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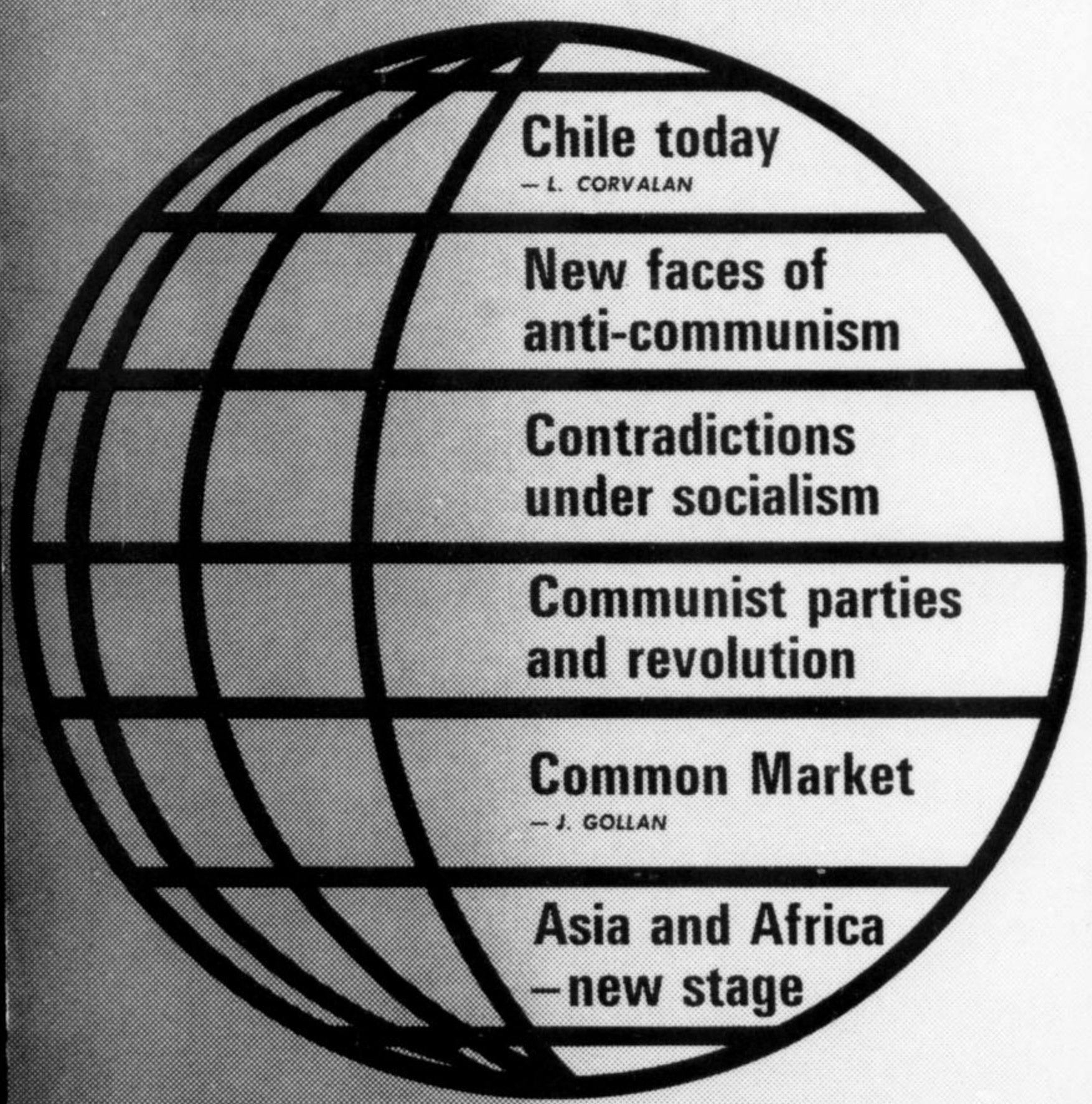
Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

Nov. 1972, Vol. 15, No. 11 50¢



Chile today

— L. CORVALAN

**New faces of
anti-communism**

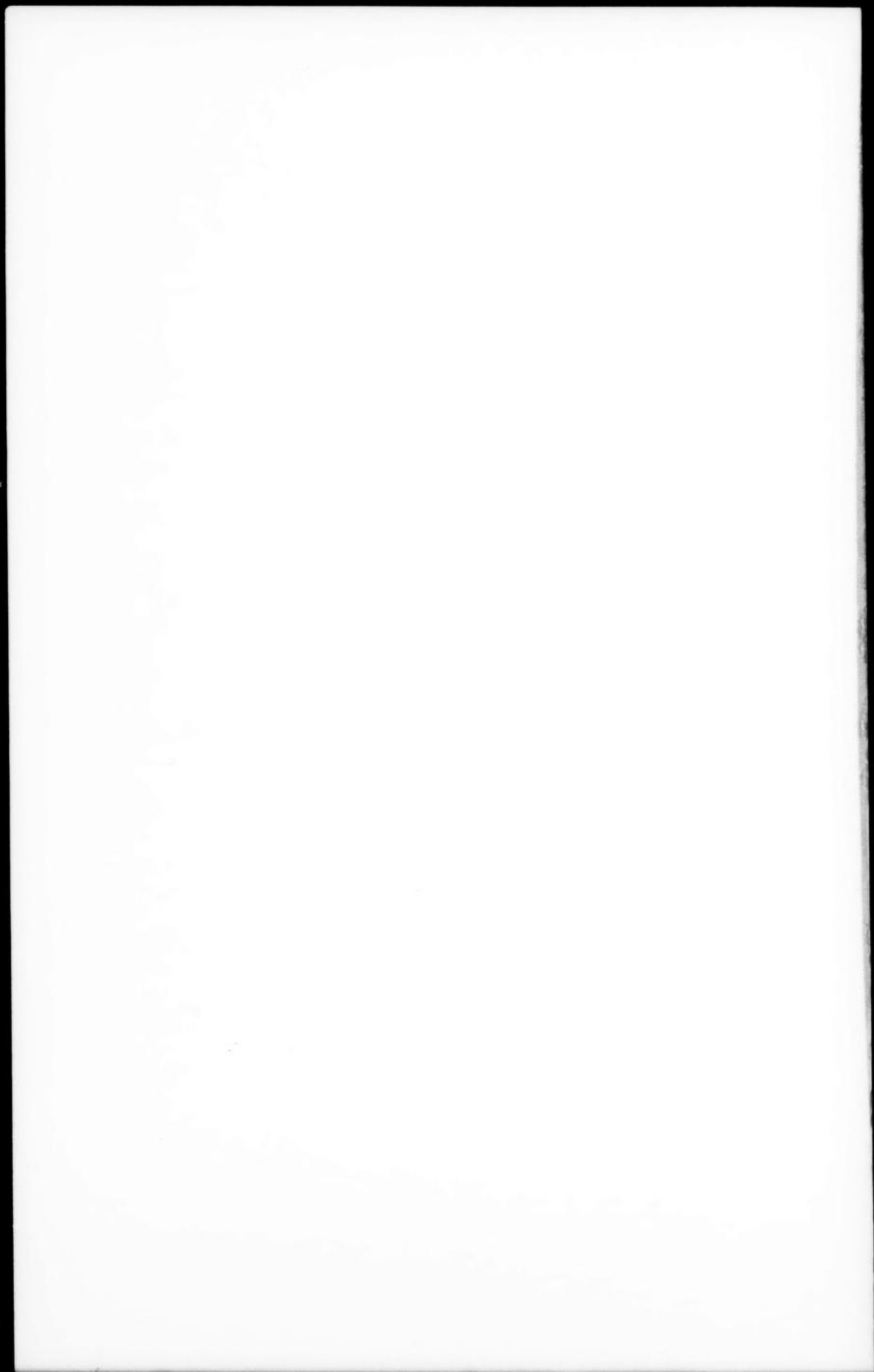
**Contradictions
under socialism**

**Communist parties
and revolution**

Common Market

— J. GOLLAN

**Asia and Africa
— new stage**





Nov. 1972, Vol. 15, No. 11

WORLD *Problems of* **MARXIST** *Peace and Socialism* **REVIEW**

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Workers' Parties

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LOOKING TO THE FUTURE!

A poster
Fine Arts Publishers
(Moscow)



Main force of the revolutionary process

Gyula Kallai

Fifty-five years ago the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose anniversary is being marked this month by all progressives, launched the process of transition from capitalism to socialism, which is the main content of our epoch. Its basic contradiction is between the socialist and capitalist world systems, while capitalism's shrinking sphere of influence and the expanding influence of the new system are expressive of the essential trend of social development.

The politically many-faceted process of passage from capitalism to socialism is an objective tendency conditioned by the concrete relation of forces. 'Three mighty forces of our time—the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement—are coming together in the struggle against imperialism.'*

I. The three revolutionary forces operate in different conditions. Their situation, potential and ways of struggle are dissimilar. It is therefore imperative that they should be oriented on the one force standing in the van of social progress, carrying the onus of the global confrontation with imperialism and able to aid the other contingents, that is, on the socialist world system. 'The socialist world system,' the 1969 Meeting said, 'is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle.'**

This formula is not the product of wishful thinking. Neither is it a pretentious communist claim. It reflects the objective facts of development of human society that will logically lead to the worldwide victory of socialism. The working class of the socialist countries is performing a qualitatively new function in the revolutionary process. Standing at the helm of power, fulfilling its historic mission of building a new society in ever closer alliance with other working people in town and country, it has material resources so powerful that, in the international context, it is, indeed, the decisive factor of social progress, creating favorable conditions for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world.

**International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969. Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 11.*

***Ibid., p. 21.*

The class struggle against exploitation and oppression, imperialist reaction and aggression, has grown into a worldwide duel between two antagonistic social systems. This duel changes the very quality of the struggle of the world proletariat. One part of the latter – the working class of the socialist countries – holds political power and fights imperialism from 'above.' The other part – the working class of the non-socialist world – fights from 'below,' using the traditional methods of safeguarding its interests, but able now to rely on the strength and example of the proletariat organized in a state.

Coordinating the actions of the different contingents is crucial for the international revolutionary process. Agreed class actions tie the hands of the imperialist world bourgeoisie, impair its counter-revolutionary maneuvers, weaken some links of the capitalist system and pave the way for the further growth of the worldwide socialist revolution.

The ever more intensive struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems leads to a further polarization of the socio-political forces. Analyzing their character and correlation, one will see that those whose interests contradict the requirements of social progress merge with, or gravitate towards, the imperialist positions, whereas those aspiring to progressive change lean towards, and seek alliance with, world socialism.

The battle between the two systems exercises a decisive influence on the perspectives of the revolutionary struggle fought on different fronts and for different concrete objectives. And no matter how specific the theoretico-ideological standpoint or the politico-practical attitude of the real or potential allies of socialism may be, their numbers are incalculably greater than those of the allies of imperialism.

II. Since the simultaneous existence of socialism and capitalism is inevitable for a still long period ahead, Communists are advocating *peaceful coexistence* of socialist and capitalist states. The peaceful coexistence policy, whose main principles were formulated by Lenin, is not contrary to the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle. Quite the opposite: it is a revolutionary line, a revolutionary strategy.

Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, the strategic aim of peaceful coexistence was to assure favorable external conditions for the all-round consolidation and development in the USSR of the new social system, the progress of which, as Lenin often said, was not only of national, but also of the utmost international significance. The aim was attained. Socialism was built. The war against Nazi Germany, which attacked the Soviet Union, was a serious test of strength from which the socialist system emerged with flying colors. Leaning on powerful internal forces and a purposeful foreign policy, the Soviet land repulsed the aggressor, routed him completely, and liberated a large number of Nazi-enlaved countries, which thus obtained the opportunity to embark on the progressive, socialist way.

The policy of peaceful coexistence continues to be a special form of class struggle against imperialism also following the formation and consolidation of the socialist world system. But now, with the relation of strength radically changed, the international conditions are entirely different. And the strategic purpose of peaceful coexistence is to assure favorable conditions for the worldwide victory of socialism. The stable development of the socialist system, its growing economic and social potential, and ever closer fraternal cooperation help to deepen the revolutionary process.

Besides, nuclear-missile weapons have essentially changed the nature of the possible military collision of the two world systems. It would result in the defeat of capitalism, but would also destroy the key material conditions of social progress.

The changes in the international arena make peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist countries historically necessary. The policy of peaceful coexistence promoted by the socialist countries is based on the recognition that an armed collision between the two systems is not inevitable in our time and that socialism does not need war in order to win. Communists have complete faith in the superiority of the socialist system. They are sure that the outcome of its tension-filled and long-drawn confrontation with the old world is, in the final analysis, predetermined by the historical inevitability of the downfall of capitalism.

III. What is the potential of the socialist world system today? It consists of 14 countries, encompasses 26 per cent of the area and about one-third of the population of the world, and accounts for 39 per cent of the world's industrial output. Already, socialist strength and influence restrain imperialist powers from starting a new world war, blunting the anti-Communist policy 'from positions of strength' and turning into a bubble the hope of reversing the development of the socialist countries. However, neither the socialist countries nor the other contingents of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement are guaranteed against subversion or resort to military force by world reaction. This is evidenced by the aggressions in Indochina and the Middle East, the pro-imperialist coups d'état in the developing world, and the like.

Communists are aware that imperialism is still a serious adversary, eager to exploit any difficulties that may attend the growth of world socialism, and principally the splitting activity of the Chinese leadership, its anti-Soviet course and its betrayal of the interests of all anti-imperialist forces. But they also take into account the increasing resources of world socialism, the desire of most of the fraternal countries to firm up international coordination, acting in the world arena not singly, but as a politically, economically and ideologically united community.

The socialist countries, united in such a community by the Warsaw Treaty and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, are able effectively to support every contingent of the revolutionary movement. This enables peoples fighting for national indepen-

dence and social emancipation to withstand the assault of the imperialist aggressor, to prevent him from winning even local wars. 'The existence of the socialist world system,' the Central Committee Report to the Tenth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party says, 'exercises an influence on imperialist policy and even on relations within and between capitalist countries. The example of the socialist countries is practical evidence of the superiority of the new social system, and holds up socialism as a realistic prospect for mankind.'

The existence of the socialist community and the coordinated policy of its member states has wrought positive changes in international affairs. The imperialist elements are compelled to reckon with the proposals of the socialist states concerning arms reduction, political accommodation of crises, etc. They are forced to acknowledge the main principle of the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems (respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, renunciation of the use of force, promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation, and the like), which they had previously rejected out of hand.

The détente and the gradual elimination in Europe of cold-war vestiges is an important result of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. The components of this process are: development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and France; the Soviet Union's and Poland's treaties with the FRG; the four-power agreement on West Berlin, and normalization of transit between the two German states; and, last but not least, U.S. recognition of the principles of peaceful coexistence as reflected in the Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow in May 1972.

One can safely say that the peaceful coexistence principles will gain ground in the relations between socialist and capitalist countries. This does not mean, however, that having acknowledged them, imperialism will abandon its main strategic aim: elimination or at least subversion of the socialist gains, tilting the strength balance back into its favor.

Anti-communist strategists make no secret of their intention to exploit peaceful coexistence for their own ends. Disguised as peace-makers they are resorting more and more to 'peaceful interference,' the insidious tactic of 'softening up' socialism from within. Our 10th Congress defined as an important task 'continuously to sharpen the vigilance of the peoples of the socialist countries against the hostile "softening up" policy in order to frustrate all further overt and covert imperialist attempts at interfering in the life of the socialist countries.'

The basic objective of peaceful coexistence – to exclude a military collision from the struggle of the two systems – does not mean that the class struggle abates. If one of the means, the military, is ruled out, others are applied more diligently – diplomatic, political, ideological, economic, and the like. To do so, we should weigh all the aspects of the present and probable future situation, and continuously bring up to date our knowledge of the strategic and tac-

tical interconnections of the peaceful coexistence policy. Also, within the framework of this policy, we should determine for every given period what area of our relations with the imperialist powers requires decisive action, or competition, or where cooperation is possible and desirable. This will help the socialist community to use the conditions of peaceful coexistence for the benefit of socialism, progress and peace. Besides, we cannot effectively combat revisionist and dogmatic distortions of the principles of peaceful coexistence unless we have a well-grounded anti-imperialist strategy consistent with our Marxist-Leninist teaching, and unless we make effective use of the entire foreign-policy arsenal – from aiding victims of aggression to negotiating and concluding agreements with capitalist governments in the interest of peace.

IV. The economy is a crucial area of struggle. The imperialists hope to strengthen their international socio-economic positions in the peaceful coexistence environment and then mount a decisive battle against socialism in this sphere. Therefore, we should not lose sight of the fact that the main emphasis in the international class struggle will in the foreseeable future be on the sphere of economic competition. That is where the two opposite social systems will measure their strength.

The leading capitalist countries have a powerful and highly organized production machine, a vast economic and technical potential. In some fields, the socialist countries have not yet attained the level of the more developed capitalist states. What is more, the latter are not letting the grass grow under their feet. Therefore, we must marshal all our potentialities to accelerate our rates of economic growth and thus fulfil the historical mission of the new system: to outstrip the capitalist world in all the main spheres of industrial and agricultural development and the services.

The socialist world system has the necessary prerequisites for successfully solving this task. Its development, and especially the development of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty – is sufficiently dynamic to achieve new heights in the historical competition with capitalism. This is most graphically demonstrated by statistical data.

In 1951-1970 the average annual rate of industrial growth in the socialist countries was 10.5 per cent as against 5.5 per cent in the non-socialist world. In 1971 industrial output in the socialist countries was 7.8 times the 1950 level, and only 2.8 times that level in the economically developed capitalist countries.

The industrial potential of the CMEA countries is almost double that of the Common Market countries. Per capita industrial output of CMEA countries as a whole is more than three times the global average. Since the CMEA came into existence disparities between the economic levels of its members have decreased thanks to the faster development of the formerly more backward countries.

The successes of the socialist countries and their long-term programs of socialist and communist construction enhance the attrac-

tion of the new system and show that it is quite capable of surpassing the economic level of the most developed capitalist countries.

The basic prerequisites of this are more efficient utilization of the laws of socialist economy, managing the economy on the basis of scientifically elaborated plans and rational industrial organization, utilization of the tremendous opportunities of expanding fraternal economic, scientific and technological cooperation, rapid development of international division of labor and expansion of socialist economic integration.

The latter is especially important. For two decades, international imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, promoted a policy of commercial and economic discrimination to impede the economic development of the socialist countries. This policy has failed completely. West European capitalist countries and Japan have rejected it and embarked on more flexible and differentiated tactics. They have substantially expanded trade with socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. The United States, too, is being pressured by the changes to review its policies. At the same time, international imperialism has not abandoned its intention of placing the development of economic, scientific and technological contacts with the socialist world at the service of its political and strategic objectives. American restrictions on trade with the socialist countries are in many ways being revised with an eye to using economic cooperation as a kind of wedge to be driven between them.

The socialist states must counter the strategy of anti-communism with greater political and economic cohesion. This will reinforce the international positions of the socialist world system and strengthen it in the historic competition with capitalism. The decisive sphere of fraternal cooperation at the present stage is economic relations. A number of socialist countries have entered the stage of intensive economic growth when crucial importance attaches to combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. This is done through closer cooperation between the fraternal states and socialist economic integration. The Comprehensive Program adopted by the CMEA member-states in 1971 creates the necessary conditions for this.

V. The importance of the socialist world system as the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle is not limited to the historical tasks of its economic competition with capitalism. The socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, are in the van of the revolutionary forces of our time. The fact that they have carried forward scientific socialism from the sphere of theory into political practice has brought about a deep-going change in the way of life of one-third of mankind, signifying a qualitative leap from the pre-history of social development to its real history. The whole spectrum of human values, their relative significance stemming from

the internal laws of each system, have been thrown on the scales and are influencing millions of people in the capitalist world, deepening their conviction that the capitalist world is unable to ensure necessary conditions for the social and spiritual progress of the broad masses of the people.

Of decisive importance are the activities of Marxist-Leninist parties. Only under their leadership is the working class able to perform its historic mission. By creatively applying revolutionary theory, enriching it with international experience and resolving the many complex problems arising from the building of the new society, the Marxist-Leninist parties are making a major contribution towards the liberation of mankind and promoting the common interests of the international Communist movement. This objectively places them in the front ranks of the fighters for social progress.

It is hard to overestimate the impact on the world revolutionary process of the socialist countries' social gains, their socialist way of life and the new type of relations between the individual and society. Working-class power, which reposes on the support of the mass of working people and on public ownership of the means of production, promotes the all-round development of socialist democracy, provides the conditions for raising material and cultural standards, developing the individual and moulding conscious and active builders of a new world. A socialist national identity of people has arisen, characterized by fraternal relations among citizens of different nationalities, and by cooperation between classes and social strata. Harmonious relations between the individual and the society make the man of the socialist world an active fighter for the interests of the new system. This generates a potential of social development that imperialism cannot hope to match.

State relations between the socialist countries are firmly based on the jointly elaborated and tested principles of proletarian internationalism, comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, equality, independence and sovereignty. The development of fraternal relations increases the impact of the socialist world system on the revolutionary process and all international affairs. This natural trend cannot be diverted by difficulties or mistakes in the development of socialism as a social system and a world system. To be sure, socialism is not insured against difficulties and contradictions in the future. They are unavoidable to some extent along the unexplored road of the revolutionary transformation of society. But the new system's ability to overcome them successfully is evidence of its great viability.

However, the socialist world system can use the available opportunities and perform its historic role of trailblazer of socialist change only if the countries comprising it constantly develop and perfect the new system, and fortify internationalist unity. It will continue to be the hegemon in the revolutionary processes of our time only if the socialist states analyze and use the experience gained in the struggle against imperialism, assess correctly their own forces and those of the class enemy, and continuously improve their strategy and tactics in foreign policy.

VI. The long-term objectives of the political strategy of the socialist world system can be achieved only through joint action with other anti-imperialist forces and firmer international revolutionary solidarity.

At present a mass movement against the monopolies' domestic and foreign policies is developing within the capitalist world. The Communist parties' programs, tactics and education of the masses in the spirit of revolutionary class unity help the working people realize that the evils of imperialism can be eradicated only after it collapses as a result of the universal victory of socialism.

This means transition to the socialist road not only of the economically backward countries of the capitalist world system, but also of the industrially developed. However, insofar as capital is an international force in the fullest sense of the word, the passage of even a single capitalist country, especially a developed one, to the socialist road—even given the highest degree of preparedness of the national revolutionary movement—is extremely difficult and is possible only on the basis of international proletarian solidarity and cooperation, on the basis of a single strategy of all anti-imperialist forces.

Without a uniform anti-imperialist strategy on both the national and international scales, it will be very hard for the working class of developed capitalist countries to win. And not only because the politico-economic structure of imperialism is still strong and the bourgeoisie employs very flexible methods of governing and refined means of influencing the masses. Victory is also difficult because almost every developed capitalist country is a member of some imperialist military-political organization and because the international bourgeoisie will, more likely than not, rush to the aid of its exploiter friends, and extend some kind of help to counter-revolution. The working class of any country fighting for democracy and socialism can effectively oppose internal and external reaction and block counter-revolution only through solidarity with the socialist world system and all revolutionary forces.

Another important factor in the socialist world system's foreign-policy strategy is its ties with the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement. It is sometimes suggested that the principle of peaceful coexistence is incompatible with the struggle against imperialism. But nowadays such views do not carry much weight, because the public in developing countries realizes with growing clarity that the policy of peaceful coexistence is applicable in relations between socialist and capitalist countries, but not in the peoples' struggle against the aggressive encroachments of international reaction, in the struggle for freedom and national progress or, in particular, in the struggle of the peoples of Indochina and the Middle East against the aggression of world imperialism. These struggles are governed by other laws, though depending on circumstances they may take on different forms, military, as well as peaceful.

At the same time people in the developing countries are increasingly coming to realize that the policy of peaceful coexistence is

closely interrelated with the tasks of revolutionary struggle and, far from hindering, in fact facilitates it. It facilitates this struggle because through its policy of peaceful coexistence the socialist system combats the bitterest foe of all revolutionary movements – international imperialism; because this policy creates favorable conditions for working-class and other progressive movements in capitalist countries to restrict monopoly power and achieve far-reaching democratic change; because it prevents imperialist aggressions and neo-colonialist aspirations; because, finally, peaceful coexistence promotes world peace and the all-round strengthening of the socialist countries. All this is in the immediate interests of every revolutionary and progressive organization, of every country fighting against imperialism.

What road of development the newly liberated countries take is a question of world-historic importance. Imperialism exploits the economic footholds it has in the former colonies and uses every conceivable means to preserve its rule. The United States has become the main promoter of neo-colonialist policies in its efforts to worm its way into developing countries by 'peaceful means' and without attracting too much attention. However, when these means fail and expansionist objectives remain unachieved, the U.S. readily resorts to military coups and armed intervention.

Neo-colonialist expansion retards social progress in the developing countries and prolongs the days of the capitalist world system. Its prevention is important for the struggle between the two systems and the development of the world revolutionary process. Hence the interconnection and interdependence of the interests of the world system of socialism, the international working class and the national liberation movement.

The final elimination of imperialist rule depends on the success of the decolonized countries in non-capitalist development and their closer alliance with the countries of the socialist world system, their political, economic and cultural cooperation with them. As a whole, the socialist world system possesses adequate economic and technological capacities to extend effective support to the developing countries. An essential requirement of its revolutionary strategy is the elaboration of optimum forms and methods of *joint* foreign policy efforts of the socialist states, their cooperation in assisting the developing countries, their active support of other sections of the anti-imperialist movement.

The influence of the socialist world system on international affairs, its importance as the main force of the anti-imperialist struggle, depends largely on a subjective factor: the scientifically-grounded activities of the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist states, free from Right-wing revisionism, voluntarism and sectarianism. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the Peace Program put forward by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which is actively supported by the fraternal countries; the consistent, coordinated struggle of the Warsaw Treaty members and CMEA

countries for European and international security, their joint elaboration and implementation of the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, the growing solidarity of world socialism with the victims of imperialist aggression, and full assistance to these peoples – all this is vivid evidence of the active and realistic policies pursued by the Communists standing at the helm of government.

The difficult conditions of the anti-imperialist struggle today, and the responsibility arising therefrom for the future of revolutionary liberation movements require that all sections of the movement cement their ranks, overcome the existing differences, and expand cooperation with the socialist world system – even if socialism is not yet their immediate task. The HSWP and Hungarian people realize, as the June 1972 enlarged plenum of our Party's CC noted, that the earnest of world peace continues to be the growing might of the Soviet Union, the socialist community and all forces of progress, the unity of action of all detachments of the anti-imperialist movement.* The HSWP will do everything in the name of strengthening this unity.

*See *Nepszabadsag*, June 17, 1972.



Two years after – what is happening in Chile

Luis Corvalan

The victory of the Popular Unity alliance in the 1970 presidential elections brought the people to power. The significance of that victory and how it was achieved was discussed by Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, on the pages of this magazine.* On the second anniversary of popular government, our correspondent interviewed Comrade Corvalan in Santiago.

Question: What are the characteristic features of the revolutionary process in Chile and what aspects of government policy determine the content of its present stage?

Answer: The events in Chile are part of the world revolutionary process. Their content and character are determined by the pressing need to rid the country of imperialist domination, by the basic contradictions that have matured within our society, by the strength, degree of unity and political maturity of the proletariat and the people. *The present stage of the revolutionary process in Chile is anti-imperialist, anti-latifundist and anti-monopoly.*

The past two years have seen deep-going changes in the economy. The government has nationalized copper, the imperialist-owned Anaconda and Kennecott companies, saltpeter and iron-ore mines, the Huachipato steel mills, the local subsidiary of the American and Foreign Power Co., and also the big foreign export and import firms. It has expropriated the Chilean branch of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co. (ITT). A telling blow has thus been dealt the whole system of imperialist domination.

The agrarian reform extends to half of the arable land. An end has been put to the omnipotence of the latifundists. The state has taken over private banking, and has nationalized, requisitioned or placed under government control several dozen monopoly-type large industrial enterprises. It also controls 94 per cent of exports of goods and services and 60 per cent of imports, has taken over a large part of wholesale trade and has set up a mechanism for supplying the small retail trader. The economic might of the financial oligarchy has been substantially undermined but not completely broken.

*See his article, 'Chile: The People Take Over,' in the December 1970 issue of WMR.

There has been a fundamental change in foreign policy. Chile has restored diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, broken off in 1964 under U.S. pressure, and established relations with a number of other countries.

There has been a considerable expansion in trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They have granted Chile \$463 million in credits, of which the USSR \$259 million. Chile is also receiving valuable scientific and technical assistance from these countries, with which it is also developing political and cultural ties. The first friendly contacts have been established between military institutions in Chile, the USSR, GDR, Poland and Cuba.

The popular government has paid special attention to improving relations with other Latin American countries, notably Chile's neighbors and members of the Andes Pact.

A distinctive feature of Chilean progress, and one that has aroused worldwide interest, is revolutionary change in the framework of the constitution. Of course, this does not mean using constitutional opportunities in, so to say, their pure form. Of decisive importance here is the organized struggle of the working people and majority support of government measures. One example is nationalization of copper, carried out with the unanimous support of the people. Another is defeat of the law, proposed by the reactionaries, to place requisitioned enterprises under their former management. The working people declared in no uncertain terms that they would never accept that.

The revolutionary process, beginning with the people's victory in the 1970 elections and up to the recent transformatory reforms, has been powered by mass activity and militant unity of the workers and the entire people.

We must break reactionary resistance, extend the state sector, push ahead in agrarian reform, make all state-owned enterprises pay their way, raise production and productivity, develop economic planning, take the offensive against inflation, assure supplies of the things the country needs, improve job discipline and combat bureaucracy.

Thorough school and university reform is another pressing need. Addressing the National Congress of the Young Communist League, President Allende said that 'every student should work, and every worker should study.' That is the substance of the educational reform.

Other priority problems are housing and public health. The government is working to solve them, but fulfillment of its plans hinges mainly on how much we can accumulate through higher production and a correct economic and financial policy.

Changing the political superstructure of society is becoming an increasingly urgent necessity. A new constitution is being drafted assuring among other things, democratization of the legislative and judiciary branches. It will be submitted for public discussion before it is brought to parliament. But inasmuch as the reactionaries are strongly entrenched in these two branches, and popular under-

standing is still not sufficiently mature, we will have to fight a major ideological and political battle substantially to change the alignment of forces.

Question: In the light of your definition of the present stage in the revolutionary process, what are the opportunities for Chile's advance to socialism?

