquired a sort of immunity to any deflationary measures that may be taken by the bourgeois government.

The program of the Communist Party of Israel is an effective alternative to the policy of the Begin government. It represents a spectrum of measures aimed at reshaping socio-economic policy fundamentally in the interests of the working class, of the broad masses, and, at the same time, offers a democratic platform of joint struggle by all progressive forces for the necessary transformations.

What are the basic elements of this program? It envisages changing the pattern of the state budget by substantially reducing military expenditures, which will become possible as a result of a policy directed toward the attainment of a just and durable peace founded on respect for the rights of the people of Israel and the Arab people of Palestine: an increase of state investments in vital industries and housing construction; a large cutback of subsidies to capitalists; a democratic reform of the tax system envisaging, in particular, a reduction of taxes on low incomes; effective price control; maintenance of a real level of wages and pensions by closely linking their nominal dimensions to the price index; control of monopolies; promotion of exports and stricter control of imports; enlargement of the public sector of the economy, nationalization of banks and insurance companies; full guarantee of the right to work.

Inflation can be stopped without giving rise to unemployment only by a socio-economic policy oriented on a reduction of non-productive spending, chiefly military spending, on democratic changes eroding the predominance of monopoly capital, on the utmost development of civilian branches of the economy, and on the prevention of any fall in the real incomes of the working people. Broad unity between the working class and all other democratic forces in the nation is needed for the implementation of this policy, which will save Israel from the threat of economic bankruptcy.

In brief

Angola

Another group of students has graduated from the national Party school of Angola. Over the past two years more than 2,200 persons have been trained in the national and seven provincial party schools; 40 per cent of the students come from the working class.

Congo

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor examined the question of renewing the party ranks and increasing their number by recruiting members from among the working people. It issued a communiqué emphasizing the importance of this question at the present stage of economic and socio-cultural construction, in a period in which the masses are being organized and mobilized to fulfill the decisions of the CPL Congress. It says that the numerical growth of the party ranks should go hand in hand with a qualitative selection of candidates, whose political consciousness and moral qualities need to be most scrupulously tested. Opportunists of every stripe and all those who seek to use membership in the ruling party for their selfish purposes will be denied admission to the CPL, the communiqué says.

Japan

The newspaper *Akahata* reports that a national conference of chairmen of the CPJ's prefectural and district committees has been held in the city of Atami. It discussed the task of organization, enlargement of the party's ranks, and greater activity by its members in the struggle for victory in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

Mozambique

A graduation ceremony has been held in the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique following the completion of courses for training ideological workers of the FRELIMO Party.

For six seeks, those attending the courses studied the history of the party, historical and dialectical materialism, and the documents and decisions of FRELIMO's Third Congress. They are now on their way to industrial enterprises, state farms and agricultural cooperatives.

Vietnam

From the beginning of this year 12,000 members of the Ho Chi Minh Young Communist League in Nge Chinh Province have received recommendations for membership of the Communist Party of Vietnam. This honor has been accorded to the finest young people with the best record of conscientious work and occupational training, and profound study of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the party's program and documents, and the decisions of its Fourth Congress.

the Party

Political leader of a collective

Petr Dyulgerov
CC Secretary, Bulgarian CP

At the stage of building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, the leading role of the Communist Party tends to grow. This is a law-governed process, but success in carrying out this role in every sector of production and sphere of social life largely depends on the cohesion of the party ranks, the vigor and efficiency of primary party organizations and every individual communist. That is why the BCP Central Committee shows great concern for strengthening and improving the activity of the primary organizations, the party's basic units.

The importance attaching to the primary organizations is also due to the fact that under socialism, work collectives (production, scientific, creative-arts and so on) are major units of society's economic, socio-political and intellectual life. In these collectives, the party's policy is carried out in practice, material and spiritual values are created, and new standards of individual behavior arise and take effect. Primary party organizations are an integral element of the work collectives, their political core. On January 1, 1978, the Bulgarian Communist Party had 29,000 primary organizations with 817,000 members. There is no factory, office, building project, village or neighborhood in Bulgaria without its own party unit, without any communists. Primary party organizations maintain the party's living bonds with the people, with the work collectives, and carry on day-to-day political, organizational, ideological and educational work among the working people.

Speaking at the 1975 National Conference in Veliko Tyrnovo, Todor Zhivkov noted the need to ensure that every 'party organization should truly feel itself to be the political core and, if one may put it this way, the political master of its workshop, factory, farming team, agro-industrial complex, scientific institute, office and so on.' At the National Party Conference in 1978, it was emphasized that the new guidelines for the socialist organization of labor and planned economic management tend to increase the role of primary party organizations as actual political headquarters and immediate leaders of the work collectives.

Primary party organizations have an active role in forming and implementing the party's policy in their own sectors, helping to set the main targets for the working people. They exercise direct political leadership in the work collectives.

Our ideological adversaries, especially right-wing revisionists, accuse the communist parties of the socialist countries of 'monopolizing' leadership in society, of substituting for and grossly interfering in the work of the other organs of social administration: state, economic, social, etc. They advocate the concept that the party should be removed from the direction of social processes and confined to the role of society's ideological force. The ultimate political goal of that anti-Marxist concept is to repudiate one of the basic general uniformities of socialist construction: the need for a Marxist-Leninist party's guidance of social transformations.

Our experience has fully confirmed the correctness and abiding importance of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the processes of socialist revolution and socialist construction unfold in accordance with basic uniformities, which inevitably manifest themselves in every country following the socialist road. Party leadership in every sphere of social life is the most important of these uniformities. At every stage of its development, our party has been doing its utmost to ensure the fullest and most correct realization of this uniformity.

Primary party organizations epitomize and express the party's essential features and social role: that of a well-organized vanguard of the working class, the highest form of its political organization, a vanguard closely connected with the working masses. By virtue of their objective status, primary party organizations direct, organize and educate the work collectives. But in contrast to economic and administrative bodies, they do not perform any direct functions of economic, day-to-day technical and technolgoical management of production. In their guiding activity, they do not apply constitutional-law or administrative coercion. Party committees and organizations influence social processes and help the work collectives to solve their problems solely through persuasion and other political means.

Persuasion is the chief method of party leadership applied by primary organization in every aspect of their activity. The priciple of political guidance of the collectives also keynotes the party's educational work. Of course, educational functions are also performed by other social bodies, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the Fatherland Front and so on. But their activity is based on the party's political line. Consequently, primary party organizations are not only the political core of the work collectives, but also the main educational force. They explain to the working people the political and social meaning of what is being done to build a developed socialist society and the need for

every workshop, sector, enterprise, office and village to carry out the party and state plan, and stimulate the creative initiative of the masses. Apart from that, primary party organizations have the right to control the implementation of the party's policy.

The National Party Conference formulated this important demand: the political approach should be pivotal to party work everywhere. This fully applies to primary organizations, the party's basic units, whose task is to delimit their activites in the collectives from those of economic and state agencies chiefly by function and not by problem or object of direction.

In view of the party's policy aimed at ensuring a more pronounced economic approach to economic management, primary party organizations tend to play a much more important role in mustering the working people's creative energies. Under this policy, the party and the state make increasing use of economic instruments to provide the working people and the work collectives with greater incentives for the development of production, inducing them to display creative initiative in tackling the tasks they face.

For every party organization, the work collective is the social environment that has a direct or indirect influence on the rhythm and content of its activity. High demands are made of the primary organizations. They have to strengthen their ties with the work collectives, to rally them and set them an example in every respect. The party's Central Committee maintains that at the present stage of society's development the primary party organization should serve not only as the political core, but in certain respects also as a prototype of the future state of the work collective, as a model for the latter. Ideological conviction, vigor, initiative, an uncompromising attitude to shortcomings, a sense of the new and other qualities developed among the communists can set an example for the whole people. Accordingly, we devote much attention to the diverse factors under whose influence the primary party organization takes shape as the prototype of the work collective.

Through its members, the party effects its living bonds with the people, learns about their views on its policy, their mood, their critical remarks, and their personal and social needs and proposals. At the same time, through its members the party shapes the political and moral climate, combats negative phenomena and explains its measures and intentions, educating, organizing and guiding the masses. The members of work collectives, for their part, judge the party's policy not only by the decisions of its congresses and plenary sessions, but also by the work and behavior of the communists they see every day as members of the local primary party unit. That is why it is more important than ever before the party members to be active individuals with a clear-cut stand in life, political fighters working selflessly and tirelessly to realize the ideas and tasks formulated by the party. Todor Zhivkov pointed out at the BCP Central Committee's plenum in July 1976 that constant and burning dissatisfaction with what has been achieved is an essential feature of the true communist. He said: 'In Bulgaria, communist is a lofty title. But in contrast to other titles it is not awarded once and for all, but has to be protected and upheld throughout and by one's whole life.'

Bulgarian communists head the nationwide movement for high quality of goods and production efficiency, the struggle to improve planned economic management and socialist organization of labor. Communists set a personal example in every area: labor, socio-political affairs, everyday life, human relations and so on. At the present stage, their activity in the sphere of material production is of particular importance, for successes here are crucial to the implementation of the party's strategic line for the building of a developed socialist society in Bulgaria. That is why 68.31 per cent of the party membership now work in material production.

Regular and purposeful measures to raise the communists' vanguard role have become mass practice with the party committees and organizations. Many primary organizations in Sofia and the Plovdiv, Burgas and other regions hold debates on the personal example communists have to set in everyday work and socio-political affairs, in carrying out the decisions of the party's 11th Congress and the National Party Conference. At these debates, the work of every party member is assessed in the light of his fulfillment of his labor duties and his behavior in personal and social life. Meetings at which communists personally report on their fulfillment of party duties and assignments are a new phenomenon in the work of many primary party organizations.

Intensive concentration and specialization of production is now under way in our country. Large economic associations (complexes) and new population centers are being set up. In view of that, the party's Central Committee has adopted a special decision for amalgamating primary party organizations into larger and more powerful bodies operating on the scale of the whole enterprise or complex.

The development of inner-party democracy is a major condition for enhancing the role, influence and efficiency of the party units. This is the basis and guarantee of collective creativity, of a free and constructive discussion of party matters, correct decision-making and stronger ties between the party and the masses.

The Bulgarian Communist Party functions in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism. In the present conditions, these principles are being attacked both from the left and the right by various adversaries of the international communist movement. This is only natural. We believe that a communist party's attitude to this principle can serve as the criterion of its ability to play the vanguard role in society, to organize the masses and guide them in the struggle for society's revolutionary transformation.

It is common knowledge that left-wing re-

visionism absolutizes the place and role of centralism. Such absolutization would produce an incorrect style and methods of party leadership: the issuing of orders, red tape, and gross tutelage of the lower-echelon party units and individual communists by higher party organs. In practice, this would do away with the independent initiative of the party organizations and their members. Moreover, such methods could serve to isolate the party from the masses. Right-wing revisionists, for their part, tend to absolutize the principle of democracy, rejecting the centralist element in the party's organizational structure. In practice, this would lead to other negative results: the party would degenerate into a disorganized mass incapable of performing its responsible social role.

Our experience shows that the principle of democratic centralism reflects a definite objective need, the need for organization and democracy. Decisions in the party, in the primary organizations in particular, cannot be adopted unilaterally, but should always be an expression of the collective will. But in view of that, the minority, irrespective of its opinion on the decision adopted, has the duty to submit to the majority. This, we think, is an expression not only of centralism but also of democracy.

In addition to greater inner-party democracy, the principle of democratic centralism calls for stronger discipline. The working people look to the communists, especially to those who are active and highly conscious of their civic duty, for a model attitude to socialist legality, to labor and financial discipline, and to the norms of the socialist way of life. Discipline in the primary party organizations is now increasingly an example for the work collectives.

The extension of democratic principles within the party has a powerful effect on the development of democracy in the whole of society. In carrying out the decisions of the 10th and 11th BCP congresses, the party committees and organizations show special concern for ensuring the broad involvement of all the working people in social administration through diverse forms of direct and representative democracy. Communists take an active part in the development of representative democracy, which in our country is a vivid expression of the fundamental constitutional principle: 'In the People's Republic of Bulgaria all power comes from the people and belongs to the people.'

At the present stage, the BCP attaches particular importance to the further development and extension of direct democracy, of those of its forms which enable the working people directly to express their will. It has become a tradition that major questions of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the government are decided after consultation with the people. Important documents, draft directives and resolutions on major issues of party and state policy are regularly discussed across the country. For instance; the National Party Conference was preceded by constructive debates not only in the party committees and organizations, but also in every work collective. The broad discussion started in the party became nationwide and proceeded on the pages of the party newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo*. Roughly 10,500 men and women responded to the newspaper's appeal to state their views, ideas, proposals and criticism.

Other expressions of the democratic principle in the life of the party and the whole of society are well-established forms like prior presentation of facts to the communists and all the working people, canvassing on various measures projected by the party and state leadership, perodical meetings of the BCP Central Committee's First Secretary and Chairman of the PRB Council of State Todor Zhivkov and other party and state leaders with work collectives, and regular reports to the working people by the country's leading organs, desputies of the National Assembly and regional, city and communal people's councils.

Voluntary participation in the running of society has become the main line in the further development of the people's initiative. State-social and social-state organs are being set up in Bulgaria, and the various forms of direct and representative participation by the workers and farmers in economic management are being strengthened. The working people's participation in general meetings, meetings of representatives, economic committees, economic councils, and so on, is doing much to enhance their social activity and initiative. Primary party organizations see to the correct functioning of these organs. Over the past few years, a new form of socialist democracy has emerged and developed in Bulgaria: a plan upwardly adjusted by the work collectives. This tends to bring out the working people's creative initiative, for as they are personally involved in the framing of the upwardly adjusted plan they look for additional possibilities to increase social labor productivity, improve the organization of production and raise the people's living standard.

Socialism has released the people's creative energies, their initiative and political activity; politics has become a realistic activity for millions of men and women. A high level of political consciousness, activity and maturity are now essential features of the citizen of socialist Bulgaria. Today, he plays a direct part in the country's political affairs and helps to run the economy and culture. He is master of his destiny, of his present and future, working to the best of his ability and, driven by inner conviction, helping to build a developed socialist society. He works with inspiration derived from the fact that in its policy the party follows the Leninist course and that it is capable of harmonizing man's creativity with the creative and democratic essence of socialism. Unprecedented conditions have been created in Bulgaria for the political development of the individual on the basis of the broad rights and freedoms enjoyed by all the working people.

Now that we are building a mature socialist society, social self-administration is developing on an ever wider scale. There are stronger tendencies for the development of the state of the proletarian

dictatorship into a state of the whole people, an organization expressing the will and interests of all sections of the population. At this stage, the Communist Party — a party of the working class — is gradually changing into the vanguard of the people, into the party of the whole people.

The BCP Central Committee constantly promotes the independent initiative of the party organizations and their rights and leadership functions. Thus, in July 1978, the BCP Central Committee adopted a resolution extending to the primary party organizations the right of control over the activity of the apparatus of ministries and central establishments. (The party organizations of production collectives have long enjoyed this right). Extension of the rights and duties of primary party organizations, with a wider range of problems on which they can adopt independent and final decisions, and the transfer to them of some of the functions formerly exercised by higher-echelon party bodies are tendencies characteristic of the stage of developed socialism.

The National Party Conference set before the party committees and organizations the task of giving a timely and correct lead to the work collectives and individual working people, and of guiding their social activity. The task is to organize labor on lines that would allow for a comprehensive and consistent realization of the party's strategy for intensifying and boosting the efficiency of the economy, for Bulgaria's ever broader and more effective involvement in socialist economic integration, especially for achieving ever closer all-round links and cooperation with the fraternal Soviet Union.