Answer: Nationalization of major industries formerly belonging to the imperialists and the oligarchy and changes in agriculture provide the material prerequisites for the advance to socialism. But they do not of themselves guarantee it. Here the decisive factor is the leading role of the working class, its struggle jointly with other social strata to make these prerequisites a reality. Another factor is government policy.

With the help of the Communist and Socialist parties, the United Labor Center (CUT) which is not part of the government but supports its revolutionary measures, the working class is exerting an increasing influence on the reorganization of society. And there are vast opportunities for the workers to share in industrial management, chiefly in the state sector. Committees are being set up to promote higher production and productivity, also to combat sabotage and other forms of enemy subversion. Trade unions are taking hold in farming areas and already have about 300,000 members. The first cooperatives have been started in the agrarian reform zone, also a number of state farms, farming machinery depots and Peasant Councils which share in drafting and carrying out government policy at all levels. The Popular Unity parties urge the broadest possible participation of the working people in administering the state.

In defining the role of the proletariat in the revolution, we are guided by Marxist-Leninist principles which are also shared by the Socialist Party and MAPU.* Together with our Party they are working to translate these principles into reality, assure the success of the Chilean revolution and the transition to socialism. The Basic Popular Unity Program says: 'The only realistic alternative open to the people, and consequently the basic task of the government, is to put an end to the domination of the imperialists, monopolists and the landed oligarchy and begin the building of socialism in Chile.**

Consequently, the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic revolution begun in our country is at the same time a stage of transition to socialist change and therefore part of the struggle of the peoples of the world for national liberation, peace and socialism.

Question: Serious economic difficulties have arisen on the eve of the second anniversary of popular government. What are their causes and how can they be overcome?

Answer: As a result of the economic reforms, income from nationalized mines, state banks and enterprises in the agrarian reform zone and the state sector in industry is being used in the interests

*MAPU — United Popular Action Movement; comprises Left Christian-Democrats and is affiliated to the Popular Unity bloc—Ed.

**The Program was published in the *Siglo*, December 22, 1969.—Ed.

of the people and the country. No longer does it go to the monopolies. The government has redistributed income in favor of the working people, has increased their purchasing capacity and stimulated full-capacity production.

These are the statistics: the GNP rose 8.5 per cent in 1971 and industrial output approximately 12.5 per cent, and 12.7 per cent in the first half of 1972 compared with the same period of last year. Unemployment is at the lowest level of the past 16 years, declining from 8.8 per cent in November 1970 to 3.7 per cent in June 1972. In 1971 inflation dropped from 34.9 to 22.7 per cent. Notwithstanding the sustained high rate of growth and employment, the country is going through grave supply difficulties. Inflation continues to rise: living costs increased 63.5 per cent from January through August of this year.

The reasons for all this are many. The popular government inherited a colossal foreign debt, about \$4,000 million. Agriculture has for decades been in a state of stagnation and crisis. Industrial plant is obsolete. Rail, road and sea transport are poorly developed. Port facilities are inadequate. There are not enough grain-storage facilities, and so on.

The government has had to contend with unfavorable conditions on the world market. The price of copper (our main export) dropped from 68 to 48 cents a pound. A decline of only one cent means an annual loss of \$12 million, so that now we are losing \$240 million a year. To make things worse, world prices of imported foods and oil, for which we have to pay in foreign exchange, have risen sharply. We are negotiating with a number of countries on the rescheduling of our foreign debt, but we still have to pay \$200 million a year on commitments incurred by previous governments. The U.S. has cancelled most of our credits, and this means that more than \$200 million are no longer available for imports.

Revolutionary changes – copper nationalization for example – are being carried out against a background of sabotage, flight of expert personnel, cessation of U.S. imports of spare parts and a U.S. embargo on goods already paid for. The reactionary parliamentary majority has refused to vote appropriations for a number of government projects. Fixed prices and wage increases above scheduled levels are forcing state-sector enterprises to operate at a loss. There is also a tendency to advance unreasonable economic demands, the result of demagogic propaganda by the class enemy and some 'Left' elements.

In combination, this has compelled the government unduly to increase the amount of money in circulation. The reactionaries have used the mass media to sow panic and incite panic buying. They are largely responsible for the black market and contraband trade.

The government is working to set things right. It has reviewed the prices and wages structure and revised the exchange rate of the escudo in relation to the dollar. It has also instituted a number of measures to restrict money circulation, and has increased the tax on high incomes. This is undermining the financial power of the propertied classes.

But overcoming supply difficulties and cutting back inflation depends not only on a correct economic and financial policy. Much depends on the people. Backed by the Communist Party and the other Popular Unity organizations, the government has urged the people to redouble the effort for higher production and productivity. This patriotic and revolutionary initiative inspired hundreds of thousands. Chile has begun producing spare parts which before it had to import. We have our first production innovators. Volunteer Sunday work has won widespread support and in fact extends to every enterprise in the state sector. On the initiative of the Youth Coordinating Center, May 14, 1971 was made National Volunteer Labor Day. One million people responded, and this year the number was two million.

But all that is only a good beginning. Much still has to be done to improve planning, the system of production contracts, and the material and moral stimulators.

The socialist community is giving us invaluable assistance in solving the supply problem. The Soviet Union has granted us \$70 million credits for food purchases, plus \$25 million in renewable credits. It has also given us three fishing vessels and this has considerably improved the food supply.

Question: Exploiting temporary difficulties, the reactionary forces have repeatedly attempted a counter-offensive. What are the main directions of the political struggle in Chile?

Answer: Our Party has always emphasized that the 1970 election victory gave the people only part of the political power. The enemy is trying to dislodge us from our position. We are trying to consolidate it and to carry our offensive further. This means that the class struggle resolves around the crucial issue of the revolution, the issue of power.

The world now knows that North American imperialism and the extreme Right in Chile tried to prevent the Popular Unity victory in 1970. Their plans have now been published. The world press has published secret documents of the ITT and the CIA. One of the organizers of the abortive coup this March, retired Major Artura Marshall, fled to Bolivia and at a press conference there revealed the plan to overthrow the Allende government. In September the reactionaries organized another plot against the government. The opposition is regrouping its forces and is trying to prevent implementation of the government program. In common with other members of the Popular Unity alliance, the Communist Party vigorously supports the government's measures against the reactionaries, in particular legal action against members of the fascist *Patria i Libertad* and Rolando Matus groups.

The Rightists hold strong positions in the radio and the press. They use them to spread panic, lie to the people, vilify the government and the President of the Republic. That can no longer be tolerated. An anti-government television program has been banned and measures have been taken against radio stations known for their inflammatory broadcasts.

In an open letter to the President the CP raised the question of conducting a firmer policy and restricting reactionary groups within the framework of Chilean law. The fact that the opposition enjoys constitutional rights does not mean that it is free to do as it pleases. The government can and should employ all legal means to maintain order.

We Communists hold that in the conditions of our country the rights of the opposition must be recognized. But at the same time it is our deep conviction that the revolution cannot progress successfully if the government, the popular parties and other progressive forces do not win decisive positions in the mass media, which should orient the people and contribute to the defeat of reaction in the ideological and political struggle.

In spite of all difficulties the working class and large sections of the population understand that the government has their best interests in mind and its policy is to continue with revolutionary changes and provide radical solutions for the problems they face. This explains why the masses come out so resolutely in support of the government whenever reaction strikes. The anniversary of the Popular Unity victory and Independence Day were celebrated in an atmosphere of acute political struggle. The plotters were preparing full speed for the implementation of their subversive plans. The popular masses responded with a mighty demonstration of unswerving resolve to bar the road to fascist elements.

The CUT categorically declared that in the event of a reactionary revolt workers and office employees would occupy their premises and be prepared for any turn of events. In a joint declaration the Communist and Socialist parties expressed their firm intention to set aside differences, emphasizing the need for joint action to mobilize the masses and lead them in the struggle against the plotters. All the Popular Unity parties, individually and collectively, reported similar decisions. Furthermore, the Communist Party, Socialist Party and CUT declared that the circumstances called for the creation of self-defense committees in every enterprises, every residential block against rebellion and fascism.

During the tensest moments of the political struggle protests against revolt resounded even in the opposition camp, specifically in the Christian-Democratic Party. The head of the Catholic Church in Chile issued an appeal 'to avert the terrible calamity of internecine war.' He spoke of 'the need to respect the law and its norms, its institutes and power, with all its merits and shortcomings.'

General Prats, Commander-in-Chief of ground forces, issued a strongly worded statement saying that 'in spite of the tensions and pressures generated by the present situation in Chilean society, the Armed Forces and the police will remain calm, conscious of their professional duty and the interests of the nation.'

The overwhelming majority of the people are opposed to rebellion and civil war, which reactionaries, especially fascist groups, would like to start. This means that, in spite of the opposition joining forces in the so-called Democratic Confederation, not all its parti-

cipants seek the overthrow of the government. While a relatively small, but still dangerous section favors a counter-revolutionary rebellion, the other, larger section favors constitutional means. In either case the matter will depend on the stand of the working class and the people, which so far been able to frustrate the plotters' plans.

Question: As is known, ultra-Left elements are impeding the revolutionary process in Chile. What could you say on this score?

Answer: The Leftist groups, including MIR,* which is the largest of them, are numerically insignificant. In elections to the CUT National Council (73 members and candidates), MIR seated only one representative, and it has no representatives at all in the 28 CUT regional councils. The position of other ultra-Leftist groups is even weaker. Only one ultra-Leftist was elected to the Supreme Normative Council of the University of Chile (100 members). The MIR has one representative in the leadership of the University Students Federation, and none in the Technical University Federation.

However, the political activities of this and other ultra-Left groups are widely broadcast by the reactionary press and are damaging to the Popular Unity government. Their policy of indiscriminate frontal offensive against the bourgeoisie and opposition, seizure of small and medium enterprises and landed estates, provocative and reckless demonstrations, brandishing firearms, their idea that an armed clash is inevitable, and opportunist exploitation of any weakness of the popular movement — all this is grist to the mill of the opposition, particularly the plotters. Ultra-Leftist activities hinder the revolutionary process, which requires concentrated action against the main enemy, winning some sections of the people to our side and neutralizing others. The behavior of ultra-Leftists hampers resolute government measures against the reactionaries. Most Chileans hold that the treatment of extremist law-breakers, whether Right or 'Left,' should be the same.

The President called the so-called 'Popular Assembly' convened by Leftists in Concepcion a 'splitting maneuver,' a kind of 'lyrical mirage transcending reality.' That is why it was rejected by the Popular Unity, even though some representatives of coalition parties took part in it.

The ultra-Leftists hold that the revolution has failed. They claim a leading role and in a sense are opening a second front against the government in attempting to lure Popular Unity groups to their positions.

As before, we Communists are absolutely convinced of the need to combat extremist tendencies. If we wish to consolidate the forces of revolution and ensure the success of the Popular Unity program, we must combat the ideas and adventurist actions of Right and 'Left' extremists, as well as the reformism and liberalism of the Right-wing opportunists.

Question: Could you tell us a little more about the position of the Armed Forces in the present situation, and about the prospects

*The so-called 'Revolutionary Movement of Left Forces'—Ed.

of expanding the socio-political base of Popular Unity, particularly the prospects in the parliamentary elections in March 1973?

Answer: Under the Constitution the Army does not intervene in political controversies. But, of course, the Army consists of people. And people, whether in uniform or not, are members of society. The revolutionary process exacerbates the class struggle, and influences all citizens. It would be foolish to think that the Armed Forces are indifferent to the spirit of the times. The class and political diversity of Chilean society extends to them as well. But in spite of this diversity, the military have common moral values: respect for the Constitution and law, and loyalty to the elected government.

Of course, one cannot rule out that a military leader thirsting for power may appear, as was the case, for example, when ex-General Viaux at the end of 1969 refused to obey the former government and attempted to prevent the Popular Unity victory.*

The present situation cannot continue indefinitely. However, in the conditions prevailing in our country changes cannot be effected according to the classical pattern of other revolutions. They can be effected only within the frame of the law, taking into account the evolution of the army's understanding of its role in the society the people wish to build.

The reactionary demands that the Armed Forces should exceed their professional role have been unsuccessful. The military do not seek political power. However, taking into account that the army regards as its main purpose the maintenance of law and order, the plotters have set out to cause economic and political chaos so as to force the Armed Forces to abandon their traditional stand and induce them to interfere.

That is why the policy spearheaded against the main enemies, aimed at preventing civil war and anarchy, at overcoming difficulties, strengthens the government and guarantees the development of the revolution along its initial road.

There are good prospects for expanding the social base of Popular Unity, because the revolutionary changes are in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. But the political base cannot be expanded at present. Although there are elements in some of the opposition parties who support revolutionary change and even accept the idea of socialism, they are not able to give up their narrow political interests and their thirst for power; some even display ridiculous dictatorial ambitions. Nevertheless, it is possible to seek agreement with some of the opposition on urgent problems facing the masses, but always relying on the struggle of the working people and the nation as a whole.

As for the coming elections, one must take into account the strength of the opposition. Its declared aim is to gain two-thirds of the seats in parliament and deny the government the minimum quorum required for passing laws. Figuratively speaking, it would

*In October 1969, when the Frei administration was still in office, General Viaux headed a reactionary revolt to prevent the progressive forces from winning in the 1970 elections.—Ed.

then hold a pistol to the government's head. The objective of the Popular Unity bloc is to improve its position in the two houses of the legislature. We Chilean Communists hold that the prospects depend basically on our work in the coming months. In other words, the Popular Unity's showing at the elections is directly dependent on the government's and the people's ability to deepen the revolutionary process and resolve the most urgent problems. But especially the results will depend on the ideological and political work of the Communist Party and other Popular Unity organizations.

The revolution creates new moral values. Thanks to these vast masses of people are brought into revolutionary creativity. The difficulties accompanying deep social changes need not be feared if the people have good leaders and if they see a better future ahead.



Capitalist integration and inter-imperialist contradictions

John Gollan

The prolonged discussion before a date could be agreed on the Summit meeting of the present Six, with Britain and the other new applicants, on the future of the Common Market underlined the very big differences within the EEC and between the EEC and the rest of the capitalist world.

It coincided with a certain slowdown of economic growth within the Market and considerable political instability. Pompidou has formed a new government to fight the coming French election. This is a reflection of his defeat on the Referendum and the challenge of the united governmental program declaration of the French Communists and Socialists. The Brandt Government also faced an election. The Andreotti Government in Italy cannot solve the crisis in Italian life which requires the opening to the left proposed by the Italian Communist Party.

While the Heath Government only got its final parliamentary vote on entry by a majority of 17, this was due to Labor abstentions. The majority of the country remains opposed, and the battle will proceed in the Labor and trade union movement for outright opposition. Wilson's proposal for 're-negotiation' of terms when Labor is returned to government has been exposed as a hollow sham by Dr. Sicco Mansholt, EEC President, who declared 'there can never be any question of Britain re-negotiating the Common Market Treaty.' The decision of the September Trades Union Congress for opposition to entry on principle is a significant blow at the pro-marketers. The Communist Party is fighting in the Labor movement for a clear declaration that if Heath takes Britain into the EEC, a future Labor Government will take Britain out.

Another essential factor in considering future EEC development and integration is the latest phase of the world currency crisis sparked off by the devaluation of the dollar and now the 'floating' of the pound.

With the re-emergence of the industrial and economic power of Japan and the increasing concern of the U.S. at the restrictive and inherently anti-American policies of the EEC inter-imperialist world antagonisms are growing.

Finally there are the possibilities of détente following the im-

portant measures of agreement in Moscow with Nixon and the Brandt agreements with the Soviet Union and Poland which increasingly place in question the cold war political basis of the EEC.

All this produces a complicated and quickly-moving situation. There is an interplay of the economic and political forces making for capitalist integration in Western Europe and the countervailing forces of inter-European and world imperialist antagonisms brought about by the uneven development of capitalism.

In his *Imperialism*, Lenin polemicized with Kautsky's idea of ultra-imperialism, that is, that the development of monopoly proceeded towards a single world monopoly, towards a single world trust. Lenin dismissed this as ultra nonsense, 'that the rule of finance capital,' according to Kautsky, 'lessens the unevenness and contradictions inherent in the world economy, whereas in reality it increases them' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 272).

In his article 'On the Slogan for a United States of Europe' (written in 1915), Lenin commented, 'Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism.' He argued that a United States of Europe under capitalism 'is either impossible or reactionary.' Lenin added, 'Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists . . . but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty against Japan and America . . .' (Vol. 21, pp. 340, 341, 342).

These remarks of Lenin are very much borne out by the development of the EEC. In theory the case for economic integration in capitalist Europe is strong – a single market of 250 to 300 millions, with the free movement of capital and labor. In practice, the way the EEC has developed reflects the uneven economic and political strength of the states within it and within the capitalist world as a whole. Measures of governmental or state integration, however, have lagged far behind the major form of capitalist economic integration, the multinational firm. The overwhelming majority of these firms is American. But whether American or European based, they are mutually antagonistic and operate across all national boundaries or economic blocs. By definition their activities are on a world scale and are on a level that increasingly and decisively influences capitalist government policy and decisions.

The Common Market countries have emerged with high growth rates, with West Germany as the strongest economic and military force in the EEC, and are in increasing competition with the U.S. In terms of economic growth and share of world trade, the position of the U.S. has relatively declined. Japan has emerged once again as a major economic and political power with the highest growth rate in the capitalist world and a looming military potential. The British bourgeoisie, who stood out from the Six, has abandoned its whole post-war strategy to seek a new alignment with the Six.

It is on this background of changing relationships of imperialist

forces and economic development that we consider the specific problems of the next stage of capitalist integration in the EEC.

The initial stage of the EEC, the Customs Union, has been completed. So has the Common Market Agricultural Policy, the Coal and Steel Community and the Atomic Energy Community. A complex form of Common Market neo-colonialism has been developed with African states as associated members without representation on the key bodies. The basic institutions of the Council, the Commission and its established bureaucracy, the Court and the facade of the European Parliament are in operation.

Because of national differences and stages of development the whole process has been painful. The Community Agricultural Policy depends on fixed currency parities and has been twice seriously disrupted as exchange rates have changed. The Common Transport Policy has been postponed. There has been a free movement of labor and a certain harmonization of social policy.

From the beginning, of course, the Market was intended to be more than a free trade area. The declared aim of the Treaty of Rome was integration to the stage of full economic and monetary union, the transition stage for which was supposed to be completed by January 1970. All this involved so-called supra-nationalism, with the conflict between the sovereign power of the various governments and the further evolution of the Community organs which economic union implies.

It is this key issue which accounts for the present difficulties. The development of the economic and monetary union involves such fundamental and controversial questions as moves to a common currency, budgetary and tax policy, free movement of capital, common company law, and so on. These are vital issues without the solution of which there can be no economic union. Given that the Treaty of Rome is a treaty for capitalism, the great trusts and particularly the multinational firms are at the root of this question. In an EEC booklet, *Harmonizing Taxes – A Step to European Integration*, Commission member Hans von der Groeben wrote that freedom of capital movement can 'be created only if steps are also taken to remove the impediments which company and tax laws place on mergers and the acquisition of holdings across the internal frontiers of the Common Market.'

In fact there has been no really big EEC company merger. The biggest recent European merger has been Dunlop-Pirelli – one Italian trust and one British, the latter outside the EEC. The real merger movement in the form of the multinational firm and other big monopoly groupings has been within each separate EEC country and from outside the EEC, U.S., Swiss, Japanese, Swedish, etc. Indeed, the creation of the EEC speeded up the invasion of the Six by these firms building and acquiring plants and affiliates within the EEC countries. In turn, the West German, French, Italian, Dutch and Belgian firms have done the same in the capitalist countries outside the EEC.

At the 32nd Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain

in November last year, we stated: 'The Tory Common Market policy (of entry) underlines the failure of ruling class strategy since the war. Traditional positions are being abandoned to this aim of a new bloc of Britain and the Six in competition with the U.S. and Japan and directed against socialism.'

The effort to re-establish an independent position for British imperialism after the war, outside the Six with EFTA and the sterling area but in NATO and the other imperialist alliances, along with the so-called special relationship with the U.S. involved enormous strain. It meant building up British investment abroad, maintaining the City of London as a world banking center and sterling as a reserve currency. It involved huge military expenditure. In the event, the crisis of British imperialism has grown, with a relatively weakening industrial base, low growth, repeated balance of payments crises, attacks on the working class and resulting devaluation. At all stages the ruling class sought to put the full burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class.

So the dominant sections of British imperialism decided on a strategic shift of policy, as the Tory Government White Paper on the EEC, 'The United Kingdom and the European Communities' put it: 'During the 1950s the transformation of our position in the world was increasingly borne in on us, in terms of recurring problems at home and in the balance of payments, of the quickening move towards independence among former colonies, and of a sense of diminishing influence in world counsels.'

But it was only after repeated failures of the attempt at an independent position by Labor and Tory Governments alike that the final decision of a switch of strategy took place. The decision to apply for entry meant the abandonment of EFTA and the Commonwealth. The remaining EFTA countries have now signed an agreement for free trade in industrial goods with the EEC. But the Asian Commonwealth countries, Ceylon, India, Malaysia, Singapore and Bangladesh – and Pakistan are likely to be more critically affected if Britain enters than any other country or group of countries.

But the first important test for Britain in relation to the Common Market resulted in the floating of the pound in defiance of Common Market currency regulations, and the imposition of Exchange controls on the outflow of U.K. capital to the sterling area. Symbolically the Hong Kong dollar broke from the pound and linked with the U.S. dollar.

Officially the government maintains that the sterling area still exists. But the *Economist* wrote on July 1, 1972: 'The British Treasury has taken the opportunity of the float quietly to snuff out the sterling area. Last week 60 countries, with one quarter of the world's population, belonged to the Overseas Sterling Area. Today Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man alone remain in the club that was the Empire.'

British imperialism has its own aims. It hopes to use its remaining financial strength, diplomatic position, relatively advanced technology and possession of nuclear weapons to attempt to divide

and dominate. Opposition to British entry came in the beginning from French imperialism. But because of the latter's fear of the domination of the power of Federal Germany in the EEC, France now supports British entry as a counter-balancing force.

Matters are further complicated by the battle of the currencies, GATT and free trade and world imperialist antagonisms.

The dollar crisis arising from the huge overseas U.S. military expenditure, and in particular the Vietnam War and U.S. balance of trade problems, resulted in the devaluation of the dollar and the end of its convertibility. Bretton Woods collapsed and all efforts to create a new world currency regime are making slow progress.

The keynote of the so-called Smithsonian Agreement December 1971 was that the major European currencies and the yen agreed to retain fixed parities to the dollar within certain permitted limits. At the same time years of repeated U.S. payments deficits to which overseas investment has made a big contribution and export of capital have created a float of some 65,000 million dollars (the so-called foot-loose capital) in the European currency markets which continually threaten European currency stability. In effect, the problem of the dollar and U.S. economic instability was transmitted to Europe. This has been dubbed 'dollar imperialism' by a prominent columnist in the *Financial Times*, who wrote: 'What the Americans want is an international currency set-up that would enable them to conduct their domestic economic policy with a total disregard for balance-of-payments implications and at the same time provide them with unlimited freedom to use unconvertible dollars to acquire assets in other countries' (*Financial Times*, July 7, 1972).

The whole problem of fixed parities and the like is that of ensuring relatively stable conditions for the most favorable development of world trade. It is an attempt to avoid competitive devaluation to secure export price advantages, and a growing system of exchange controls which in the end can only seriously restrict world trade and encourage recession.

The Smithsonian parities system hailed by Nixon as the 'greatest monetary agreement in the history of the world,' is already strained to the limit and is in imminent danger of breakdown. At the heart of the matter is the imperialist battle for world trade and investment supremacy, not just EEC issues. The U.S. devalued and created the inconvertible dollar with the declared intention of turning its balance payments from deficit to a surplus, which can only be done at the expense of its so-called partners. West Germany and Japan, the main trade surplus nations, are fighting U.S. pressure to again revalue the mark and the yen, which would cut their competitive advantage in the world market while operating the Smithsonian Agreement which adds to their big reserves of inconvertible dollars. All the European countries are now operating exchange controls against speculative capital movements and to protect their own currencies, and have been pressing the U.S. for some agreement relating to the huge inconvertible dollar surpluses.

It is a complex battle to effect a compromise and avert total

breakdown while the interminable discussions on a new world currency agreement drag on. All participants are fighting to protect their particular and mutually antagonistic interests. So the future of economic and monetary union in the EEC is inextricably bound up with the world currency and trading position as a whole and with the contradictions between the major monopolies in the EEC.

In effect Britain was the first to break the fixed parity set up by floating the pound. The British Tory Government blames 'speculators' for its decision to float. The main speculators, in fact, have been the great multinational firms and other financial institutions with big liquid foreign currency reserves, switching from currencies they consider weak to those considered strong.

Britain's float is *de facto* devaluation in violation, too, of the Common Market Currency Agreement reached in May 1971 and to which Britain had to subscribe as a condition for Common Market entry.

This lays down a system of fixed parities operating within a 2½ per cent permissible fluctuation. So while the pound is floating, the Six are operating both their own and the Smithsonian parity agreements. Some special exceptions have been made for Italy. There is every reason to believe, however, that before they arrived at this decision they considered a joint EEC float against the dollar which would have sunk the Smithsonian agreement.

In theory all of the Six are committed to working out the next stage of monetary and economic union. But in practice serious divergencies have emerged, between France and West Germany in particular. There are differences on the pressing problems of exchange controls and the machinery of community reserves. The French and the Belgians operate a two tier system of exchange rates, one to deal with ordinary trade transactions and the other to deal with capital movements. In effect, the French demand a definite system to defend fixed European parities (which means that Britain must end floating) against international currency fluctuations, particularly the dollar. France has also been pressing for the dollar again to be convertible into gold and wants the price of gold to be raised nearer its open market price – about twice the existing rate.

West Germany and Britain are also for European monetary co-operation but insist that this must be accompanied by the harmonizing of economic policies, industrial and regional. West Germany, as the most powerful EEC member, wants the most speedy harmonizing.

While in fact West Germany has introduced exchange control (on which Schiller broke with Brandt), they are also concerned with their wider world interest and argued that European monetary problems can't be solved in a vacuum. The position was more or less spelled out in a statement of the West German Banking Federation on July 19. The West German bankers want a joint European monetary policy coordinated with the U.S. to end the problems arising out of floating.

British imperialism brings its own distinctive position to the argument. It is for narrowing exchange rates and an eventual European money. But it sees each stage in this as a lever to

parallel meaningful progress towards common economic and industrial policies.

What Britain is particularly concerned with is the principle of financial assistance for regional economic policies analogous to that for agriculture under the Agricultural Policy. This is because the workers are no longer prepared to tolerate unemployment, as the Upper Clyde shipyard workers, the dockers, and many other workers in struggle have shown.

Britain is also concerned to facilitate progress on European company law to create a more favorable climate for European based multi-national firms in competition with the U.S. multinationals. After the U.S., Britain has the greatest number of multinationals.

Therefore the main EEC countries have major differences reflecting their different specific interests. French imperialism is hoping that Britain will lean more to them than to West Germany on the immediately disputable questions. *The Times* Financial Editor argues that British and West German interests more closely coincided.

Little progress was made on the larger issues of the international monetary system by the meeting of the Finance Ministers of the Six with Britain, Denmark, Norway and Eire, in London on July 17-18. True, agreement was reached on eight general points. These were: that the new international monetary system should be based on fixed but adjustable parities; eventually re-establishment of general convertibility; provision for effective international regulation of the supply of 'world liquidity'; necessary adjustment of balance of payments of participating countries; reduction of the destabilizing effects of short term capital flows; equal rights and obligations; regard to the interests of developing countries, and finally, that such a system is in no way incompatible with the progressive achievement of economic and monetary union of an enlarged EEC.

There has never been such a packet of economic platitudes as this. Almost every point contradicts every other. Even this agreement on general objectives was only got because the present difficult issues were not discussed.

At their September meeting in Rome the Finance Ministers and the Foreign Secretaries of the ten countries reached a compromise agreement to set up, by the end of the decade, a new European Monetary Fund as part of the tentative moves to economic and military union. The gold question was again by-passed. It should be noted that there was agreement on coordinated action by the governments to fight inflation, which in effect will mean attempts at concerted action against the European trade union movements' ever increasing and militant action on the wages front.

There is no reason to think that any new scheme hatched up won't come adrift on the rocks of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism. But this is for the future. One noted financial commentator had to resort to Shakespeare to put his view whether it was not better to '... bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of.'

Indeed the issue is whether the Smithsonian Agreement might collapse. As a result of European pressure that the U.S. itself should help support the dollar and with various schemes afloat for finding European inconvertible dollar surpluses, the U.S. had been compelled to act. There are indications already that the U.S. may be prepared to take action from time to time to support the dollar when it comes under pressure, using its currency reserves and other means. It will probably be accompanied by still greater U.S. pressure to relax exchange controls and to again revalue the mark and the yen.

Considerable conflict, therefore, will be the keynote of next year's discussion at Washington on the future of the international monetary system. The main issues will remain, the adjustment process for exchange rates, what is to be the unit of account for settlements and the role of gold. The U.S. is pushing forward for a system which would favor its aggressive trade and overseas investment program and overcome its record trade deficit. Only then, it is said, will the U.S. agree to some form of dollar convertibility, and deal with the problem of foreign balances.

When on the background of all this, and the violent conflict of interests involved, one considers the institutional issue of economic and monetary union, one understands why there is avoidance of real discussion.

At the center of the dispute here is the whole issue of further erosion of national sovereignty and supranationalism. Real economic union presupposes supranational bodies in control of budget, fiscal and currency problems, and economic and industrial policy, and the taking of all these powers out of the hands of the national governments and the national parliaments. It means the decline of any democratic controls, the growth of the power of the EEC Commission and the Council of Ministers. It is tailor-made for the big monopolies and authoritarian rule however much it is covered up by the tattered fig leaf of the so-called European Parliament and its 'powers' of talk. Even if this 'Parliament' was directly elected it would have no real control. Indeed, the reality of the degree of economic integration would be the multinational monopolies, the majority of which have bases outside the EEC with operations wider than the EEC. They could dominate the supranational economic bodies in fact and fight out their conflicting interests within them or outside them if necessary.

In addition, there are those who want to extend this development of bureaucratic supranational institutions to cover a common foreign policy and a common military policy.

Repeatedly the Tory Government has made the lying assertion that the Common Market means no real encroachment of British national sovereignty, but at the same time supports the development towards economic union and a common foreign policy. It argues in its White Paper: 'At present the Community's institutions are purely economic. But if the development of European policies in non-economic fields calls for *new institutions* (my italics. - J.G.) then, as a member, Britain will play a full and equal part in devising

whatever additions to the institutional framework are required.'

This, of course, evades the point: any new institutions demanded by full economic union and other issues foreign and military, must be at the expense of national sovereignty. France, while approving the aims of economic union, is against supranational institutions. The two positions are mutually contradictory. No doubt West Germany, being the dominant power in the EEC, will approve further supranational bodies although how far, it has not as yet publicly spelled its position out.

The conflicts therefore are far-reaching and continuously shifting and developing. The further stages of integration are likely to be a series of pragmatic compromises than economic union in any realistic way.

For these questions are bound up with the two further great issues listed at the beginning of this article. These are the relationship of the EEC, enlarged or not, with the rest of the capitalist world, and in particular the USA, and the movement for détente in Europe and the world.

From the point of view of British imperialism the objective is the three capitalist super-blocs theory. That is the development of an enlarged EEC (with Britain) as a new capitalist bloc in competition with the U.S. and Japan, and with the world of socialism. One even suspects that Mr. Heath and Mr. Wilson before him have been reading Lenin. The case is argued in a discreet way in paragraph 27 of the Tory Government White Paper on the EEC: 'In economic affairs, the European communities and Japan are also well on the way to super-power status. In the IMF and the GATT, and in many other ways which set the pattern of economic life, the three economic super powers that are emerging in the non-Communist world (the U.S., the EEC and Japan - J.G.) will increasingly and inevitably be the decisive influences.'

The previous Labor Government's Common Market White Paper put the matter quite brutally as one of creating all-European companies capable of taking on the U.S. This was only possible . . . 'within an enlarged economic union, for the goal is not cooperation for its own sake, but the opportunity over a period to build European enterprises on a continental scale and thus for Europe to hold its own in future industrial developments with the United States and the Soviet Union.'

Of course the U.S. realizes all this. Having played a leading role in launching the EEC, the U.S. is looking towards a means of combatting its policies of economic discrimination and competition. The U.S. Treasury has made an active study of a dollar trading bloc including Canada, Australia, New Zealand and a number of Asian countries. This could operate trade preferences against Britain and an enlarged EEC. At the moment the White House is negotiating for the reduction of trade barriers; it is critical of EEC trade policies and EEC relations with the associated and under-developed countries in Africa and trade partners in the Mediterranean.

The economic editor of *The Times* wrote that the Americans,

unhappy and suspicious about the trend of events in Europe, have begun to toy with ideas for a closer special relationship with the old British white Commonwealth and Japan (Already, of course, there is virtual military alliance - J.G.). He continued: 'The accelerated demise of the Sterling Area, of course, predisposes countries like Australia and New Zealand to think even more than before of a dollar area as their natural port in a storm. Japan and Canada already are virtual members of a dollar bloc and are increasingly accustomed to making special trading arrangements with the United States.'

This is an over-simplification, for Japan has its own ideas of its world role and will be increasingly expressing them.

There are repeated reports of U.S. studies which review the possible result on employment and industrial output of an all-out trade war between the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist world, including the EEC. One study calculates that prohibitive American import tariffs would (based on 1970 figures) cut the industrial production index in Britain from 125 to 105, in Germany from 153 to 125, and in Italy from 150 to 129, while in America it would fall only from 139 to 133 (see *Financial Times*, September 22nd in an article on the U.S. demand for the removal of Pierre Paul Schweitzer from the post of Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund). Whether these figures are completely accurate or not, such studies show the increasing intensity of the U.S. trade war.

Of course, both United States and British policy and NATO with the Common Market was based on the conception of the cold war and containing and rolling back socialism. This policy is increasingly collapsing in ignominy due to the peace policy of the USSR and the socialist states, the national liberation struggle, particularly of the Vietnamese, and the power of the working-class movement.

A big advance came with the recognition of the bankruptcy of the Hallstein doctrine by the Brandt Government and the negotiation of a series of treaties by the USSR and West Germany, West Germany and the GDR, and West Germany and Poland.

This is a new and qualitative stage in European development which opens up the realistic perspective, given continuous mass struggle, of an all-inclusive European Security Conference which could undermine the whole conception of the cold war and exclusive military blocs. The outcome to be fought for is that of an all-European Security system, reduction of tension, and other measures of détente and the eventual dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. On the wider scale the Moscow agreements with Nixon are important for world détente, although here the urgent and compelling issue is to end U.S. aggression against Vietnam as the basis for a negotiated settlement.

The important point about all this is that these developments are on a truly all-European scale as against the limited Europe of the EEC. It has put the conception of the development of the EEC on supra-national lines regarding foreign and military policy in question; given successful mass action, this development can and will be blocked.

In addition new prospects now open up for genuine all-European trade, technical and cultural cooperation, and all-European measures for environmental pollution, power and transport, etc.

The tremendous trading potential for Europe of the socialist world is obvious. Taken together with all the world trade contradictions related above, all this is a countervailing force against the EEC developing in the direction of a completely closed economic bloc.

From this survey it is possible to form tentative conclusions. The further development of the EEC as an economic and monetary union cannot be considered apart from the world capitalist trading and currency question as a whole. The search for a new capitalist world currency regime will go on and will be protracted. But how likely is any new system, if and when finally reached, to last? Bretton Woods collapsed. The Smithsonian Agreement is creaking. Of course, some compromise system will be negotiated. But the likelihood, due to the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, is periodic crises in the system. As J. M. Keynes, Britain's outstanding bourgeois economist who continually wrestled with such problems, wrote in what was probably his last article: 'No-one can be certain of anything in this age of flux and change . . . No plans will work for certain in such an epoch . . . But if they palpably fail, then of course, we and everyone else will try something different.'

It is impossible to think of an EEC economic and monetary union in isolation from this world background. Any arrangement arrived at in this connection will be subjected to the same strains and difficulties. Conflicts within compromise rather than full union is the greatest possibility.

Of course there will be measures of common economic policy and efforts to harmonize fiscal and tax laws and a common company law to promote European mergers will almost certainly be agreed. The big firms will insist on this. But the moves to EEC supranationalism and institutionalized authoritarian bureaucracy will be combatted and resisted by all the Communist parties in Europe whether in or out of the Common Market.

As for the development of the EEC as a completely integrated third capitalist super-power, enough has been written to show that the forces and conflicting interests are more likely to prevent this than realize it.

The reality of the degree of capitalist integration of the multinational firm remains. But by definition the firms are mutually antagonistic and operate across all blocs and trade groups. As against this, the movement of the people led by the Communist parties and the trade unions for the control of such firms is growing in power. Increasingly the battle will develop to nationalize the branches of these firms in the major European countries.

As for British entry to an enlarged Community, the Tories are trying to create the impression that this is now a closed issue. But the battle goes on.



Thoughts of the past, present and future

Soviet writers give their
impressions

Some detail of every important event is engraved on the mind to bring back the full picture. Writers are richly endowed with that gift. The historian uses documents, and the writer images, to present events in their meaningful setting. The writer sees big things in small, the social in the personal. Conceptualized, his impressions help us piece together the picture of the past. That is why, for the 50th anniversary of the USSR, we asked writers to share with our readers their impressions of the past and their thoughts of the future.

Our request was addressed to Soviet writers of different nationalities, known both in the USSR and far beyond. Their replies are printed on this and the following pages.

Alexei Surkov, Russian Poet, Hero of the Socialist Labor,
USSR State Prize Holder

THE HARD ROAD TO HAPPINESS

The 50th anniversary of the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics we are celebrating this December is more than just another official red-letter day. It is a great and joyous holiday in the life of every Soviet person, whatever his race or nationality. For every one of us this date, like October 25, November 7, 1917, signifies the advent of a new era in the history of the peoples inhabiting the former Russian Empire. More, in the history of all mankind, for whom the brotherhood of peoples in our multinational state has become a prototype of the future world brotherhood of working people.

I belong to those citizens of the Soviet Union who have Russian blood in their veins. Our working class had the great honor of becoming the fighting vanguard of all people of labor in Russia. Out of the most advanced and politically conscious workers, the Russian revolutionary Lenin forged a party armed with the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism, tempered in long years of underground struggle. It proved the only force capable of heading the masses' revolutionary action, of rallying them to the October assault and, after the October victory, of leading the country's peoples along

the untrodden roads to socialism and communism.

Realization of the great part our people played in the historic battles for a better future for mankind naturally fills the heart of every Russian with happiness and pride. But we Russians know that all our victories would have been impossible if Lenin and the Party he created had not fostered in us a deep and powerful sense of the international community of men of labor, a sense of respect and friendship for the people of other nationalities inhabiting our planet and constituting the human race. Among the participants in the October assault were Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, Georgians, Armenians, and people of many other nationalities of old Russia. We participants in the Civil War remember that fighting in the ranks of the Red Army and the revolutionary partisans alongside Russians, Ukrainians and representatives of other peoples inhabiting Russia were Poles and Czechs, Bulgarians and Germans, Hungarians and Serbians, who felt that the cause we were defending against the then masters of life was the cause of their future, their destiny. There is a natural logic in the fact that the first anthem of our young state was the 'Internationale.'

And now, in times of peaceful communist construction, we constantly feel and highly appreciate the fraternal solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, of the Communist and Workers' parties, of all our friends.

The tasks outlined by Lenin were common to all people of labor, and it was this that created the possibilities for setting up a state organism capable of cementing nations and peoples of different historical fates into the unbreakable monolith of moral and political unity that the Soviet Union reveals to mankind. It withstood, without yielding a crack, an unprecedented test of strength in the fire of war and in the titanic efforts of labor. Lenin's wisdom helped us Soviet people, whatever our nationality, to successfully combat all survivals of nationalism and chauvinism at every stage in the life of our great community.

Vivid proof of the strength of our moral and political unity was provided in the last war. In attacking our country the Hitlerites had counted, among other things, on our close-knit family not withstanding the test of war. But they miscalculated. The harder it was at the front the greater became our peoples' will to resist, the more selfless their fraternal support of each other. Proof of this were the searing flames of guerrilla warfare which spread like wildfire in all Nazi-occupied lands: Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Moldavian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian. Proof of this was the hospitality with which the peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia welcomed the workers and the soldiers' families evacuated eastward.

It is to this invincible, unbreakable moral and political unity of the Soviet peoples that we and all mankind are indebted for the defeat of fascism and the removal of the threat of inhuman slavery that hung over the world.

I am a writer and I can especially appreciate the results of our Party's implementation of the Leninist national policy in the literary section of the broad cultural front.

Tsarism left us an inheritance of enormous cultural backwardness. Suffice it to say that almost three quarters of the population could neither read nor write, while among the peoples of Central Asia and the small peoples of the Volga country, Siberia and the Far East illiteracy was almost total. In 1917 dozens of peoples crossed the threshold into the new world without a written language, their cultural heritage comprising only legends and traditions passed on for centuries by word of mouth from one generation to another.

A few decades is a small span in the history of culture, yet in these decades the country achieved universal literacy and the task has now been set of completing the introduction of universal secondary education. In these decades most of the illiterate peoples not only acquired alphabets, they laid the foundations of national cultures, literatures, arts.

In pursuance of its colonialist policies, the tsarist government stifled the development of national literatures and deliberately prevented the small, illiterate peoples from producing literatures of their own in its effort to make the Russian language itself a tool of suppression. The Leninist national policy, which opened up bright vistas for the flourishing of culture, art and literature, national in form and socialist in content, gave the Russian language the lofty function of intermediary between fraternal literatures. When translated into Russian, the works of writers of other Soviet peoples immediately gain a multimillion reading public among Russians, as well as other fraternal peoples. For most of the representatives of young literatures, the reading public in their native language numbers hundreds of thousands or, in some cases, only tens of thousands. But when their works are translated into Russian they at once acquire millions of readers and, at the same time, become more accessible for translation into other languages, foreign included.

Unfortunately, people abroad discussing Soviet literature and culture frequently restrict themselves to Russian literature and Russian art. It is to be hoped that the December anniversary will help to expand existing knowledge of Soviet literature to include many names and books worthwhily representing the literature of all of our country's fraternal peoples.

Many peoples of the world have thrown off the chains of colonial slavery, taken the road of independent national development and, overcoming the terrible heritage of the recent past, are proceeding to build up their national cultures and literatures. I think that the people concerned in these countries could find the Soviet experience of resolving the national question in the political and cultural fields extremely helpful. In the course of many years of contacts with writers from the so-called Third World I have seen with what lively interest they absorb everything revealing the circumstances in which our peoples developed their literatures, the ways in which they created the atmosphere of friendship and trust so characteristic of relations between the large and small, ancient and young literatures of our country.

The fate of literature is but one page in the wonderful book of

our new, socialist history. I have already said that the December jubilee is both a national holiday and a great event in the life of every Soviet man and woman. The October Revolution realized the words of the 'Internationale':

The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

I come from a poor peasant family, and since the age of twelve had to earn my meagre bread with my own hands. If not for the October Revolution, I would have repeated, together with millions of my contemporaries, the bitter fate of our grandfathers and fathers, who saw not a sunny day in the whole of their lives. October opened up before us a new road, a difficult road replete with trials and privation, but leading to great human happiness, it enabled us to enjoy the feeling of being masters of our lives and of the future. The revolution provided us with a sense of communion with our comrades marching side by side, it rid us of the dangers of egoism, selfishness and the pursuit of well-being at the expense of others. Lenin imbued us with a sense of international community with all those who gain their bread by the sweat of their brow, with a feeling of hatred for the parasites who appropriate the labor of the oppressed and exploited.

If not for the October Revolution, could we sons of workers and peasants, like Alexander Fadeyev, Mikhail Isakovsky, Alexander Tvardovsky, Alexander Prokofyev and many other of my literary contemporaries, ever have dreamed of acquiring the right to speak to millions of our contemporaries from the pages of books, journals, newspapers, before the vast public of radio listeners and television viewers, enjoying the respect and love of our fellow-citizens?

We are proud that there exists on earth a close-knit fraternity of different tribes and peoples – the Soviet Union – a fraternity tempered in the crucible of epic struggles, inspired by the élan of building up a new, hitherto undiscovered world in which no one will ever block the sun from other peoples!

Mikhailo Stelmakh, Ukrainian Writer, Hero of Socialist Labor,
USSR Lenin and State Prize Holder

'IN A FAMILY FREE AND NEW . . .'

Together with its sisters – the republics of our Soviet fatherland – the Ukraine joyously hails the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The history of man does not abound in great holidays. The blame for this rests with all suppressors of freedom, whether clad in knightly armor or wrapped in soutanes dark as the pall of the middle ages, whether they hid their heads and evil thoughts under a crown or colonialist's helmet. But history works most thoroughly. Nothing can halt it, neither the fury of doomed classes, nor the spiteful venom of mercenary scribes, nor the frenzy of atoms coiled into bombs. It is along difficult roads of struggle and hope that the nations of the world advance to their freedom, to their

holidays, but they arrive there as surely as sunrise follows the night! The people of the world have faith in this, because in all five continents, in all four corners of the globe they can see the Soviet peoples living together within their invincible Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, working and creating a new history, a history of happiness.

The Ukraine! The very word ushers us into worlds of hoary history, into worlds of tragic epos and poetic renaissance, into worlds of heroic deeds.

The Ukraine! Ancient historians have written that you are a Wild Field. Grizzled folk bards have likened you in their songs to a stray seagull who hatched her chickens in a roadside ditch. The lot of your children, Ukraine, was unenviable. For long centuries they were fated to hold a sickle in one hand, a sabre in the other. Never have our people – a people of great soul and kind eyes – looked with avarice on other lands. But numerous were their would-be conquerors: the Petchenegs, the Polovtsy, the Tartar Horde, Polish magnates, German mercenaries. But in the battles for freedom Ukraine-the-Gull became Ukraine-the-Eagle. In the words of our folk hero, Ivan Bohum, her freedom-loving children took their Cossack hats off only before God, and even then only if they so chose.

The Ukraine! In the darkness of servitude, in the glow of fires, in battles fierce, amidst smouldering ruins, your sons dreamt of new, still waters and clear dawns, of national and social liberation.

And the wonderful dawn of the Great October illuminated your roads, and great and sublime became your destiny, and great and sublime became your children, industrious and wise, beautiful in deed and thought. The dawn of the Great October did not arrive of its own accord. It was brought forth from smoke and clouds by your true sons: Podvoisky and Antonov-Ovseyenko, Dybenko and Artyom, Fedko and Petrovsky, Skrypnik and Zatonsky, Kotsyubinsky and Primakov, Shchors and Bozhenko, millions fighting side by side with Russian lads inscribed their names in our new, socialist history. Our strength lies in brotherhood and freedom, in the unity of brother-nations, in the unity of our Soviet land, which withstood the onslaught of the fascist hordes in the last, most terrible war.

The Ukraine! The best poets of the past could not imagine what you would become.

I shall not cite the numerous remarkable examples showing how the Ukraine, in a united family of fraternal republics, did away with age-old economic and cultural backwardness within a brief historical span. I shall mention only three facts. Before the Great October Revolution, there was not a single public school with instruction in the native language. Not a single one! Today there are more than 29,000. The Ukraine's institutes of higher learning have an enrolment of more than 800,000. Our Krivoi Rog Metallurgical Works alone produce twice as much pig iron as did the whole of tsarist Russia.

Once our great genius, folk poet Taras Shevchenko, dreamt of a 'family free and new.' Today we are living in such a family.

Loving our native earth, we go up into outer space, loving people, we aspire to the heights of the human spirit, and before us all lies a rainbow bridge of hope and happiness!

Mirzo Tursun-Zade, Tajik Writer, Holder of
Lenin and State Prize, Chairman,
Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee,
Hero of Socialist Labor

FREEDOM TO BUILD THE FUTURE

Karatag, my native village, has been luckier than most – it rates three mentions in Prince Massalsky's 'Turkestan,' a bulky tome put out for the tercentenary of the House of Romanov in a series titled: *Russia, A Complete Geographical Description of Our Fatherland*.

And so, in Volume 19 of the series Karatag is mentioned three times. First, as the summer residence of the Gissar beks. Second, as notable for its architecture, 'quite unusual for Central Asia, the houses have canopy-like towers and steep roofs of reeds.' Third, in connection with the 1907 earthquake which reduced the village to ruins. And buried in the ruins were my older brothers and sisters and their mother.

The reader will note that in this 'complete geographical description' my country figures as part of the Russian Empire. That, however, was not accepted by everyone. The last Emir of Bukhara, Seid Alim-khan, considered himself the unchallenged master of all his subjects. That was challenged by Bek Gissar, the top Moslem clergy and the lesser countries in this intricate hierarchy of a despotic feudal regime. For though Bukhara had been incorporated in the Russian Empire, its medieval system remained intact.

'Land of tyranny' is how Lt.-Col. Logofet of the Russian General Staff described it after extensive travels in Bukhara. He submitted a memorandum in which, with soldierly brevity, he urged expelling the boorish monarch (the Emir). The Russian government would not accede to that – Prime Minister Stolypin was loath to worsen relations with Britain. Snubbed, the Colonel published the diary of his expedition and the text of his memorandum under the title *Land of Tyranny*.

The diary depicted my people in the worst possible light. The Tajiks, the Colonel wrote, were unbelievably lazy and pharisaically religious. That might well be true of his hosts, the men who ruled Bukhara. A tsarist colonel could hardly be expected to know of the labors and concerns, the dreams and aspirations of ordinary Tajiks.

My father was a carpenter. In the village he was known as Tursun-Golib, which literally translates 'victorious craftsman.' The villagers had a surprise for my 60th birthday: exquisitely tooled doors, tables and other objects of *archa*, a hard and long-lasting wood, a variety of juniper, were displayed at the village Soviet. After I had expressed my admiration, the village elders told me

that all this was the work of my father, collected throughout the village.

I always remember my father at work, and the smell of fresh shavings that permeated our house. It lingered in the little cubby-hole I built myself near his workbench when he was sent off to Dushane to help build a new palace for the Emir.

My father was illiterate. Perhaps that is why he gave me the name Mirzo, which means 'able to write.' And perhaps that is why he used to put a little volume of Hafiz verse under my pillow. Incidentally, one pre-revolutionary traveller in Eastern Bukhara came back with the report that the custom of putting children to sleep with some book under the pillow was conclusive proof of Tajik religious fanaticism. Whether the book was the Koran or a volume of Hafiz made no difference – as long as it was in Arabic script it had to be religious. Well, I still remember and revere the 'religion' I learned from my first book. For can there be any greater faith than faith in the strength and purity of man? . . .

The Tajiks built palaces and laid out beautiful gardens for the Emir, but there was nothing for the people. They gave the world Avicenna and Jami, but were denied the right to call themselves a nation.

The Emir's palace was never finished. The revolutionary people had their own accounts to settle with his despotic regime. 'What the Emir does to his defenseless subjects, a victorious army never does to the vanquished. The emir takes not only our property, but our wives and daughters . . .' These lines are from a letter of 1,500 peasants written shortly before I left the village.

But between this letter and my going away many things happened. I see them now both as a nine-year-old and as an adult.

The year was 1920. The Emir fled Bukhara together with his elephants and cannon, his hired thugs and military instructors. Karakag lay on their route. Old people say that the earthquake had been less devastating. We youngsters fought too. Those of us who lived on the right bank of the river were at war with the chaps on the left. We threw stones at each other and sang Turkish songs at the top of our voices. Why Turkish? I really don't know. Or perhaps this was somewhat later, during the raids of Enver Pasha's basmachi?

At any rate, it was then that I experienced my first great loss. Father came back from Dushanbe just in time for a wake for my mother. Now I realize that he married for the third time because of the children, so that there would be someone to look after them. But as a child, I saw this as a terrible betrayal of my mother. And together with a friend I took off for Dushanbe.

This running-away from home was a watershed in my life. The time was a watershed also in the life of my people and country, for from a land of tyranny Bukhara had become a land of emancipated labor. It was the watershed between feudalism and socialism.

We were placed in a children's home. We studied. I say studied, not learned the Koran by rote. We learned to read and write, to call things by their right names, to respect men in work clothes and

hate men in rich *khalats*. And we sang in our own native tongue, to the tune of the Marseillaise:

'Freedom has been unfettered,
Revenge on the tsars and emirs!
From now on the whole world
Will be ruled by free labor.'

This 'March of Freedom' and all our textbooks, we were told, had been written by Sadriddin Aini, the father of Tajik Soviet literature.

Ours was a special children's home—the first in the republic. In 1924, when I was thirteen, Tajikistan was proclaimed an Autonomous Republic within the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. With the new grouping of Central Asia according to the national principle, the Uzbeks and Turkmens, the Tajiks and Kirghizians had their own states. Never before were there national states in Central Asia. The Emirate of Bukhara was typical in this respect. Europeans used to refer to all its inhabitants as Bukharis, although the population consisted of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kazakhs and Turkmens. And they were kept at loggerheads, given derogatory nicknames, all in order to keep them securely submissive to the Emir. But now there were new names on the map, Tajikistan and its capital, Dushanbe.

The new republic. What it needed most was teachers, men and women capable of carrying knowledge across the tall mountains and deep valleys and bringing to the people an understanding of what the October Revolution and the victory of socialism meant for them. Teachers were the first heralds of the new life. This was not lost upon supporters of the Emir who infiltrated into the country, and on enemies of the working people who were lying low, biding their time.

Our children's home was reorganized into a teacher's training school, the first in the republic. But most of my classmates died young. For the basmachi, armed with British rifles and the Koran, made the teacher their number one target. Many of my schoolmates are buried in the south of the republic, where the basmachi bands were especially active. Some died in battle, others were taken unawares, still others ambushed. The Tajiks revere their memory. Their graves are shrines at which Young Pioneers take the oath of allegiance.

From the very first days of Soviet power, Tajik literature was a valuable instrument of education. Significant in this respect is the life and work of Sadriddin Aini. It is hard to single out what predominated in his activity, literature or teaching. Perhaps a happy combination of both. The Tajik Pedagogical Institute, in which I enrolled after graduating the teacher's training school, was located in Tashkent, and it was there that I first met Aini and learned to appreciate our classical poetry and the works of our early writers.

I recall how avidly all of us students read Aini's collection, 'Samples of Tajik Literature.' It helped us understand the art, the soul, of my people. It was put out in Moscow by the Nationalities Publishing House.

I returned to Dushanbe in 1930, but did not take up teaching. I had chosen another path, influenced perhaps by the thin Hafiz

volume of my childhood; perhaps, also, by the way things had changed, by the new national consciousness of my people. All this played a part. By that time I had published my first stories and I was invited to join the editorial staff of the Tajik YCL newspaper.

These were stormy years. They saw final suppression of the basmachi, the passage to collective farming, the building of the Vakhsh Canal and complete elimination of illiteracy. Work on the paper gave me a close feeling of identity with the life of Tajikistan, of the whole Soviet Union, of the world. That feeling has never left me, and I am infinitely grateful to the YCL paper. In later years, as Secretary of the Writers' Union and head of the Arts Board, I always felt involved in the concerns of the world, which I saw through the eyes of a journalist. That probably is why I have been so partial to journalism and could never refuse a request to write for a newspaper or magazine.

However, my readers are the best judges of all that I have written. As for me, I shared the life of my republic, my socialist land. Mine was the life of a YCL-er, and later of a Party member engrossed in the efforts of the Party and the people. These indeed became the subject of my poetry. I wrote of my friends, of the society in which my republic was born, a country that before my very eyes had advanced from feudalism to socialism.

In 1947 I was to see things that had been part of my own childhood, but which I could now conjure up only in nightmarish dreams. I saw poverty and misery side by side with luxury and violence. And through my soul there passed, like the Emir's hordes riding through Karatag, this horror of violence, humiliation, the lies and insults that had been part of my past. I visited several Eastern countries and I felt that I must write of what I had seen, of realities that were an unreturnable past for my own people. A past erased by the Great October, by Lenin, by the magnificent social remaking of life in a country whose peoples build their relations on friendship and brotherhood, on that 'unity of hearts' which was the dream of our poets centuries ago and is still a dream for most of the world's population.

I was wounded, my heart bled, and my wound gave me the strength to record the truth about the free and the enslaved East. It moved my pen in working for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity. It gave me no rest, for I am firmly convinced that art is both joy and pain – the joy of a man about to celebrate the 50th anniversary of his country, a country in which there has been built a socialist community of peoples, and pain for every oppressed person, responsibility for the future of all peoples, and determination to fight for that future.

For Soviet Tajikistan, my republic in the fraternal family of socialist nations, has become a land of genuine freedom, a land of modern industry and agriculture, of culture and science. No books were published in the Emiral days; today Tajiks can read in their native language not only their own classics and the works of Soviet writers, but also Shakespeare and Cervantes. About 100 books in a total printing of more than 400,000 copies are put out every year.

Technical innovations by our scientists and engineers are bought by the FRG and Japan, and in Cuba Tajik scientists are helping organize a seismological service. With the commissioning this year of the first section of the Nurek hydroelectric plant, Tajikistan will have surpassed average world per capita power output.

Of course, all these and other figures can be found in reference books. But they acquire a different meaning when translated into reality, into what the people have lived through, what they have accomplished by dint of dedicated effort. And can I, whose childhood was spent in a land of tyranny, keep from exclaiming: 'I come from the East!' Free in friendship and brotherly mutual assistance, free in the possession of man's greatest freedom – the freedom to build a brighter future.

*Chinghiz Aitmatov, Kirghizian Writer,
Holder of Lenin and State Prizes*

A LIFE OPEN TO ALL

In this age, in this dynamic, contradictory world, the question is posed with increasing sharpness: how to resolve the complex social, racial and national problems, how to evolve a new pattern of relations between peoples?

Viewed in that light, the USSR's revolutionary experience over the past half-century is doubtlessly of great value to the whole of mankind. The never-ending search of the spirit, the constant quest for a just way of life, for harmony between nations, the individual and society, tradition and revolutionary change – they have all found practical realization in my country. And I am convinced that, alongside the new spiritual values and accomplishments of socialism, one of its magnificent achievements is friendship of the peoples, their common effort toward a common goal, the cooperation and mutual enrichment of national cultures.

Friendship of the peoples. . . . It is taken for granted by the Soviet people as a firmly imbedded element of their life. But it acquires profound historical meaning when, tearing ourselves away from work-a-day concerns, we look back to the past. For man has always, from time immemorial, yearned for a world of friendship, fraternal concord and mutual respect; a world in which his dignity is never impaired and his soul never seared by the bitterness of his people's oppression and humiliation. Or, conversely, that he shall never have to wear the shameful badge of oppressor, of colonial overlord. The dream was of a world in which man would never, in blind fury born of national enmity and provoked by reactionary forces, shed human blood. He would consider it a heinous crime to shed the blood of his brothers speaking another tongue. Man has always yearned for a life when everyone could say: there is no repugnant skin color, no inferior language, no superiority of some over others.

That was the dream. It was always present in the finest minds, and to make it come true many generations went through trying

ordeals, disenchantment, shattered bourgeois illusions, suppressed risings, national liberation wars. Yes, it was a long and tortuous road that led to the revolutionary 20th century, to the 1917 proletarian socialist revolution in Russia. With the formation of the USSR, these ideals of friendship of the peoples found their living embodiment in the CPSU's Leninist national policy.

Reflecting on the past and the present, one often marvels at the truly amazing scientific prevision, courage and faith in the future, required of Lenin and the Communist Party to transform our multinational country, then in the crucible of civil war, into the monolithic community of Soviet Socialist Republics. For on the eve of the revolution this vast country was a seething conglomerate of different nations speaking different languages and at differing stages of economic and social development, ranging all the way from tribalism to capitalism. And there was a gaping discrepancy in levels of civilization, cultural and social experience, religion, traditions. Indeed, it is hard fully to appreciate the incredible energy and effort the Communist Party had to invest in organizing this many-tongued mass into a revolutionary force, lead it forward to demolish the old world, and then raise this huge country, with all its tangled diversity, to a new level.

Today, on the 50th anniversary, we can proudly say: this titanic effort has been crowned with success. All our peoples, big and small, have made their contribution to this momentous achievement.

For all peoples, those with ancient cultures and traditions and those who at the time of the revolution were, in terms of aesthetic development, still at the stage of archaic tribal folklore – for all of them the formation of the USSR powerfully stimulated a cultural renaissance unprecedented in the whole of history. Convincing proof of that is the development of culture and the arts in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, that is, in an area once known as Turkestan. They have been able not only to make up for lost time, but also to preserve their traditional arts. The Soviet years meant a rapid advance to cultural maturity, to assimilation of the achievements of world culture. Continuing the work of our predecessors and drawing on Russian literature and art, we created our own, national art. And in this, too, we have confirmation of Lenin's idea: to build socialism, the Communists must arm themselves with mankind's accumulated knowledge, with all that is progressive and valuable in the old cultures.