The working people's social activity, Todor Zhivkov emphasized, can and must be stimulated and directed on the basis of the requirements and interests of millions of people, in accordance with the principles of social justice. Marx and Engels, the founders of our theory, stressed that requirements were the source, the activating power and motive of any human activity. That is why human actions should be explained by their requirements rather than by their ideas.

The problems of the people's material and cultural well-being, of the drive to satisfy their material and cultural requirements lie at the heart of the BCP's theoretical and practical activity. The basic guiding principle of the social policy followed by the party and the socialist state is 'everything for the sake of man, everything for the benefit of man.' In the short historical period of less than three decades, socialism has created powerful productive forces and consumption funds, fundamentally transforming the material and cultural life of our society. Our achievements have been particularly impressive since the historic plenum of the BCP Central Committee in April 1956, which restored the Leninist norms of party and state life and ushered in a qualitatively new stage, in the course of which Bulgaria's socialist gains have been strengthened in every way, so that it has now become a modern industrial-agrarian state with advanced science and culture.

The BCP regards the individual's material and cultural requirements as a unity. Ideals and moral incentives for work play an important role in the life and social activity of the members of socialist society. In this context, primary party organizations have purposefully worked to turn the enterprises, building projects, and offices into the working person's 'second home,' where he gradually comes to regard himself as its true master, where the social importance of his work is realized and assessed, and where under the guidance of primary party organizations every working person becomes an active participant and architect of socialist Bulgaria's present and future.

From the vantage point of the heights we have reached in socialist construction, we can state with satisfaction that the Bulgarian Communist Party enjoys the people's wholehearted affection and trust. This is primarily because it has never championed any other interests except those of the working class, the farmers and the working intelligentsia. Todor Zhivkov said: 'The party and the people in Bulgaria have indeed merged into a solid entity, and there is no power on earth, internal or external, that can break their unity, undermine the party's loyalty to its people or the people's trust in their party.'

Our party has the people's support also because it has always carried high and kept pure the banner of proletarian and socialist internationalism. Having inherited long-standing traditions from the revolutionary past, it has carried on an uncompromising struggle against imperialism, against revisionism in every form, against the hegemonistic policy of the Peking leadership, against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The Bulgarian Communist Party maintains close multilateral ties with the communist and workers' parties of all countries, gives moral and material support to the movements fighting colonialism and imperialism, and educates the working people in a spirit of devotion to their own country and to the Soviet Union, the powerful bulwark of existing socialism, in a spirit of solidarity with the other fraternal socialist countries and all the freedom-loving peoples. Primary party organizations are the vehicles of this line in the work collectives.

We Bulgarian communists are well aware of the value of our people's trust in the Bulgarian Communist Party: it has been won by selfless day-to-day work and struggle. We also know the roots of the people's fealty for the party: it stems from the party's consistent political line, from the harmony between its theoretical and practical activity, between promise and performance.

viewpoints

Socialism on German soil

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR a *WMR* delegation consisting of representatives of fraternal parties was invited to the republic by the SUPG Central Committee.

The following reports are from *Emile Habibi*, CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Israel; *Peter Boychuck,* alternate member, CC Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada; *Jose Lava,* Central Committee member, Communist Party of the Philippines; *Agamemnon Stavrou*, Central Committee alternate member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus; *John Pittman,* CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of the USA; *Rodny Ohman*, representative, Left Party — Communists of Sweden.

1. *Pivot of democracy*

Democracy is one of the main features of a socialist society and a mainspring of its successful development. During our visit we met with ranking SUPG officials, deputies to people's representative bodies, members of National Front committees and workers. Our talks with them and our observations and reflections on what we saw and heard gave us, we feel, a fairly complete idea of how socialist democracy functions in the GDR, a country of existing socialism.

There are five political parties in the GDR. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany champions the interests of the workers, who comprise the numerically largest class and the lading force of GDR society. The SUPG's leading role in the country's political organization is formalized in the Constitution, which was approved in a national referendum. The four other parties[1] speak for the peasants, small traders, artisans, members of the liberal professions, former civil servants, and servicemen, and also for believers.

Kurt Hager, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, gave the *WMR* delegation a detailed history of the country's political parties. In the GDR the formation of a multiparty system was intimately linked to the antifascist, democratic transformations. Fascism and its brutal, irrational ideology could only be uprooted by giving people the possibility for understanding what had happened and consciously beginning to build a new society. In this context it was vital to open the way for political activity by representatives of all the classes and population groups, for people of different views, who had sincerely broken with fascism and militarism. After the big landed estates and thee property of monopoly capital in industry were abolished and the foundations laid for socialism in the GDR, the possibility for cooperation between parties broadened, and the objective basis for political opposition disappeared. This, and the party attaches the utmost significance to it, Kurt Hager said, has been one of the main political results of the GDR's development over the past three decades.

Naturally, we wanted to know how the mechanism of political cooperation functioned among the various political parties and between these parties and public organizations. We were told that all parties and public organizations are united in the Democratic Bloc.[2] This bloc differs from bourgeois coalitions in that it is not an alliance of some parties and organizations against others, but an alliance of all the country's socio-political forces concluded in the name of socialism. It coordinates the political interests of the different classes and social groups and all decisions are taken by consensus, which guarantees that the specific interests of all the social groups are taken into account. A form of alliance of the working class with other classes and segments of the people, the bloc looks for and finds ways of enlisting all the citizens of the republic into the building of socialism in the GDR. It decides on how seats are to be distributed in representative bodies and their executive arms, and nominates candidates of parties and public organizations for election.

We arrived in the GDR during a campaign for elections to local government bodies. One of the co-authors of this report had been a member of parliament, and the others had been active in many election campaigns, so we know quite well how the political spokesmen of the ruling classes act during these 'festivals of democracy,' so to speak. For the bourgeois politican elections are moments of 'star performances' of his life, when he puts on make-up in the literal and figurative sense of the word, with a bandwagonload of aides working their heads off to build up an 'image' of their nominee that would win him both the votes of the electorate and the backing of political bosses.

In socialist countries election campaigns are taken seriously. This is when people sum up the results of what has been accomplished and the further work of representative organs is planned. Time and again during the visit we recalled a

phrase dropped by Werner Eberlein, deputy head of a department at the SUPG Central Committee. He said: 'Democracy does not begin or end on election day.'

Karl-Marx-Stadt District is the republic's largest in population and number of people employed in the economy. The 200 deputies elected to the District People's Representative Body in 1976 included 102 workers, 21 peasants and 67 office employees. Five of the deputies were artisans working at co-operatives and shopkeepers working on commission, and four were private artisans and members of the liberal professions.

The deputies we met and talked with are people you would hardly distinguish from ordinary folk and there is something special in each of them. Take Ulrich Bennewitz. At 35 he has been a deputy to the District PRB since 1967. He is married and has two daughters. After finishing an eight-year school, he received his training at the apprentice workshops of the May 8 Factory and became a skilled grinding-machine operative. He is now a member of the PRB Commission for Culture and Arts. He must have seen the surprise on our faces, for he said: 'Our work does not boil down to promoting the fine arts, the theatre, or music. We handle questions linked to production culture and help to develop amateur art. The commission draws on the assistance of art personalities and factory and office workers.'

Deputies to the District PRB told us that their terms of reference are specified in a law passed in 1973: they handle questions linked to supplying consumer goods to the population, organizing everyday services, and supervising housing construction and distribution, agriculture and the food industry, public education, the medical services, cultural life, and sports and recreation.

In recent years the local government bodies have been working on the extremely important task of rationalizing production territorially. In the area under the jurisdiction of districts, towns, or town districts, there are big industrial complexes directly controlled by ministries. As a rule, these economic units have large funds: they build housing for their personnel, children's institutions, holiday homes and other facilities. The local PRBs coordinate investments, and on their initiative the factories pool resources to build various projects and make better use of their funds.

Last year territorial retionalization saved working hours equal to the influx of a further 43,000 workers into the economy. As many as 22,300 additional flats were built or modernized, and new accomodation for 6,500 children was opened at children's institutions.

From Karl-Marx-Stadt we went to Augustusburg, an old town in the Erzgebirge with a population of only 3,000, of whom 700 are pensioners. We sat at a long table with our hosts — deputies to the PRB and members of the National Front Committee.

Jürgen Einert, chairman of the National Front Committee, began the talk by telling us of the place held by the National Front in the republic's political structure. The Front was set up in 1949 to coordinate the efforts of the people in the struggle for a united, democratic and peace-loving German state. It is composed of all the parties, public organizations, association, societies and unions existing in the GDR. Any citizen, regardless of his political or religious views, may serve on its committees. Einert said: 'True, only four parties are represented on our National Front Committee. Ours is a small town and the LDPG has only seven members here, so they could not nominate a representative to the Committee.'

Under the GDR electoral law, the National Front organizes elections. After the political parties and the public organizations of the Democratic Bloc have put forward their candidates, these nominations are discussed at the factories or offices where the candidates work. If the collective approves a nomination, the appropriate National Front Committee presents the candidate to a meeting of electors. 'Even in a small town like Augustusburg, where everybody knows everybody else,' Einert said, 'you cannot anticipate everything when you nominate a candidate. I'll give you an example. The CFGTU group nominated one of our fellow-townsmen who works at a large factory in Karl-Marx-Stadt. When it came to giving him a recommendation, the team he works in turned him down. It seemed that for some time he had been slipping in his work, and we knew nothing of it.' Sometimes a prospective candidate is rejected at a meeting of electors. There have been ten such cases in Karl-Marx-Stadt District. We feel that this is a vitally important specific of elections in the GDR, for it gives voters the possibility of controlling the procedure of nominating candidates. The right of citizens to have their say at this stage of the formation of representative bodies is, we believe, from the standpoint of the democratic character of the electoral system, far more important than the number of nominations. We know from the political practice of many capitalist countries, where the nomination of candidates is the prerogative solely of the parties concerned, there is growing absenteeism at elections. People are beginning to realize they are being turned into objects of political manipulation, while the elections themselves are becoming largely a formal procedure.

In Augustusburg it sometimes happens that more candidates are nominated than there are seats. All are esteemed citizens recommended by their work collectives and approved by electors. In accordance with the procedure established by electoral law the National Front registers candidates and after the nominations are discussed decides on the order they are to be entered in the list. By law, a candidate is considered to have been elected if he has polled more than 50 per cent of the votes. If the number of elected candidates is in excess of the number of seats, the question is decided by the order in the list. The others are considered vice-deputies.[3] They work on a par with deputies on the PRB commissions, and if for some reason a deputy drops out of his constituency a vice-deputy moves into his place without a by-election.

At the cotton-spinning mill in Flöha we were taken around to see the working conditions and the recreation facilities used by the workers during their lunch break.

We then talked with workers and members of the management of this and other mills of the Flöha Cotton-Spinning Association: Ursula Zschau, secretary of a mill party organization and member of the SUPG Central Committee, Gottfried Metzner, the managing director of the main mill, Dietlinde Berger, FGY secretary, Kathrin Bischoff, spinner, Anita Müller, forewoman, Dieter Grünert, mechanic, and others. We asked questions about shop-floor democracy. In the countries we come from an ideological and political controversy has been going on for decades over the so-called problem of worker participation in the management and of economic democracy.

'In the form it has in capitalist countries, the problem of "economic democracy" simply does not exist in the GDR,' Ursula Zschau said. 'The social and economic policy of a socialist state meets the interests of the working class and all other working people, all of whom take part in framing and implementing it. Our problem is not to establish some democratic forms of worker participation in the social and economic activity of the state — such forms have taken shape long ago — but to make this participation more effective.'

'On what, would you say, does this effectiveness depend?'

'I would single out three factors. First, every worker, team-leader, and foreman must clearly see his new status as full-fledged master of the enterprise employing him, and, in the broader sense, as the owner of socialist property generally. Second, it is important that there should be effective institutions and forms of participation in management, but this, as we know from experience, is not achieved overnight. This is a matter decided by practice. Third, the people have to develop the habit of knowledgeably exercising their rights, and this, too, takes time.'

Anita Müller joined in, saying: 'Our workers have the sense of being full-fledged owners of the mill and the sense of personal responsibility for the work of the mill as a whole. This attitude is born of our socialist reality. But as I see it, the main thing is that our experience has satisfied us that in a socialist society the people's opinions and assessments on all economic and social questions are heeded and our suggestions are translated into life.'

We gradually put together a picture of how the workers of the Flöha spinning mill take part in managing the affairs of their enterprise. The people we talked with felt that production meetings and conferences, especially meetings held to discuss the plan assignments for the next year and ways and means of carrying out these assignments are one of the most important forms of worker participation in management. The draft of a plan, which takes all the suggestions put forward at these meetings, is submitted for approval to the Council of Representatives, which is set up at factories by the trade union and also considers all other decisions of the management on major socio-economic questions. Standing production conferences and production committees, which meet regularly, also take part in current decision-making. Progress in the fulfillment of decisions and ultimate results are verified by worker-peasant inspection commissions, trade union worker control bodies, and the FGY bodies.

'In capitalist countries,' we said to the managing director, 'opponents of shop-floor democracy often argue that special knowledge and competence, which they believe the workers lack, are needed to run a modern factory. How does this tie in with your experience of enlisting workers into the management of your mill?'

'Unquestionably, modern large-scale production is inconceivable without highly trained professionals,' Metzner replied. 'But this does not mean that the scientific and technological revolution leaves no room for workers in management. For instance, we carefully drafted a long-term plan for intensifying production at the mill. Yet when it was discussed at shop-floor level we received more than 150 suggestions. These were beyond question useful, and we accepted almost all of them. Or take the production rationalization movement. At our mill almost every other worker has joined in the movement and they have every support the management can give them, for they are making a tangible contribution to utilizing untapped reserves. At the mill 134 teams or 3,600 persons are taking part in the socialist emulation movement.'

Everybody agreed that prompt and regular information was a key condition for worker participation in management. We were told that in the early 1970s the GDR Council of Ministers passed a decision obligating the managing directors of industrial enterprises to report to the personnel every month on key production problems. The SUPG gives much of its attention also to the regular reports from all elective bodies involved in production management.

To sum up our impressions. In the GDR the fundamental issue of democracy, namely that of enlisting large numbers of working people into the management of social affairs, is being resolved in practice, with account of the country's specific historical features. In its work on creating and developing the political system in the country, the SUPG makes broad and effective use of democratic institutions such as universal suffrage, the multi-party system, and the system of representation. But the important thing is, in our view, that socialism has qualitatively deepened the content of democracy, spreading it to all areas of society's life, including its decisive area, the economy. It has created entirely new forms and institutions of democracy that ensure the effective and every broader participation of the people in decision-making and in verifying fulfillment on all vital questions. We see this as the pivot of socialist democracy.

2. *From 'I' to 'We'*

The German Democratic Republic is a highly industrialized state. The national statistical yearbook for 1978 says that industry yields nearly 60 per cent of the republic's national income. But we should like to write in some detail about agriculture and not industry. The reason is that the GDR sets an example of successfully transforming the countryside along socialist lines in an industrialized state that in the past had long-standing traditions of private property in land. In this respect the republic's experience is of special interest to many communist and workers' parties. It has developed effective ways and means of drawing the rural middle strata into socialist construction, steadily and rapidly increasing productivity in agriculture, raising the living standard of rural communities, and remoulding many traditional and fairly deeply entrenched elements of peasant small-proprietor psychology. One of the people we talked with, Gerhard Giese, Secretary of the Waren District Committee of the SUPG, justifiably remarked: 'Here the most striking revolution has been accomplished in agriculture.'