National pride and patriotism are natural to every person. And I take pride in the accomplishments of the Turkestan peoples. They created the civilizations of Samarkand, Bukhara and Khorezm and produced such great humanist artists as Rudaki, Navoi, Makhtumkuli, Abai, Berdekh, Toktogul. Their works have been brought within the reach of the masses and serve as a means of cultural intercourse between the Central Asian and other Soviet peoples. And I am fully aware that our classical heritage has been made accessible to the people only by the Soviet government's concern for education and the advancement of national cultures.

The development and mutual enrichment of these cultures helped

evolve a uniform, international Soviet culture differing in language and expression.

It is not only because I am a writer that I speak of the problems of Soviet culture, but also because I feel that, in our time, the criterion of a nation's progress is, increasingly, the level of its intellectual culture, the magnitude of the tasks it can tackle now and in the years ahead.

I do not propose to cite facts and figures to show what the October Revolution gave the Kirghiz people: the figures, examples and comparisons are many, and they clearly show that the progress of Kirghizia, as of all other Soviet nations, is the result of the powerful impetus of the Revolution.

On this 50th anniversary of our Union we are faced with complex problems of artistic creation. We are entering a new stage in the development of national cultures against a background of growing mutual enrichment and spiritual rapprochement of our fraternal peoples.

We attach great importance to national art, but that should not be taken to mean that national specifics are its dominant feature and should guide the artist in his work. Socialist content is the decisive factor in the development of all national cultures and it is expressed primarily in artistic depiction of people and events, of concrete social reality, concrete historical epochs. The Soviet nations are joined in a new, hitherto unknown community, with sharply etched distinctive features. This determines the main ideological and psychological strands of the Soviet character—internationalism understood as revolutionary brotherhood and proletarian solidarity, patriotism and humanism. And from this follows one of the underlying principles of socialist art, its internationalist orientation.

It is not enough, however, to record this fact. For in the tense ideological struggle of the two worlds it is important also to study and generalize accumulated aesthetic experience to perfect every facet of artistic creation. The aim should be to cultivate a feeling of the individual's involvement in the affairs and undertakings of multinational Soviet society, in the spiritual life of his fellow citizens, and in the revolutionary struggle of the world's progressive forces.

I draw attention to this because I think it is in this light that the art of socialist realism sees and portrays the Soviet man. And it is here that we have the dividing line between socialist and bourgeois ideology on the vital problem of the individual in society. Bourgeois theoreticians contrast one to the other, contending that the individual and society are, in every social system, irresolvable opposites. We Soviet artists, however, believe our mission is to depict the new relation between the individual and society, the socialist relations born and consolidated in the Soviet years. We see the individual as a full-fledged representative of society, a creator and builder.

We are working for communism. Our socialist state is 50 years old. History has never known such tremendous achievement, such

dramatic effort and change in the destinies of individuals, generations, nations, the whole of society.

Our life is open to all. We say: these are our ideals, our work, achievement, aims; they are there for you to see. We are always ready to share our experience with those who wish to travel our road.

Petrus Broyka, Belorussian Poet, Hero of Socialist Labor,
Holder of Lenin and State Prizes

MY VILLAGE AND THE COUNTRY

I am no longer young. As a twelve-year-old boy I witnessed the Great October. Soviet power was installed and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created before my very eyes. At thirteen I worked as a copyist at the district military commissariat (induction office); later I was an accountant at a state farm and chairman of the local village Soviet. But this is not what I wanted to commence my recollections of the past with. It is impossible to grasp the true meaning of the Revolution for my people, what we started out with and what we achieved without recalling the years that preceded the Revolution. They rise in my mind's eye as years of hopeless darkness, poverty and deprivation when, I make bold to claim, few of my fellow-villagers even thought of themselves as Belorussians. In fact the very name 'Belorussian' as a definition of nationality was proscribed by the tsarist satraps, and the Belorussian language was banned as uncouth.

The truth is, however, that no amount of oppression is capable of destroying a people's national self-consciousness, their craving for freedom, and our native writings, printed with the aid of meager charities, managed occasionally to penetrate into the most benighted backwoods of our downtrodden land. Thus it was that I, then an eight-year-old, got to know some of the works of our folk bards, Yanka Kupala and Yakub Kolas. I was amazed to find that their verse and stories were written in the idiom of our village. 'For the children of Belorussians' was written on one of the books, and I realized that I, too, was a Belorussian. And another thing struck me in the poems of Kupala and Kolas: their faithful description of our life, as though they were written about our village, and, especially, that they called upon the people to fight against the landlords and all oppressors, something our men often talked about. Today, even for me, who experienced those grim years, it is hard to imagine that Belorussian village life had really ever been so awful. A single dirty little street on the edge of a wood lined with squat, tumble-down huts under thatched roofs and even more squalid adjoining sheds. Narrow strips of lean, sandy land which barely fed the peasants a few months of the year, and then only if the grain was mixed with chaff. The main implements were the wooden plough, the sickle, the flail; the rye was ground in mills turned by hand. The peasants made their own coarse linen clothes from the flax they grew. The idea of buying clothes or shoes in

the city never even occurred to them. Even matches for kindling the fire were split into four or, more often than not, hot coals were preserved for the following day, and if they went out the peasant would borrow some from a neighbor rather than waste a precious quarter of a match. And the ignorance, the ignorance . . . I recall, during the First World War, that I, at nine, was the only one who could read and write in our village, and it was my duty to read the letters from soldiers to their families, and pen the replies. And though I was pleased to get the remuneration I was offered – usually an egg – the misery of the soldiers and the misery of their families was almost more than I could bear.

The Great October marked the beginning of an entirely new life. It was built (and I could see this on the example of my native area) by us, now with dignity bearing the name 'Belorussian' together with our brothers, Russians, Ukrainians, people from the Caucasus and workers of other nationalities. I saw them restoring our economy and fighting together against the German and Polish invaders. There was no national discord, the only yardstick of our friendship was whether one was 'with us' or 'against us' in building up the new society.

Among the many noteworthy documents of the period especially vivid and significant seems to me an article that appeared in 1922 in our republican newspaper *Zvezda* which reflects our mood at the time when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was in the making. Describing the sentiments of guests from other republics attending a congress of the Soviets of the Russian Federation, a man from Minsk wrote:

'We, delegates of the allied Republics shall attend this Congress as guests . . .

'Guests. What is a guest? A guest is someone standing on the side, an outsider. We, however, are and always have been together, struggling together, fighting on the fronts together, starving together, going through the horrors of bandit raids together.

' . . . And so we are going to the Congress as active participants and not as guests. It is not someone else's Congress we are going to, but our own Congress, which will decide on problems of interest to us and connected with our work.'

The half-century heroic road traversed by us in the united ranks of many peoples has bred and nurtured new qualities in men. The feeling of a common family, of common joys and common concerns is a new quality inherent in every Soviet person.

But to return to my native village. Before the revolution, our peasant, steeped in misery, thought of little more than his home, his next of kin, his immediate neighbors. Events outside his village or district did not concern him, in fact he hardly knew of them. Today, our collective farmer who sows rye on Belorussian soil, is concerned with how the wheat is faring in the Ukraine, what the cotton crop is like in Uzbekistan, how the vineyards are ripening in Georgia . . .

And in the war years? The whole world knows of the heroic ordeal of legendary Brest, where Russian and Belorussian, Ukrainian

and Armenian, Georgian and Tatar, sons and daughters of many other republics stood to the death. More than 1,700 of those who fought in Belorussia, 460 of them Belorussians, bore the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, which is awarded for the most brilliant military exploits. Among our stalwart partisans were Kalmyk writer Mikhail Khoninov and Tatar writer Zaki Nuri. Tombstones stand in mournful memory on Belorussian soil over the graves of the Georgian writer Mirzo Ghelovani, Uzbek writer Sultan Juri, Russian writer Ivan Menshikov, who died the death of heroes . . .

In the most bitter times we came to the aid of each other. Minsk was reduced to rubble and ruins in the war: the whole Soviet people rebuilt it and it became more beautiful than ever. When Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, suffered from an earthquake, help came from other republics. We all take pride in its new blocks of housing, and, not surprisingly, many streets bear the names of republican capitals.

Whatever is achieved in any of the union republics is a result of the joint labor, and the common pride, of all our country's peoples.

Before the revolution the only industries we had were tiny handicraft enterprises; today we have two big automobile works, a tractor and a ball-bearing plant, a factory of automatic transfer lines, worsted and synthetic fibre mills, huge chemical plants, powerful electric stations: it is hard even to list the enterprises in which we take pride today. And the villages? Instead of squalid little farms which used to harvest less than half a ton of grain per hectare, we have big collective and state farms which in 1971, for example, produced 2.2 tons of grain on every hectare of land. The republic has its Academy of Sciences, dozens of institutes, more than a hundred junior colleges. Their students include young men and women from my native village.

Our republic works for the Union as a whole, and the Union as a whole works for us. We supply our brothers with computers, tractors, and heavy-duty lorries; we receive in turn turbines from Leningrad, autocranes and buses from the Ukraine, drilling rigs from Azerbaijan. We have a unified economic system. But is spiritual community less important? Today we can read Pushkin and Lermontov, Nekrasov and Gogol, Shevchenko and Rustaveli, Rajnis and Jambul translated into Belorussian by our best masters. The works of Kupala, Kolas and many of my fellow Belorussian writers appear today in practically every language spoken in the Soviet Union. In a little less than a hundred years, from 1835 to 1917, only 320 Belorussian books were printed in Belorussia; in 1971 alone the republic's publishing houses put out 2,598 books in an aggregate printing of over 26 million copies. Our workers, peasants, scientists, writers, artists are in constant contact with their colleagues from other republics, and these contacts help us all in advancing our economy, science, culture.

Is it not clear why the whole Soviet land is so dear to every inhabitant of my native village, to every one of my fellow-Belorussians?



Effectiveness of Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy

Vaclav Svoboda

The worker-peasant alliance is much more than just the pivotal question in agrarian theory. It is one of the main questions in the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution. We have heard it said that it is relevant solely for countries with an undeveloped social structure, where peasants are numerically preponderant. This, we hold, is a simplistic view. Firstly, the economic importance of agriculture does not decline with the declining numbers of those employed in it, for it continues to supply the nation with food and industry with raw materials. Secondly, the peasants' direct political impact is frequently quite palpable even when their numbers are less than those of the working class.

The latter fact is most clearly seen at times of direct contention with the bourgeoisie or any other anti-socialist force. Czechoslovakia's postwar experience shows that during sharp political clashes – be it 1948 or 1968 – the peasants threw their weight behind the working class and socialism. And this political weight was quite considerable, though the peasants' percentage in the country's population has for long been low.

The thoroughly elaborated, deeply-grounded comprehensive Marxist agrarian theory is a reliable basis for the agrarian policy of the Communist and Workers' parties. This is borne out, among other things, by the half-century experience of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in winning over the masses, battling for political power, and effectuating revolutionary social changes.

I. The situation of the peasants in the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic was not substantially different from that in the other Central European countries. Capitalist relations dominated in farming until 1945. Farms of 0.5 to 10 hectares comprised 85 per cent of the total, but owned only 29 per cent of the land, while estates of over 50 hectares, comprising a mere 0.9 per cent of the total, owned 41 per cent. Big agrarian capital and capitalist monopolies shaped the country's political conditions through the bourgeois government coalition headed by the Agrarian Party. Hence, in the 1919 agrarian reform most of the land fell into the possession not of peasants, but

of big landowners. And through their Agrarian Party these latter were one of the pillars of bourgeois political rule.

Capitalist development resulted in the impoverishment of the peasants, whose incomes dropped and debts went up. The economic crisis of the 30s complicated matters still more. The one million unemployed greatly reduced the demand for farm products, pushing down prices.

In 1936-1937, mortgages in agriculture were estimated to total 30,000 million crowns, with the debts of farms of 1-5 hectares averaging 15,000 crowns, or nearly half their value. Sales of farms by auction were widespread.

This was the setting in which the Communist Party elaborated and implemented its *agrarian program for the period of the struggle to overthrow capitalism*.

The Party took guidance in the works of V. I. Lenin, who carried forward the teaching of Marx and Engels. 'Only the fall of capital can raise the peasant,' Marx stressed, 'only an anti-capitalist, a proletarian government can break his economic misery, his social degradation' ('The Class Struggles in France'). Subsequently, he amplified: 'Hence the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the *urban proletariat*, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order' ('The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte'). The alliance of the two friendly classes is vitally important not only for overthrowing bourgeois rule, but also for building socialist society, the most humane and progressive system. And the working class and peasants have an equal stake in making the alliance effective. Lenin showed the ways of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, pointing out that the workers' revolutionary party is the decisive force, on which the strength of the alliance depends.

Following its foundation in 1921, it accepted the terms of admission to the Communist International drawn up with Lenin's direct participation, which said that 'systematic and planned agitation is necessary in the village. The working class cannot consolidate its victory unless at least part of the farm laborers and poorest peasants stands behind it and the rest is neutralized by its policy. At the present time, communist work in the village is of cardinal significance.'

We have followed these guidelines throughout the struggle against capitalist rule. The Party's Second Congress in 1924 adopted agrarian directives and the fifth and sixth congresses (1929 and 1931) carried forward the Bolshevik concept of agrarian policy. Our main slogan: expropriation and transfer to the working peasants of all landowner, church, state and communal estates without compensation. Besides, we strove to improve the lot of the village poor. Thus, step by step, the CPC hammered out an agrarian program in which it creatively projected the essential Marxist postulates, suiting them to local conditions. Our main aim was to create and consolidate the alliance of the working class and working farmers. And our policy showed in practice that the only force really able to champion the peasants' interests was the working class.

The collapse of the pre-Munich republic, followed by the defeat of Hitler fascism and Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, radically changed the political situation. New opportunities appeared for solving the agrarian problem. True, the people's democratic government was harassed by post-war economic difficulties, for farm output had declined substantially during the war. All this was taken into account in the Party's *agrarian program for the period of the national-democratic revolution and its development into socialist revolution*. It was focused on assuring unintermittent food supplies and increasing the government's influence on food distribution and retail prices. Also, it aimed at winning over the small and middle peasants to the workers' side in battling for the gradual growth of the national-democratic into socialist revolution.

When the war ended, land belonging to the enemy and traitors was confiscated on the Party's insistence, whereupon we demanded revision of the bourgeois agrarian reform and the parcelling among farmers of all estates in excess of 50 hectares. Despite the desperate resistance of bourgeois parties, as much as 1,700,000 hectares, or nearly 23 per cent of the country's arable was thus distributed in 1945-1948. In this manner, fighting the bourgeoisie every inch of the way, the CPC won ground in the village.

Later, some 'theorists' alleged that the Party's policy had been incorrect, for it had fragmented the farms. However, a decrease in the average size of farms is, as a rule, inevitable in that specific stage, because land distribution accords with the farmers' most cherished dreams. So the Party's policy was necessary to fortify the worker-peasant alliance in the battle for working-class political power. In fact, it was in complete conformance with the theoretical legacy of Lenin, who stressed that to achieve the success of the revolution, the proletariat should not shrink from a temporary decline in production (See *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 160). The farmers should be shown that their interests coincide with those of the working class building socialism, for only later will they be able to see the need for joint use of land.

The decisive political clash in February 1948 showed, as we have already noted, that the Party's course was correct: the peasants went with the working class and opted against the bourgeoisie. In this, the worker-peasant alliance was determinative. Klement Gottwald underscored its role in his February 29, 1948, speech in Prague's Wenceslas Square. 'The cooperation and mutual understanding of town and village people is the best guarantee of the Republic's further successful development and of better times to come,' he said. '... The worker for the peasant, the peasant for the worker – and the world will go wherever this force directs!'

The fact that small-sized farms with usually low marketable production were holding back the growth of the productive forces and state industry, soon began to tell. So, conversion from individual to joint socialist farming was put in the center of the CPC's *agrarian program for the period of socialist construction*, based on

*Klement Gottwald, *Spisy*. XIV. Statni nakladatelstvi politicke literatury, 1958, str. 293.

Lenin's well-known Cooperative Plan, a vital component of the teaching on building socialism. The time was ripe, the decisions of our Ninth Congress (1949) indicated, to orient the peasant mass on forming large collective farming enterprises. At the Congress Gottwald said: 'We shall have no socialism until the village becomes socialist.' The Congress decision conformed with the basic propositions of Lenin's Cooperative Plan, including the principle of voluntary entry into collective enterprises, emphasis on the leading role of the state, its aid to agricultural standard cooperatives,* and broad participation of workers in the socialist reconstruction of the village. As a result, 90 per cent of the country's farmland came into cooperatives and state farms by 1960.

Though rapid, socialist reconstruction of farming was a complicated process that sparked a sharp class confrontation. Kulaks hindered and sabotaged the founding of cooperatives. To which the dictatorship of the proletariat responded by restricting and ejecting these elements from farming, which ultimately led to their elimination as a class. That the middle peasants took the side of the working class, that they supported the Party's policy, proved decisive. And the direct participation of industrial workers, their help in building the cooperatives, was also crucial.

II. In 1968-1969 revisionists, Right opportunists and counter-revolutionaries tried to discredit the socialist reconstruction of the village. They resuscitated the bourgeois 'theory' on the stability of small farms and prattled about the advantages of family farming, which Marxists have long since proved untrue. Some advocated 'competition of private farmers against socialist agricultural enterprises.' They debated the advantages of 'industrial' as against 'creative' farming. But their real purpose was to cast doubt on the socialist way and to prepare the ground for the restoration of capitalism in agriculture. They banked considerably on the Tillers' Union which Rightist elements tried to found in 1968, in battling the CPC and its Marxist-Leninist agrarian program. The program of this union was much the same as that of the Agrarian Party in the pre-Munich Republic.

The CPC was alleged not to have an agrarian program. The socialist reconstruction of farming was said to have caused stagnation. This specious propaganda was intended to reduce and gradually eliminate the Party's influence, to question socialist reconstruction and, ultimately, subvert the revolutionary changes that followed upon the working people's victory of February 1948.

However, these 'theories' collapsed before the facts. And the foremost fact is that a new class, the cooperative peasants, has grown up following the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, that the character of the farmer's labor has changed, and so has his place in society. There are no more exploiters in the village. The effect on production has been swift: even in the midst of the recon-

*Agricultural standard cooperatives were the result of different types of cooperatives being converted into one, standard type.

struction output went up steadily. And when the reconstruction was completed, production was more than 50 per cent higher than in the bourgeois republic in 1936. Grain yields doubled (to as much as 32 centners per hectare), and pork output nearly tripled.

The fact that we now produce much more than pre-war with fewer hands bears out the Party's agricultural policy. The approximately two million people freed in this process were an important factor in our further industrial growth, with industrial output rising seven-fold in the period of socialist construction. As many as 3,300,000 people had worked on farms in bourgeois Czechoslovakia; now, their number is 1,200,000. The intensiveness of production has gone up considerably.

Agricultural growth allowed for considerable growth in consumption of farm products, whose quality has improved. For per capita consumption of farm products Czechoslovakia now ranks among the foremost countries in Europe. In 1936 the output of meat was 629,000 tons (slaughter weight), and in 1970 it was 1,411,000 tons. Output of eggs went up from 1,800 million to 4,200 million. As a result home output accounts for 85 per cent of the total food consumption. Per capita consumption of meat has gone up from 34 kg. in 1936 to 73 in 1971, eggs from 138 pieces to 270. Moreover, it should be borne in mind as we look at these figures that the statistics relating to bourgeois Czechoslovakia do not take into account the difference between the consumption of the bourgeoisie, landowners and other exploiting classes, on the one hand, and of workers and small and middle peasants, on the other.

The cultural level and the living and working conditions of our farmers have gone up substantially. Social maintenance and the pensions scheme are another important socialist gain. Members of farming cooperatives are entitled to 60 to 90 per cent of their average income in sick pay, depending on length of membership. The retirement age for men is 60 and women 55. Cooperative farmers receive free treatment at health resorts, and mothers get six months' paid post-natal leave, whereupon, if after birth of a second child they prefer not to work, they are granted a monthly allowance of 500 crowns or more for a period of one or two years. Funds for social maintenance come out of the state budget.

In the over two decades of socialist reconstruction, the farmers' living standard has risen to a point where their families possess more durable goods than the average city family: 77 per cent have TVs and washing machines, 62 per cent refrigerators, 28 per cent motorcycles and 17 per cent motorcars.

Though revisionists are straining to prove socialist reconstruction of farming to be a 'purely Russian thing,' our experience, like that of the other socialist countries, has shown beyond doubt that the main principles of Lenin's Cooperative Plan are valid for all countries building socialism. Socialist reconstruction of farming is one of those factors of which Lenin wrote: 'Certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 21).

This is not to say that all the principles of Soviet collective farming are applicable in other countries. Mechanical borrowing of the Soviet experience would go against the spirit of Marxism-Leninism – to heed the historical, socio-economic, natural and other specificities of every country. On the whole, however, the Soviet experience in agriculture is international.

The socialist solution of the agrarian question in Czechoslovakia confirms the effectiveness of Lenin's Cooperative Plan, the main aspects of which are set out in his article, 'On Cooperation.' It will be 50 years this January since it was written, and Marxists all over the world will no doubt mark the anniversary by underscoring its influence on the course of revolutionary reconstruction in the socialist, and also in the developing, countries, and will reaffirm its relevance for all countries that must still make the passage from capitalism to socialism.

III. Charting its *agrarian policy in present conditions*, our Party takes note of the experience of other socialist lands. Also, we take into account the new conditions in our country. Now, we can approach agricultural problems comprehensively.

The comprehensive approach is confirmed by the policy of fraternal parties. At the 24th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: 'Since we regard isolated measures of an agrotechnical and organizational nature as insufficient, we have striven to take into account the whole set of factors determining the development of agriculture, including the necessary machinery and fertilizers, capital construction, land improvement, personnel training, and organization of production. This has necessitated a concrete analysis of the needs of agriculture and steps to marshal the essential resources.'

Thanks to successful consolidation following our April Central Committee Meeting (1969), the Party and our economic administration could study the long-term problems of economic development. The results are reflected in the resolution of the 14th CPC Congress and the reports to the Congress by Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, and Lubomir Strougal, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Government. The main objective, Comrade Husak said, is 'further to consolidate the material and technical basis of socialism and socialist relations of production, enhance the role of the working class in society, develop large-scale cooperative farming, and deepen international socialist integration.' Raising the profitability through more thorough use of intensive growth factors, with managers, administrators and all working people operating production facilities in industry and agriculture to the best possible effect, was determined by the Party Congress as the main trend in economic development.

The 14th Congress agrarian policy envisages further consolidation of socialist production relations and their fuller use in building up the productive forces, so as to satisfy more completely the mount-

ing requirements of the people. Agricultural output must go up approximately 14 per cent and state purchases of farm products by 18-19 per cent in the five years 1971-1975. It takes good organization to balance the rising consumption of food with rising output at home. Available potentialities and the greater allocations for investment should be used to the fullest. The intensification of production should continue, and the quality of the machinery, fertilizers, and other goods supplied to farms should continuously improve. Industrial methods must be widely introduced, services expanded and achievements of science and technical progress used in every possible way. For this, we should encourage local initiative and publicize the techniques and experience of the foremost farmers.

Some trends are more decisive than others, and first and foremost those of concentration and specialization: the forming of large industrial complexes, each embracing several cooperatives. This is essential, because in mass production we can really use the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and rationalization to the fullest extent. Besides, it assures substantial progress in culture and far better working conditions.

The amalgamation of the smaller farming cooperatives will concentrate the means of production and manpower in larger enterprises and enable us to make better use of our technology and of mineral fertilizers, especially if we build agro-chemical facilities. We shall then be able to create up-to-date egg, meat and milk producing industrial-type farms, and we have hundreds of large-scale enterprises that have in practice proved the advantages of concentration, of industrial methods.

Another important objective is further to consolidate the material and technical basis, to equip farmers with new machinery. The present delivery plan enabled us to harvest almost all grain with combines this year, and by 1975 we expect to mechanize potato planting 90 per cent and harvesting 75 per cent. A high degree of mechanization will also be attained in producing fodder. Factories making farming machinery are being expanded and are adapting their programs to our new development concept. Under the agreements on international socialist division of labor our industry will be making more than 100 new types of farm machines during the fifth five-year plan period.

Chemicalization is one more important factor of intensive growth. Our aim is to apply more than 220 kg. of pure nutritive substances per hectare of arable before the end of 1975. Farming enterprises, which are getting state aid for this purpose, have begun building agro-chemical centers.

In April 1972, a CPC Central Committee meeting adopted a program for the further consolidation of the material and technical basis and intensification of farming. Party bodies and the government have charted a program of comprehensive mechanization, dovetailing with bigger output of farming machinery. And the allocation for reconstructing the material and technical basis has been increased by 20 per cent over the previous five years.

The long-term investment program for the next 10-15 years is also based on the decisions of our 14th Congress. The economic development forecasts up to 1985-1990, now in preparation, take into account not only the prospects in agriculture, but also the contribution of industry, especially engineering and chemistry.

The Party's concern for consequent execution of the economic program is approved and supported by all our people. This is borne out by this year's good results in industry and agriculture. That the farmers have ranged themselves behind the Party's policy was also made evident at the recent Eighth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives.

Ever since its foundation, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has followed the Marxist-Leninist agrarian theory and invariably applied its general principles creatively. At present, the Party has drawn up a comprehensive program for the further development of socialist large-scale commodity production. As in the past, it is laying the accent on consolidating the alliance of workers and cooperative farmers. For this, fuller satisfaction of agriculture's demand for industrial products and better supply of the population with high-quality farm products by building up home output, is of utmost importance. The Party is aware that industrialization of agriculture is important not only for production, not only for the economy, but is also a socio-political gain. Broader introduction of machines and automats, and electric power, will change farm labor – it will be more like industrial labor, betokening the progressive process of the coming-together of the laboring classes of our country. The present measures are seen by the Party as an important phase of that long-term process in the passage to communism – the process of eliminating the essential disparities between town and country.



Asia and Africa – road of progress

NEW STAGE IN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT; PROBLEMS OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY

International theoretical conference

An international theoretical conference on this subject was held in Prague under the sponsorship of **World Marxist Review**.

It was attended by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, GDR, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Mongolia, Paraguay, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United States, USSR, by representatives of progressive parties and national liberation movements in Asia and Africa: Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Arab Socialist Union (Arab Republic of Egypt), Arab Socialist Baath Party (Iraq), Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Iraq), Arab Socialist Baath Party (Syria), South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO, Namibia), and by a member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic.

The conference was opened by **S. Mitra** (National Council Member, CP India), Chairman of the journal's committee on the Afro-Asian national liberation movement.

In his introductory speech, the journal's Editor-in-Chief, **K. I. Zarodov**, Dr. Sc. Hist., remarked that the subject of the discussion concerned pivotal issues of international relations and the internal development of more than 100 countries and territories, over half of the world's sovereign states. In assessing present-day popular movements in Africa and Asia, the speaker said, we recall Lenin's words that, drawn into the world struggle, the vast population of the East would exert a powerful influence on the making of history. It would, of course, be wrong to exaggerate this and maintain that

the destinies of the world were being decided in Asia and Africa alone. For in our time, world development – and this includes the development of national-liberation revolutions – is determined by the tense worldwide class struggle, of which the confrontation of the two socio-economic systems, socialism and capitalism, is the axis. This has to be taken into consideration in any really scientific discussion of Afro-Asian problems. However it is safe to say that by their movement and struggle the Afro-Asian peoples are making an independent, real and tangible contribution to shaping mankind's socio-political present and future.

Comrade Zarodov drew attention to three theoretical questions, emphasizing that they do not cover the vast scope and multiformity of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The first question concerns the overall Marxist-Leninist appraisal of the national liberation struggle, the permanent scientific and political validity of Lenin's approach to the problems of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement.

Capitalism's growth into imperialism put socialist revolution on the agenda and qualitatively changed the role and place of national struggle in the world liberation movement. That is now perfectly clear to Communists and to all progressively-minded people. But in the early 1900s it was by no means easy to detect this potential of the national movement, its latent possibilities. Why? Because the movement's slogans and leadership were avowedly bourgeois.

The Social-Democrats (Bernstein, followed by Kautsky, Vandervelde and their ilk), who considered themselves disciples and followers of Marx and Engels did nothing to carry Marxism forward in the new conditions, and did everything to revise and falsify its principles, on the national as well as on other questions. Nor were the new developments properly understood by Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, G. V. Plekhanov and other outstanding Marxist theorists and propagandists.

It required the genius of Lenin to see the role and place of the national-liberation movement under imperialism in a new light, appreciate its revolutionary potential, disclose and theoretically substantiate the inevitability of the peoples' struggle for national emancipation merging with the proletariat's class struggle to overthrow capitalism.

What, then, is the methodological key to Lenin's analysis? First, it considers the national-liberation movement not only in terms of its own intrinsic social content, but also in terms of the general, global development laws of our time. Lenin convincingly proved that, with capitalism growing over into imperialism, the forces of proletarian revolution and the forces fighting national and colonial oppression find themselves on the same side of the barricade and merge into a single worldwide revolutionary process. While basically retaining its non-proletarian and socially heterogeneous nature, the national liberation struggle objectively becomes part of the world anti-imperialist movement, part of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

Lenin thus made a great contribution to science and set a sterling example of the creative development of Marxism. It is hard to say now, at what rate and through what tortuous zigzags the movement would have developed had not Lenin drawn conclusions which to such an enormous degree helped change the world political balance in favor of socialism. Without these conclusions a serious analysis of the problems of the national liberation struggle would today be inconceivable.

The second theoretical question: while merging with the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement, the national liberation struggle retains its general democratic character. It unites relatively diverse social forces with dissimilar, often contradictory, class interests and aims. And in this there is a definite contradiction. The task, therefore, is to analyze how it is resolved.

The fundamental gain of the Afro-Asian national, i.e., general democratic, movement is the overthrow of colonial regimes and elimination of direct foreign domination. Let us examine how this changes public life in ex-colonial countries.

In the *economy*, the chief and clearly expressed demand has always been an end to economic backwardness and improvement of living standards. Most Afro-Asian countries can record economic progress, but this is not everywhere paralleled by an appreciable improvement of living standards.

In *social relations*, there have been far-reaching changes since independence, but not in all cases have they moderated social contrasts and antagonisms, particularly where these changes were of the bourgeois-reformist rather than of the revolutionary-democratic type.

Lastly, in *political life*, where the ideal has always been freedom and equality, much has been accomplished in enhancing the political understanding of the masses, but here, too, even formal constitutional norms are not always applied in the interests of the people.

The record of the socialist-oriented Afro-Asian countries shows that in pursuing its aims the general democratic movement inevitably comes into conflict with capitalism. And while its priorities may not always be clearly defined, there is ample evidence of a growing understanding among its supporters that the very logic of political struggle and the conflict of class interests within the movement objectively lead to the national revolution growing over into social revolution.

It would be wrong, however, to believe that this writes finis to the general democratic principles of the national liberation revolution. On the contrary, they attain wider scope, but on a different basis, and the revolution then becomes national-democratic.

He who expects a 'pure' social revolution will never see it, Lenin remarked, thereby emphasizing that even in socialist revolutions we should not rule out the merger of democratic and national movements representing the interests of widely different social groups. Obviously, a social revolution growing out of a national movement stands even less chance of developing into a 'pure' socialist revo-

lution divorced from its original general democratic basis. That, however, should not prevent it from leading countries and peoples to a stage beyond which begins the straight road to socialism.

The third question requiring further theoretical investigation concerns the united front of progressive forces in national movements with maturing social contradictions. In some countries they grow into class antagonisms. That being so, is there a political perspective for a united front?

Many Afro-Asian Communist parties give an affirmative answer. Broad political unity of the nation's healthy, progressive, anti-imperialist forces is made possible by the fact that the national liberation revolution has not fully discharged its democratic mission. Hence, though contradictions between individual classes and social groups persist, there is still a considerable area of common interest in resolving crucial national issues.

Political development guided by a united front does not eliminate or preclude the class struggle. In fact, unity of the nation's progressive forces is a principal form of class struggle in present-day Afro-Asian conditions. For the durability and effectiveness of a united front depends to no small degree on consistent isolation of avowed reactionary elements, the social and political groups that betray the national interest and seek a deal with imperialism, and on the extent to which the anti-capitalist potential of the masses is brought to bear.

The Communists believe (Zarodov continued) that if there is to be concerted effort within a united front, all its participants must understand and appreciate the ideological positions of their partners and realistically reckon with their possibilities. Ignoring the social structure of national movements, leaping over development stages, on the one hand, and anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, on the other, are incompatible with social progress and the anti-imperialist struggle.

In countries ruled by revolutionary democrats, the Communists see their patriotic and class duty in facilitating progressive change. At times they point to shortcomings in the work of revolutionary-democratic regimes. But this is the constructive advice for sincere friends and allies. However, some revolutionary-democratic leaders at times seem unable or reluctant to distinguish between friend and foe, ally and enemy. Unfortunately, the leaders of a number of countries, who, on the whole, take an anti-imperialist stand, regard cooperation with the Communists as little short of retreat from national revolution or betrayal of national traditions. If that line were taken by avowed bourgeois leaders, the situation would be crystal clear. But we have a situation in which the Communists are faced by the dual task of supporting revolutionary-democratic leaders and, at the same time, working for consistent application of democratic policy principles. The struggle, therefore, is not against revolutionary democrats, but for alliance with them; the struggle is for the joint comprehensive and vigorous pursuit of socialism.

In general, there is the incontestable Marxist-Leninist proposition

that continued extension and deepening of national revolution, its growing over into social revolution, and the non-capitalist development of a number of Afro-Asian countries, are possible only given involvement of the broadest masses and participation and active support of all progressive and democratic socio-political trends.

FROM NATIONAL TO SOCIAL LIBERATION

The national liberation movement has entered a new stage. In many countries it is factually growing over into a struggle against feudal and capitalist exploitive relations. What social and economic perspectives open to the Afro-Asian peoples? What is the essence of the transition period in former colonies and semi-colonies advancing to socialism? What is the reality of non-capitalist development? What theoretical generalizations does it allow?

Logic of history

By virtue of its social nature, the national liberation movement, at its early stages, does not, as a rule, encroach on the foundations of the social system inherited from colonial days. But the framework of that system proves inadequate even for achievement of the movement's general democratic ideals. True, it allows for a measure of economic growth but not for economic independence from foreign monopolies, or for benefits of economic progress accruing to the people. It does not preclude social reforms, but only to a limited degree, with the result that feudal-colonial privileges are replaced by the privileges of private, capitalist ownership of the means of production.

The national revolution can stop at that. It can create a bourgeois state in which the inherent features of underdeveloped capitalism are intertwined with elements of feudal and semi-feudal relations. That is the course things have taken in some politically independent Afro-Asian countries. *F. Balagtas*, representative of the Communist party of the Philippines on WMR, *E. Tabari*, CC Executive Bureau member, People's Party of Iran; and *A. Dansoko*, Political Bureau member, African Independence Party of Senegal, cited instances of the local bourgeoisie endeavoring to prevent, with imperialist support, the socio-economic development of their countries going beyond capitalism.

However, the highroad of national development after independence is consistent struggle of the progressive forces and the people generally for democratic demands. And this logically brings the national revolution to the stage of fundamental social transformations. Citing the situation in his own country, *Bhawani Sen** (National Executive member and National Council secretary, CP India) showed that even in conditions of bourgeois political domination, contradictions within a society that has not yet reached developed capitalism, not only generate strong mass anti-capitalist movements,

*This was Comrade Sen's last public appearance, he died in July 1972.

but impel influential ruling-class elements to support social renewal.

As a general rule, Dr. M. Uschner (GDR) remarked, the national liberation movement passes through two stages:

- national liberation revolutions aimed at overthrowing the imperialist colonial system and winning political independence;

- democratic anti-imperialist and anti-feudal liberation revolutions aimed at safeguarding national independence, assuring social and political progress and eliminating the foundations of imperialist domination in the economic and other areas.

A correct, scientific assessment of the nature and substance of this second stage has a direct bearing on political practice. Essentially, the questions here involved are the following. If national revolution grows over into social, does this mean that its general democratic stage has been brought to a close? Can it bypass the stage of general democratic transformations and directly advance from the winning of independence to the socialist refashioning of society? What is the relation between the general democratic and class aims of a revolution growing out of a national liberation movement?

In discussing these problems, A. Dansoko suggested that the road to socialism inevitably leads through democratic transformations in rural areas, which account for the bulk of the population, oppressed by local rulers and weighed down by ignorance and poverty. And, he added, advocating 'socialist' measures before the economic roots of imperialist domination are extirpated is, in his expression, 'empty talk.'

In Africa, the speaker continued, the urge to launch out on the building of socialism directly, without prior solution of general democratic problems, is expressive of widely-held illusions. Some African ruling parties are prey to the naive idea that the backward village is naturally inclined towards socialism, a view that fails to take into account the persistent influence of feudal vestiges. 'I attended a meeting,' Dansoko said, 'at which the political leader of a young African state called for a non-capitalist path, for a society based on scientific socialism. He was addressing a group of feudals, and they accorded him all the honors prescribed by traditional religious customs.'

In Dansoko's view, the national-democratic stage is a necessary one and attempts to bypass it are unjustified and stand no chance of success.

He was supported by V. Solodovnikov (corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences), who remarked that with persistent social and economic backwardness, and with no or an insignificant and poorly organized working class, there can be no question of direct socialist transformations. There has to be a transition stage of non-capitalist development to create the prerequisites for building socialism.

Many speakers argued that the general-democratic stage not only prepares the conditions for future social reconstruction, but implements measures of an anti-capitalist nature. Z. Bayrahdar (member

of the National Leadership, Arab Socialist Baath Party of Iraq) said that nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company is already changing Iraq's socio-economic reality and is a major contribution to the government's integrated progressive measures.

Reflected in nationalization of foreign companies is the dialectics of the national-liberation revolution. For though nationalization does not, in its immediate aims, go beyond the democratic demand of freedom from foreign control, it is a definite encroachment on the principle of private capitalist property, and this gives it a tremendous revolutionary potential, the importance of which was emphasized by Dr. L. Georgiyev (Bulgaria).

G. Batal (CC member, Lebanese CP) questioned the categorical need for a transition stage at which the general democratic tasks are given priority over the building of socialism. In his view, given a revolutionary government capable of directing the process, a country's backwardness, relative weakness of its working class and inadequate social differentiation are not obstacles to socialist construction. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is proof of that.

All speakers agreed that, regardless of differing national conditions, forms and tempo of national movements growing into social revolution, the process is the most salient feature of public life in Asia and Africa. It is expressive of the logic of modern history, the direction of which was set by the October Revolution and the growth and consolidation of world socialism. 'The birth of the first socialist state under the wise leadership of Comrade Lenin,' declared A. Matten Hasci (member, Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic) 'heralded a new era, the era of national liberation movements throughout the world. Aggravation of the contradictions of the capitalist system, the steady growth of working-class political consciousness and the achievements of the socialist world system, have in a very decisive way accelerated the Afro-Asian peoples' entry into the era of national-democratic revolutions.'

Several speakers, among them R. Safi (CC Member, Iraqi CP) and Y. Askari (member of the National Leadership, Baath Party, Syria) stressed that Afro-Asian socio-political reality confirms Lenin's prediction that the movement of colonial and dependent peoples, initially aimed at national liberation, would logically and inevitably develop into a struggle against imperialism and its socio-economic foundation, the capitalist system.

Non-capitalist development: theory and practice

The possibility of advancing to socialism without having to go through the capitalist stage, discovered and theoretically substantiated by Lenin, has been confirmed by the experience of the once-backward nationalities of tsarist Russia and by Mongolia. But B. Sen pointed out that non-capitalist development outside the socialist system, in countries far away from the socialist lands, was a new phenomenon of the world revolutionary process in the second half of the twentieth century.

The concrete meaning of 'non-capitalist development,' the lessons and experience of some countries and the opportunities open to others, became the subject of a lively discussion.

Mongolian experience was discussed by K. Lhamdorzh (Mongolian People's Republic). An important development in the democratic stage, he said, was confiscation of the cattle and other property of the feudals and the monasteries, carried out with the active participation of the poor and middle strata of the arat (peasant) population. By the close of the thirties, feudal relations had become a thing of the past. Deep-going changes in the social system helped raise the political understanding and labor activity of the arats. In some parts of the country they began organizing cooperatives. The lower and middle ranks of the Buddhist clergy were gradually brought into the labor effort.

Demolition of the old system was paralleled by another process, the building of a new economy, in the form of the state sector, new industrial units and state farms. This led to changes in the social structure and made for higher cultural standards. There thus appeared new social forces, the working class and an intelligentsia stemming from the people. By the early 40s Mongolia had bypassed the capitalist stage and begun building socialism.

Algerian practice was analyzed by G. Loris (Italian CP). When independence was won, there were more than one million European settlers. One result of that was a low percentage of Algerians employed in industry - 60,000 out of a labor force of 175,000. And there was this historical paradox: Algeria's workers were brought together as an independent class not in their own country, but in France, where they numbered about 300,000.

Also this peculiarity: at the time of liberation there was no bourgeoisie similar to that in Tunisia and Morocco and, to an even greater degree, in Egypt. The French government refused to negotiate with the Algerian people, and there was no national bourgeoisie with which to bargain about handing over power. As a result, Algeria acquired independence through hard-fought struggle and much suffering.

The wholesale flight of Europeans meant the loss of skilled workers, a brain drain and outflow of capital. Three million hectares of choice land, many factories, a multitude of small businesses were abandoned by their former owners. What were the Algerians - farm laborers, the staffs of abandoned businesses - to do in this situation? To save the harvest and prevent production stoppages, they continued to work on their own responsibility. Such were the beginnings of self-management, the primary element in Algeria's socialist orientation. Then followed restrictions on private initiative, nationalization of French-owned industries, organization of national companies, development of cooperatives and the beginnings of agrarian reform.

Contrary to views held by some people in Europe, Algeria's acceptance of the socialist orientation was not the whim of a small group of Marxist intellectuals who came to the country after

liberation. It was a choice dictated by objective conditions, by the concrete situation in which Algeria won freedom.

K. Ahmed (CC member, Algerian Socialist Vanguard Party) complemented this analysis by describing production relations in the self-management sector. All enterprises are state property. They are placed at the disposal of self-management committees elected by the workers. Public property, the management pattern, worker profit sharing, the speaker said, are all socialist features. But, he added, there are also capitalist tendencies due to two factors. First, the work collectives have not yet attained the cultural, political and technical levels required for socialist management. Second, at all stages of production the self-management sector has to deal with an economic infrastructure that is essentially capitalist. Production relations in the self-management sector are contradictory, but that is part of the non-capitalist way: key positions in the economy and public life, affected by the process of change, can no longer be considered part of the capitalist system, but neither are they part of socialism.

The *outlook for India* in the light of the growing movement for non-capitalist development was the main theme of Comrade Sen's contribution. The crisis of the capitalist structure over the past years has had a strong radicalizing effect on the masses. All consistent anti-imperialist forces are opposed to the local monopolies. And within the bourgeoisie there is a clear differentiation between the reactionaries, with their penchant for compromise with the feudals and imperialists, and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal wing, which looks for support from the radically-minded masses. But it can acquire that support only if it fights the monopolies. Its political spokesmen, the leaders of the ruling National Congress, support anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures. But they, too, are inclined to compromise with the monopolies, though within the National Congress there is also a more progressive trend.

M. Harmel (CC Secretary, Tunisian CP) asked if there are forces within the Congress prepared, under definite conditions, to work for India's non-capitalist development.

Yes, Comrade Sen replied, there are such forces. The ruling party has gone through a profound crisis and that is at the bottom of the differences within its ranks and the abrupt changes of policy. Both reflect the social and economic stalemate into which the bourgeoisie has led the country and is now looking for a way out. In these conditions, we believe, the working class can force the bourgeoisie to seek a way out through non-capitalist development which, however, does not lead to immediate liquidation of the capitalist elements, but can nevertheless give India a stable, sound and developed economy.

When agriculture, which accounts for nearly half of the national income, begins to develop through free cooperatives and when the state sector takes over the private monopolies in banking, industry and trade, the economy will be non-capitalist. Of course, this presupposes a government controlled by anti-capitalist forces and based on a worker-peasant alliance.

In 'Third World' terms, India is a country of developed capitalism. Its non-capitalist development, therefore, will have some specific features not encountered in countries with more backward economic and social structures.

Comparison of several concrete examples of non-capitalist development, of achievements, difficulties and problems provided ample material for a discussion of the possibility of formulating theoretical conclusions from accumulated experience.

In the opinion of *K. Ahmed*, there is still no general, thought-out and developed theory to disclose the essence of what we term 'non-capitalist development.' 'And that theory,' he continued, 'must neither be a utopia based on a random collection of elements relating to another era, nor the result of hasty innovative generalizations or bold extrapolations that are practically useless even as a hypothesis. The transformations effectuated in the various countries are not yet sufficient to provide a basis for elaborating an integrated theory.'

V. Solodovnikov disagreed: 'I feel that, drawing on accumulated experience, we can formulate certain basic regularities of non-capitalist development.' And he enumerated them as follows:

- Liquidation of economic backwardness and foreign exploitation; extension of the state sector by gradually adding socialist elements; socio-economic conditions that rule out the capture by capital of commanding positions in this sector;

- agrarian reform in the interest of the laboring peasants and promotion of a cooperative movement on democratic principles;

- the complex and contradictory, but nevertheless developing, process of democratizing the state apparatus and giving the working people a share in government;

- expansion of multilateral cooperation with the socialist world system, the main international support of Afro-Asian social progress;

- sharpening of the class struggle as progressive socio-economic transformations are effectuated;

- gradual evolution of the Left wing of national democracy toward scientific socialism.

K. Lhamdorzh named the following as major regularities of non-capitalist development: strengthening of national independence; achievement of economic independence by ousting foreign capital, starting and developing modern industry, the state and cooperative sectors in the economy and eliminating capitalist elements; emergence of a working class and people's intelligentsia; cultural revolution. The speaker laid special stress on political education of the people, their assimilation of the working-class ideology, achievement of higher cultural standards and promotion of proletarian internationalism.

The discussion on this point led to an exchange of views on the much broader subject of combining the general and specific in social development.

National specifics and general regularities

The relation of the general to the specific, of national features to the general laws of social development, has been thoroughly elucidated in Marxist literature. But as Lenin foresaw, the unfolding of revolution in populous Afro-Asian countries, with their vast diversity of social conditions, would produce unique specificities which the researcher will find it very hard to analyze. And there is much controversy over the relation of the specific to the general in the liberation movement of individual countries.

From the standpoint of its anti-imperialist content, the national liberation movement is uniform, J. Suret-Canale (CC member, French CP) said. However it is by no means uniform in social composition, for it embraces differing classes and social strata with differing, often antagonistic, interests. The movement's orientation is shaped by the relation of forces between these classes and strata. What is more, the alignment of forces, and consequently the movement's orientation, can change in the course of struggle. Assessment of any movement, therefore, always requires concrete and objective analysis with due account to specific conditions. The opportunists and Gauchists are incapable of making this analysis, or simply don't want to. Either they overestimate the place and role of the national liberation movement, proclaiming it the sole revolutionary force of our time and alleging that the socialist countries and the labor movement in the capitalist countries have become 'bourgeois' and have been 'integrated' into capitalism. Or they (and often the very same people) denounce national liberation movements, including the most progressive, as 'bourgeois' and equate them to imperialism. In both cases they are only bringing grist to the imperialist mill.

There is no measuring all countries with the same yardstick, *Lutfi el-Kholi* (CC member and Secretary of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt) remarked. But different conditions and distinguishing features do not mean that all countries do not share something in common. And what they have in common will, in the final analysis, prove to be a universal phenomenon characteristic of our modern world. Unless we are able to see these specific features through the prism of universality, we shall never understand the role of the national liberation movement as one of the three world revolutionary currents. No matter how varied are the national and ideological impulses of the world revolutionary forces, we must always see the fundamental interests that make for their unity.

Marxist-Leninists have accomplished much in theoretical analysis of the national liberation movement and its regularities, many speakers said. Lenin carried further Marx's doctrine and gave us the theory of the national liberation movement. It has lost none of its validity or topicality and is the starting point of further intensive and fruitful research.

Are the Marxist-Leninist propositions applicable to the very specific concrete conditions of the young Afro-Asian states? Do

they explain the vast changes in public life, in people's thinking, that have occurred during the past century? These questions were put by *Ali Mattan Hasci*. He said: 'We want to build a new society based on scientific socialism, bring to life that part of the Marxist theory that is applicable to our conditions, for we must reckon with local specifics.'

'Just what specifics?' the speaker was asked.

'Chiefly the deeply ingrained religious feelings of the population of Asia and Africa,' Mattan Hasci replied. 'The imperialists and reactionaries are exploiting this for their own purpose: the Marxists and Communists are a godless lot, they tell the people. That is central to their anti-socialist propaganda. And there have been many cases of supporters of Marxism-Leninism being persecuted and arrested for their atheist views. This propaganda of socialism and religion being incompatible is behind the anti-Communist actions of some leaders of revolutionary democratic regimes. Our Supreme Revolutionary Council headed by General Mohamed Said Barre is bringing to life a new theory that unites religion and socialism, and we are training the people in that spirit.'

There were more questions.

M. Osman (Sudanese CP): What are the concrete forms of this educational work in Somalia?

Lutfi el-Kholi: As I understand it, in Somalia the religious weapon has been wrested from reactionaries and is used in the interests of the progressive forces. How was this accomplished?

Ali Mattan Hasci: 'We have a public relations office staffed by young degree holders mainly educated in the socialist countries. They conduct educational work in every city block and every village. They arrange discussions and deliver lectures on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. Since political power is in the hands of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the mass media conduct purposive propaganda to educate the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the tenets of the Moslem religion that do not conflict with socialist ideas. In fact, many members of the clergy, with their expert knowledge of the Koran, use religious services for discussions with the reactionary elements responsible for the fabrication that socialism and religion are incompatibles. That, too, is the subject of monthly public lectures by members of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and state secretaries.'

A number of speakers made the point that the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the policies that stem from it do not preclude, but rather presuppose, bringing people of different faiths into the effort for social progress and the building of socialism. In countries where socialism has already been built, (e.g., the USSR), or is being built, there is full freedom of religion and religious rites.

As for the more general question of Marxism-Leninism being applicable to specific national or regional conditions, speakers emphasized that this does not concern the theory itself, but rather the ability to apply it. *M. Harmel* recalled that new discoveries in wave physics had led some philosophers and scientists to declare

that 'matter has vanished' and questioned materialism in general. But what 'vanished,' as Lenin so convincingly proved, was not matter but the narrow, restricted conception of matter.

The speaker reminded the conference that the essence of Marxism is concrete analysis of concrete situations. There is no justification, therefore, for attempts to set 'geographical' limits to the application of Marxism. Such attempts are being made, among others, by the Arab scientist Anwar Abdel Malek, now living in France, the author of several interesting studies of Egypt. In effect, Malek rejects the very idea of a general model of social development and reduces the role of Marxism in any study of the East to the function of a 'logical frame' or research technique. His argument is that the East differs fundamentally from Britain, 'Marx's field of research.' As if Marx's contribution to science is limited to his analysis of ascending British capitalism!

Needless to say, the present stage of the national liberation movement is incomparably more complex than the previous one. Many questions which prior to political independence were relegated to the background, now stand out in all their sharpness and produce contradictory approaches to social problems, from Leftist schematicism to all manner of reactionary mystification.

M. Harmel emphasized that a cavalier attitude to the specific realities of 'Third World' countries is typical of Leftists, who contrast the national liberation movement to the other components of the world revolutionary process. They use abstract and simplistic criteria in analyzing the position in one or another country. The fact that they use Marxist terminology does not lend substance to their schemes. Disregarding the level of social development, the distinctive features of the present stage, the motive forces and character of the liberation struggle, they proclaim proletarian revolution the immediate aim, and the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie the chief and only contradiction, though neither of these classes has, as a rule, taken definite shape and form. And it is from these premises that they attack progressive regimes. To follow these Leftists would be to cut ourselves off from an understanding of the tasks facing the national liberation movement and from all effective activity.

The Leftists have scant respect for national specifics, but other ideological and political trends grossly exaggerate them. This applies to reactionary movements of the Moslem Brotherhood type. But it also applies to some contingents of the anti-imperialist forces. Their preachment is return to the 'origins,' to the lost 'wholeness,' 'collective identity' or 'genuineness,' of the nation. In practice this means returning to the retrograde past. That attitude blocks all positive search for the new and hampers revolutionary action. These concepts are easily assimilated and eagerly exploited by the reactionaries. But it should be said, Harmel remarked, that understanding the specificities of one's country, reckoning with the realities of its revolutionary development, respecting the traditions and patriotic feelings of its people, are all highly desirable and absolutely neces-

sary. But some leaders, I would say, look for specifics for the sake of specifics. Their penchant for exaggerating national peculiarities seems to be motivated by a desire to hold back the mounting influence of scientific socialism. This is a peculiar form of self-isolation and one cannot but feel that these men are loath to abandon not national specifics, but ingrained prejudices and ideological positions that are neither progressive nor scientific.

Continued Marxist-Leninist theoretical elaboration of the new problems will help to overcome ideological and political errors and delusions in the Afro-Asian revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. That point was made by many speakers.

ALIGNMENT OF FORCES AND THE POWER STRUCTURE

Independent development of former colonies and semi-colonies makes for more social differentiation, sharpens internal contradictions and brings out class divisions. How advanced are these processes? What class and social forces become the conduits of social progress? How do they influence the political orientation of young states? What is their possible role in the further development of national revolutions?

Society's revolutionary potential

Despite economic growth and substantial changes in social and political life, most Afro-Asian countries still have undeveloped social structures. Property stratification has not yet produced clear-cut class differentiation. Drawing attention to this, J. Askari remarked that in most parts of Asia and Africa it is hard to draw a clear dividing line 'between the proletariat, the peasantry and the rapidly changing petty-bourgeoisie.' Moreover, there are wide divisions within the working class itself. Many workers in manufacturing, trade and the service industries are not only wage-earners, but also owners or part owners of small enterprises.

K. Nauyala (South-West Africa People's Organization - SWAPO), said that in Namibia the oppressors are the white capitalists. They follow a vicious apartheid policy resulting, among other things, in a perverse social structure. Part of the Africans manage, by devious methods, to find steady work in the towns. They earn more and some - true very few - acquire property, even open up small shops. Migrant contract workers have to work for one to 18 months for the white racist capitalists, after which they must return to the reservations and become peasants again.

Z. Pinto (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola - MPLA) remarked that though the Angolan worker operates machinery, he is still securely tied to his traditional community. His cultural values, behavior, his conception of family, authority, the land, even of time (measured by the agricultural cycle) are all shaped by his ethnic group, which, in effect, is his world.

Into which social category does he fit? Is he a semi-worker or semi-peasant? And what of the urban African worker (who is both wage-earner and trader, artisan or small proprietor) – should he be included in the working class or the petty-bourgeoisie? In posing these questions, K. Nauyala stressed that African Marxists are looking for a correct, scientific understanding of present-day social reality.

And one of the main conclusions they have drawn is that despite the present immaturity of the proletariat as a class, after a certain period it will play a dominating and dynamic role in the revolution, Z. Pinto said. That thought was amplified by M. Harmel, who said that though the Afro-Asian working class is still weak and proletarian consciousness is still rudimentary (though allowance should be made for differences from country to country), we should never lose sight of the perspective, namely, the growing role of the working class and the bigger part it will play as a motive force of the revolution. Nor is this merely a pious wish: there are very real objective and subjective opportunities for it to play this role. They stem from industrialization, the growing role of Marxist-Leninist parties in several countries and the changing world balance of forces.

Lenin pointed out that to understand the basic regularities of the time, we must establish which class dominates the epoch. It should be perfectly clear that in this epoch it is the working class. That determines the conditions and prospects of national revolutions in Asia and Africa, whether or not the proletariat has already become a class decisively influencing the content and direction of social development. The point was also made that in some countries the proletariat is already capable of assuming the leading role in the national-democratic revolution. *H. Ercan* (CP Turkey) said that the Turkish working class, for example, has attained a level of maturity enabling it to act as the main social force of the liberation struggle. *B. Sen* remarked that much the same applied to the Indian proletariat.

K. Mroueh (Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Lebanese CP), expressed the opinion that though the process of class formation has still to be completed, important quantitative and qualitative changes are taking place in the ranks of the proletariat of Middle East countries. They have already manifested themselves in the growth of the proletariat's political influence and activity. There is the fact, for instance, that various workers' organizations and Arab trade unions, irrespective of political organization, were unanimous in protesting the terror against Sudanese Communists and voiced their solidarity with the Sudanese working class.

A major factor in the success of a national-democratic revolution – and this was brought into the discussion – is drawing the peasant mass into the liberation struggle. Solution of the peasant problem, *A. Dansoko* said, is a pivotal task of the democratic stage of the revolution. He was supported by *V. Solodovnikov*, who emphasized that the peasantry makes up the bulk of the Afro-Asian population

and upon its attitude and activity largely depend the destinies of the revolution. Solodovnikov also drew attention to the social heterogeneity of the peasant mass, the processes of differentiation and the need to reckon with the contradictory nature of the peasant – toiler but also small proprietor.

Should the Afro-Asian peasantry be regarded as part of the petty bourgeoisie? J. Suret-Canale suggested that, in social position, the peasantry adjoins on the petty bourgeoisie. The latter is not a large group, but the 'cultural level and social status of some of its elements (intellectuals, students, civil servants, officers) and their attitude to imperialist oppression, tend to make the petty bourgeoisie, at any rate its main mass, an important revolutionary force.'

Arab society, G. Batal said, is a petty-bourgeois society. The Middle East petty bourgeoisie should be regarded as a broad stratum, merging in part with the peasantry and in part with the working class. And like Suret-Canale he suggested differentiating between the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie. The latter, he said, was not a class but part of a class: in Arab countries there is no hard and fast division between the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

Dominating the discussion on the place and role of the urban petty bourgeoisie in the revolution was the desire to formulate a clear social characterization of its component groups, notably the civilian and military intelligentsia.

'A large part of the intelligentsia in developing countries comes from the wealthy or well-to-do sections of the population,' V. Solodovnikov said. That was challenged by Ali Mattan Hasci: 'In countries that have chosen the socialist path the chief revolutionary force is made up of intellectuals. It is necessary to explain what we mean by "intellectuals" in the conditions of Africa. They include army officers, teachers, top civil servants, private professionals, etc. In African countries, all the available intellectuals are employed by the government except for a small number of private professionals. They are almost all sons and daughters of workers, peasants, nomads and small traders. For this reason, the intellectuals are part and parcel of the working masses.'

'I was interested to note,' Joan Bellamy (CP Great Britain) said, 'that Comrade Hasci approached the intellectuals of his country as a single stratum. Does he see any possibility of the emergence of differentiation within the intellectual stratum? Is there, for example, a basis for the development of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie? For the position of the intellectual in a developing society, his political links with bourgeois elements, do not preclude such a possibility.'

'This is indeed possible (Mattan Hasci replied) and it happened during the last ten years. When Somalia gained its independence in 1960, political power was in the hands of pro-colonialist elements, local bourgeoisie and some intellectuals who had led the political parties during the independence struggle. They were given high posts in the government. They misused government property and money, invested in other countries, bought villas,

and so on. Soon after the Supreme Revolutionary Council took over it instituted permanent control over the property of civil servants and army officers. That has been extended to all ministries, military units, administrative divisions and enterprises. In this way we are preventing civil servants uniting with the local bourgeoisie, which is also controlled by the government.'

Many speakers argued that the intelligentsia and army officers (the army as a whole, for that matter) cannot be regarded as a monolithic social group. The class divisions in society apply here too. It would be wrong, M. Osman said, to consider the army an institution standing above the class struggle, in no way connected with it and neutral in relation to it. It is not the army as such but its vanguard that enters into an alliance with the progressive forces.

The Syrian army, D. Naame (Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Syrian CP) said, is a peasant army. The Baath party leans for support on servicemen of peasant or worker origin or belonging to the revolutionary intelligentsia and the urban middle strata. Hence, save for exceptional cases and changes in the behavior of individuals, the army as a whole has become a key factor in defending the revolutionary-democratic system.

G. Batal noted that the Arab regimes we describe as progressive came to power through coups d'état or military takeovers. 'But the army represents differing class interests, is itself the arena of contradictions and cannot, therefore, play a vanguard role.' Under a progressive regime its functions should be limited to defending that regime and its achievements. And he asked Askari how this is reflected in Baath policy towards the army.