Horst Dettmann, Secretary of the Neubrandenburg District Committee of the SUPG, related that in 1955 as much as 54.7 of the district's work force was employed in agriculture and the forest economy, but in 1977 the proportion dropped to 26.7 per cent. However, these branches continue to play a crucial part in the district's economy. In the long term agriculture and the industries related to it will remain predominant in Neubrandenburg.

Prior to 1952 this district was part of Mecklenburg, which was the most backward agrarian state in Germany. Up until the end of World War II it was a district with large landed estates. For instance, the Schlutius family, which lorded over the village of Alt Schwerin, which we visited, owned 8,200 hectares of land in the district.

The poverty, illiteracy and physical degeneration of the peasants were the inevitable and dismal concomitants of large-scale semi-feudal landownership in Mecklenburg. In old Germany they traditionally spoke mockingly of the Mecklenburg peasants, saying that the land was ploughed by two oxen — one in front of the plough and the other behind it. To exact submission from the peasants the Junkers cultivated benightedness.

We talked with peasants in Alt Schwerin and Priborn. There was not a trace of the former benightedness and slavish attachment to a bit of land. They not only thought in terms of their big and prospering cooperatives, but spoke of affairs concerning the national economy, and answered our questions frankly and with a sense of their own dignity, without attempting to embellish either the past or the present of their villages.

What interested us most was how the transition was accomplished from 'I' to 'we,' and what difficulties had to be surmounted before these changes came about. We spoke with Fritz Dahlmann, chairman of the Priborn grain-farming cooperative, member of the SUPG Central Committee, and Hero of Socialist Labor. An attractive, vivid personality, he spoke long and eloquently, recalling the past and firing the other peasants with his passion. A former farm laborer, he was brought to Priborn by the vicissitudes of war. Here, when the land reform was enforced in the autumn of 1945, he received seven hectares of ploughland, two hectares of forest, and one hectare of meadowland, and became what was then known as a 'new peasant.' With the average grain-farming unit in the GDR now exceeding 5,000 hectares, we asked how the peasants assess the agrarian policy adopted by the CPG 34 years ago, its decision to fragment the large junker estates, and divide the land among those who tilled it. Was it a justified measure or an unnecessary zigzag?

'I judge from my own experience,' Dahlmann said. 'If after all that chaos, if after the defeat of Hitlerite fascism, if after that horrible war we were not given land and, together with it, stability and a foothold in life, I would not have become a peasant solely out of love of the land. I was fed up with the humiliating work of farm laborer for a pittance of 18 a month (I got part of my pay in kind), and I would not have gone to a people's estate. I would have gone somewhere else, to the Wismut mines, or I would have become a builder. But I was given land, and I stayed.'

After the land reform the middle peasant became the principal figure in the GDR countryside. On his ten hectares of land Dahlmann began with debts, but then turned his balance from negative to favorable, and soon his annual income amounted to 40,000 marks. 'I was on my way to becoming a capitalist,' he said. But the then young communist soon came around to understanding the advantages of large-scale collective farming.

The second SUPG conference, which passed a decision to begin the transition to socialist construction, took place in July 1952. This also meant the transition to the gradual establishment of cooperatives in the countryside. The party started a mass campaign to explain the advantages of collective farming. The process of socialization was long and complex. Unassailable arguments were needed to persuade the peasant, who had always dreamed of having land of his own and had received it only seven years previously, to join a cooperative. This step was even more difficult for the more well-to-do peasant.

It became possible to get people to think differently only thanks to the SUPG's steadfast adherence to the principle that cooperatives should be set up solely on a voluntary basis. Expropriation or any forcible methods, including the restriction of political rights, were not applied even with respect to the rural bourgeoisie. In January 1953 all the Priborn peasants with three exceptions applied for membership of the cooperative.

Some of the cooperatives founded in the 1950s proved to be viable, others lacked vitality and fell apart as soon as difficulties were encountered. This was largely due to the aggravation of the class struggle in the summer of 1953. Anti-socialist elements carried on intensive hostile propaganda, in-

timidating the peasants by saying that the Junkers would return. This propaganda had its effect. In Priborn, for example, only eight of the 80 households remained in the cooperative after the harvest. 'We worked in the sweat of our brow,' Dalhmann reminisced. 'They were the best years of my life. The old folks quit and only the progressive wing consisting of young people remained in the cooperative. It was important to prove that we could do better than they. We relied on assistance from the workers and from the state. We began to mechanize labor, and work became easier. There already were machine-and-tractor stations. They gave priority to the cooperatives and charged them less for the ploughing. The next year proved to be so productive that the peasants gradually returned. By the spring of 1960, the entire village, with the exception of eight households, was back in the cooperative.'

Dahlmann was not the only one to mention assistance from the workers. The machine-hire stations, later reconstituted into machine-and-tractor stations, were the channel through which the working class influenced the socio-political development of the countryside. The party staffed them with politically-conscious workers and highly-trained specialists. From the outset the machine-hire stations did not confine themselves to providing production services to the peasants, but pursued a purposeful policy of supporting the 'new' peasants, preventing social differentiation in the countryside and the resurgence of capitalist exploitation. Moreover, in 1953 the SUPG called upon workers to go to work in the countryside. More than 31,000 people responded to this call and settled in rural communities to help the peasants build a new life. Factories undertook stewardship of the first agricultural producers' cooperatives.

What we learned of the cooperative movement in the GDR and the talks we had with the peasants showed that the conception of socialist transformations in the countryside worked out by the SUPG in the early 1950s was extremely flexible. It provided for the preservation of private property in land and gave the peasants a choice between three types of cooperatives. The cooperatives differed from each other by the extent to which the means of production were socialized and by the forms of distributing income. In cases where the peasants were morally still unprepared to socialize arable and other land and also the livestock (cooperatives of the third type), they were given the possibility of limiting themselves to simpler forms of cooperation, for instance, the joint cultivation of ploughland (cooperatives of the first type). After they saw for themselves the profitability of the new organization of work, they usually took the next step from the simplest to higher forms of production cooperation.

A qualitative change took place in GDR agriculture in the early 1970s: labor was divided between grain-farming and livestock-breeding. Specialized grain-farming and livestock-breeding farms (cooperative and state) were set up. Much was done to intensify agriculture, the transition to industrial methods of production was effected gradually, and the life and work of the peasants improved. We were told that the organizational restructuring affected mainly grain-farming as the basis of all agricultural production. After a comprehensive discussion of all the problems concerned and the adoption of decisions by general meetings of cooperative members, grain-growing departments, a form of inter-cooperative association, were set up. These departments received land and the necessary assets from the cooperatives. Peasants engaged in grain-growing were delegated to these departments but remained members of their cooperatives. The profits made by the grain-growing departments were distributed among the founding cooperatives in proportion to their contribution to the assets of these departments. As the division of labor between grain-growing and livestock-breeding neared its completion, the mission of the grain-growing departments was fulfilled, and they began to be turned into specialized grain-growing cooperatives — independent units with all the rights of a juridical person; distribution of profits among the founding cooperatives ceased. The peasants delegated to the departments became members of the new cooperatives.

We were tremendously impressed by the GDR's successess in going over to industrial methods of agricultural production in the 1970s. They are increasingly using entire systems of machines and entirely new technological processes. The people we met are members of cooperatives and owners of the means of production belonging to the cooperatives. But by the character of their work there is little to distinguish them from factory workers (for instance, turners, fitters, and mechanics at repair shops or feed enterprises). Town and countryside are drawing closer together in what is basic, namely, the character of labor, the use of machinery and productivity. However, this is by no means a simple process.

People told us with a note of satisfaction in their voices that in December 1978 when the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee considered the experience of the Neubrandenburg District Committee it was emphasized that the erasure of the distinctions between town and countryside should not be given a simplified interpretation, that despite the obvious fact that the workers and the peasants were drawing closer together, the peasantry as a class with all its specifics would still be in existence in the GDR in the 21st century.

The socialization of production and the enlargement of its scale are not ends in themselves. They are meaningful only if they lead to a growth of labor productivity and an improvement in the life of the people. The fact that the restructuring of agricultural production has been indisputably effective economically is borne out by many indices. GDR economists have computed that in the 1950s it took an average of 6.1 man-hours to produce one centner of grain at an individual peasant farm. At the cooperatives in the 1960s this took no more than two or three hours. While in the 1970s this work

required only 30-35 minutes at the specialized cooperatives that had switched to industrial methods of production. The cost of producing a centner of grain has gone down from 26.17 to 13.89 marks.

The GDR's considerable headway in agriculture is in large measure due to the democratic practices in the cooperatives. The monthly general meetings discuss all important economic problems: they draw up the production plan on the basis of state requirements, decide how to distribute income for accumulation and consumption, determine the balance between individual and social consumption, and so on. Several elective standing commissions consider these questions, draw up proposals, and give their findings on the expediency of one decision or another. The democratic norms recorded in the rules of the cooperatives enable the peasants to use their know-how, native intelligence, and rationality for the common good. Thanks to the consistent implementation of the principle of electivity, the management of the cooperatives is formed of the most knowledgeable and hard-working peasants. The meetings we had with people in Priborn and Alt Schwerin showed us that there was a democratic atmosphere and a good moral climate at these cooperatives and that the peasants were deeply committed to the common work.

Naturally, we asked about the living standard of the peasants. Although we were told that the income level of workers and peasants was similar, that the consumption of food and manufactured goods was perhaps slightly higher in the countryside than in the towns, and that the peasants enjoyed the same social insurance as urban dwellers, we wanted to see things with our own eyes. After touring a hothouse unit in Priborn we asked one of the women working there for permission to visit her home, which was nearby. There and then she took us to her home. It hardly differed from the other houses in the street either outwardly or in size. The interior was extremely well-planned: the head of the family is a stonemason and a member of the cooperative's building team. He and his wife built the house with their own hands. This family's living standard is very high. For the two adults and two children there are four rooms. The house was all modern conveniences and the kitchen is fitted out with many electrical appliances. In the semi-basement they have a garage for their car, and they keep a motorboat on the lake at the back of the house. Here life is in no way inferior to city life.

When we asked what it cost to build a house like this, we were impressed by what we heard. To build a house in the GDR the peasants can get a loan from the state — from 45,000 to 120,000 marks, provided they have saved a definite sum of money. In Priborn, by decision of the general meeting, every cooperative member planning to build a house gets, over and above the loan, a non-repayable grant of 5,000 marks (families with four or more children receive 7,500 marks). In fact, this means that in order to build a house the Priborn peasants need have no savings.

We asked our hostess if she wanted her children to remain behind and work in the village. Her sensible reply was: 'It's hard to say what life had in store for our children. But life is good here in Priborn. There's always something happening here.' There was a profound social meaning in these simple words of this young peasant woman. During our visit we often caught ourselves thinking that ever since the end of the war the GDR countryside has never known even a short period of stagnation. Something is indeed always happening here, and the progress achieved in the lifetime of a single generation is the most eloquent proof that under socialism the cooperative system has colossal potentials.

3. *New society, new people*

'The destruction of nazism and its roots is our slogan. The building of a world without war, a world of freedom is our aim.' During our visit in the GDR we often recalled this pledge given to each other by the prisoners of Buchenwald on the very next day after the uprising in that death camp. These two laconic sentences accurately convey the essence of the tasks of the communists, who united all the country's anti-fascist and democratic forces around their party.

The Second World War inflicted an immense death toll on mankind. The German people, too, had to pay a heavy price for the crimes committed by fascism, German imperialism, and the military. But, as Kurt Hager, told us, 'the spiritual ruins were much more terrible than the material destruction.' Nazi propaganda incessantly poisoned the minds of large segments of the people with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. It sowed racism, chauvinistic arrogance and the cult of war. The building of the new society had therefore to be started with the extirpation of this bitter legacy.

The release of millions of Germans from the virus of imperialist and fascist ideology and their education in a spirit of peace, democracy, and socialism was an immense achievement of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Had it not been for this there would have been no socialist German Democratic Republic today.

The military defeat of nazi Germany signified the break-up of the state machine of German imperialism, including its punitive organs: the army and the police. Long before the GDR was proclaimed, the SUPG, supported by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany and all the progressive forces in the country, worked with determination to surmount the fascist past, chiefly to abolish the social environment that had bred nazism. The property of the nazi party and state was expropriated, and in 1946 the property of 21,000 active nazis, war criminals, Junkers and monopoly capitalists was confiscated without compensation. Stern sentences were passed on nearly 13,000 persons for war crimes and crimes against humanity. In the period up to 1948 over 520,000 ex-nazis, militarists and war criminals were dismissed from

the civil service and from key private enterprises. The court was democratized.

Tremendous attention was given to restructuring the entire system of bringing up and educating young people and ideologically influencing the masses. In nazi Germany over 70 per cent of the teachers were members of the nazi party. This figure was named by Hager when he explained why some 70,000 schoolteachers were dismissed in the course of two and a half years after the war: they were not fit to bring up young people in a spirit of humanism and democracy. New teachers came — they were anti-fascist-minded workers and peasants. Many of them did not have the necessary knowledge and professionalism and they learned together with their pupils. But much more important was the fact that they made a clean break with the ideology of fascism and reaction and conscientiously endeavored to educate the rising generation in a way that would preclude a repetition of the horrible past. The syllabi of secondary schools and institutions of higher learning were carefully revised, and new textbooks were published. Nazi, war, racist and revanchist propaganda was prohibited. All the mass media were renewed; new newspapers were started; the radio and the cinema were placed in the service of anti-fascist, democratic reforms; with its first postwar productions the theatre began to propagate the finest works of progressive German literature.

During the first years of struggle with the spiritual legacy of nazism it was necessary to uproot innumerable reactionary prejudices forced upon the people by the fascist propaganda machine. It was not easy to break the political apathy of hundreds of thousands of people, an apathy that was a reaction to the crumbling of the nazi Reich. However, we were told, anti-fascist and democratic ideas found a growing response, and as early as the close of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s a radical change was brought about in the thinking of the people: an end was put to fascist ideology once and for all.

Nearly half of the GDR's population today was born after the war, and another 15 per cent were children in 1945. The school, modern literature, the theatre and films do not conceal from young people the truth about that terrible period in German history linked to the nazi Reich. Young citizens of the republic know of the brutalities and crimes of fascism and understand the class roots of that phenomenon. We were convinced of this by our talks with schoolchildren in the Havana-78 Youth Club in the 43rd Neighborhood of Stralsund. They spoke with disgust of the fascist past and of neonazism, which is an echo of that past in modern bourgeois society. Young people of school and older age groups are active in the movement of solidarity with peoples fighting for social and national liberation, and in this they are guided by the finest traditions of the German revolutionary movement. Today, 34 years after the end of the war, socialist upbringing spells out, among other things, a constant renewal of anti-fascism.

The ideological work of the SUPG is creative, projected into the future and aimed at educating the harmoniously developed socialist individual.

In this work the SUPG stands on the solid foundation of the republic's impressive economic progress. The GDR is now among the leading ten nations of the world in per capita national income, despite the fact that it is in 102nd place for the size of its territory and in 37th place for the size of its population. Many important socio-political maeasures that caused the people's living standard to rise rapidly and strengthened society's moral and political unity were implemented on SUPG initiative in the 1970s. This is reinforcing the sense of social confidence, which, as we saw in our many meetings and talks, is so intrinsic to the citizens of the GDR today. The growth of their country's economic potential shows the people that they were right in choosing the socialist road. The further satisfaction of their material and cultural requirements is a constant concern of the party and state leadership at all levels. Ernst Horstmann, Secretary of the Rostock SUPG District Committee, spoke of this, noting:

'By our day-to-day work we show the people that the party carries out its commitments. For that reason they believe our promises.'