There will have to be much more probing, Askari emphasized, to reveal why the army exerts so much political influence in developing countries. Its chief function is defense of the government, and the government speaks for the interests of a definite class. Consequently, in defending the regime, it is defending the class that created the regime and maintains it in power. The army thus reflects its class essence. The Baath party played the main role in countries where it had organizations within the army, notably Syria and Iraq. We now have in the Syrian army an organization that assures its subordination to the interests of the party. We can therefore speak of Syria's armed forces being committed to a definite ideology.

The discussion brought out the vast revolutionary potential of various classes and strata in Afro-Asian countries. Many speakers pointed to erroneous conceptions on this point – the contention, for instance, that with a wide spectrum of social forces participating in the liberation movement, there could be no question of class contradictions and class struggle. Actually, the very opposite is true – the class struggle is aggravated and directed against the feudals, the compromising local bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic top crust, always on the look-out for a deal with imperialism and neo-colonialism.

N. Ashhab (CC member, Jordanian CP) expressed a view shared by many other participants: 'Non-capitalist development proceeds against the background of sharp class struggle and a constantly changing alignment of class forces.' Frightened by the advance of the revolution and the growing activity of the working class, the vacillating elements in the united progressive movement may look for allies among their erstwhile enemies, among the remnants of the classes and strata removed from the scene by the march of events. On the international scene they may mute their anti-imperialist activity, make more concessions to imperialism, seek a deal with it.

The concept of class struggle, at one time not even recognized in the revolutionary-democratic movement, is now becoming an intrinsic part of the political thinking of some progressive-regime leaders. That point was made by K. Dansoko who quoted a statement by President Sekou Touré of Guinea: 'We must always be vigilant . . . within the country, always unswerving and unbending in building national democracy and socialism, for the class struggle is being waged in Africa too.' In Guinea, Tanzania and a number of other African countries representatives of the exploiter classes are forbidden by law to hold responsible positions in the government and the party.

Joan Bellamy discussed the consequences of understanding the significance of class struggle in Ghana. 'I had the privilege of working in Ghana in the office of President Kwame Nkrumah, one of Africa's outstanding leaders of the national-liberation movement, until the military coup in 1966. I was therefore able to see the beginning of the struggle that took place in 1965 between the forces that wished to see the state sector serve the interests of the local bourgeoisie and those who wished to preserve it as a weapon of the masses in their opposition to imperialism and neo-colonialism.

'The crisis was reflected in 1965 in September at a very important meeting of the Central Committee of the Convention People's Party where the Right wing demanded the purge of the Left, the trial of a number of Left-wing elements inside the CPP and in effect tried to mount a political coup. At the time Nkrumah resisted that and successfully overcame this pressure from the Right. But he omitted to draw the necessary conclusions and let the representatives of the bourgeoisie remain in the CPP. His fundamental mistake was to build his policy on the unification of *all* the nation's social and political forces, whereas he should have detached reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie from the alliance.'

The development of the class struggle reflects directly on the character of the political regime installed in Asian and African countries. When it is dominated by representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie, with its dual social character, their political orientation is greatly influenced by the alignment of class forces in the society.

Progressive regimes: social and political criteria

How to determine the socio-political character of the new power structure born of the national-democratic revolution? G. Batal, Y. Askari, G. Loris and others stressed that this was not a purely theoretical question and, at the present stage of the national-liberation movement, it was of special practical significance. Hence the interest shown in the question of determining the essence of progressive regimes and the concrete manifestations of their conscious social policies.

Y. Askari drew attention to the diversity of definitions of the character of progressive regimes in the new states. The Communist parties of Sudan and Lebanon speak of 'petty-bourgeois power.' The Syrian and Iraqi Communist parties prefer the term 'progressive regimes.' We hold, said Y. Askari, that in speaking of the class essence and economic and social practices of such regimes it is more correct to speak of petty-bourgeois power. By so defining it we indicate that usually they represent the interests of the small producers of town and countryside, the middle classes, intellectuals and officers and follow petty-bourgeois programs; their policies are generally inconsistent and indecisive. One sees numerous examples of contradictory draft laws on the agrarian question, one simultaneously hears calls for, and criticism of, nationalization. However, we do not belittle the progressive role of these regimes, especially in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and for the strengthening of the state sector.

In Italy, G. Loris intervened, we use the term 'national democracy' to describe the regimes we are now discussing. This does not mean that democratic freedoms are fully ensured in these countries. The idea is to emphasize that they were able to win national independence, are pursuing peaceful foreign policies and favor an alliance with the progressive forces of the world. And when the non-capitalist sector achieves a dominant position in the national economy, it opens up the way for the transition of a pre-capitalist society to a socialist structure.

In the views of G. Kim (D.Sc. Hist., USSR), the power in countries opting for a socialist-oriented development is in the hands of a coalition of all non-exploiter classes that have broken with the bourgeoisie – revolutionary democracy, which V. I. Lenin called 'proletarian and petty-bourgeois,' pointing out that it comprised 'the people, i.e., the workers and peasants.' However, in view of the overwhelming prevalence of the petty bourgeoisie over the proletariat in Asian and African countries, revolutionary democracy, as a political expression of a kind of petty-bourgeois proletarian unity, is extremely shaky and unstable, and processes of class differentiation within its ranks make it even more so. The character of national democracy, G. Kim, noted, may change. In the course of the struggle national revolutionaries become revolutionary democrats, and numerous facts indicate the possibility of their embracing the ideology of scientific socialism. V. Solodovnikov, speaking of the socio-political character of government in the socialist-

oriented African states, defined it as a revolutionary dictatorship of the toiling masses and progressive middle sections of the population.

A political regime, said Ali Mattan Hasci, should be judged in the first place according to its deeds and the goals it sets itself. The policies of progressive regimes in African countries are characterized, in his view, by the fact that 'the progressive regimes are avoiding the coming into being of a national petty bourgeoisie; they are reorganizing, among other things, the poor peasants in large co-operatives, providing them financial and technical assistance. In these progressive regimes the workers are also organized and prepared to fully participate in fashioning the socialist way of development. Of course, many mistakes, sometimes contrary to the principles of socialism, are committed for lack of experience and often due to factors which have their roots in traditional conditions.'

K. Ahmed spoke of recent measures of the Algerian government in the field of agrarian and labor policy. The Agrarian Revolution Charter proclaimed this year states: 'The historical task is for the agrarian revolution to implement the main goal of socialist revolution, namely, ensuring a worthy life for every working man. The question, thus, is of *liquidating every form of exploitation of labor* through the establishment in the country's agriculture of labor relations based directly on the principle: *The land belongs to those who till it*' (Sec. 1270). Thus, the Charter orients the agrarian revolution towards socialism, i.e., introduces it as it were, into the framework of the global social revolution which, judging by the spirit of the Charter, will be carried out in Algeria. If they are embraced by the masses, the great ideas embodied in the Charter can become a major material force, a driving force of the revolution. This possibility is all the more realistic as the Charter states: 'The agrarian revolution is not a gift, the unfettered initiative of poor peasants, the transformation of rural life is unthinkable outside a democratic framework guaranteeing, in the first place, mobilization of the masses concerned in the name of their own future' (Sec. 1278). The mounting role of the working class is also recognized in Algeria, the speaker noted. This is seen in the new, very significant rights provided for, or, rather, won by, the working people and codified in the 'Decree on Socialist Management of Enterprises.'

The proclamation of socialism as a political ideal, noted Z. Bayrahdar, continuing the discussion concerning the criteria for judging political regimes, does not yet mean a genuinely socialist orientation. How is one to determine who is a genuine socialist in societies like those found in Asia and Africa? A class approach is needed in answering this question. Only that regime is socialist which is guided by the interests of the working class. As it crystallizes organizationally, such a regime devotes more attention to its potentialities than its present weaknesses.

'Today,' continued Z. Bayrahdar, 'all our thoughts are with the

fine victory of the movement for national and social liberation in Iraq and the Arab world. I am speaking at the mobilization of the imperialist oil concern IPC, a symbol of oppression of the people. Undoubtedly, the nationalization of IPC properties in Iraq, as well as the nationalization of its pipeline in the Syrian Arab Republic, has a positive effect not only on the Arab movement for national and social liberation.' This historic victory, in the speaker's view, could never have been won if it had not been duly prepared. Among the principal preparatory measures he listed the bold blow dealt the puppets and imperialist agents who had been active for so long in the country and jeopardized its sovereignty; the foiling of imperialist and reactionary plots; the beginning of cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union and Hungary in developing the oil industry and with Poland in sulphur production; adoption of revolutionary laws on the agrarian question, work, pensions and social security; expansion of democratic relations between the masses and revolutionary government by drawing popular organizations into the discussion and study of various important problems. 'I have dwelt on this,' the speaker noted, 'to re-emphasize that the level for influencing the process of national and social liberation lies in the economic and social fields, not in the propaganda field.'

The idea that attitude towards the working class is a criterion for judging how progressive a regime is was also taken up by Joan Bellamy. The important thing for Marxists, she said, is not to accept somebody's definition of himself as being, as identifying himself, with the working class. The test of whether he identifies himself with the working class is whether he acts with it, not merely whether he accepts an ideology in an intellectual way, but his willingness to accept the leadership of the working class. In some degree there are intellectuals who will do anything for the working class except accept its leadership. 'And this, it seems to me, is the decisive test for those who wish to identify themselves with the working class and accept Marxist-Leninist scientific socialism.'

The new governments which came to power following the collapse of the power of the big bourgeoisie and feudal regimes, said G. Batal, are promoting economic and social reforms most of which are objectively in the interests of the working class and poorest peasants. This was not a spontaneous development, but the result of an acute class struggle in the course of a continuous process of political differentiation, up to and including the government level. In judging the changes effected by, and concrete policies of, the forces coming to power one must bear in mind their objective possibilities. Two erroneous tendencies are at present apparent. One is 'leftist,' dogmatic, anti-Leninist. It manifests itself in endeavors to 'skip' development stages and, in particular, in calls upon the proletariat to assume the leading role without considering whether circumstances are ripe or its political-organizational constitution as a class is adequate. This tendency denies the ability of petty-bourgeois revolutionary-democratic parties to tackle any problems of non-

capitalist development whatsoever. The second tendency in effect rejects the historic role of the working class in the revolutionary liberation movement and, consequently, overrates the possibilities of revolutionary democratic forces, setting them objectives they are incapable of attaining.

The debate on the essence of the new political regimes in Asian and African countries showed that a general assessment of revolutionary democracy as a progressive force cannot serve as an exhaustive characteristic. The discussion gave rise to a new question concerning the directions in which different social sections and political groups may evolve once they come to power. . . .

We can record with satisfaction, K. I. Zarodov said in his concluding remarks, that the conference has convincingly demonstrated the permanent significance of Marxist-Leninist ideas for a correct understanding and appraisal of the liberation struggle and its social perspective. It has been pointed out here that no problem can be correctly understood if we do not take into account the Leninist propositions on the dialectics of the general and partial, on concrete analyses of concrete situations, the two trends in the national question, the need for the working class and the Communists to support the national struggle of the peoples without, however, submerging their own goals and interests in such support, but constantly advancing the revolution towards socialism.

This conference has enabled us to review the rich practical experience and, to one or another degree, generalize the views of different parties and trends in the national-liberation struggle following from their revolutionary activity. It has produced a common understanding that Right and Left deviations are equally dangerous to the advance of the anti-imperialist movement. And I think that by confirming the correctness of the general analysis of the Afro-Asian national-liberation movement given by the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, our conference has made a definite contribution to a more detailed study of some recent developments.

In line with Lenin's ideas, we Communists attach much importance to making national revolutionary experience accessible to the world revolutionary movement as a whole. This makes it stronger, more effective, invincible.

Irrespective of forms and of local specifics, we can speak of a number of common features in revolutionary changes.

First, they replace one system of production relations with another.

Second, at a higher level of revolutionary development they objectively, though not immediately, lead to assertion of the proletariat's political leadership.

Third, they always pass through two stages, the stage of general democratic transformations and the stage of socialist reorganization of society.

Fourth, the durability of the new power, no matter what appellation it assumes – progressive, revolutionary – depends to a considerable degree on constructive social transformation, and they should be carried out immediately, literally on the very first day; their beneficial results should be immediately felt by the people. In other words, victory has to be consolidated by economic, political, ideological, diplomatic and, if circumstances require, also military means.

These features are common to all revolutions of the 20th century. But while enumerating the common regularities of revolutionary development, we should not, of course, disregard the important factors injected by the new world situation, the specifics of the socio-political position in Asia and Africa and, naturally, the specific conditions in one or another country. All these have been clearly and comprehensively described by many comrades at this conference.

All speakers agreed that closer unity of the progressive forces is required in the fight against imperialism. In this way, the conference was a reflection of the reality in most developing countries where the striving for unity is hewing a way for itself despite differences and certain unidentical interests.

In this context I would like to draw attention to the following.

Bourgeois propaganda has had much to say about the so-called 'nationalist explosion' in the Third World. It will be proper, I think, to appraise this in the light of Marxism-Leninism. If the present unity of the progressive forces in emergent countries is to develop into a strong and invincible force, it should be based not on nationalism, but on patriotism.

In suggesting this I am not simply substituting one term for another. For I think it is important to distinguish between the content of the two terms. Nationalism tends towards isolation, exclusiveness, because it condemns the country, people, nation to stewing in its own juice, so to say, denies it the opportunity to draw on the international support and experience of friends. Patriotism, in its Leninist understanding, presupposes genuine concern for one's country and people, their well-being. And this is measurable not only in retention of their identity, but also in the mobilization of all resources, internal and international, to promote national progress.

We are therefore justified in describing as patriotic a positive program of social transformations that can bring together socially heterogeneous progressive forces.

Objectively, it consists of these measures:

- dislodging foreign monopolies from key positions in the economy; radical agrarian reform; strengthening the state sector; curbing the anarchy of private enterprise;

- maximum development of social and political democracy, which presupposes combating all forms of exploitation and enabling the masses to benefit from economic progress and giving them a bigger part in public and political life and in government,

—rupture of all imperialist ties that fetter free manifestation of national sovereignty in world affairs; cooperation with the forces of socialism and progress.

Imperialist strategy relies in no small measure on all manner of maneuvers designed to drive a wedge between the world of socialism and the national-liberation movement and developing countries. And this has not been without effect. It is no secret that even in some progressive Afro-Asian circles the role of world socialism in creating conditions facilitating the growth of national-democratic revolutions is sometimes underestimated. But, my friends, is it not perfectly clear that without cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, without closer mutual ties with them and without their international support, social progress in developing countries that have chosen the socialist orientation is bound to encounter insuperable difficulties. I emphasize *insuperable*, for the imperialists and internal reaction, who fear socialism more than anything else, will see to it that they are insuperable.

One more point. We all know the immense part ideology plays in the fight against imperialism and reaction. A militant and convincing scientifically-grounded ideology is an immensely potent revolutionary weapon. The public mind abhors a vacuum. Hence, revolutionaries who do not show proper energy in this field risk yielding important positions to the enemy. Our conference has shown that in this area, too, Communists can cooperate with revolutionary democrats. They have a common approach on a number of fundamental issues. The task, apparently, is to bring these common revolutionary views to the masses.

Revolutionary ideological work in developing countries, as our comrades well know, has its specific features. First, the relatively thin educated stratum plays a much greater part in public and political life. Consequently, successful development of the anti-capitalist revolution is to a definite degree dependent on how they are influenced by scientific socialism, on how they assimilate revolutionary theory. Second, revolutionaries cannot, and do not, remain indifferent onlookers of one of the pivotal progressive processes begun in ex-colonies and semi-colonies after liberation, namely, the process of eliminating mass illiteracy and giving the masses the rudiments of political knowledge. It stands to reason that adults only just learning to read and write cannot be expected to master revolutionary theory. That is a task for the future. But even now, revolutionaries will be discharging their duty on the ideological front by taking up the work of educating and politically enlightening the masses.

As for differences in views—and they surfaced at our conference too—they can be resolved only through continued discussion and, more important, in the course of practice, which is a test of any theory. And it is in this process that there is forged, as Lenin said, the positive socialist ideal which can bring still closer unity in the battle against imperialism, for the socialist future.

In general, I think that joint participation of Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties in studying the problems of the present stage of the national-liberation movement is in itself a noteworthy development and should serve as the starting point of future forums.

Our slogans are expressive of the development of our theory, K. I. Zarodov said in conclusion. Marx and Engels gave us the slogan: 'Workers of all countries, unite!' and 'oppressed nations' Lenin added. For in this age of imperialism and socialist revolutions, the struggle of the working class and of the masses weighed down by national and colonial oppression blends to form an inseparable entity within a single world revolutionary process. Three years ago, basing itself on the experience of social development, the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties issued this call: 'Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!'

The forces of the world revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement are growing in strength and scope; its cause is invincible; to it belongs the future.



Program for a peace front

Emile Touma

The three-and-a-half years since the last congress of the Communist Party of Israel (CPI) have fully confirmed the correct strategy and tactics worked out by the CPI in the light of developments at home and on the international scene. The choice of time for the 17th Congress (June 1972), and more specifically the results of the congress, are of vast importance for promoting the struggle for peace and social progress in Israel.

The present situation

The congress noted that the conclusions reached at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow regarding the basic trend of world developments have been fully confirmed. The balance of forces is steadily changing in favor of socialism and all the forces fighting for peace and national independence, against imperialism, reaction and war.

The achievements of the Soviet Union, the leading member of the socialist community, in economic development and the dynamism of its foreign policy, as expressed in the broad peace offensive, have strengthened the progressive forces and narrowed reaction's opportunities for maneuver. In the Middle East, the national liberation movement has, despite partial reverses, gained in scope. Its anti-imperialist character has been further accentuated and the struggle for fundamental social change is conducted with greater vigor. Soviet-Arab friendship is becoming an increasingly essential factor in deepening the revolutionary process in the Middle East, though the monarchist forces of Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and the ruling circles in certain other countries, are trying to prevent this.

The formation in Syria and Iraq of progressive national fronts is a development of exceptional historic importance. These fronts are the basis of coalition governments uniting the Left and revolutionary forces, including the Communists. This creates favorable conditions for merging the struggle of the independent economic development of the Arab countries with the general political struggle for liberation.

The theses discussed and approved by the 17th Congress note

the important role of the Communist parties in the Arab countries, emphasizing that the trend of development in the Middle East is towards continued consolidation of the anti-imperialist movement, and a further weakening of the imperialist position.

The congress closely analyzed U.S. monopoly capital penetration and showed its detrimental effect on the Israeli economy. Congress exposed Israel's role as an instrument of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

The congress theses, and the CC report and concluding remarks of the General Secretary Meir Vilner clearly emphasized the ruinous effect of economic militarization. This is expressed not only in the growth of military expenditure, which now accounts for about half of the national budget, but also in priority development of the war industries.

All this has dangerously distorted economic development which resulted in a growing balance of payments deficit (of which military expenditure accounted for \$716 million in 1971) and a soaring national debt, both domestic and foreign.* This has been attended by inflation, enrichment of the big bourgeoisie and impoverishment of the masses. The rapid growth of the prices of consumer goods presents a heavy burden on the working people.

The number of strikes, many of them called in defiance of the Right-wing leaders of Histadrut – the General Federation of Labor – increased from 144 in 1969 to 169 in 1971 and the figures continue to increase this year.

The Congress' theses note mounting discontent among the population. This becomes clear as official statistics show that 250,000 live on the borderline of starvation in slums, of whom about 130,000 are concentrated in Tel Aviv.

The social and economic gap between Western and Oriental Jews is widening. This has come to the surface in the Black Panther movement of Jews who came from eastern countries and, in most cases, are living on the edge of poverty.

The inequality of these two groups is strikingly apparent in education. Children of Eastern Jews make up most of the pupils in primary schools, but only 30 per cent reach secondary schools and 10 per cent higher institutions of learning and universities.

That is but one manifestation of the contradictions within Israeli society. The discrimination of the Arab national minority, which accounts for about 12 per cent of the population, is even more flagrant.

The discrimination against the Arabs extends to every area, from expropriation of Arab land and unequal pay for equal work to impediments in education. Suffice it to say that the urban Arab worker earns about 70 per cent of what the Jewish worker gets, and in higher educational establishments Arabs make up only about 1.5 per cent of the student body.

*Israel's foreign debt rose from \$1,600 million in 1967 to \$3,600 million in 1971.

The congress slogan was: 'Against occupation of Arab territory, for peace!' And it was only natural that attention concentrated on the Middle East crisis. The CC theses emphasized that the Israeli government is using violent methods in the occupied territories, where it has virtually established a colonial regime, which is characterized by the exploitation of cheap labor power in factories and farms within the country and in the occupied areas, where the Israeli authorities control the local market and capital investments, and are adapting the economy (notably agriculture) to serve Israeli industry.

The ruling circles are trying to swallow the Arab territories and carry out the Zionist plan of a 'Greater Israel.' Towards this end they are establishing Jewish settlements so as to place the Arab peoples before a fait accompli and compel the inhabitants of the occupied areas and the world to accept the status quo which is being created. That, in fact, is the reason for the ruling circles' consistent sabotage of a just political settlement and the Jarring mission. But that policy can be implemented only with the support of U.S. imperialism which has given the Israeli militarists free access to its military arsenals and financial funds.

Peace without annexations

The Congress was marked by a business-like and constructive atmosphere which helped to analyze various aspects of Party work thoroughly.

The congress advanced a plan for peace in the Middle East. Its pivotal clauses are respect for the rights of all the peoples and states of the region, including the Israeli and Palestinian Arab peoples; withdrawal of Israeli troops to the frontiers of June 4, 1967, implementation of all provisions of the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution.

The congress not only gave the Party a clear-cut program of action, but also the means of translating it into reality, viz., the organization of an anti-imperialist democratic front. The program is premised on existing conditions and on the relation of class forces. At the present stage it is 'a general democratic and anti-imperialist program whose implementation will produce fundamental changes in Israeli policy, make the country independent of imperialism and imperialist monopolies, assure peace and cooperation with Arab countries and the Palestinian Arab people.'

The Party program is in the interests of the majority of the population, both Jews and Arabs. It envisages a number of political and economic transformations that could put Israel on the road to peace, security and friendship with Arab states, strengthen its economic independence, promote social progress and abolish U.S. imperialist domination.

There is a special section on the struggle for the interests of the working class and all working people, and another setting out the

concrete demands for equal rights for the Arab population and how to achieve them.

The program emphasizes the need to uphold and extend democratic freedoms, and demands a democratic secular constitution. This is especially important in a country where the clerical forces wield such strong influence and where religious norms are imposed on civil and personal relations.

Still another section of the program deals with education and culture. It calls for a progressive democratic educational system committed to social progress, peace and friendship of the peoples. This stands out in sharp contrast to the official dissemination of militarism and chauvinism.

The emergence of a peace front is a major development in Israeli life since the 16th Party Congress. Government popularity and credibility have distinctly declined. More and more people are questioning the sincerity of its professions of peace. The public was deeply shocked when a number of retired officers admitted that in June 1967 there was absolutely no threat to Israeli existence.

The CC theses say that 'professors, students, public leaders have issued a number of statements and petitions, and participated in demonstrations protesting against the government's sabotage of a peaceful settlement, against its policy of *faits accomplis* in the occupied territories, against building settlements in the Hebron area and against the terror campaign in the Gaza strip.'

There is ferment among the youth. Young people question the correctness of government policy. In fact, anti-chauvinistic and anti-militarist sentiments have grown to an extent that obliged Golda Meir to declare: 'Attending youth meetings creates a sad impression. Youth views inspire fear in me.' And she is especially dismayed by the fact that some intellectuals are asking: 'Are we fighting in a just cause?'

Another development that is worrying the Prime Minister is the protest of leading Israeli writers against the government's refusal to allow the inhabitants of Kufur Biram and Ikrit villages to return to their homes. Together with many other Arabs they were evicted during and after the 1948 war, allegedly for security reasons. Since then they have tried in vain to return to their land. The government has flatly refused, fearing that this would create a precedent and would stimulate the struggle of Israeli Arab refugees for the right to return to their villages. The ruling circles therefore attacked the writers and Golda Meir even announced that there was the danger of an 'erosion of Zionism' in Israel.

These and other facts indicate that there is a wide spectrum of political and social forces capable of uniting in a single democratic front under the slogan 'Peace without annexations.'

Another significant development, and one that is characteristic of the present situation, is the fact that the Communist Party has broken out of the isolation through which the ruling circles tried to ostracize it and thus paralyze its activity.

They had not been altogether unsuccessful in the period following the 1967 war, when the country was carried away by chauvinism, by the military victory, by hopes of imposing on the Arabs a 'peace' that would leave Israel in possession of all the invaded areas, and would meet all other imperialist and Zionist ambitions. The failure of this aggressive policy – and mounting difficulties at home and abroad – has had a sobering effect. The people have come to see that their rulers are unscrupulously deceiving them.

More and more Israelis are beginning to see the real motives behind the anti-communist hysteria and the calumny unleashed by the Zionist leaders. This has enabled our Party more frequently to join with other political forces in the struggle for peace and the people's interests.

The anti-Soviet campaigns, conducted jointly with U.S. imperialism, are increasingly losing their impact and influence on public opinion. Central to these campaigns is anti-communist ideology and Zionism, its fight against the Soviet Union's principled position of rejecting aggression and working for a just peace. The working people are gradually coming to understand that Israel's present difficulties are the result of its government's policy.

Communist solidarity

On the eve of the Congress the fascist Jewish Defense League declared that it would not allow our 17th Congress to convene and would disrupt its work if it did. The authorities refused to ban the League's illegal anti-democratic actions, and in Tel Aviv and Jaffa the police allowed it to demonstrate in front of the hall where the congress was holding its sessions.

These fascist demonstrations and hooliganism did not spoil the atmosphere of the congress which opened on June 21. The fascists could not disrupt the proceedings of the congress or interfere with its schedule. The congress discussed all the questions on the agenda and elected the Party's executive bodies.

These fascist anti-communist and anti-Soviet demonstrations were instigated by influential persons of the ruling circles with the obvious aim of showing that the CPI was isolated and its policy had no support. But the plan boomeranged. Even *Al-Hamishmar* (the MAPAM organ) and *Davar* (Histadrut), two dailies that speak for the ruling coalition, came out against the dangerous policy of officially encouraging the fascist groups.

The congress addressed an appeal to all the healthy forces of Israel, to everyone who cherishes the ideals of democracy, to scotch the fascist menace in the bud. It emphasized that once the fascists attack the Communists, it will not be long before their attacks are levelled at all groups that do not share their views.

At no earlier congress had there been so many delegations from fraternal parties. This demonstration of solidarity and proletarian internationalism made a great impression on the delegates and on

public opinion. The enthusiasm with which the representatives of the fraternal parties were greeted was a testimonial of our Party's loyalty to proletarian internationalism.

There was an especially warm reception for the CPSU delegation. The very fact that it took part in the work of our congress refuted all the slanderous fabrications of official propaganda about Soviet hostility towards the Israeli people. The message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee read at the congress stressed the importance of a just settlement of the Middle East crisis on the basis of mutual respect for the rights of all the peoples of the region.

Impressive, too, were the fraternal messages brought by representatives from the Communist parties of Iraq, Jordan, Algeria and other Arab countries. They were heard with great attention, as was the message from the Jordanian Communists working illegally on the Western bank of the Jordan. These messages are the best proof of the Communists' ability to play a decisive role in promoting normal, equal relations between Israel and the Arab countries.

In his concluding speech, Comrade Vilner, the Party General Secretary, declared that the Congress had opened before the masses realistic perspectives for achieving peace in the Middle East and progress towards social transformations in Israel in the interest of the people.

Party democracy in action

Horst Dohlus

The Eighth Congress of the SUPG emphasized that in the period of developed socialist society the leading role of the working class and its party increases.

'Our party,' First Secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, noted at the congress, 'is a vast collective of stalwart Communists utterly devoted to Marxism-Leninism and selflessly leading millions of builders of socialism in the GDR. It represents a great militant alliance governed by mutual trust and comradely frankness, in which fellow-fighters support each other in good times and bad.'

Our Party today numbers more than 1.9 million members. Of these, 76.5 per cent are of working-class stock and 56.8 per cent are themselves blue-collar workers. More than 29 per cent of the membership are women.

The demands imposed on a member of a ruling party, such as the

SUPG is, are great indeed. Party organizations help foster the necessary qualities in every Communist. Primary among these is a sense of personal responsibility for promoting the Party's policies and attaining the goals of socialist society. Every Communist should always be an example at work, should influence his colleagues politically and ideologically, and this should be part of his nature.

A Communist is a political combatant of the Party. The one is inseparable from the other. In the political education of Party members it is necessary to take fully into account the intensity of the ideological struggle and the difficult conditions in which the GDR, the first German worker and peasant state, has for many years been working and building. SUPG members act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, they fully realize the importance of close ties with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, with the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist community, with the world Communist movement.

One of the most important aspects in the many-sided process of enhancing the Party's role is that of developing and enriching the internal life of the Party itself, of improving Party democracy. Undivided concern for expanding and improving Party democracy contributes to the greater activity of Communists as fighters for the new and progressive.

Our Party democracy is democracy in action. Every Communist takes part in implementing decisions, in the common work.

The guiding principle of all activities of the SUPG, as of every militant Marxist-Leninist party, is democratic centralism. Decisions taken by Party congresses and the Central Committee on the basis of the objective requirements of social development reflect the overall experience accumulated by Communists and the working class.

Party democracy, far from running contrary to firm Party discipline, presumes its necessity. Free discussion prior to taking decisions is an inalienable feature of Communist participation in Party life. But at the same time there is voluntary, conscious discipline when it comes to implementing Party decisions. Only on this basis can the Party grow stronger.

It is important to stress this for the following reason: the development and enrichment of Party life is not an end in itself; all our efforts should be aimed at more effectively ensuring the Party's leading role in society. In the course of the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth SUPG Congress and the Central Committee the working people see that the Party reinforces its words with deeds.

Regular Party meetings (as a rule, once a month) are one of the measures contributing to the development of Party democracy. Many primary Party organizations use them as forums for extensive criticism and self-criticism.

We also attach great importance to Party assignments. Tasks are assigned in accordance with the preferences and abilities of the comrades. They are endorsed at Party meetings, which also consi-

der reports on their fulfilment. We can see how this procedure has improved over the years. It helps Party organizations to influence ideological work and the fulfilment of economic plans. For example, 90 per cent of the members of the primary Party organization of the Riesa pipe rolling mill have assignments. Political talks with non-members have become more interesting and effective, and work improvement suggestions are more readily implemented.