Klaus Gebler, head of the SUPG Central Committee's Propaganda Department, named four main orientations of ideological work. First, arming the working class and all other working people with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and explaining the party's policy. Second, educating the people in the spirit of German revolutionary, democratic and humanistic traditions, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and fraternal friendship with all countries of the socialist community. Third, developing socialist thinking and behavior, including the reinforcement of the socialist attitude to public property and to work. Fourth, resolutely combating imperialist and bourgeois ideology, chiefly the ideology of West German imperialism.

We visited the state frontier of the GDR and were given an idea of the diverse methods used by the imperialist circles of the FRG and West Berlin in their subversion against the GDR. Lieutenant-Colonel Hartmut Bayer gave us two figures; within a span of only five years, from 1973 to 1977, from the FRG and West Berlin there were more than 6,900 and over 16,000 attempts respectively to penetrate GDR territory for provocative purposes. To understand the situation in which the SUPG is conducting its ideological work one must bear in mind that the West German animators of psychological warfare against the socialist German state have at their disposal some 5,000 transmitters, and three television and 20 radio programs that can easily be received on GDR territory. To this must be added the fact that in 1978, for instance, there were three million visitors from West Berlin and 3,700 from the FRG. Most of them are people strongly influenced by bourgeois or reformist ideology and have deep-rooted anti-communist prejudices.

We were greatly impressed by the confidence,

firmness, and vigilance of the GDR communists in their approach to these problems of their day-to-day political work among the people. 'Our experience of the past 30 years,' Horst Oswald, Secretary of the Berlin City Committee, told us, 'shows that neither political slander, nor economic warfare, nor a diplomatic blockade, nor even counter-revolutionary attacks (as in 1953 and 1956) can undermine the foundations of the socialist system. In spite of all the difficulties and trials we have had to go through, our economy has made steady progress, the state has grown increasingly more stable, and our policy has been rewarded with success. This has become obvious to all, and it is how it will be in the future. Of course, the unending confrontation of bourgeois ideology with GDR citizens creates innumerable political and ideological roadblocks, but so far we have coped with them successfully, although this requires the party to display unwavering staunchness, restraint and flexibility.'

Klaus Gebler said that the SUPG was closely following developments in the FRG and the ideological attacks on the GDR and its policies from that country, and that it did not feel every invention of the adversary was worth a reply. Indeed, there is no necessity for this, as we saw for ourselves. The working people of the GDR have developed a clear class political consciousness and they are well able to sort out matters concerning their country's past, present and future.

'Our party,' Gebler said, 'has to go on improving its politico-ideological and educational work. The need for this springs from the dimensions of the tasks we are working on and also from the new problems that life, the internal development of the GDR and the international situation constantly pose.'

The meetings that the *WMR* delegation had with representatives of creative unions and cultural personalities in the GDR and the innumerable talks we had during our visit convinced us that in the republic they are solicitously preserving the revolutionary and humanistic heritage of the past. The people speak of their socialist country with affection, are proud of its culture and know its history. For them the concepts 'my country' and 'history' have acquired a new content during the past three decades. For the GDR citizen national history does not consist of Frederick II, Bismarck or Hindenburg. For him history spells out Thomas Müntzer and Ulrich von Hutten, German Enlightenment, the great poets Goethe, Schiller and Heine, and the equally great philosophers Kant, Hegel and Feuerbach, and the composers Bach, Handel and Beethoven. German science and culture have given humanity a galaxy of great names: they are so well known that there is no sense in enumerating them.

You can feel what a nation is proud of even if you are only on a short visit: it is articulated by museums, monuments, memorial plaques and the names of streets and squares. The people of the GDR have every reason to revere the progressive and revolutionary traditions of their national history: German Jacobinism, the liberation movement of 1806-13, the revolutionary movement of 1848-49. Naturally, a socialist state gives special attention to and honors what is linked to more than a century of the history of the German working-class movement — the League of communists, the revolutionary German social-democratic movement, the Communist Party of Germany, the revolution of November 1918, the participation of Germans in the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War and the Resistance to fascism. The building of a socialist society in the GDR is itself the embodiment of the ideas of the great Germans Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and of outstanding fighters for the emancipation of the working class like August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thaelmann.

Numerous facts showed what immense significance the party attaches to the education of the people in the spirit of the ideals of proletarian internationalism. The SUPG Rules require all its full and probation members to foster friendship, cooperation and a fraternal alliance with socialist countries, and to show solidarity with the working class of capitalist countries and with all the peoples fighting for national and social liberation.

Hager emphasized that 'a close alliance with the Soviet Union and the expansion and deepening of the GDR's relations with other socialist-community countries are one of the cardinal conditions for the fulfillment of the tasks set by the party's Ninth Congress. Support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and from the entire international communist and working-class movement has played a huge role in the republic's formation and development. This solidarity helped the GDR to end the postwar ruin, breach the diplomatic blockade organized by the FRG, create a highly developed economy and win diplomatic recognition throughout the world.'

We spent only a week in the GDR. But this was sufficient time to see the enormous progress that has been made by the republic in 30 years. We saw that the people of the GDR have achieved much and are proud of it. We saw spectacular achievements everywhere — at factories, cooperatives and scientific institutions. We were impressed by the population's high living standard. But what seems to be even more important to us is that the new society has brought up and continues to bring up a new citizen — a team-worker, patriot and internationalist, an educated person with diverse interests and a rich inner world.

1. Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPG), National Democratic Party of German (NDPG) and Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany (DPPG).
2. This bloc consists of the five above-mentioned political parties, and also of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (CFGTU), the Free German Youth (FGY), the Democratic Women's League of Germany (DUGWG), and the German League of Culture (or Kulturbund).
3. At the latest elections 27,168 deputies and 8,103 vice-deputies were elected to local government bodies.

Coming of age in struggle

Beate Landefeld
Chairman, Spartacus Marxist Union of Students,
member of the GCP Board

The Spartacus Marxist Union of Students of the FRG will hold its Sixth Federal Congress in October 1979. The congress is to analyze the situation on the campuses and decide on ways and means of the students' further struggle on the side of the working class for a higher standard of education, a better life and a secure future. It may be useful to sum up the results of the student movement over the past years as we prepare for the congress.

The dimensions of the current student movement and its role in public life were illustrated by the general strike of over 50,000 university students, ore nearly two-thirds of all West German students, late in 1977. The strike was called in protest against reactionary legislation designed to make higher education more subservient than ever to the interests of monopoly capital and its drive for profit and power. A fact of fundamental importance was that the action — the strongest ever launched by West Germany's students — merged with actions by secondary school students and young workers against youth unemployment, for the right to work and education. In may cities young workers and students held large joint demonstrations backed by the trade unions.

Youth actions at the close of 1977, strikes by dockers, printers and metalworkers early in 1978, and lastly, the steel-workers' struggle for a shorter working day were further indications that an increasing section of the population refuses to put up with curtailments of its social and political rights and protests emphatically against the burden of the economic crisis being shifted on to the working people's shoulders. The students' general strike and their growing role in various economic and political actions throughout 1979 have added to the democratic potential which is needed so urgently to combat rightist tendencies engendered by official policy.

The students' present attitude is a relatively new phenomenon in West German history. After the defeat of the 1848 bourgeois democratic revolution, most university students sided invariably with the conservatives and reactionaries. In the Weimar Republic (1919-33), the students and the majority of university teachers were aligned with the nationalists and chauvinists. Most of them came from well-to-do families, including those of highly placed civil servants and academics. True, many students joined in the anti-fascist Resistance, but many more made common cause with those who frankly paved the way for fascism.

The sphere of higher education in West Germany changed little even after fascism was defeated. Very few teachers were replaced. While monopoly capitalist power was being built up, the students were educated according to the theory of 'totalitarianism' imported from the United States and blasphemously equating fascism with communism.

It was not until the mid-60s that a notable change came about in the students' thinking, due both to international and inner political factors.

What I mean first of all is that in spite of the changed balance of world forces, which compelled the imperialist powers to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence, successive CDU/CSU governments obstinately refused to recognize the GDR and demanded a revision of postwar frontiers. As a result, public opinion in our country, including our youth, felt ever more strongly that this policy threatened the FRG with international isolation. The brutal war of aggression waged against the Vietnamese people by Washington, an ally of Bonn, opened the eyes of numerous young people to the true meaning of the 'Western ideal of freedom.'

In the same period, the first social conflicts broke out in the West German higher education system. The point was that the Federal Republic had to catch up with its imperialist rivals in science, technology and education. This made it imperative to train a much larger number of specialists. The situation was made worse when, in 1961, the GDR closed its frontier to stop the massive exodus of highly skilled labor power lured by West German private business and government organizations. But no solution was found to these problems. In 20 years of Christian-Democratic rule, the education system became hopelessly antiquated.

At the same time the CDU-led government cracked down on the democratic rights laid down in the Constitution by enacting emergency laws. The growing objective need for progressive changes in home and foreign policy, on the one hand, and the CDU government's inability to effect these changes, on the other, caused widespread public concern and initiated the radicalization of many students.

The Socialist German Union of Students, affiliated to the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, became the organizing center of student protest. But in 1961 it was expelled from the SPD for re-

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We continue the exchange of views on class alliances of the proletariat in the anti-monopoly struggle (*WMR*, November 1978, May and June 1979).

fusing to subscribe to the Godesberg Program* and for demanding recognition of the GDR. True, only a small minority of SGUS members held communist views at the time. There was also the fact that the Communist Party had been banned ever since 1956 and social-democratic views, such as the concept of 'social partnership,' were widespread among the workers. In these circumstances, most SGUS members took a sectarian stand, which found expression in 'anti-authoritarian' dogmas (such as anarchism) and corresponding practices. This gave rise to centrifugal trends in the SGUS, which announced its dissolution late in 1968.

In spite of 'anti-authoritarian' mistakes, the activity of the SGUS in the late 60s was the first upswing in West Germany's student movement, an upswing which greatly benefited political development in the country. There were important actions in which the communists and student organizations cooperated, such as Easter marches for disarmament, the movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam and actions against emergency legislation and neo-nazism.

To begin with, the student movement strengthened the hand of those who sought progressive changes. It helped create a political climate making possible the formation of a legal communist party, the GCP. Subsequent events resulted in the removal of the Christian democrats from the leadership of the government and in the adoption of a realistic policy toward the socialist countries by the new government coalition of social democrats and free democrats.

Early in 1970, communist-oriented SGUS members formed the Association of Marxist Students and began to build up its influence. This, in turn, led to the formation of the Spartacus MUS (May 1971) which was immediately joined by nearly 1,000 students.

The MUS declared itself a militant organization articulating the students' social and political interests. It took a stand for alliance between the student movement and the working class. The MUS, it said in a statement on its founding, 'considers itself linked with the German Communist Party by bonds of solidarity resulting from a common Marxist theory, a socialist goal and a common anti-monopoly orientation in the struggle going on in the universities.'

The MUS comprises both GCP members and non-party Marxists. It is nearly 6,000 strong today and is active in more than 150 universities and colleges, which makes it the Federal Republic's largest political association of students. (The SGUS had about 3,000 members in its heyday, the late 60s).

The founding of the MUS was but one result of the changes which occurred among the students in the early 70s and still exert considerable influence on the situation in the universities. There was also a swing to the left in the Social-Democratic University Union founded by the social-democratic leadership in 1961 to succeed the SGUS. In spite of numerous disciplinary actions taken by the SPD leadership against the SDUU, the latter has been steadfastly following a policy of united action with the MUS ever since 1970.

I have said that the education system underwent no changes under CDU-led governments. Their policy was designed to educate the students in a spirit of unquestioning anti-communism and meek acceptance of capitalism, and to perpetuate the educational privileges of the propertied classes. And when the SPD-FDP coalition came to power a sizable section of the democratic forces hoped that the situation in the education system might improve substantially. After all, the social democrats' election campaign had emphasized the need for 'greater democracy' and 'greater equality of opportunity' in this sphere.

With the elections over, it transpired that the SPD leadership, too, was concerned above all with making higher education more subservient to monopoly capitalist interests. In other words, the social democrats consider that while education in the age of scientific and technological revolution needs to be modernized, this should not go beyond the actual requirements of big business. As for certain verbal concessions to the student movement and trade unions on minor issues, their purpose was to dampen the protest of the more militant young people and try to integrate them into the capitalist system.

In regard to those who refused to be integrated and held anti-capitalist, revolutionary views, the advocates of the interests of state-monopoly capital in the educational sphere resorted from the first to serious curbs on democratic rights. In 1972, the FDP and SPD leaderships embarked in collaboration with the CDU-CSU on the policy of Berufsverbot barring members of the GCP, MUS, and partly the SDUU from work in government agencies, primarily as teachers.

The chief result of the first phase of the educational reforms carried out in the early 70s under democratic pressure was the doubling of the number of students. The students' social composition changed too. The children of clerks and officials gained greater access to the universities. The proportion of workers' children among the students went up from between five and eight to roughly 15 per cent. But in view of the proportion of workers in the population of our country, their proportion in the universities must still be regarded as inadequate. Control of the education system was centralized and became more effective.

The student movement used the SPD's modest democratic concessions in the sphere of higher education as the starting point of struggle for more far-reaching demands. In some cases it won a democratization of the curriculum and a bigger role in the management of universities for students, as well as for young teachers and young technical and administrative personnel.

*Program adopted by the Bad Godesberg Congress of the SPD (1959). It formalized the social democrats' repudiation of Marxism. — *Ed.*

The task now is to defend these reforms and democratic rights against the offensive begun by reaction in the late 70s. The West German economy, burdened by crisis phenomena, has reduced monopoly capital's room for maneuver. Searching for a way out of the crisis, the ruling circles try to curtail the social and political rights won by the working people and youth. In the sphere of higher education they have passed laws lowering the quality of education for a large number of students and restricting the democratic rights of university students and teachers, primarily the rights of bodies representing students' interests. It is against these measures that the general strike of students late in 1977 was directed.

The strike was made possible by the sustained struggle for students' interests which the MUS had been waging for years, as well as by the unity of action and cooperation between the MUS, on the one hand, and social-democratic and left-wing Free Democratic students, on the other. The opportunities for this cooperation increased, for along with the SDUU, denounced by the SPD leadership, there were formed in the universities in 1974-75 groups of Young Socialists officially recognized by the SPD, as well as a union of students oriented on the FDP. Moreover, both organizations constitute, as they themselves delcare, a left-wing opposition to the CDU and the SPD-FDP government. The MUS, SDUU, Young Socialists and Free Democratic Students all delegate representatives to the Board of the Federation of German Unions of Students, the students' federal organization. (The CDU-CSU Union of Students is not represented in this organization because all other student organizations refuse to cooperate with it.)

With MUS influence growing — a result of cooperation between the communists and social democrats, which is making notable headway — political sentiment in the universities points increasingly to the left compared with the rest of West German society. Resisting the ruling circles' attempts to impose a right-wing trend on Federal Germany, the students have firmly adhered to a progressive, left-wing orientation ever since the late 60s, or for more than ten years. This is not a fortuitous phenomenon but a fruit of the struggle which the MUS and SDUU have been carrying on jointly for students' interests and which has had a very strong impact on the student movement as a whole.

Underlying this policy is the conviction that the interests of the majority of students are incompatible with those of monopoly capital either during the term of study or after graduation. The shifting of the burden of the crisis on to the working people's shoulders and unemployment, now chronic, threaten students and school-leavers as much as the working class. Besides, the intellectuals are by no means interested in monopoly capitalist utilization of science and technology, which is geared to deriving profit and hence is often destructive and expresses itself in the arms race, in damaging the environment and reducing jobs as a consequence of capitalist rationalization.

Thus, objective factors induce the majority of students to strive for anti-monopoly political and economic goals. This leads to collective solidarity action, encourages the students to fight in common, and strengthens relations between the student and working-class movement, primarily the trade unions.

The stability of the progressive thinking of most of West Germany's students is intimately linked with the actual struggle for their interests. It reached its peak with the students' massive participation in the movement for the ratification of the treaties signed by the FRG with Poland and the Soviet Union, their action against the motion for a vote of no-confidence against the Brandt-Scheel government tabled by the CDU-CSU in 1972, the march of 40,000 students on Bonn in 1974 in support of the demand for higher grants to make up for the damage caused by inflation, the strike called by university students in 1976 against restrictions on the admission of workers' children to universities, and lastly, the students' general strike.

A further important factor for the stability of the university students' progressive thinking is communist-social-democratic cooperation in trade union bodies representing students' interests. The persevering efforts of the MUS to achieve unity of action against the right are expressive of its desire to use the experience gained by Germany's revolutionary working class, primarily the communists, in the struggle against fascism.

The long-standing cooperation between the MUS and SDUU is a factor for students' unity of action. Besides, cooperation is going on within the United German Students and through contacts with the Young Socialists and Free Democrats on student committees operating at many universities and colleges. The original purpose of these committees was to teach parliamentary tactics to politically active bourgeois youth. However, the student movement has lately succeeded in turning these proving-grounds for bourgeois parliamentarism into real organizations with the mission of safeguarding students' interests. They now contribute to students' unity of action in spite of political and ideological differences.

These are all factors which have for years helped student bodies beat off fierce attacks by reactionaries set on curbing their activity. In two Länder of the Federal Republic administered by CDU-CSU-led governments, these bodies have been totally banned. In neither of them are they allowed to state their views on general political issues. Over 200 activists who spoke out in defense of students' interests, including numerous MUS members, were punished or are still being punished by fines, prosecution and other ways.

There is no discounting the fact that in spite of the increased militancy of the trade unions, the majority of the West German working class goes on thinking in terms of 'social partnership.' The working people are still strongly affected by right-wing socialist illusions and anti-communist prejudices. This means that it is not so easy to give relations

between the student and working-class movement the proper slant. Owing to a certain shift to the right in West German public life, the students have won few of their demands in spite of the major actions carried out by them in recent years, so that they are now witnessing curbs on democratic rights in the educational sphere.

These difficult conditions and the highly dissimilar, often petty-bourgeois social origin of students have created some fertile soil for the spread of sectarian views among the students, such as the idea of 'bourgeoisification of the working class' or the 'autonomy of the student movement.' The bourgeois media have eagerly seized on these ideas and use them to the hilt to isolate the student movement from the working-class movement. This is why the only way to link the two is to combat these élitist, sectarian views.

It is also necessary to show up the spuriousness of the thesis that the students' mass struggles, primarily strikes, are pointless or even harmful because the working class is allegedly still passive. Lenin had to take exception to such views as far back as the beginning of this century, when, in the years of the Stolypin reaction, Russia's workers refrained from militant action.

Lenin called on Marxist students to reconsider their negative stand on the idea of holding a nationwide student strike. 'The revolutionary slogan — to work toward coordinated political action of the students and the proletariat, etc. — here ceases to be a live guidance . . .,' he wrote, 'and becomes a lifeless dogma. . . . It is not sufficient merely to proclaim politically coordinated action. . . . One must be *able* to agitate for political action, *making use* of all possibilities, all conditions and, first and foremost, all mass conflicts between advanced elements, whatever they are, and the autocracy. . . . Our job is to explain to the mass of "academic" protesters the objective meaning of the conflict, to try and make it *consciously* political. . . .' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 15, pp. 215-216).

This is precisely the task which the GCP amd MUS set themselves in their work at the universities. They try to make the academic movement consciously political, to ensure that in specifying the methods of achieving their immediate and more remote political aims, the students take into account their community of interests with the working class. This bears fruit, Many students are now ready to recognize the need to carry out their actions with due regard for this community of interests and to see to it that they are understood by the latter.

In an effort to split the student movement and isolate it from the working class, the rightists exert massive ideological pressure. In collaboration with the CDU-CSU, reactionary professors, and the Christian-democratic organization of students, the Association of Employers has launched a shrill campaign against the 'popular front at the universities.' The primary purpose of the campaign is to dissuade social-democratic students from cooperating with the MUS. Reactionaries exploit acts of terrorism committed by adventurers to equate Marxism with terrot and to represent the campuses as 'spiritual hatcheries of terrorists.'

The common denominator of these campaigns and others of a similar nature is anti-communism, which the MUS is fighting with all possible means. An important aspect of the ideological work of the MUS and the GCP groups active in the universities is to inform students on the achievements of socialist countries. They point out that concessions to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, whatever their shade, ultimately serve the interests of reaction and encourage it to increase pressure on the democratic forces.

Bourgeois propaganda tries to arouse resentment against the student movement, first of all among young workers, by claiming that the students want to defend solely their 'privileges.' However, this propaganda has failed to prevent united action by young workers and students. This was seen in the demonstrations organized by young trade unionists, school committees, and student bodies late in 1977. The alliance between young workers and students is based on close cooperation between the Socialist German Working Youth, a Marxist organization, and the MUS.

The activity of communist workers at the factories is a very important factor for the fusion of the student movement with the working-class movement. We are doing our best to expose anti-student bias fomented by the bourgeois media. Our task is to help strengthen solidarity between the workers and their unions and all students.

GCP activity centers on the factories, of course. However, the party has in the past few years gained valuable experience in the universities as well. This creates a favorable climate in which to continue the struggle for alliance between the working class and intellectuals.

The Program adopted by the Mannheim congress of our party (1978) stresses the great importance of alliance between the workers and intellectuals in the struggle for democratic change and a socialist future. It says that the GCP regards it as 'a substantial advance in the political and spiritual life of our country that more and more scientists, writers, artists, teachers, doctors and engineers — members of practically all groups of intellectuals — commit themselves to their intersts, take an active part in democratic movements, and side with the working class.'* Our pressing task is to further this process, in particular among the students, who swell the ranks of intellectuals.

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*Program der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei. Düsseldorf, 1978, p. 79.

Concerning the 'Boat People'

INTERVIEW WITH NGUEN THAN LE, CC MEMBER, CP VIETNAM

WMR has been receiving letters from readers asking us to comment on the so-called problem of Vietnamese refugees.

World imperialism and the Peking's reactionary leadership have lately made every effort to slander Vietnam over the 'refugee problem.' But the whole point is that this problem was generated by the imperialists and the Peking hegemonists themselves.

In the 60s and early 70s, before the south of our country was liberated, the U.S. propaganda machine tried to frighten the population of South Vietnam by saying that a 'massacre' was inevitable in the event of a communist takeover. In March and April 1975, that is, just before Ho Chi Minh City and the whole of South Vietnam were liberated, U.S. imperialism used this bogey to precipitate the flight of over 160,000 people, thereby creating the 'refugee problem.' It is also responsible for the fact that tens of thousands of these refugees were drowned at sea.

In early 1978, the Peking reactionaries used their espionage network, which they had long been setting up in Vietnam, to incite hundreds of thousands of ethnic Chinese to return to China. They then began to slander Vietnam, alleging that the Vietnamese authorities were persecuting, terrorizing and expelling ethnic Chinese.

The imperialists and the Peking reactionaries are now going to all lengths to induce hundreds of thousands of ethnic Chinese, who are Vietnamese citizens, and Vietnamese proper to flee the country. Their targets are the following categories of people:

— ethnic Chinese who had once been merchants or worked in the services industry;

— persons who had worked in the military apparatus of U.S. imperialism and the puppet regime;

— those with relatives abroad, people whom U.S. imperialism forced to flee in 1975;

— persons who helped the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam;

— persons fearing another war between Vietnam and the Peking reactionaries;

— finally, those who had been habituated to the American 'way of life' and who do not want to adapt to the new conditions.

By inciting such people to flee, imperialism has applied special efforts (and means) to bribe intellectuals and to organize their illegal flight abroad. We have uncovered many groups whose members, lackeys of imperialism and Peking, organize such flight. They have been brought to justice.

Relative to citizens in the liberated areas, the Communist Party of Vietnam pursues the logical and reasonable policy of re-educating them in a spirit of patriotism and socialism, and convincing them, especially workers by brain — scientists, workers in culture and the arts — of the advantages of collectivist forms of power and drawing them into economic, cultural and social construction. We have also pursued a humanistic policy toward former officials of the puppet regime and the army, combining administrative and educational measures. As for the ethnic Chinese, the socialist principle of equality among nations naturally applies to them as well. All Vietnamese citizens, regardless of nationality, have equal rights and duties.

We have a clear-cut attitude to those who want to go abroad to join their relatives and to work honestly. We have reached the relevant understanding with the UN High Commissioner For Refugees.*

To sum up, it may be said that the blame for the refugee problem in Vietnam, as in Laos and Kampuchea falls squarely on imperialism and Peking. Having committed countless crimes against the refugees, the now shed crocodile tears. Incidentally, the slander campaign against Vietnam has been mounted at a time when the Peking reactionaries suffered an ignominious defeat in Kampuchea and in their war of aggression against Vietnam in February and March 1979.

U.S. imperialism and the Peking reactionaries have carried on this campaign in order to cause economic and political disorder in Vietnam, in order to compound the natural and inevitable difficulties in overcoming the bitter consequences of the imperialist wars of aggression against the Vietnamese people, and also the aftermath of natural calamities. This campaign is quite obviously aimed against Vietnam, against socialism. What is also obvious is that the exposure of the actual substance of the 'refugee problem' in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and exposure before world opinion of the perfidious intrigues of those who slander Vietnam, that is, those who are chiefly responsible for the refugee tragedy, is a necessary condition for checking and beating back the attacks on socialism by U.S. imperialism and the Peking reactionaries.

*It will be recalled that the SRV has agreed to participate in a UN sponsored international conference on the refugee problem. — *Ed.*

Latin America: time of change

Readiness for joint action

Narciso Isa Conde
CC General Secretary, Dominican Communist party

In its international policy the Dominican Communist Party pursues the aim of linking the revolutionary objectives of the working class and people of our country with the common objective of the liberation forces of the world — the complete and final defeat of capitalism, and the victory and building of socialism and communism. This was reaffirmed by the Second Congress of our party, held this year.[1]

The DCP follows an independent and creative international policy. It makes its own decisions and approaches problems of the world revolutionary process with a keen sense of responsibility. It upholds the patriotic aspirations of our people, which found expression in the struggle for national independence (proclaimed in 1821, 1844 and 1863) and in the anti-imperialist actions against U.S. intervention (1916 and 1965). Our independent position and our creative revolutionary approach to international problems imply class staunchness and an uncompromising attitude to imperialism; loyalty to the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin; study of the practical and theoretical contribution of the followers of scientific socialism; recognition of the great gains and achievements of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, the first socialist power; solidarity with the forces fighting capitalism and imperialism, against oppression in any form; support for measures aimed at achieving unity among the socialist countries, communist parties, and all revolutionary forces working to ensure socialism's triumph throughout the world and universal peace.

It was in this sense that the Second DCP Congress confirmed the opinion of the former CC on the Czechoslovak events in 1968 and identified itself with what our delegate said at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Worker's Parties in Moscow. Our party's subsequent active participation in the international communist movement showed that it sought neither isolation, nor a rupture, that it respects the views of other parties and has earned esteem in spite of the friction caused by its attitude.

The June 1975 Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean in Havana offered the DCP an excellent occasion to demonstrate once again its readiness for joint action and high-level political discussions with fraternal parties. The conference passed decisions that showed a notable degree of consensus among fraternal parties of our region on problems of the immediate future. It also defined common strategic objectives. The DCP delegation subscribed to the main theses of the conference declaration while making reservations on some of its aspects.

These, then, are the more important points of the DCP's international policy in recent years. As a participant in the world communist movement, our party has always taken an explicit stand in favor of a head-on struggle against capitalism and imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism, the peoples' chief enemy.

With due regard to the international and domestic situation, the Second Congress defined the political and tactical line of action at this and subsequent stages of the struggle and analyzed a number of burning issues.

The defeat sustained in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal, and the increasingly obvious discredit of the policy of imposing repressive regimes and backing rabidly reactionary governments compelled the U.S. ruling circles and the multinationals to reappraise their policy. Powerful U.S. European and Japanese corporations represented on the Trilateral Commission elected James Carter to the presidency of the No. 1 capitalist power. This and the policy worked out for the new U.S. administration were intended to show that the USA was no longer a world policeman and to prevent the rapid decline of the prestige of the mainstay of world imperialism. A new, effective, and impressive slogan was needed, and the choice fell on human rights. The present U.S. administration recognizes the unlawfulness of many of today's repressive regimes and admits that the opposition evoked by them at home and abroad is justified. But in calling for a transition to representative democracy and proclaiming human rights, it is in fact campaigning against communism.

U.S. policy chimes in with the Trilateral Commission's strategy of liberalizing the more repressive regimes that encounter mounting resistance from the people, and pressuring the proponents of political and economic models that are stagnating or vulnerable and hence likely to create a volatile situation imperilling the main centers of international capital. This is an attempt in the interests of capitalism to win over existing or potential opposition forces active in countries ruled by reactionary regimes, and to undermine or weaken democratic movements.

This is only too clear in Nicaragua, where Somoza, relying on U.S. military support and implementing a policy of genocide, tried to bar the Sandinista

National Liberation Front from power. The stormy events in Iran, too, showed up the demagogical talk of America's rulers about human rights and allegiance to freedoms. These rulers are willing to back any despot if this will help them protect their oil and strategic interests.

Communists, anti-imperialists, revolutionaries all over the world should resist this policy while raising no objection to the liberalization of the regimes in some countries. But it would be wrong to stop at that. We should not underrate the contradictions between the United States and the ultra-reactionary groups in dependent countries, nor should we side unconditionally with forces supporting the USA against these groups. We must advance social and political democratization programs going beyond programs of controlled liberalization.

Typical manifestations of United States' policy in general and of the present administration in particular are hostility for the socialist community, particularly for the Soviet Union, the main power of the opposing social system; the effort to influence the home and foreign policy of socialist countries; the economic and military pressure; and the campaigns to discredit or, on the contrary, praise some countries in contrast to others according to the current objective.

The present 'human rights' campaign is anti-communist and spearheaded against socialist countries steering a particularly firm anti-imperialist course. The right to work, to a home, to a decent life, medical care and education are not on the list of human rights presented by the U.S. adminstration and its social-democratic or social-Christian partners, for capitalism cannot guarantee these rights. They are observed in full measure only under socialism.

The scenarists of this campaign criticize the socialist countries over occasional difficulties. But they say nothing about the main violation of human rights, namely, capitalist appropriation f the greater part of the results of social labor. Nor do they say anything about the crying inequality, exploitation, poverty, plunder, wars, horrors of fascism, everyday crime, repression, corruption and humiliation that are the lot of hundreds of millions of men, women and children under capitalism.