Taking the Party as a whole, the activity of Communists was especially vividly demonstrated in the course of the latest report-and-election campaign. Report-and-election meetings are held regularly, and they provide a firm and constant basis for Party democracy. This year 90 per cent of the members of Party groups and 88 per cent of the members of shop organizations took part in meetings. The debates, characteristically, were lively and generally optimistic. At meetings held at enterprises alone there were some 246,000 speakers. Their proposals dealt with problems of enhancing the work of primary organizations, stepping up political work among the masses, the socialist emulation movement, raising industrial efficiency and improving working and living conditions. These suggestions were reflected in the decisions and measures drawn up by Party organizations.

We have 73,000 primary and shop Party organizations; their number is steadily growing and the Party structure itself is being constantly improved. The Eighth Congress stressed that the primary organizations represent the foundation of the SUPG, its direct link with the working people. Party bodies are doing everything to improve the quality of leadership of the primary Party cells and to help them in every way. The results of the reports and elections in Party organizations in 1972 have shown that their work in implementing the decisions of the Eighth SUPG Congress has become more active. The Party has grown stronger, its ties with the masses have become closer, it is united and cohesive as never before.

Party groups hold a special place in the SUPG structure. There are 78,000 of them. They represent small collectives operating within teams, departments, etc. – wherever Party members and non-members work side by side, where everyone knows each other. Communists are expected to set a personal example, to be able to find answers to the numerous questions posed by life, work, the ideological struggle. Party members are judged according to the clarity of their political positions, their attitude to work and social duties. Party groups receive constant assistance, and district committees study courses for group organizers and their deputies.

Finally, one of the most important and decisive questions: expanding ties with the masses. It is a firm rule of ours to discuss all important questions with Party members, workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, learn their opinions and make use of their suggestions. This enables us to work out decisions comprehensively reflecting the requirements of life and strengthen ties between leading bodies and the Party membership, between the Party and the working people, which stimulates their initiative, the desire to

participate more actively in implementing planned tasks.

This takes place at all levels, from the highest bodies of the SUPG to the party group. I would like to cite one example: the work of the Dessau district committee. All its members, the whole of the district party *aktiv* are closely connected with the work collectives, of which there are more than five hundred. This facilitates the explanation of decisions and discussion by the working people of outstanding questions. When a Party body relies on the *aktiv* it is able to assess moods and the situation in the district objectively, follow up working people's initiatives more effectively and promote the implementation of useful innovations. This style of work stands opposed to a subjective, one-sided approach to the assessment of social phenomena and facilitates the successful realization of Party decisions.

The experience accumulated since the Eighth Congress indicates a mounting desire of working people to gain a deeper understanding of industrial, local, national and international political problems. The Party constantly pays great attention to ideological and political work, regarding it as fundamental to the work of all its organizations. Communists acquire theoretical knowledge and habits of political work through Party meetings, in the course of studies and Party life in general. We like to say: 'Wherever there is a Party member—there is the Party.' The reports and elections added to this formula the meaning: 'Wherever there is a Party member one finds the most convincing arguments.' Regular appearances of leading Party and government figures, personal contacts with people and constant information about all important problems help improve the ideological work of Party organizations.

Continued development of Party democracy, stronger discipline, collective leadership, greater activity and personal responsibility of every Communist are the earnest of the Party's viability.

National conference of CP of Rumania

A national conference of the Rumanian Communist Party, held in Bucharest July 19-21, 1972, discussed questions of the country's socio-economic development in the next few years and the more distant future, improving planned leadership of the society, expanding socialist democracy, enhancing the Party's leading role in building socialism and communism, and the international activities of the Party and the state. It is now common for the RCP to hold national conferences in between regular congresses; this makes it possible for the Party to take decisions prompted by the dynamic pro-

cess of building socialism on questions going beyond the frame of those usually discussed at Central Committee plenums.

The conference was attended by members and candidate members of the CC, members of the Central Auditing Commission, more than 2,200 vote-casting delegates (one for every thousand Party members), and 500 guests. The conference conducted its work at plenary sessions and in 10 sections devoted to specific problems. It adopted a number of documents reflecting the debate: proposed legislation presented for public discussion and later to be submitted to the Grand National Assembly; resolutions and decisions on various aspects of Party activity; a draft code of Communist life and work, socialist ethics and justice. Some 50 delegates addressed the plenary sessions, and more than 300 delegates and guests spoke at section meetings, contributing significantly to the discussion of the items on the agenda and the improvement of submitted drafts.

The basis for the conference's deliberations was a wide-ranging report by Party General Secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The debate took place in an atmosphere of enthusiasm bred by the bright prospects outlined in the report, in a spirit of responsibility for the future of socialist Rumania, the fundamental interests of the Party and the people, the common cause of socialism. The delegates' contributions were a manifestation of the inviolable unity of Party will and action, demonstrating its ability to creatively solve complex tasks arising in building socialism and communism and ensure the flourishing of the Rumanian socialist nation.

The conference unanimously endorsed the activities of the Central Committee, its bodies and all other Party bodies and organizations in the period since the preceding national conference (1967) and the 10th Party Congress (1969). The delegates fully endorsed the submitted report, the guidelines for the country's long-term socio-economic development, improving the standards of social life, expanding socialist democracy and enhancing the Party's leading role, and the international activities of the RCP and the Rumanian state.

Comrade Ceausescu's report presented an extensive analysis of the achievements in implementing the tasks of the 1971-1975 five-year plan and the ways of fulfilling it ahead of time so as to accelerate the country's socio-economic development.

In 18 months of the five-year plan, industrial output, which expanded at a rate of 11.5 per cent, exceeded the planned targets by 11,000 million lei. The 1971 grain harvest of 14.5 million tons was the highest in the nation's history. In 1971, the national product increased by 11.2 per cent, and the national income, by 12.8 per cent. As a result of these achievements, by the end of 1972 industrial output will have exceeded the 1938 level 21 times over, the national income will have increased 7.6-fold, and real wages, more than 2.7-fold. The wage fund alone in 1972 is more than triple the whole of Rumania's national income in 1938. This year social security outlays in the national budget will be 19 or 20 times greater than in 1938.

Bourgeois-landlord Rumania was a predominantly agrarian country with a poorly developed economy. The 25 years of socialist construction have changed this. Still, per capita national income today is only 500 or 600 dollars, which is one-quarter or one-fifth of that in developed countries. This means that Rumania may be regarded as an economically developing nation. Its social system places it unquestionably among the most advanced nations, but in level of the productive forces it continues to lag behind economically developed countries. An indication of this is the fact that in some basic industries labor productivity is one-half to one-quarter that of the latter and the agricultural population remains high (47 per cent, as against 10 or 15 per cent in developed countries).

This year, in connection with the 25th anniversary of the Republic, the socialist emulation movement has expanded markedly. The Bucharest Party organization has appealed to all district Party organizations to launch an emulation drive aimed at fulfilling the five-year plan in four-and-a-half years. Speakers at the conference noted that this was entirely feasible and the economy's production potential was adequate to ensure meeting the five-year plan targets ahead of time. But the potential alone is not enough; flaws must be eliminated in the work of some enterprises.

It has been suggested that two-shift work be introduced at all enterprises and three shifts be more widely used. There are many reserves for ensuring ahead-of-schedule fulfilment of the plan, such as the reduction of construction time and faster achievement of planned capacity at all new projects, better utilization of existing floorspace, better raw material and spare parts supplies to ensure uninterrupted output, faster turnover of operating capital.

Another prerequisite of success is the drawing up of production plans geared to the *real* needs of the economy, both internal and export. For, as was stressed at the conference, while calling for intensive economic development, we do not seek overfulfilment of the five-year plan at any cost; no one needs gross output as such. Pledges should materialize in terms of products required by the economy and increasing the country's wealth and national income.

The conference devoted considerable attention to the long-term development trends of the Rumanian economy up to 1990 and the end of the century. A specially created Central Party and State Commission has been charged with working out, by 1973, a forecast for 1976-1990 on the basis of the guidelines suggested in the main report and endorsed by the conference. It will also draft the directives for the 1976-1980 five-year plan, which will then be submitted for public discussion and presented to the 11th Party Congress.

Industrial and agricultural development in 1976-1990 will make it possible to attain the present level of the economically developed countries. Average annual rates of increase in industry should be around 9 to 10 per cent so that by 1990 gross industrial output could surpass the 1970 level 6 to 8 times over. Agricultural output

will double over the same period. The per capita national income, the most generalized index of economic development, should increase 5 or 6 times, reaching 2,500-3,000 dollars by 1990.

The conference gave special attention to the question of raising the people's material and cultural well-being, which is the supreme objective of Party policy, the very meaning of building socialism and communism. In only 18 months of the five-year plan an additional 400,000 new jobs were created, while in 1971 workers' incomes in the form of wages were 8.1 per cent higher than in 1970. Cash incomes of farmers increased by 11 per cent. Since the beginning of 1971, cooperative farmers have been guaranteed a wage minimum, free medical aid and child benefits. By the end of 1975, minimum monthly wages of blue-collar and white-collar workers will be raised from 800 to 1,100 lei, the average rising to 1,950 lei, an increase of 35 per cent as against the originally envisaged 26 per cent. By the end of this year state social security pensions will be increased by an average 16 per cent.

The decisions of the RCP national conference in this field are already being implemented. The Council of Ministers raised the minimum monthly wage rate from 800 to 1,000 lei as of September 1, 1972. It goes without saying that living standards can be raised only through overall economic growth. According to preliminary forecasts, real per-capita incomes in 1990 will be 3.5 times higher than in 1970, the housing problem will have been solved, and consumption of foodstuffs and durables will meet normal demand.

The conference devoted considerable attention to our republic's participation in the international division of labor and to the expansion of economic cooperation with the socialist states and other countries.

Central to Rumania's economic ties is its trade with the socialist states, which accounts for about 55 per cent of its total external trade and one-quarter of which is with the Soviet Union. In this connection, Comrade Ceausescu emphasized that 'continued attention must be given to the further expansion of trade and industrial cooperation with the USSR.' Concluded agreements provide for a 50 per cent increase in trade with the socialist countries by the end of 1975.

Our Party and government attach special importance to economic cooperation with CMEA member-countries. As Comrade Ceausescu noted, 'it is necessary to continue to give all possible attention to the expansion of cooperation with the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance within the framework of the Comprehensive Program designed to promote the all-round progress of every country, the evening out of the member-countries' levels of economic development, and more efficient utilization of their material and manpower resources, in a spirit of independence, complete equality, comradely mutual assistance and mutual benefit.'

At the same time Rumania is continuing to expand economic ties with the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America as

well as with developed capitalist countries. As stressed in the report: 'Expansion of international trade and cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their social system, is an integral component of Rumania's foreign policy, which is aimed at bringing peoples closer together and promoting cooperation between equal nations in the name of assuring peace on our planet, of ensuring the progress and civilization of every people.'

In a brief review it is, of course, impossible to dwell on all the questions discussed at the RCP national conference, on the wealth of ideas contained in the main report and the three days of debates at full meetings and in the committees. We therefore restrict ourselves to the most important points which reflect the position of the RCP and the Rumanian government on the key problems of building up the new society and relations with other parties and countries.

Taking into account the fact that the role of conscious factors increases with the advance along the road of socialist construction, the conference extensively discussed measures aimed at further improving socio-economic management and planning, enhancing the leading role of the Party, and extending the role of the state in the integrated system of the management of society. The state's activities are based on the principles of democratic centralism, which harmoniously combine unified leadership with greater autonomy of local bodies and socio-economic organizations. The measures outlined by the conference provide for the development and extension of socialist democracy and greater mass participation in the management of society. The RCP firmly holds that it is impossible to build socialism without the widest participation of the people as a whole in making and implementing decisions. It goes without saying that socialism presumes not only public ownership of the means of production, but also the fullest expression of the individual, the free, active and conscious participation of all citizens in running society.

Broad participation of the working people in running the country can be achieved only in the course of a lengthy process in which the Party plays the decisive role. This process demands the development of socialist consciousness in all working people so as to gradually approach the distant goal, of which Karl Marx said that under communism labor becomes 'not only a means of life but life's prime want' ('Critique of the Gotha Program'). Lenin, too, attached great importance to the fostering of socialist consciousness in the working people. 'The communist organization of social labor,' he wrote, 'the first step towards which is socialism, rests, and will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420). Free and conscious discipline does not come spontaneously. It develops as a result of persistent, patient ideological and educational work carried out by the Party.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the RCP held Novem-

ber 3-5, 1971, approved a broad program aimed at improving ideological and educational work. The program was endorsed by the national conference, which devoted considerable attention to ideological questions. The General Secretary's report analyzed the concept of a comprehensively developed socialist society, the existence of contradictions under socialism and their character, the content of the future RCP program. It also dwelt extensively on the dialectics of the national and international under socialism and on the development of the nation and its role in modern society.

Socialist Rumania has ensured the genuine equality of all citizens irrespective of nationality. In our country, which represents a unified national state, there live Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and people of other nationalities. They all fought side by side to overthrow the bourgeois-landlord rule and are working with great devotion to build socialism in their common motherland. The equality of all citizens is a result of both this joint struggle and work, as well as of the solution of the national question by the Rumanian Communist Party in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

History shows that the emergence of nations is a progressive process which has not yet ended in some parts of the globe. In socialist countries nations have acquired a new essence, which makes them different from the old bourgeois nations divided into hostile classes. They are socialist nations. For the first time in history socialism has created conditions for genuine national unity, ending struggles within nations for conflicting economic interests, and this leads to the development of nations on an entirely different basis than in the past. Thus, the new traits of socialist nations raise them to a higher level. And there is the companion process of closer ties between socialist nations determined by common basic interests and equal and voluntary cooperation. Under socialism, national and international interests mutually complement each other. 'One cannot be an internationalist,' Comrade Ceausescu said, 'without loving one's own nation, without fighting for its liberation, for the creation of a new, socialist and communist nation. In the same way, one cannot be a good fighter for the interests of one's own nation without resolutely promoting cooperation with other nations on a basis of complete equality and mutual respect. There is no contradiction between national and international interests; on the contrary, there exists a complete dialectical unity between them.'

The RCP national conference extensively discussed the international activities of the Party and the Rumanian government.

The main line of our republic's foreign policy has always been to strengthen relations of friendship and all-round cooperation with all socialist countries. The friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaties with the USSR, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia represent an active contribution to the cause of socialism, cooperation and peace among peoples. The conference commended the results of the meetings at Party and gov-

ernment level, which the RCP General Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State had with the leaders of these countries. Also stressed was the importance of visits by a Rumanian Party and government delegation to the socialist countries of Asia: the People's Republic of China, Korean People's Democratic Republic, Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Mongolian People's Republic. The conference noted that socialist Rumania maintains good relations of friendship, cooperation and international solidarity with all socialist countries.

The development of cooperation with all socialist countries is fully in keeping with the instructions of the 10th RCP Congress, which set the task of helping to overcome the differences existing between them and promoting their unity and solidarity. The conference noted that relations between socialist countries, based, of course, on Marxist-Leninist concepts, should be conducted in accordance with the principles of complete equality and mutual respect of national independence and sovereignty; this presupposes that every socialist country and every Communist Party independently elaborates its general line, the forms and methods of building socialism, without any outside interference. In accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, it is necessary for the socialist countries to promote fraternal solidarity and mutual assistance; this should facilitate the continued expansion of economic exchanges and industrial cooperation to ensure the accelerated growth of the national economy, improvement of the relations of production within each socialist country and the evening out of their levels of economic development.

Another requirement of the new type of relations between socialist states is better mutual information, more consultations, objective and tactful exchanges of opinion in various spheres of activity. Informing the public of each country about the building of socialism in other countries and their international activities. To be sure, differences between parties and socialist countries may arise for various reasons, objective or subjective. But they should be resolved on a basis of information and discussion between the countries concerned. Differences should not be allowed to affect relations between parties and states. Comrade Ceausescu expressed the view that these basic norms of relations between parties and socialist states should be discussed and concretized by general agreement of all these countries.

The conference discussed a number of other international questions: the RCP's policy of strengthening international solidarity with Communist and Workers' parties, with democratic, anti-imperialist, progressive forces in all parts of the world; our republic's relations with the developing countries and all countries, irrespective of their social systems; Rumania's contribution towards the creation of a European security system; the United Nations' role in promoting relations between states on the basis of international law, the policy of equality and cooperation between states and promotion of

world peace; general and, in the first place, nuclear disarmament.

Special attention was given to questions of European security. The Conference noted that conditions are ripe for preparations this autumn by all countries concerned of the all-European conference. The conference resolutely demanded an immediate end to the United States' war of aggression in Vietnam, the complete withdrawal of American troops, an end to the bombing and all military action so that the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina could work out their own destinies without outside interference. The conference came out in favor of a political settlement in the Middle East on the basis of the November 1967 Security Council resolution, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, strengthening the security and sovereignty of every state in the region and resolving the problem of the Palestine people in accordance with its national interests and providing conditions for its independent development.

The RCP national conference made partial changes in the Party Rules, and elected several new members to the Central Committee, mainly industrial workers and women. It was decided to draw up a new Party Program which would correspond to the present stage and outline the prospects of Rumania's further development. The conference elected a broadly representative commission headed by Comrade Ceausescu to draft it.

In the character of the questions discussed, in the importance of the adopted guidelines, in its role in defining Party policy and raising the activity of Communists to a new and higher level, the RCP national conference was an event of exceptional importance in the history of the Party and the Rumanian people. —B. Zaharescu



New faces of anti-communism

Gilberto Vieira

The struggle against ideologies hostile to the revolutionary movement is one of the primary tasks facing the fraternal parties. Ten years ago *World Marxist Review* sponsored a debate of Marxist-Leninists from several European, American, Asian and African countries on the subject, 'Anti-Communism - The Enemy of Mankind.' The participants drew several conclusions. Briefly they are: anti-communism is aimed against communist ideas and their propagation, against communism as a new socio-economic structure; its 'positive program' is rooted in the idea of world domination of a monopoly oligarchy; although anti-communism does not reject crude methods, it has become more refined, assuming a pseudo-scientific coloring; the way to overcome anti-communism is to merge the struggle against it with the struggle against monopoly oligarchy.

We Communists are concerned with both the forms in which anti-communism manifests itself, and the lessons of history, which must be constantly taken into account in our ideological work, especially with the younger generation which has not gone through the school of struggle against fascism and the Second World War. Many people forget, or simply don't know, that the flag of anti-communism was used to justify such heinous crimes against mankind as General Franco's mutiny and the interference of nazi Germany and fascist Italy in the Spanish civil war on Franco's side; the dismemberment and occupation of Czechoslovakia by Hitler; the aggression against Poland which started World War II; the treacherous attack against the Soviet Union using the resources of all the Nazi-occupied countries of Western Europe. All these crimes were perpetrated by the Nazi hangmen from Berlin, the fascist clowns from Rome, the militarists from Tokyo under the flag of the 'Communist menace' that served as the rallying point for the 'anti-Comintern Pact' designed to 'defend Western Christian civilization from Bolshevist atheism.'

The past is a reminder that gives us a better understanding of the present, in which anti-communism repeatedly seeks to assume the offensive.

Ideological screen

The historical process of transition from capitalism to socialism is

irresistible. The socialist system is stronger than ever, its influence has grown enormously. The international working class has achieved greater unity of action. The national liberation movements have scored new successes, the struggle to eliminate the last remnants of colonialism and defeat neo-colonialism continues.

The people of Cuba are laying the foundations of a socialist society at the very threshold of the biggest and most aggressive imperialist power. In Chile popular forces headed by the working class have come to power through constitutional means. They are waging a hard class struggle to carry out the structural changes that open the road to socialism. In Peru the patriotic military government is gradually wresting the nation's riches from the North American monopolies. Its independent foreign policy is influencing other Latin American countries. The continent's anti-imperialist forces are uniting and attacking, employing various forms of struggle. And this in an area the North American imperialists had always regarded as their 'back yard'!

But imperialism continues to use the Communist bogey in its attempts to reverse the course of history. For many years the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have been courageously fighting the military machine of the United States, whose proclaimed purpose is to 'contain Communist aggression.' On the pretext of fighting communism, imperialism engineered the bloody coups in Brazil and Indonesia. On the same pretext, the reactionary militaristic regimes of Greece, the Sudan, Bolivia and other countries expel, arrest, torture and shoot their opponents, democrats and patriots.

Anti-communism thus remains the main ideological weapon of double-dyed reaction. To be sure, some of the slogans widely invoked during the cold war have become threadbare – it is harder to put across the lie that the Soviet Union poses a 'threat to universal peace' or that the Communist movement is 'a tool of Soviet Bolsheviks aspiring to world domination.' Nowadays even the credulous are coming to see that the USSR is the first power in world history to devote all its efforts to the creation of a new society and the preservation of world peace. Even official representatives of U.S. imperialism are compelled to sign international documents proclaiming the very policy of peaceful coexistence they had so recently branded as 'the Communist Trojan horse.' This is to the credit not only of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but of all peoples resolutely opposing imperialist-organized military conflicts.

The policy of peaceful coexistence, however, does not mean any easing of the ideological confrontation between the working class and the capitalists, the socialist and capitalist systems, socio-economic progress and reactionary obscurantism. On the contrary, it is becoming sharper. The struggle against imperialist attempts to reverse the course of history and undermine the victories of socialism, states a recent decision of the CC of the Communist Party of Cuba, is inseparable from the continued ideological struggle against chauvinistic, reformist, revisionist, opportunist and neutralist views

and bourgeois liberalism, which our enemies are using in their attempts to weaken and defeat socialism.

Anti-communism is a negative, irrational ideology. It is used to justify the most heinous crimes in the name of defending the privileges of imperialism and oligarchies, just as in past epochs the ruling classes used religious and racial fanaticism. The preachers of anti-communism combine their all-out apology for capitalism with falsification, misinformation and shameless slander aimed at vilifying the realities of our time: the victory of socialism in a number of countries and the successful building of the material and technical base of communist society in the Soviet Union. They challenge the patriotism of Communists, their proletarian internationalism, and present the policies of Communist parties in a distorted light.

'Anti-communism is an *ideological smokescreen* designed to conceal the true ideological and political intentions of the monopoly bourgeoisie, namely, to strengthen its ebbing domination of society, gain a stronger stranglehold not only over the working class, but over the farmers, intellectuals, small and even middle bourgeoisie as well, increase the exploitation of working people and ruin of small owners, and use the flag of democracy to destroy democracy.*

Old enemy in new garb

Has the class enemy thought up anything new? In a sense, yes. Imperialism and its agents are guided in their daily practices by the old maxim: 'Divide and rule.' But in our time it has taken on a somewhat different, purely pragmatic formula: 'Divide to survive!' Fearful of the prospects of cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces and growing unity of action of the Communist movement, monopoly capital spares no means to finance divisive policies, the main promoters and spokesmen of which are Right and 'Left' revisionists.

It is hard for Right revisionists to smuggle their ideological wares into the Communist parties, so they often camouflage them by 'Left' rhetoric. The result is a merger of Right and 'Left' opportunist ideology, with ultra-'Left' elements acting as the main vehicles of subversive, splitting activities within the revolutionary movement. In many Latin American countries 'Left' extremism has evolved from an infantile disorder into a new variety of anti-communism.

Ultra-Leftism, of whatever brand, can be traced to the radicalization of the middle strata and petty-bourgeois elements, many of whom join the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle. They display great but, more often than not, passing fervor. They waver when they encounter difficulties and either go to extremes or give vent to their disappointment. We have managed to attract many of these people to our side and to educate them in the spirit of Leninist principles. But anti-communism is at work, too. It exploits the political immaturity of such people to steep them in ideologies harmful to the revolutionary movement.

**Anti-Communism - The Enemy of Mankind*. Prague, 1962, Russ. ed., p. 10.

One of the brands of 'Left' extremism to blossom in some countries in the last ten years is Maoism. The Peking leadership camouflaged its nationalistic, anti-Soviet essence with bombastic rhetoric about 'excellent revolutionary situations,' the rifle as the only means of achieving victory in revolution, the weakening of imperialism, which has become a 'paper tiger,' the 'wind from the East' which always dominates the 'wind from the West,' and other verbal manipulations. On this basis, and under these slogans, the Maoists launched a drive to split the revolutionary movement. They set up small groups to attack the parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism. In spite of support from Peking and extensive publicity in the bourgeois press, most have since disintegrated or broken up into splinter factions. Their remnants, however, are continuing the vicious anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign, taking their cue from the Peking leadership, with all its double talk of 'poor' and 'rich' nations and 'superpowers,' attempting to divide the world into conflicting camps, in total disregard of the class interests which determine the confrontations in the world today.

It is patently clear to us Colombian Communists that the leadership of the Communist Party of China has broken with the general line of the world Communist movement, which it helped to elaborate at the 1957 and 1960 international conferences. Anti-Sovietism has become a pivot of the nationalistic, hegemonistic platform of the Peking leaders camouflaging their true aims with ultra-revolutionary rhetoric. And although the Maoists themselves have reaped no tangible benefits and, moreover, have found themselves in isolation, anti-communism has, undoubtedly, benefited.

The Communist Party of Colombia has never undertaken to pass judgment on the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, it holds that its prime duty is to uphold Marxism-Leninism and consistently promote its collectively and independently defined political line and counter Maoist undermining activities. True to our internationalist duty, we consistently rebuff Maoism's slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin and other detachments of the world Communist movement.

Maoism is being undermined largely by China's international policy, notably its stand in the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, where it vetoed Bangladesh's admission to UN membership.

But now Trotskyism is hastening to fill the place left by the Maoist ideas, which did not win a big following, and to present its own ideas in a new garb. Neo-Trotskyite groups, abundantly financed from questionable sources, have launched an extensive campaign to popularize their views, which find support in the press, radio and television. In Colombia their activities represent a comparatively new phenomenon.

What is the reason for the appearance of neo-Trotskyite groups and why do the big business mass media openly support them? As is known, Trotsky, resoundingly defeated in his time by the Russian Bolsheviks, used 'Left' rhetoric to cover up his subversive

aims. He denied the possibility of building socialism in one country and opposed Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution with his idea of 'permanent revolution.' He devoted all his energy to the fight against the vanguard of the revolutionary movement – the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the first country of triumphant socialism. Trotskyism, whether in its old or new garb, has always been a mercenary of anti-communism and as such completely suits the forces of reaction.

'Imperialists are not in the least apprehensive of the Trotskyites' "ultra-revolutionism", and it is obvious why.

'What danger, for example, can the imperialists find in a "revolutionary" platform which declares opposition to the Soviet Union, opposition to the real socialism built in other countries, opposition to the Communist parties, that is, to the most powerful revolutionary forces of our time? Nor is that all. The Trotskyites not only attack the socialist world system and the world Communist movement. They play down and deny the revolutionary potential of the international working class as a whole. And they deny that the progressive socio-economic changes in the new independent states have any significance for the world revolutionary process. Thus, these would-be "revolutionaries" in effect discount the most powerful and organized forces of the world revolution capable of carrying it out, and already carrying it out.

'The imperialists know that any growth in the influence of Trotskyism would not be of the slightest threat to them and, on the contrary, would harm the revolutionary movement; far from being an opponent of the ideologies of imperialism, Trotskyism is, in fact, their ally.'*

Like any petty-bourgeois ideology, Trotskyism is fluid and volatile and capable of taking various forms which are sometimes hard to classify. Along with other ultra-Leftists, the Colombian neo-Trotskyites are waging their anti-Communist campaign 'in the name of the revolution,' which, they declare, is "hindered by the Communists." Ultra-Leftist neo-Trotskyite tendencies are detrimental to the students' movement and lead to fragmentation and anarchy.

Anarchistic, extremist words and deeds is just what the reactionaries need. The Leftists provide them with pretexts for clamping down on genuinely revolutionary forces: the Communist parties and the working class. Ultra-Leftists have wormed their way into some trade unions, isolating them from the movement for working-class unity and pushing them into rash adventures. They are causing confusion and division in the National Farmers' Association of Colombia (set up on government initiative it has since advanced beyond its original bourgeois frame). For all their political infantilism and sectarianism, these groups, factions and ideas have one common denominator: anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

That is why the fight against ultra-Leftism and, especially, the

*B. Ponomaryov, 'Urgent Tasks of Politico-Idological Struggle.' *Kommunist*, No. 18, 1971, p.

anti-Leninist, anti-Soviet theories of neo-Trotskyism, has become one of our most urgent tasks.

Zionism and anti-communism

Another, comparatively new variety of anti-communism is Zionism. Its frenetic anti-Soviet campaigns have become part of its policy, especially since the 1967 Israeli aggression against neighboring Arab states, has openly proclaimed its existence. Zionism is the ideology of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, which has close links with top U.S. monopolies. Its essence is racism, chauvinism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The resolution of the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel defined it as an imperialist weapon in the global struggle and in political and ideological subversion against the Soviet Union and the whole socialist world system, aimed at undermining it from within.

At present, when the Soviet Union is celebrating its 50th anniversary, which bears testimony to the triumph of Lenin's ideas on the national question, the Zionists are stepping up their propaganda campaign and spreading lies about the 'discrimination and oppression' of the Jewish minority in the USSR. They are trying to make Jews who found refuge from Nazi persecution in our countries give up their anti-fascist views. By bringing pressure to bear on them, the Zionists are attempting to isolate them from our peoples and make Israeli citizens of them.

The Zionists' main purpose is to influence primarily those intellectuals who regard themselves as progressives but lack any clear-cut ideological stand or political consistency. Many of them are invited to Israel and used to sponsor conferences for 'studying the position of Jews in the USSR,' i.e., to fan anti-Soviet and anti-communist hysteria in Latin American countries. It is thanks to Zionist propaganda and ideology that some intellectuals with a 'progressive background' have lately been making absurd statements. And as soon as the 'big press' senses a whiff of anti-Sovietism from such people it immediately throws upon its pages to them. But whatever camouflage Zionists and other anti-Communists use, they increasingly expose themselves as agents of North American imperialism, not infrequently on the payroll of the CIA. It is the duty of Communists to counter the Zionist campaign, to disseminate Lenin's ideas on the national question and their realization in the Soviet Union.

Evolution of anti-communism in Colombia

The anti-communist campaign is a constant feature in our country, it takes many different forms and has a long history. Anti-communism appeared as a means of intimidating and splitting proletarian and popular forces long before 1930, when the Communist Party emerged on the political scene. The organizers of the December 1928 bloodbath during a strike of workers of United Fruit planta-

tions sought to justify their criminal actions by declaring that the 'rebels' had shouted slogans, 'Everything to everyone! Long live revolutionary communism!' Since then the oligarchy makes it a rule to label any action by workers, peasants and the middle strata as 'communist.'