Our party has a definite opinion of the problems of socialism and democracy. It has never given in to blackmail and never will, and this also goes for the aims of imperialism's anti-socialist and anti-communist campaign under the specious claim of defending democracy. There certainly are shortcomings under socialism and they are known, but as a social system socialism is far superior to the world hypocritically called 'free.'

We Dominican communists always remember that the present-day confrontation is international. We hold the USA and other imperialist powers responsible for stepping up the arms race, for the support they give to counter-revolution, for the establishment of military bases on all continents, for the supply of arms to crush popular struggles for freedom and independence. We consider that armed imperialist intervention justifies solidarity in the form of a military and political presence of socialist countries beyond their borders. The point is whether a military or political action from without is in conformity with the will of the majority of the people and the interests of the country concerned, whether it is taken at the request of the nation's top leaders or contrary to the people's will. It follows that the armed intervention mounted by the United States in Vietnam and in our country was one thing and the heroic presence of Cuban military units in Angola, which was fighting against South African aggression and age-long imperialist interference, is another.

We condemn foreign armed force where it operates against the will of the majority of the people. But we applaud and support revolutionary military units where they identify themselves with the just cause and aspirations of the people concerned. We are well aware of the difference between the forces of imperialism, oppression and war and those of socialism, national liberation and peace.

This difference has been forgotten by the leaders of the People's Republic of China, who have entered into collusion with imperialism to oppose the socialist community and the world revolutionary and communist movement. China's rupture with the Soviet Union, the majority of the countries of the socialist camp and the communist movement had a considerable impact on U.S. foreign policy. But it is precisely the Chinese leadership's policy of alliance with capitalist powers that has strengthened the hand of counter-revolution ,all over the world.

International imperialism has won an important victory: for the first time ever, the leaders of a socialist country have aligned themselves with it almost completely: they are willing to pursue a policy of compromise and make any ideological concessions so long as they can secure the backing of the USA, Japan and Western Europe for their pretentious plan of modernizing the economy and army. The U.S. State Department expects to use China as a Trojan horse. The deal with Peking enables Washington to resort on a larger scale to indirect aggression while at the same time engaging in demagogy about non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and about human rights. Nor is it only the backing of its junior capitalist partners that the USA now uses in pursuing its aims.

Take, for example, China's policy toward Vietnam. At first there were undisguised hostility and provocations in alliance with the degenerate, venal Pol Pot regime. Then the Chinese army invaded Vietnam after the Kampuchean people had overthrown the hated regime with the backing of the Vietnamese people (which was perfectly natural), who had taken steps in self-defense. The Chinese ruling group thereby undertook the role of aggressor, a role performed earlier by the USA.

China's reaction is understandable, for its present rulers cannot put up with Vietnam's firm anti-imperialist policy. The heroic Vietnamese people's

influence, strength and example are seen by this group of traitors as an obstacle. Using the boastful vocabulary of mandarins, they have been talking about the need to 'teach Vietnam a lesson' for its unshakable firmness. We think Peking has gone too far. It must have forgotten that the Vietnamese people defeated an army far superior to the Chinese in strength. The alliance of the ruling élites of China and the United States was defeated in Vietnam.

The mounting liberation struggle in Latin America, which holds the promise of replacing fascist regimes and traditional dictatorships by representative democracy, is being watched by European social democrats with growing attention. The effort to step up their activity in our region is part of the social democrats' policy toward the Third World. Economically, this effort is prompted by the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism in the main European countries. Neo-colonialism is in distress. Dependent countries are raising the prices of some raw materials. Developed capitalism needs new markets and new territories for industrial construction. This is why, in the atmosphere of détente, it shows readiness to accept a change in the forms of the dependence of peripheral countries on the center.

It would be wrong, however, to identify the policy of European social democrats with Carter's policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean, even though the possibility of joint action by them is manifest.

In the past, the social democrats advocating the establishment in Latin America of regimes patterned on European bourgeois democracies saw a serious obstacle in the U.S. government's strong-arm policy. Now that Washington has adopted a new line, the social democrats' political plan looks more realistic. There is a consensus between the two sides (the USA and the social democrats) on the need to replace obsolete or obsolescent despotic governments compromising the system. Each needs the other, for both are 'guardians' of the system of world capitalist domination, in spite of rivalry as well as contradictions (of secondary significance) between European and U.S. corporations.

The Socialist International shows flexibility and vigor, skillfully coordinates the activity of its member organizations and has large funds at its disposal. It has called on the populist, reformist and national-reformist parties of many countries of the continent to embark on gradual *social-democratization*. By carrying on a policy of compromise, the social democrats establish links with influential parties and leaders that have been in or are likely to assume power. They want to strengthen their positions and to exert an ideological influence on the struggle against dictatorship and fascism. At the same time, they try to prevent the struggle from acquiring a revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation.

In recent years, the peoples of some countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have been living in a climate of terror. In addition to the long-standing despotic regimes in Paraguay and Haiti, fascist and other repressive regimes have emerged in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala. The fascist trend is still a serious threat although it has been muted in some countries. In fighting fascism, Latin America's communists, democrats and revolutionaries can and should make common cause with the social democrats and adherents of other trends advocating the restoration of freedom.

In line with this criterion, we have declared that we are resolved to achieve unity of action with the Dominican Revolutionary Party in order to do away with repressive regimes in Latin America. We have stressed our readiness to launch in common with Dominican social democrats a movement of solidarity with our neighbor, the Haitian people, who are fighting to uproot Duvalierism, for their freedom. However, the DRP leadership has taken a passive stand on its government's compromise with the regime under Jean Claude Duvalier.

Our attitude to the social democrats differs according to circumstances. They oppose despotic forms of government but on taking over from a decayed regime, they proceed to support the existing socio-economic system. In the former case we regard them as allies although potentially they remain our opponents. In the latter case, they are opponents whom we must counter with the anti-imperialist alternative and whom we must fight while at the same time barring reaction from power. But in either case we must support steps toward extending democracy and carrying out reforms, resist apologists of the existing socio-economic system, try to radicalize the social democrats and oppose SI influence on anti-imperialist forces.

This is quite feasible. To quote Kiva Maidanik, a Soviet expert on Latin America, 'the social democrats have yet to offer the societies of the continent an integral and realistic development plan intimately connected with modernization, liberalization, the preservation and stability of links with the centers of the system, diminishing dependence and the implementation of social reforms.'[2]

Venezuela and Costa Rica are cases in point. This is why, contrary to the claims of Latin American social-democratic leaders, the socialist road chosen by the Cuban revolution is still the only example on the continent that has proved equal to ending exploitation, inequality, mass unemployment, poverty, backwardness and dependence. The socialist alternative can have numerous national manifestations under a socio-economic system in which social ownership and planned economy predominate.

In August 1978, power in our country was assumed by the DRP. This party had the backing of almost the whole people, who hated the government led by Joaquin Balaguer for 12 years. The Balaguer regime discredited itself through unprecedented corruption, the selling out of the nation's natural resources to multinationals, an economic policy benefiting the domestic bourgeoisie and foreign companies, failure to solve the unemployment problem, increased political dependence,

periodical sweeping repressive measures, and constant curbs on freedoms.[3] The DRP came to power also as a result of identifying itself with the policy of Carter and international social-democracy. What are the results of its rule? What political changes have occurred in our country? What has the DRP gained by joining the SI and Carter's 'International'?

Originally the DRP was a populist and reformist party, which, after the overthrow of its first government (1963) and, above all, after the U.S. armed intervention (1965), reconsidered its line and adopted an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic position close to that of the left-wing revolutionary forces. However, closer links with international social-democracy and the fact that it sought support from the Carter administration swung the DRP leadership to the right. With this swing, democratization slowed down in our country. The Balaguer government, which brought into being a ruling bloc of domestic and foreign capitalists, gave way to a government directly controlled by this bloc. The masses had hoped for substantial changes. These hopes are being dashed.

It is certainly hard to draw final conclusions about a government that has been in power for slightly more than a year. However, the main lines of its policy are evident. The new regime has dispelled the illusions created by itself. The law on amnesty and the reduction of repression are its two important achievements. But even on the traditional issue of civil freedoms dealt with in social-democratic programs, the government is far from keeping its promises. Indeed, it takes measures that antagonize the masses. Demonstrations are still restricted, trade union freedoms are constantly violated, and former guerrillas and political exiles have been denied the right of residence.

The changes that have taken place in the army, first of all the removal of members of its fascist-like section, may be assessed as positive. However, two high-ranking U.S. military men are still in our country and the group of advisers on military aid is still operating — a sign of continuing foreign influence on our armed forces.

The administrative incompetence and socio-economic policy of the government are retrettable and alarming. Corruption and waste, criticized by DRP leaders when they were in opposition, persist. Life in idleness is flaunted.

Our people, who are very sensitive, are fast learning the lessons of recent months. They are beginning to trust in the potentialities of the DCP, in its ability to fight for their aspirations, and solve the basic problems of an unjust society.

There are many indications of the people's growing sympathy for our party, which has always supported the workers' demands and the peasants' struggle against the big landowners, and has firmly and courageously shown, by means of facts and figures, that our country is being plundered by foreign monopolies. In the past, our party warned against the present government's limitations. It makes a thorough study of reality and offers the country an effective way out of the social and economic crisis. Operating from independent positions, the Dominican Communist Party has established extensive and fruitful relations with socialist countries and the world revolutionary and communist movement.

The Second DCP Congress has strengthened the Party.

1. The Congress was attended by 407 delegates. Also present were 200 guests and delegations brom the Communist Parties of Mexico, the United States, Panama, France and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The social democratic government of the Dominican Republic denied entry visas to delegates from the Communist Parties of socialist countries and Haiti.

2. *Hablan los Comunistas*, No. 24, December 1-8, 1978.

3. For a survey of the Balaguer government, see P.J. Persia, 'The Dominican Republic: problems and prospects,' *WMR*, May 1977, p. 124.

After victory: the struggle continues

The decisive stage of the Nicaraguan people's struggle came to an end with the flight of dictator Anastasio Somoza and Managua's seizure by Sandinista National Liberation Front units. The regime that brought the nation so much sorrow and suffering is gone. A dynastic tyranny, which U.S. imperialism had used as the policeman of Central America, has been overthrown. This is of tremendous significance not only to Nicaragua. Its effects will most certainly be felt in other countries.

However, Somoza's departure from the political scene does not mean that the Nicaraguan people's revolution has been irreversibly consummated. There still remains the exceedingly important problem of spiking the maneuvers and intrigues of reactionary and imperialist forces, who are out to disunite the opponents of the dictatorship and preserve their positions.

The general armed rising that swept away the dictatorial regime was the culmination of a protracted and unrelenting fight for national independence. It was markedly anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. from the outset, which is understandable in the light of gross U.S. interference in the affairs of Nicaragua, a small Central American nation, and repeated invasions of its territory by U.S. marines. The struggle was particularly bitter during the U.S. occupation in 1927-1933, and gradually developed into a guerrilla war led by Augusto Cesar Sandino, an outstanding Nicaraguan patriot. The Army of de-

fenders of the Sovereignty of Nicaragua dealt the invaders telling blows and forced them out of the country.

But that did not end U.S. interference. In 1934 Anastasio Somoza Garcia, commander of the National Guard, had Sandino assassinated in collusion with the U.S. Embassy and set up a brutal dictatorship that was to shape the nation's home and foreign policy under U.S. dictation. One of the last acts of aggression that got wide publicity was the participation of U.S. army officers in the destruction of Sandinista camps in a mountainous region. This operation was carried out in 1976 by troops of the Central American Defense Council, a military organization of Central American states established in 1962 under the aegis of the United States to put down the revolutionary movement in the area.

CADC forces, as well as mercenaries from Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and the USA fought on Somoza's side this year too, in spite of the professed neutrality of their governments. A few days before the end the tyrant met with the heads of Central American military dictatorships in an eleventh-hour bid to salvage his regime and persuaded them to sign a 'mutual defense treaty' to justify an invasion of Nicaragua by CADC units.

Without massive U.S. military and economic support Somoza would not have stayed in power for so long. True, when the fighting in Nicaragua entered the decisive phase Washington announced that it had discontinued military aid to the Somoza regime on the grounds that it had violated human rights. In practical terms, however, this did not matter much, for the National Guard had adequate quantities of arms supplied by the USA and Israel.

Why is Washington clinging to its positions in Nicaragua and in Central America as a whole so tenaciously? First, because of the advantages offered by that region's geographical location for inter-oceanic communication. Second, because it is a potentially large source of raw materials, primarily of fuel, as well as of manpower, in which the multinationals are interested.

The developments in Nicaragua were further evidence that when the economic and strategic interests of U.S. imperialism are threatened by a people's effort for liberation, it uses every means to suppress that effort. After last year's September rising, the USA took a more active posture toward Nicaragua. To begin with, it acted more vigorously through diplomatic channels in an attempt to settle the conflict through various maneuvers and so-called talks between the opposition and the dictatorship. It aimed at setting up a regime which may be described as Somozism without Somoza.

This formula subsequently underlay all 'alternative solutions' put forward by U.S. diplomacy. The United States proposed, for instance, forming a government of 'national conciliation' that would exclude the SNLF and would not aim at abolishing the dictatorship's repressive agencies. After the attempt to reconcile the people with their murderers failed, the USA put pressure on the Provisional Democratic Government for National Renaissance (formed in the course of the rising) to make it bring in extreme reactionaries. Its emissaries believed that this would make the new leadership 'less radical.' The imperialists were plainly interested in the formation of a cabinet without Sandinistas and preserving the two pillars of the Somoza regime, namely, the National Guard and the Liberal Nationalist Party. However, the Provisional Government and the SNLF emphatically rejected this attempt to impose a government at variance with the people's sovereign will.

Further, the USA stepped up pressure through propaganda channels. As if responding to a signal, the pro-imperialist media began to accuse some Latin American countries, primarily Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela and Cuba, of interfering in Nicaraguan affairs. The obvious aim of this play was to justify internationalization of the conflict and a direct military intervention. Accordingly, Washington called an emergency meeting of the Organization of American States in the hope of imposing a resolution authorizing the dispatch of a so-called inter-American expeditionary force to Nicaragua. But the OAS voted 17 to 2 (with five abstentions) against the U.S. plan and declared for 'the immediate and unconditional replacement of the Somoza regime and the formation of a democratic government.' The OAS vote was a historic victory for Latin America, since it dealt a crushing blow to U.S. gunboat diplomacy based on interference in the affairs of other countries and on suppression of the people's will.

The miscarriage of the U.S. plan in the OAS showed that a new balance of strength is developing in the region, one that prevents direct intervention, and that imperialism can no longer force its solutions on our continent as it did repeatedly in the past, when the OAS approved the invasion of Guatemala (1954) and the Dominican Republic (1965) by inter-American troops, 'expelled' socialist Cuba from the 'inter-American' system (1962), and supported the criminal U.S.-inspired economic blockage of Cuba.

External factors are also contributing to the failure of imperialist plans of intervention and to the Latin American peoples' struggle for freedom, democracy and social progress. They are the growing might and influence of the socialist community, the effective, realistic policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the international arena, vigorous action by the working class of capitalist countries against the aggressive ambitions of reactionary and fascist forces, and the gains of the national-liberation movement.

What does Somoza's fall spell out?

First of all, it is a heavy blow to imperialist positions in the region, above all in Central America.

Second, the overthrow of Somoza will substantially weaken reactionary and fascist dictatorships in the continent and is certain to lead to a new upsurge of the Latin American peoples' struggle. The loss of the main component of the Central American military system (Guatemala — El Sal-

vador — Nicaragua) and its main instrument, the CADC, amounts to the virtual collapse of both.

Central American reaction has lost its chief ally, who interfered high-handedly in the affairs of other countries and hatched countless conspiracies with the view to suppressing our peoples' revolutionary movement and winning their support for rabid anti-communism. It was with Somoza's consent that the Pentagon mercenaries who invaded Guatemala in 1954 and Cuba in 1961 were trained in Nicaragua.

What the reactionaries are concerned about most is that the Nicaraguans' heroic struggle will become an infectious example for countries where the national democratic struggle is on the rise, primarily for Guatemala and El Salvador.

Third, the fall of the dictatorship will make it possible to proceed to the solution of many pressing social, economic, and political problems that piled up under the anti-national regime.

The Provisional Government, which champions the interests and aspirations of all anti-Somozists, is faced with formidable tasks. Its program is to establish a democratic system, ensure respect for civil rights and freedoms, form a new army, consisting mainly of SNLF troops, nationalize the Somoza family's property, effect far-reaching changes in key industries, put the nation's natural resources under state control, enforce a radical agrarian reform, and set up a public sector in the economy (without abolishing the private sector). In the social sphere the program calls for a higher standard of living. The goverment is determined to pursue an independent foreign policy promoting relations with countries that respect the right of nations to self-determination.

One of the Provisional Government's appeals proclaimed the year 1979 Nicaragua Liberation Year. It is for this that the people's patriotic forces fought with unshakable resolve and exemplary courage. In an appeal to the peoples of the world, the united national leadership of the SNLF declares that 'the Sandinistas' unity was the final blow to the Somoza tyranny and the first step toward giving the sun, the land, and the future to the people who have won the right to be the masters and makers of a new history.'

The Nicaraguan communists, many of whom fought in the Sandinista units, played a large part in the nationwide struggle to depose the dictatorship. To quote A. Ramirez, General Secretary of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party and Deputy Foreign Minister, the Provisional Government's program meets with the interests of the entire nation. The communists have joined actively in implementing it and are participating in the complex and difficult task of rehabilitation, abolishing the effects of the hostilities and starting up production.

The democratic and progressive forces in the world must be vigilant toward imperialist maneuvers and the threat of armed intervention in Nicaragua. They must do everything to prevent reaction from robbing the people of a victory won on the battlefield at the cost of thousands of lives.

We are confident that the Nicaraguan people, who are free now, will overcome all difficulties, consolidate their victory, and follow the path of peace, democracy and social progress.

WMR Commission on Problems of Latin America and the Caribbean
Early August 1979.

Against persecution and repression

A CALL FOR SOLIDARITY

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia has published an open letter to Latin American public opinion, reading in part as follows:

'We appeal to all democratic and revolutionary forces to show the most vigorous solidarity with Colombia today.

'The salient feature of the present situation in our country is the confrontation between the people's growing forces and reactionaries who adopt repressive measures to bar the way to effective democracy.

'To prevent democratic change, putschist elements in the armed forces stage prearranged trials before drumhead tribunals on the basis of the testimony of agents provocateurs and "confessions" wrested under torture, which they use to "indict" the Communist Party."

This may surprise some, for Colombia, like Venezuela or Costa Rica, is often described by the bourgeois press as a bastion of democracy in Latin America. Indeed, some aspects of the political situation in Colombia bear out what the 'big press' writes. The existing legal order allows opposition and elections to the Presidency and parliament. However, the same press often conceals the fact that for several decades we have had a state of emergency and a peasant guerrilla war provoked by violence and massive terror on the part of landowners and the reactionary military, and that the Communist Party, while formally recognized as a political organizations, is virtually banned and has to operate in semi-legal conditions or — in rural areas where punitive expeditions are operating — even in strict secrecy.

The upsurge of popular struggles in recent years has made the military tremble for the existing system. They have decided to strike all opposition forces, primarily the Communist Party, a preventive blow. Most conspicuous among them is the Defense Minister, General Luis Camacho Leyva, ad admirer of Pinochet and a typical product of U.S. military training. In September 1977, he showed that he was

indeed a butcher when he savagely crushed the national civic strike.

Aggressive military circles have set themselves a task that is anything but heroic. They want to prevent the people from expressing their protest against the economic policy which the regime has been pursuing in the interest of the oligarchy and imperialist monopoly and which is disastrously affecting their condition.

The people's real incomes have dropped by 20 per cent in the past decade. The share of wages and salaries in the national income declined from 46.5 per cent in 1970 to 39.2 per cent in 1976. In the same period, the annual cost of living growth rate exceeded 20 per cent and in some cases even 30 per cent. This trend persisted in later years. In January and May 1978, the cost of living of a working-class family increased by 10 per cent; this year the same period saw a 14.4 per cent rise. In March 1974, such a family had to spend 2,881 pesos for its everyday needs; by December 1978 this figure had risen to 7,561 and by April 1979, to 8,451. Nearly a million people, or 10 per cent of the able-bodied population, are jobless, and another 1.5 million are partially employed.

Thus, the intensification of popular struggles is perfectly understandable. The national civic strike in September 1977 was the culmination, so to speak, of the movement against the spiralling cost of living and unemployment. It was the greatest action ever launched by Colombia's working people. In one day there were as many strikers as throughout the previous decade.

The national civic strike was followed by further unity actions of the working class and middle strata. Members of the liberal professions stepped up their resistance; so did the students, who protested against the authorities' attempts to place the education system in private hands and subordinate the universities to foreign interests. The CPC and other left-wing organizations greatly expanded the sphere of their influence. In the countryside the peasants stepped up their actions for land, against coercion by the army. The nationwide fight in defense of civil rights and freedoms and for guarantees of the trade union movement and political opposition assumed vast proportions.

On September 6, 1978, at a time when preparations for new civic and trade union actions were drawing to a close, the government enacted the Security Statutes, the most reactionary law in modern Colombian history. The Statutes envisage harsher punishment for so-called 'subversion,' vest 'military penal justice' with unlimited powers, impose censorship on radio and television and curtail freedom of association and demonstration. On January 8, 1979, the government, invoking the need to search for members of the extreme leftist M 19 organization who had stolen large quantities of arms from one of the capital's barracks, put into effect Article 28 of the Constitution, which authorizes the arrest of anyone suspected of violating the peace.

The top army leadership used this 'right' to unleash a wave of repressive measures against democrats. Punitive expeditions terrorize the population in huge rural areas, where the opposition is organized best of all. Massive arrests are carried out in the towns among workers, students, office employees, teachers, members of the liberal professions and workers in culture. The arrested include Alvaro Vasquez, member of the CPC Central Executive Committee, Isidro Lopez, Vice-President of PENSA (National Federation of Agricultural Trade Unions), Israel Quintero, a communist MP and other persons prominent in the communist and trade union movement. About 4,000 people had been arrested by mid-May. They are charged with carrying on guerrilla activity or assisting guerrillas. They — men and women, old people and children — were all seized in their homes late in the night or at dawn and taken blindfolded to army barracks converted into prisons. For the first time ever, torture is a common occurrence in Colombia.

The government has records exposing torture and other arbitrary methods. But in spite of the fact that these records bear the signatures of lawyers, forensic experts and relatives of the detainees, it persists in denying the use of force and torture during interrogation, thereby covering up the criminal practices of General Camacho Leyva and his underlings. Abetted from above and using the Security Statutes, the military demand more repression and the outlawing of the Communist Party. They have already drawn up an 'indictment' describing communist leaders as initiators and chieftains of the 'subversive' guerrilla movement in rural Colombia.

The fascist threat is resisted by a growing body of Colombian opinion ranging from the communists to the Catholic clergy and a section of the military. One indication of this was the Human Rights Forum held in Bogota from March 30, to April 1, 1979. It was attended by noted Liberal and Conservative MPs, communists, socialists, delegates of independent political organizations, lawyers and leaders of trade union and non-governmental organizations of diverse ideological persuasions. The forum had the backing of prominent writers, artists, musicians and actors. The significance of their presence was admitted even by reactionary newspapers. The forum 'was a really extraordinary event that laid a solid groundwork for a civic movement unprecedented in scope and impact,' to quote Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the Communist Party.

The resistance of the masses and international solidarity with persecuted Colombians are beginning to bear fruit in our country. They have resulted in the release of some of the political prisoners. In a letter to world opinion, the Communist Party points out that the only way to prevent Colombia from drifting to fascist terror is to expose every arbitrary act and every instance of torture as resolutely and widely as possible and to secure the release of all imprisoned fighters.

Alvaro Delgado
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the press

Ideas transforming the world

M.A. Suslov, *Marksizm-leninizm i sovremennaya epokha. Sbornik vystupleniy* (Marxism-Leninism and the Present Epoch. A Collection of Speeches), Moscow, Politizdat, 1979. 95 pp.

This is a collection of speeches by Mikhail Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from 1977 to 1979. They cover a wide range of problems arising from the deep-going revolutionary transofrmations in the modern world under the impact of the Great October Revolution, questions of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, a number of topical problems in Marxist-Leninist theory which are of great significance for the creative conceptualization of the new realities of the epoch, the practice of socialist and communist construction, and experience in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The keynote of this collection is that the great revolutionary doctrine evolved by Marx and Engels, and continued and developed by Lenin, has been and continues to be a powerful spiritual weapon of the working class, the communist and workers' parties and all the other revolutionary forces. Its importance in present-day conditions, far from declining, has, in fact, grown because, as historical experience testifies, Marxist-Leninist theory alone provides a reliable basis for understanding the laws of social development in all its complexity and diversity, and a guide for successful practical action. Mikhail Suslov emphasizes: 'The CPSU cherishes the revolutionary theory embodied in the brilliant writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and in many documents of our party and the international communist movement. But it sees theory not as a set of dead dogmas established once and for all, for every occasion, but as something that is a creative, vibrant and constantly developing matter' (p. 21).

The author notes that the revolutionary forces have to operate in countries with productive forces on different levels of development, and different socio-economic maturity, political structures and historical traditions. This wealth of national and historical features requires that each communist party should make a thorough and concrete analysis and take account of the specifics of the situation, and produces differences in the ways along which the masses are led to socialism, in the forms in which the working people are organized, in the methods of struggle and in the concrete programs for social transformations. A party that fails to take into account the national specifics and concrete historical conditions, trends in the development of the world balance of forces and the specifics of the international situation cannot be successful.

But life also shows that ignoring the general laws of the socialist revolution and the building of a socialist system leads to groping in the dark, because these laws are not a code of abstract rules, but the sum-total of the guidelines for action which have been scientifically established and verified in practice, and which — it goes without saying — call for creative application. The attitude to these is the attitude to the general validity of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and to the available wealth of experience in the class struggle and socialist construction. The author says: 'The method of crossing out the lessons of history and the urge, at any price, to apply "the rule of contraries" with respect to already tested forms of struggle cannot be a reliable way for working out an independent political strategy and tactics. The CPSU has always stood and continues to stand for thorough study and rational application of the fraternal parties' experience' (p. 27).

Mikhail Suslov brings together a broad range of historical facts to show the abiding importance of international solidarity and analyzes the contemporary aspects of the dialectics of the national and the international in the revolutionary process. He draws the conclusion that the working class and the international communist movement continue to be the chief exponent of internationalism, because by their very nature they have to act as the unifying element in the overall revolutionary process of our day. The significance of the national moment in the whole of world development and in the activity of each fraternal party tends to increase, but the role of the international unification of all the forces of liberation is simultaneously becoming ever more important as well. To reduce the whole content of the Marxist-Leninist party's internationalist duty to its activity within the national framework would mean unjustifiably to narrow down the criteria of internationalism.

An important element in Suslov's speeches is his analysis of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy in the recent period, for, as he shows very well, it is based on a profound knowledge of the laws of social development and takes into account every aspect both of the diverse conditions in the country's domestic life and the whole system of international relations. Prominent events in the period, like the

adoption of the USSR Constitution, the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, gave an impetus to further generalizing the experience in building the communist system, summing up what has been done and determining the main guidelines for the future, and ascertaining the laws of the socio-economic, political and spiritual development of the new system.

Among these key laws, Suslov explains, is the growth of the leading role of the Communist Party, the guiding and directing force of Soviet society. He shows the content and significance of the fundamental conclusions drawn by the CPSU on the historical place and economic and political substance of developed socialist society; the development of the proletarian-dictatorship state into the socialist state of the whole people, the lines of development of communist social self-administration; the extension and deepening of socialist democracy, the actual assurance of individual rights and liberties, and a number of other conclusions and evaluations.

A major component of these speeches is their examination of the CPSU's foreign-policy questions, especially those which spring from the present complicated and contradictory development of the international situation. These tasks, which are determined by the class character of Soviet foreign policy, consist in 'perseveringly working, together with our friends and allies, to deepen the process of détente, to halt the arms race, give a resolute rebuff to the aggressive moves of imperialism and reaction, and support to all the progressive forces of our day' (p. 68).

Considerable obstacles in the way of fulfilling these tasks, the author says, are created by China's present leadership, which has aligned itself with international reaction in the fight against peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism, and which started armed aggression against socialist Vietnam.

The CPSU and the Soviet government, Suslov says, are keeping a vigilant watch over all the moves of the imperialists and their abettors, and doing their utmost to frustrate their plans, which are aimed at undermining the positions of the forces of peace and socialism.

Yuri Solodukhin

The present-day lumpenproletariat and extremism

Ernst Henry
Soviet publicist

Up until recently, very little was said and written about the lumpenproletariat. It appeared to be ignored. But we find that it has not been forgotten in some circles. There is now good reason to believe that some in the camp of the adversaries of the international working-class movement pin their hopes on the lumpenproletariat as a political instrument. It is not surprising, therefore, that the world press has had more and more to report, however vaguely, on the present-day lumpenproletariat.[1]

In the mid-19th century, Marx called them 'scum,' the 'offal,' and 'the refuse of all classes.' [2] The lumpenproletarian as a social figure has changed little since then.[3] In contrast to the past, the lumpenproletarian today is not necessarily poor or hungry, but, as in the past, he does feel that he has been discarded by society.

He continues to be a person trapped at the bottom of the social scale, he does not belong to any class, and is not involved in productive labor.

The lumpenproletarian stands against one and all, and is concerned only with himself. An outcast, in society's junkyard, he is not involved in any struggle to restructure it and rejects any discipline. He has no ideals.[4] He hates the bourgeoisie and covets the property of the individual bourgeois. He prefers a parasitic existence to any organized work.

For all these reasons, even today the lumpenproletarian remains beyond the pale of the working class and has nothing in common with the working-class movement. But while the lumpenproletarian has not changed as a social type, a great many things around him have changed over the past decades and this has important consequences for the lumpenproletarian as well.

Despite the growth of modern industry, the number of lumpenproletarians, the déclassé and semi-déclassé section of the population in our day has considerably increased, instead of diminishing. This shows once again capitalism's inability to solve the cardinal social problems directly bearing on the individual, and also poses the question: what is the origin of the lumpens today?

There is, first of all, the direct impact of the crisis development of the capitalist economy. Under capitalism, chronic mass unemployment, compounded by the social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, hits young people in the first place.

Here is what one magazine said at the end of 1977: There are now more than two million unemployed in Western Europe under 25, and they account for 40 per cent of the European Community's

6 million who are out of work. It is the shutout modern generation. In France youth constitutes 42.3 per cent of the nation's 1.5 million unemployed. Officially, there are 251,419 unemployed under 25 in the FRG, but the figure is probably closer to 400,000, or 40 per cent of the total unemployed. In Italy, unemployment has been a malaise for nearly a century. Today it is a disaster. Out of a total of 1.6 million jobless, over a million are young people.[5]

Some of the jobless are undoubtedly declassed, some temporarily, others for longer periods, and the most unprincipled and spineless, for good. Today, unemployment is the chief source for the growth of the lumpenproletariat, whereas in the 19th century Marx did not mention it as a special factor in this connection.

A section of students, graduates and drop-outs are another important source which has fed the growth of declassed and semi-declassed elements in the capitalist countries in the postwar period.

In the past two decades, many young people from petty-bourgeois and working-class families were able to enrol at universities but lacked the means of livelihood, so that their living standards differ little, if at all, from those of the unemployed, and this forces something like 80 per cent of French and Italian students to become drop-outs. In Italy, there is even a special name for the indigent unemployed and student drop-outs: 'emarzzinati' (jettisoned). There, nearly 80 per cent of job seekers are young people under the age of 29, and over 60 per cent of them have a secondary or higher education.[6]

It would, of course, be wrong to say that all or even most go all the way down and inevitably become lumpens. But some of these young people, who are disillusioned with the bourgeois way of life, are inclined to adopt the ideas of 'counter-culture,' and come close to being lumpenproletarians who have no ideals and who, in fact, constitute its few and emergent section.

This applies both to Western Europe and to North America. According to the U.S. bourgeois sociologist Bruce Franklin, some of the déclassé despairing young people who have abandoned their petty-bourgeois families, find themselves in some kind of 'intermediate' state, having lost their old values, without having acquired any new ones. These one-time students, degraded to the level of beggars and vagabonds, sympathize with the lumpenproletariat and feel akin to it, eventually merging with it and giving it a new 'dimension.'

Finally, the Western press indicates yet another source of lumpenproletarians. They are the children of immigrant workers in the more developed capitalist countries from Italy, Spain, Turkey and other European countries and also from Asia and Africa.

Guisseppe Sterpin says: 'From humilitation to despair this "mental ghetto" is becoming a powder-barrel inside a society which believed that, once and for all, it had established social peace.'[7] Jobless, living in humiliating conditions, with a sense of isolation from an alien society, and in something like an act of revenge against the society that has discarded them, some take to crime and become lumpenproletarians.

The existence of a large stratum of déclassé and semi-déclassé elements is also evidenced by yet another phenomenon: in the capitalist world today, crime is assuming unprecedented proportions. Indeed, nothing like this has ever been seen in the capitalist world throughout its entire history.

Can one assume that the growth of déclassé elements in the capitalist world will stop or at least slow down in the next few years? Let us consider the existing situation According to the International Labor Organization, 280 million persons were expected to come on the labor market in the capitalist countries in the 70s. With the constantly high rate of unemployment — averaging 5-6 per cent in the developed capitalist countries — the number of jobless should have reached 14-17 million. Indeed, the 1978 the figure was over 17 million. Thus, the social basis for the growth of the lumpenproletariat has been steadily extended. No wonder some bourgeois analysts say that the growth of the lumpenproletariat is becoming something of a uniformity and an irreversible process. In capitalist society, that is,

There is undoubtedly a causal connection between the growth of unemployment, of crime and of the lumpenproletariat. *The New York Times Magazine* suggested in the summer of 1973 that since 'legal' ways failed to provide sufficient earnings, a high level of economically induced crime was inevitable. Some casual criminals subsequently become professionals, swell the ranks of the criminal world and so turn into truly 'classical' lumpenproletarians.

Meanwhile, prostitution has also been spreading. A new type of tramp has appeared on the scene. There is also a growing number of other kinds of vagrants, extortionists, thieves and drug addicts. At a trial in Los Angeles in June 1970, it was established that the Manson gang killed dozens of people not for the sake of robbery, and that Manson had intended to unite his lumpenproletarian gang with a motorcycle-mounted gang 'to go out all over the country and all over the world to pick up people at random and execute them, to release them from this earth.' Their purpose was to terrorize society.[8] A typical instance of the fierce hatred the lumpenproletarian now has for society.[9]

Although the mountebanks, *lazzaroni*, tricksters, organgrinders, tinkers and their like listed by Marx[10] have disappeared or almost disappeared, capitalism in virtue of its nature, continues to produce an abundant crop of 'scum.' It continues to reproduce the lumpens, displaying indifference and ruthlessness to those who have gone down for this or that reason. It could even be said that the present-day lumpenproletariat is an even more numerous and motley mass, that it is not less but even more dangerous than it was in the lifetime of Marx and of Lenin.[11]

None of this means, of course, that the scale of the lumpenproletariat is a constant magnitude, for it

undoubtedly depends on the spasmodic development of the capitalist economy and the pitch of the class struggle. Despite the causal connection between the growth of unemployment and of the lumpenproletariat, it would equally be unwise to say that everyone whom the capitalist society has jettisoned, everyone who has gone down to the 'bottom,' is bound to remain there forever, without any hope of a return to productive labor and a life of human dignity.

Marxist analysts in our day have noted that alongside the 'classical' lumpenproletariat in the developed countries, a special social category is on the rise. It includes an amalgam of wage-workers, as a rule unskilled or low-skilled, who keep looking for jobs but who only manage to find one occasionally. This so-called subproletariat, which will be found alongside the 'classical' lumpenproletariat, and which frequently merges with it, is to some extent lumpenized, and this is especially true of the permanently unemployed who have despaired of finding a way out of their plight. But in contrast to the lumpenproletariat, the subproletariat, Marxist scientists believe, is a stratum that has temporarily dropped out from the ranks of the working people and which, in consequence, can and must be fought for.[12]

That is all the truer, because both the 'classic' lumpenproletariat and all sorts of semi-déclassé elements are becoming an object of political urges on the part of rightist and leftist extremists, although neither the former nor the latter will openly admit as much. There is no doubt that these lumpenproletarians and déclassé elements could become an even more dangerous instrument when controlled by forces alien or hostile to the working class, because under the general crisis of capitalism they have revealed, simultaneously with an inclination for purely criminal activity, a readiness to engage in political crime.[13] The only question is the price.

There is an awareness of this in extremist circles. Hitler, too, was aware of this, for as a youth he himself was a typical lumpenproletarian.

The neo-fascists have been most active in recruiting the lumpenproletarians in the recent period, for like the nazis before them they need these men as storm-troopers for their pogroms. The neo-fascists do not want to advertise their connections with the lumpenproletarians, but it is well known that some of the functionaries of the NDP, their party in the FRG, have a criminal record.[14] Hoodlums who desecrate monuments to the victims of nazism and to Soviet soldiers, and Jewish cemeteries, and stage provocative raids in the FRG are usually recruited from the same elements and put in direct contact with immature young people under the influence of neo-nazi propaganda. Indeed, it is very hard to establish the difference between active fascists and criminals generally.

In Sweden, where 10 per cent of young people are jobless, groups of motorized hooligans who ride the streets and beat up passers-by have eventually put forward the blatantly racist slogan of 'Sweden — for the Swedes, and have become a patently reactionary gang attacking immigrant workers.

The Italian neo-fascists have also been building bridges with the lumpenproletarians. A responsible official of the Ministry of the Interior in Rome declared in August 1978: 'The thoroughness with which some political crimes committed to the country over the past few years are being prepared suggests that there is cooperation between the neo-fascists and the mafia.'

One could assume that some of the more than 2 million votes which the neo-fascist ISN party received in the parliamentary election in Italy in 1976 came not only from petty-bourgeois voters, but from the lumpenproletarians.[15] Participants in neo-fascist terroristic detachments are apparently recruited from the same nutrient medium. In September 1975, the existence of 'close contacts' between the neo-fascists and criminals was officially confirmed by the Italian authorities.

In August 1976, a fascist terrorist organization was discovered in Portugal, and alongside merchants and former industrialists it included persons connected with the criminal world.

The fascists have also displayed similar proclivities not only in Europe: in the United States, where they are much weaker than they are in Italy and the FRG, they, too, incline to the lumpenproletarians: the 'ideology' of fascist organizations and criminals is largely identical.

Among the 30,000 members of various neo-fascist groups in Japan, many are hooligans. Participants in such groups are paid by the hour. Many members of the fascist organization headed by the terrorist Bina Akao, who styles himself a 'Japanese Hitler,' were criminals.

One could say that the neo-fascist inclination to use the lumpenproletariat will be found everywhere. This shows up the neo-fascists' real goals. They need the motley band of lumpenproletarians to fight the working class.

One will discover something like a similar proclivity among the left extremists. Meeting with sharp resistance from the working class, and failing to find any mass support from the petty bourgeoisie, they are frequently forced to turn in desperation to the dregs of society, and recruit those who are embittered and equally desperate.

It is believed that the most extremist part of the aroused radical students are members of leftist terroristic groups. This is true, but it is also true that some of the extremist students, who come from the lower orders, now have, in effect, to carry on what is a lumpenproletarian existence. And it is not only the material conditions but also their social mentality that is similar.

While the terrorists or their leaders, at any rate, and the founder members of the so-called armed party have 'their social origin,' according to Minucci, in the petty, middle and big bourgeoisie,[16] the operatives for left-wing extremism are recruited from among the déclassé and semi-déclassé elements.

There is reason to believe that the Maoists now also have a stake in the lumpenproletariat. The

working class of the West is, in general, loudly accused by the Maoists of 'revisionism' and 'embourgeoisment,' while radical students and lumpenproletarians appear to offer favorable soil for their ideas.

It is clear, at any rate, that it is not right to lose sight of the lumpenproletariat problem. The numerically large criminal world, which constitutes this core, will still be recruited and bribed.[17] The fascists and other reactionary extremists will apparently be ahead of the others in recruiting lumpenproletarians: they can pay more.

At any rate, the lumpenproletariat now presents a considerable danger to the working-class movement. This section is being constantly enlarged by capitalism and pushing chiefly to the right in the political arena. This was indicated in the *Communist Manifesto*: 'The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution, its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigues.'[18]

In our day, the lumpenproletarians' inclination to move to the right in practice means their orientation upon fascism. Here is the view of the West German Marxist A. Lippert-Fögen: 'The connection between declassication and counter-revolution apparently provides a clue to the paradox which is inherent in fascism. Those who are hit hardest by the dominant capitalist system, now and again even destroying the possibilities for their economic existence, show themselves ready fanatically to defend it . . . With its lack of principle, it (the lumpenproletariat — *Ed.*) can become politically suitable material for use by counter-revolution.'[19]

There is no room for the lumpenproletariat in a socialist society. In the capitalist world, where the lumpenproletariat is an organic element of disintegration, its destiny is still to be decided. But however that may be, the time allotted to it by history is not endless, and the communists have been reducing it by their struggle.

1. This problem is variously dealt with by authors of the most diverse political persuasions, e.g.: Hans Adamo, *Die Wahrheit über die Anarchisten*. Frankfurt am Main, 1975; Jullian Becker, *Hitler's Children. The Story of the Baader-Meinhof Terrorist Gang*. London, 1977; Ralf Dahrendorf, *Konflikt und Freiheit*. München, 1972; *'Dossier' Terrorismo*. Lisboa, 1977; Bruno Frei, *Die Anarchistlische Utopie*. Hans Adamo, *Über Terrorismus*. Frankfurt am Main, 1978; *Mafia e potere politico*. Roma, 1976; Herbert Marcuse, *Counter-Revolution and Revolt*. Boston, 1972; Daniel Guerin, *Anarchism. From Theory to Practice*. New York-London, 1971; Guiseppe Gaddi, *Neofascismo in Europa*. Milano, 1974; Adalberto Minucci, *Terrorismo e crisi italiana*. Roma, 1978; Eduard Rozental, *In Search of an Ideal*. Moscow, 1976.

2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. I, p. 441.

3. Here I consider the lumpenproltariat in the developed capitalist countries.

4. One FRG magazine has described the embittered and footloose state of young lumpenproletarians as 'unemployment of the soul' (*Arbeitslosigkeit der Seele*) which springs from the lack of spiritual life in bourgeois society and the absence of any noble goals (*Der Stern*, July 14, 1977, p. 89).

5. *Time*, November 14, 1977, pp. 12-14. Add to this the fact that more than 7 million young people under the age of 25 are jobless in the OECD countries.

6. A. Minucci, a member of the ICP Leadership, recently said that in Italy the expulsion of whole sections into the backyard of society is much more intense than it is in other countries (A. Minucci, *Terrorismo e crisi italiana*, p. 29).

7. *World Trade Union Movement*, No. 1, 1978, p. 13.

8. V. Bugliosi and C. Gentry, *Helter-Skelter. The True Story of the Manson Murders*. New York, 1974, p. 101.

9. A French sociologist says that in its present form the phenomenon of violence has a totally new character which is unprecedented in any other past epoch (E. Morin, 'Risk of Death-Revolution-Violence.' *Solidarity*, Vol. V. Manila, 1970, No. 1, p. 46).

10. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *Selected Works in Three Volumes*, Vol. I, p. 442.

11. Referring to the general strike in Zurich in 1912, Lenin drew attention to the fact that among the strike-breakers hired by the capitalists in Hamburg were 'all sorts of criminals convicted in Germany for pandering, brawling, etc. The capitalists supplied this riff-raff or gang of convicts (lumpenproletarians) with pistols. The brazen band of strike-breakers filled the taverns in the workers' district and there engaged in unheard-of hooliganism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 161).

In an analysis of the class and social structure of contemporary bourgeois society in the FRG, the Institute of Marxist Studies in Frankfurt on Main (section: 'Déclassé Strata') notes that it is a 'conglomerate of diverse groups and sections which are mainly victims of capitalist conditions and from which the lumpenproletariat is recruited. There are not many data on the size of these groups, but there is no doubt that in the past few years there has been a rapid growth of some of them' (*Klassen-und Sozialstruktur der BRD 1950-1970*, 1973, Nol. 2, p. 461).

12. C.I. Munford, 'The Lumpenproletariat Revisited,' *Political Affairs*, 1974, May, pp. 45-54; June, pp. 29-39.

13. This does not mean, of course, that there is any truth in the assertion that terrorism in bourgeois society today is rooted exclusively in social marginalization, in the expulsion of discards to the backyard of society, in the accelerating disintegration and the very existence of the lumpenproletariat.

14. *Der Stern*, January 26, 1978, p. 46-48.

15. Explaining the electoral successes of the Italian neo-fascists in the early 70s, the West German sociologist P. Rosenbaum wrote: 'The ISM is characterized as a party of urban hotbeds of crises, of the urban subproletariat and confidence-lacking middle sections, whereas in the countryside it still enjoys the sympathies of the landed-estate owners.' *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Bonn, December 7, 1974, No. 49, p. 26.

16. A. Minucci. *Terrorismo e crisi italiana*, p. 30.

17. An ideologist of the U.S. ultras, H.L. Hunt, revealed that 'whenever insurgency occurs and the tactics of terror revolution strike, the communists must remain suspect' (*The New York Times*, April 17, 1971). That is the recipe on which provocateurs and special services in the imperialist countries operate when unleashing gangs of lumpenproletarians under leftist slogans.

18. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in 3 volumes, Vol. I, pp. 118. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969.

19. A. Lippert-Fögen. *Die deklassierte Klasse*. Frankfurt am Main, 1974, pp. 196, 199.

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