In 1943, when the Soviet people and its army had already predetermined the defeat of fascism in the Second World War, diplomatic relations were established between Colombia and the Soviet Union. This did not suit the extreme reactionaries and they managed to have relations with the land of socialism broken off. On April 9, 1948, the ninth Panamerican conference opened in the Colombian capital, Bogota. According to its sponsors' plans, its purpose was to anathematize communism and promote the cold war. However, representatives of several Latin American countries demanding that more attention be devoted to the needs of Latin America, opposed this, saying that it was necessary to help the continent. The U.S. was faced with the threat of a diplomatic and political defeat. All plugs were removed in an effort to prevent this. Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, presidential candidate of the popular democratic forces, was murdered in the center of Bogota. The U.S. delegation spread the rumor that the Communists were behind it. The vile slander was immediately taken up by the Ospina Perez government and the reactionary press.

The Colombian people, however, were not misled by the subterfuges of anti-communism. In many cities the people took to the streets to protest the actions of the reactionary government. A general strike was called and a spontaneous popular uprising began; isolated anarchistic actions provided the government with the pretext to call out the army. For several days the people's blood flowed in Bogota and other cities. Meanwhile the frightened delegates to the Ninth Panamerican conference continued to meet secretly and passed an anti-communist resolution sponsored by the U.S. delegation, replete with accusations against the Communist Party and Soviet diplomats, who were blamed for the bloodshed provoked by imperialism and the oligarchy.

A wave of repressions against the people and particularly against the Communists, swept the country. The Colombian government broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. A period of dark reaction began. Independent trade unions were virtually banned, the Communist Party was declared illegal and forced underground. Freedom of expression became a crime. The spreading of communist ideas was made a crime punishable by jail and exile. A fascist type 'constitution' was forced on the country. Opposition representatives – at that time Liberals and Communists – were simply murdered.

In that terrible period of our country's history the tyrants in power accused Communists of every sin, blaming them for every action taken by workers or peasants, for every accident, fire or explosion.

The Colombian people, however, did not knuckle under, and the

Communist Party carried on a stubborn propaganda campaign from underground, exposing the crimes of the reactionary regime. A guerrilla war began in the countryside; it played a very important part and became a characteristic feature of Colombia's political life. In 1957-1958, the resistance movement forced some changes. Some democratic freedoms were restored, but the big bourgeoisie, with the support of the military, introduced the so-called parity electoral system designed to keep the two bourgeois parties – Conservative and Liberal – in power. The hope was to halt the country's political development and prevent the Communists from extending their influence.

In conditions of the two-party dictatorship, under which they both shared all government offices, 'elected' included, the CPC, although it was barred from direct participation in the electoral process, used every opportunity for legal activity. It was a time when anti-communism acquired new forms in our country.*

The victory of the Cuban revolution alarmed the U.S. imperialists and ruling classes of Latin America, which proceeded to take steps to prevent the spread of the 'Cuban contagion.' They resorted to anti-communist repression and slander. But there was also the 'carrot' – the Alliance for Progress. When some sections of the Colombian youth, inspired by the Cuban revolution, but not understanding its special features, launched several armed adventures and resorted to terror, the anti-Communists, as usual in such cases, linked these actions with the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. The directors of major North American and Colombian enterprises set up and headed the Black Hand organization, which carried out anti-communist propaganda, blacklisted workers and employees suspected of being sympathetic to communism, and boycotted and hounded independent press organs, depriving them of commercial advertising.

In 1964, the more primitive forms of anti-communism flourished anew. The most reactionary circles attacked the government for tolerating the existence of 'independent communist republics,' as Conservative leader Alvaro Gomez Hurtado called the rural areas where the Communists played an organizing and leading role and where large-scale guerrilla operations were taking place. His complaints were prompted by plans of the U.S. military mission in Colombia to launch a 'pre-emptive war' against the peasant movement. Soon an offensive began in the Marquetalia area. It was the largest operation ever carried out by the Colombian army, with 16,000 troops supported by helicopters 'lent' by the U.S. government taking part. Heinous crimes were perpetrated by the authorities in the name of 'eradicating communism.' The peasants took to arms again, and a new stage in the guerrilla movement began. It continues to this day and is an important aspect in the Colombian people's struggle for freedom.

*See 'The Dirty Hands of Anti-Communism' by Joaquin Moreno Diaz, in 'Anti-Communism—The Enemy of Mankind,' Prague, 1962, p. 256.

Present state and prospects

A profound political crisis is developing in our country. The system of parity rule of the traditional parties is collapsing. Reactionary attempts to prolong the life of this anti-democratic monstrosity have failed. The Communist Party has succeeded in expanding the base of its legal activity. For the first time in many years it has been able to take part in municipal and department assembly elections, and with notable success. Only the National Congress remains monopolized by the Conservatives and Liberals – until 1974, when general elections will be held. We are fighting to consolidate a democratic opposition as the basis of a broad anti-imperialist front.

Ideological struggle will play an important part in achieving this goal. At a time when old-school anti-communism looks obsolete, North American imperialism and the ruling classes are increasingly exploiting 'Left' extremism. Reaction, in league with ultra-Leftist elements, is attacking both our Party and the Soviet Union.

Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Colombia were restored in 1968. This was in the national interests of our country and met the demand of many sections of our society. But even today the most reactionary circles connected with the monopolies, the U.S. embassy and the CIA, continue to oppose the policy of developing contacts with all countries begun by President Lleras Restrepo. They continue to engage in intrigue, falsification, slander and provocation in the hope of, if not torpedoing, then at least paralyzing relations with the Soviet Union. It is highly symptomatic that they are partnered in their dirty game by ultra-Leftist groups. The Right declares that normalization of relations with the Soviet Union jeopardizes bourgeois constitutional order; the 'Left' claims it means 'support for the ruling class and is detrimental to the revolution.'

In the last two years garish, highly bellicose posters have been appearing regularly in the capital and other cities. Their anonymous authors call upon Conservative President Pastrana Borrero to sever diplomatic relations with the USSR; they blame the Soviet embassy for peasants taking over uncultivated lands, for strikes, the students' movement against American penetration into Colombia's universities, confiscation of the property of Colombian citizens by unknown persons and attacks against these citizens. Neither has the 'persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union' been forgotten. It is all heaped together.

An investigation carried out by trade union organizations, the Communist Party, the Popular National Alliance and a number of congressmen, established that the posters had been printed at an army printshop and prepared by the intelligence and counter-intelligence services. The 'best minds' of these organizations specialize not only in this kind of propaganda material, but also in 'black propaganda' involving plain fraud and counterfeiting. Thus, they put out 'Communist Party manifestoes' which call for terror, attacks against other popular organizations. And as always, behind all these anti-communist lurks the sinister shadow of the CIA.

The anti-Soviet campaign in Colombia is a flagrant provocation. Thus, a prominent Swedish newspaperman was detained and expelled from the country on the fantastic accusation that he was a 'Soviet spy.' The most sensation-prone and hence irresponsible, section of the bourgeois press specializes in slandering members of the Soviet embassy staff. As at the height of the cold war in 1948, Colombian reaction and its underlings see anti-Sovietism as the main method of anti-communist struggle. The U.S. monopolies freely subsidize reactionaries of every hue and color in the hope of creating a favorable alignment of class forces for the 1973 presidential and parliamentary elections.

We Communists are also preparing for the elections, which could offer our people a democratic way out of the present situation. We can achieve this if the progressive forces can reach agreement on unity of action, draw up a minimum program and create a front that will foil the plans of the most reactionary forces, who are betraying our national interests. In this struggle we proceed from the premise that 'anti-Communist lies cannot be effectively refuted without linking the fight against them with the democratic struggle as a whole.'*

*Anti-Communism—*The Enemy of Mankind*, p. 15.



European security and cooperation: strategy of peace forces

Never before have the peoples of Europe faced such a real possibility of laying firm foundations for all-European peace. This is acknowledged by people of diverse convictions, in all spheres of political and social life.

To be sure, the clash of opinion continues, the idea of a European conference has opponents as well as supporters, there are differences concerning the essence of a security system. And still there is reason for optimism. It is rooted in several unchallengeable truths.

- a noticeable change in relations between European countries, virtually none of which oppose the idea of an all-European security conference;

- a series of bilateral meetings of national leaders representing countries with different social systems (most notably, the Soviet-American meeting in Moscow), which demonstrated the feasibility of East-West relations based on peaceful coexistence;

- a sound basis for normalizing the situation in the 'hottest' point of European politics: the boundary between the two German states where for a quarter of a century the confrontation between the world systems was at its sharpest;

- an atmosphere of realism in politics, a spirit of constructive dialogue and cooperation, prevailing over mistrust, suspicion and antagonism.

These changes are the result of tremendous efforts, in the first place of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of the Communist and Workers' parties. The first socialist country, guided by Lenin's ideas, has from its foundation worked unremittingly to make European security a realistic possibility. In the 30s, in line with a CC CPSU decision, the USSR put forward the conception of collective security and proposed that European countries conclude a treaty on mutual defense against aggression.

One could recall the significant constructive steps undertaken by the socialist states in the postwar period. The 50s saw the Soviet Union's proposals for an all-European collective security treaty and

the dissolution of military blocs, the proposals of other socialist countries to establish a nuclear-free zone in Europe including both German states, Poland and Czechoslovakia, an arms freeze in Central Europe, the demilitarization of both German states. In the 60s there were the proposals of the Bucharest and Budapest conferences of Warsaw Treaty members, the Karlovy Vary conference of European Communist and Workers' parties – a comprehensive program of concrete measures for a collective security system in Europe. These efforts were crowned in 1972 by the Prague declaration on peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

For many years the capitalist states met every initiative of the socialist countries with hostility. The strategic centers of imperialism based their concept of Europe on the ideas of a 'little' or 'Atlantic' Europe. Development forecasts and models for the 70s were premised mainly on the permanence of such constructions of cold war vintage as the EEC and NATO.

It is no secret that many West European and American politicians continue to think in terms of an 'Atlantic' or 'little' Europe. But the European public is against such models. The people of Norway have said 'No' to the EEC. It is now obvious that one cannot ignore the real alignment of world forces when dealing with European problems, and even the NATO Council at its Bonn session in May found itself compelled to take a positive attitude towards multilateral consultations in preparation for an all-European conference.

The Communists' political concept of European security is realistic and democratic – it brings to bear every factor contributing to the united action and cohesion of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. That is why, at every stage of the struggle, the socialist countries and Communist parties address themselves not only to the non-socialist governments. They take into account the interests of the main revolutionary classes, broad democratic movements and organizations, different social strata and groups which cherish the ideals of peace and progress. The constructive program of peace and cooperation of the 24th Congress of the CPSU is addressed equally to governments, peoples and all public organizations and movements aspiring to peace and security.

Communist parties clearly realize that the movement for European security is an arena of class struggle between the two social systems. Its long-term, ultimate results depend not only on the degree of agreement between statesmen and diplomats, but also on the actual alignment of class and social forces, on the readiness of parties, movements and organizations to shoulder responsibility for the continent's destinies.

Today, five years after the Karlovy Vary conference of Communist and Workers' parties, it is legitimate to ask: What has been the European public response to the appeal it issued? Even a cursory examination of changes in the last few years must lead to the conclusion that *the ideas of European security and cooperation have*

become a significant factor in the unification and activization of social forces.

Faced by the political realities of Europe and the pressures of the masses, the majority of Socialist and Social-Democratic parties today accept the need for collective security and in some cases have helped change the foreign policies of their governments accordingly. The Socialist International congress in Vienna last July came out in favor of security and cooperation.

The struggle for European security is bringing closer together the positions of trade unions of different orientation and is making for coordinated action. The last few years have seen a trend towards multinational trade unions to oppose multinational monopolies, towards a united European trade union movement. There have been bilateral consultations by many national trade union centers, the aim being a European trade union conference on common socio-economic problems. At an assembly in Brussels last summer trade unionists from several countries supported the idea of such a conference, which would also consider the question of joint action for security and cooperation.

The changing position of Socialist parties and the European trade unions is expressive of the political will of the working class, and this is something that no organization that wants to influence national life and international affairs can afford to ignore.

The last few years have seen a rising tide of peasant activity. A meeting of European farmers was held in Sofia last May. Speaking on their behalf at the Brussels assembly of social forces for European security and cooperation, G. Traikov, Chairman of the Bulgarian People's Agricultural Union, appealed to all farmers of the continent to support the struggle for European security.

The progressive movement in Europe is being joined by religious organizations. Thus, the Berlin Conference of Catholics, founded in 1965 and representing Catholics in more than 20 European countries, actively supports collective security and welcomes the peace initiatives of the socialist countries.

Also active is the European and international youth movement. The struggle for security and cooperation has been joined, not only by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Students Union and the more progressive national students associations, but also by organizations that formerly shunned international issues. Many youth actions, notably the big international conference on European security in Helsinki last August, are an indication of the mounting desire of the younger generation to join the fight for a peaceful future of Europe.

European peace was the subject of several recent international women's gatherings.

Recent years have seen prominent personalities, influential representatives of political parties and organizations, scientists, writers and artists joining the movement for security. Their participation in national committees for European security set up in all

socialist and many capitalist countries helps inject the ideas of a peaceful Europe into mass thinking and sometimes influences the stand of governments. Bilateral contacts between these committees, as well as a series of professional meetings at an all-European and regional level, have been useful in harmonizing views on specific aspects of security and cooperation. Significantly, in the new atmosphere, and influenced by public movements, parliamentarians have also been displaying growing concern. The Interparliamentary Union has chosen Helsinki as the venue of a conference on European security and cooperation in November with the participation of all European countries.

Europe has never before seen a security movement of such scope and coordination. Indeed, it is becoming a *distinct factor of international relations in Europe*. This is one more important conclusion deriving from an analysis of the European situation.

The Brussels Assembly of Public Forces for European Security and Cooperation held last June was a landmark on the way to European peace. And of the many ideas voiced there or stimulated by the Assembly, the one that stands out concerns the increasingly tangible role of public movements in international affairs. One may with time forget the details of the Brussels meeting, the finer points of the debate on specific problems, but what will not be forgotten is that a new frontier has been reached in the fight for European security: its ideas have been espoused by organized public forces.

Usually extremes in judging events are fraught with the danger of exaggeration or over-simplification. This can already be seen in reasoning based, for example, on the following diametrically opposite premises:

First: the final word in international affairs rests with governments, especially with those of great or super-great powers; public opinion, hence, is capable only of a post factum assessment of events and of expressing judgements which will, at best, be noted.

Second: a new climate has already been created in Europe by governments; any further progress, therefore, is a matter of concrete military, economic or social policies on which public opinion can have only a very limited and indirect influence.

Third: states and governments propose, but the public disposes; hence, no great hopes should be placed in a conference of governments since, in the final analysis, the fate of Europe is in the hands of European public forces.

It is not hard to see the factual and logical flaws in all of this reasoning. Nevertheless, it persists.

The social forces in the movement for European security do not set out to supersede presidents or governments. The Brussel Assembly stressed that they should not be seen as an opposition to governments. But, unfortunately, international legal instruments are not always sufficient to overcome age-old antagonisms or the grave heritage of wars.

History knows of many 'peaceful settlements' in Europe, from

the Holy Alliance to the Treaty of Versailles, yet Europe has had 450 wars, two of them world wars. Statesmen and diplomats of the past put forward many different variants of peace, many a peace treaty awakened bright hopes. Yet the lessons of history show that revanchism, chauvinism and militarism, in all their many manifestations, are capable of destroying the order of things created by treaty.

The positive changes in the European climate over the past year or two would have been impossible without the fruitful efforts of public opinion. The public will continue to play an important part in the period immediately preceding the European conference, when questions of security and cooperation are considered in their practical aspects.

The public has two important functions from the point of view of the interests of mankind, and this makes it a factor to be reckoned with in the continent's political life.

The forces opposing European détente will not suddenly vanish from the scene. They remain active in their attempts to torpedo the European security and cooperation conference or at least postpone it by endlessly putting forward new 'prior conditions.' NATO circles, for example, are seeking artificially to link a European conference with talks on 'mutual and balanced force reductions' in Europe. Understandably, the cold warriors and anti-Communists, bellicose neo-Nazis and influential conservative circles rejecting any 'flirtations with the East' cannot be isolated and prevented from influencing European affairs if they are not opposed by the concerted action of the working class and all working people, by the cohesion of mass democratic organizations.

That is why government actions, however, important, cannot by themselves guarantee the creation of a peace system in Europe if a *climate of security* is not created. A symposium sponsored in Vienna last spring by the International Peace Institute even devoted a special section of its conclusions to 'the need to create a new philosophy of security and thus a new strategy of security.'

The idea of a peaceful Europe is unrealizable without the creation of a *climate of cooperation*. The responsibility of European public opinion in this field, too, is tremendous. In the final analysis, it is people who are the agents of cooperation, though in different countries and social systems they hold different views and convictions, and have different traditions and habits. Here, too, government measures are most important, since they ensure the international legal basis of relations between states. But in our time the content of international cooperation goes far beyond the activities of government bodies and involves numerous public organizations, specialized associations and groups, scientists, writers, journalists.

The rapid progress of science and technology, for example, imposes on scientists the social responsibility of coordinating efforts to assure the peaceful use of new scientific achievements and to protect the environment. European scientists have put forward pro-

posals for a joint program to prevent pollution of the seas surrounding the continent, formulate principles of a common European technological policy, and construct up-to-date enterprises on a joint East-West basis.

Workers of the mass media favoring European cooperation stress the importance of a dialogue on how to place the press, radio, television and cinema at the service of peace and security.

The useful constructive activities of the progressive public for European peace are universally recognized. Much has been done, yet much remains to be done. The all-European public movement will continue to gain strength because it is powered by the fruitful and viable idea of security and cooperation. In turn, progress in implementing this idea is to a significant degree determined, and will continue to be determined, by the fact that the Communist and Workers' parties of the continent, the mass democratic movements of different European social strata and groups are fighting for its implementation.

Jan Prazaky



Re contradictions in socialism

Tsogtyn Namsarai

The theoretical and practical importance of the problems taken up in the article of Soviet philosopher G. Glezerman* is obvious. Taking this article as a basis for a wide-ranging discussion, we would like to set forth certain considerations concerning the questions it raises.

I. Socialism, like all other socio-economic systems, evolves through contradictions. They are, however, of an entirely different qualitative character. Through the establishment of public ownership of the means of production and the liquidation of exploitation of man by man, socialism rids society of inherent antagonisms. The non-antagonistic character of its contradictions derives from the very nature of the socialist system, it is an expression of relations between classes and social groups with common interests in the basic problems of social development. These contradictions do not lead to class confrontations or social conflicts and upheavals, as they do under capitalism; they are resolved in an orderly way, through gradual qualitative changes involving various aspects of social life.

The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries has amply demonstrated that non-antagonistic contradictions, far from resulting in social stagnation, create favorable conditions for the improvement and development of society. Their resolution – on the basis of public ownership of the means of production and in conditions of moral and political unity of the nation – promotes social progress.

The dialectics of social development thus manifests itself in both the new type of contradictions and the new forms and means of resolving them.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of non-antagonistic contradictions of socialism helps to determine the prospects of social development and formulate a correct policy for pinpointing and resolving them in good time.

Professor Glezerman is quite right when he criticizes the er-

*G. Glezerman, *Contradictions Under Socialism*. WMR. No. 3, 1972.

roneous view that total harmony of social production, appropriation and consumption, of all spheres of social life, is the norm of socialism, that contradictions appear only as a result of violations of socialist principles, as a consequence of mistakes, mismanagement, etc. Socialism, as an integrated social system, requires the harmonious development of all aspects of social life, a certain concord among them. However, such concordance can never be total, it can never be established once and for all, it is achieved at varying rates and in varying degrees. Socialism, it should always be remembered, is not ossified, it is a dynamic, developing social organism. Hence, the appearance of objective contradictions stemming from changes in the internal structure, from peculiarities of development of the new system, is only natural.

Of great methodological importance is V. I. Lenin's remark that 'dialectics in the proper sense is the study of contradiction *in the very essence of objects*' (Vol. 38, pp. 253-4). Marxist literature, however, has not been concerning itself sufficiently with investigating the *objective* contradictions of socialism. Many authors analyze only contradictions inherited from the past or of a purely subjective character, i.e., stemming from various mistakes and errors.

We do not, of course, deny the existence of contradictions deriving from subjective causes. It is our view, however, that scientists who classify contradictions in three main groups – those inherent in the objective development of socialist society; those deriving from subjective factors; and those due to the international situation – display a more thorough approach to the problem.

Objective contradictions in the development of socialism may spring from different sources, their social impact may vary. Some are linked with the heritage of the old society, as, for example, the contradiction between the ideological principles of socialism and vestigial forms of consciousness and behavior: religion, nationalism, private-ownership mentality; there are contradictions bred by the differences between urban and rural life, between mental and physical labor, between the material situation of different people, etc.

These contradictions may be resolved in different ways, the process may vary in duration, depending on a country's economic level, on national peculiarities and traditions, on other internal and external factors. In economically less-developed countries (where survivals of the past are more tenacious) it is attended by great difficulties. Comrade Y. Tsedenbal defined the specific features of this process in the Mongolian People's Republic as follows: 'The transition from the old social system to socialism is protracted in some countries and not so long in others. It depends on the level from which a country embarks on its advance toward socialism. The transitional period is long and involves many stages in countries with a low level of social development. To this category belonged pre-revolutionary Mongolia, one of the more backward countries of the East.'

Other objective contradictions of socialism derive from its own development as a social system. Primary among these is the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. In socialist conditions (as in the socio-economic structures that preceded socialism) the productive forces represent the most dynamic factor of economic development. As a consequence, certain forms of production relations tend to grow obsolete. Readjustment is neither spontaneous nor automatic. It requires the conscious effort of people to bring the relations of production in line with the needs of the developing productive forces.

In the economic sphere contradictions may appear between the growing productivity of labor, the expansion of the economy and the forms of its organization, etc. Their constant recurrence and resolution in the course of the development of material production is a law.

The fraternal parties of the socialist countries use concrete theoretical analyses of economic and social relations to pinpoint emerging objective contradictions. They elaborate and promote policies and implement integrated socio-economic measures to overcome them in the best interests of the people.

And there is another source of contradictions in socialist conditions. In the new social system the importance of the subjective factor increases enormously. Social progress is no longer spontaneous, it is a result of the conscious history-making creative efforts of men acting in accordance with the known laws of social development. But in certain conditions the greater role of the subjective factor may be pregnant with dangers of subjectivism and voluntarism due to inability or unwillingness to reckon with objective circumstances. In the socialist countries there have been examples of contradictions between parochial interests, on the one hand, and social, on the other. In some cases discrepancies and disproportions may be due not so much to objective causes as to shortcomings in organization, planning or management or the voluntaristic actions of people who either fail to understand the laws of development of socialism or prefer to ignore them.

Obviously, unlike objective contradictions, these contradictions are not a source of development. Socialist society has many means of overcoming them: by further improving socialist democracy and the system of management and planning, by stepping up ideological-educational work, by better personnel training and selection, by combating violations of state discipline, etc.

II. Let us now consider the question of the main contradiction of socialism.

Professor Glezerman's inference that no such contradiction exists is open to criticism.

The founders of Marxism showed that different social contradictions are of varying significance: some may be of a determining nature, others may be secondary.

It was Karl Marx who established the decisive importance of

material production and proved that the development of society is promoted by the contradiction between the productive forces and relations of production. By singling this contradiction out of a multitude of others he not only discovered the main law of historical development but also showed the ways of studying it, namely, by establishing the main contradiction and isolating it from secondary ones and investigating the forms in which it manifests itself in the complex system of social relations. In an antagonistic society the main contradiction expresses itself in class struggle. Hence the tremendous methodological significance of the theory of class struggle, which provides the basis for the investigation of every process and development within a given society.

Marxist dialectics does not standardize social reality or ignore its many very real contradictions. But simply to register the latter is not enough; it requires the ability to discern the basic features underlying the various contradictions and determining the main trend of development. If this is not done one may slip into eclecticism and an understanding of society as a totality of coequal forces.

Every historical epoch, every socio-economic structure has its main contradiction, which determines its essence and influences all aspects of social life. To understand it one must determine the main features of phenomena, the leading tendencies and motive forces of social development. At their 1969 meeting the Communist and Workers' Parties defined the fundamental contradiction of our epoch as the worldwide contradiction between socialism and imperialism. This Marxist-Leninist conclusion provides a reliable basis for working out strategies and tactics, for defining the objectives and concrete tasks of the struggle.

In *Capital* Marx offered a classical analysis of the main contradiction of capitalism: that between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation. On this basis the classics of Marxism-Leninism elaborated the universal dialectical category of the main contradiction. It is precisely a *universal* category, which is why any denial of the existence of a main contradiction of socialism can logically lead to the denial of its existence under capitalism.

Knowledge of this contradiction makes it possible to study this or that socio-economic structure as a single, integrated social organism. Its negation logically leads to the recognition of only partial or temporary contradictions, to the requirement of analyzing and taking into account current difficulties without considering the long-term prospects of development. This approach sees socialist economy as lacking a pivot that runs through it and determines its main features and tendencies. But if that were the case it would have been impossible to speak of scientific forecasting or long-term planning, which are successfully practised by the socialist countries.

Many Marxists recognize the existence of a main contradiction of socialist society and attempt to define it.* Within the space of

*See, for example, 'Economic Relationships and Interests in Socialist Society,' *WMR* No. 4, 1969.

this article it is impossible to examine the different views advanced on this score.

The main contradiction of socialism, as of any socio-economic system, lies in the economy, in the contradictory interactions of the productive forces and relations of production. We accept the view that this main contradiction is between the rapidly growing requirements and the attained level of production of material and spiritual wealth, which represents a specific manifestation of the contradiction between the productive forces and relations of production. By gradually overcoming it the society not only satisfies essential requirements but also fulfils the fundamental tasks of the transition to communism.

The main contradiction of socialism substantially influences other social contradictions. Thus, an insufficiently high level of development of the productive forces means the continued existence of essential differences between town and country, between mental and physical labor, between the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia. Although all social groups share common goals and basic interests, there remain differences in living conditions, in material well-being and the accessibility of cultural and other services. There also remains the possibility that the personal interests of citizens may not coincide with those of society as a whole.

Recognition of this contradiction as the main one certainly does not mean that under socialism production is doomed to lag eternally behind growing requirements. It reflects the fact that social production has not yet achieved the level needed to satisfy all the reasonable requirements of all members of society. Its recognition helps to see the general problem behind current difficulties, to pose and resolve practical tasks.

This contradiction is characteristic of only the first phase of the communist socio-economic structure. It will gradually be resolved with the creation of the material and technical base of communism, and by ways and means inherent in the socialist system.

For this the Communist Party and socialist state engage in scientific forecasting and long-range economic planning. Planned development of the national economy is a law of socialism, and this makes it possible consciously to determine and constantly maintain the necessary proportions.

The dialectics of socialism consists in revealing and overcoming contradictions in different spheres of social life. The main contradiction plays a very important part in this forward-moving process. The task is to thoroughly investigate all its manifestations and its relationships with other contradictions of society.

Apropos crisis of state-monopoly capitalism*

Paul Boccara

French Marxists describe the present state of capitalist society as a crisis of state-monopoly capitalism. Here we shall deal with but a few, chiefly economic, aspects of this new and specific phase of the general crisis of capitalism.

Crisis symptoms

Following the Second World War and until near the end of the 60s the capitalist world saw a rapid growth of production with relatively high employment, interrupted at intervals by mild crises and short depressions. The state's interference in production and consumption increased, and bourgeois ideologues inferred that the state had become a supra-class arbiter working in the general interest and henceforth assuring guidance of economic development.

In fact, it was merely a period of state-monopoly capitalism's precipitous growth. Not only did the old labor-capital antagonisms remain; they became deeper and more general. Exploitation of labor grew in intensity with the climbing taxes and inflation. The army of wage labor absorbed people from many different population groups. The arms burden grew heavier, and neo-colonialist forms of domination became more pronounced.

An international conference sponsored by the French Communist Party in Choisy-le Roi in 1966 examined these developments** and showed why under capitalism every period of rapid growth is followed by instability that is liable to spark an explosion of accumulated contradictions. The French Communist Party's Economic Section has traced the grave difficulties of French and international capital since 1968-1969 to the sharp turn in the 1967-1969 capitalist economy, which brought about the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism.

While acknowledging the existence of a social crisis, bourgeois ideologists distort its substance and causes. In a November 1971 UNESCO speech President Georges Pompidou referred to 'a divided society uncertain of the future,' but maintained that the matter was 'neither economic nor political, but moral and metaphysical.' However, big business's *Opinion économique et financière* disagreed. Underlining the 'striking . . . contrast' between what it called the 'brilliant results of economic expansion' and the 'increasingly violent discontent of different social strata,' it berated statesmen in

*For beginning of discussion of this topic see our March and June 1972 issues.

**See *Economie et politique*, 1969, Nos. 143-144, 145-146.

France and elsewhere for associating it with a 'crisis of civilization,' It added: 'Communists say it is not a crisis of civilization, but quite simply of capitalism . . . It is wrong to brush off their statement because it is gaining ever greater currency. Even the Roman Catholic Church has condemned capitalism.'

In the 70s some non-Marxist economists in France and other capitalist countries began recognizing that we have come to a turning-point in capitalism's development. This was the view of the participants in the economic colloquium on 'stagflation' in Paris last year. And the authors of *Inflation, dollar, euro-dollar*, all prominent French economists, observed: 'An objective and informed observer writing the history of the preceding decade in October 1967 would produce a panegyric. Everyone knows that in the following four years the image became so tarnished that it evoked the most sinister phantoms of the past. All one hears about in the Western world these days is the irremediable inflation, the slowed down development, . . . and the decline of the living standard, to say nothing of the crisis of civilization.'* Bourgeois specialists are aware of the gravity of the present economic situation but are careful not to mention the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society, thereby distorting the substance of the case. They concentrate either on the technical side of the monetary relations or the massive growth of the 'services' with their slowly growing productivity. Some ascribe society's moral and ideological malaise to 'accelerated modernization of the advanced industrial society' as it enters the 'post-industrial era,' or to the impact of the too quickly arriving future.** And others argue that there is simply a 'limit' to economic growth imposed by the physical limits of natural resources.***

Yet it all boils down to the fact that the general crisis of capitalism has entered a decisive phase. This is why the 19th Congress of the FCP (1970) outlined for our country the revolutionary perspective of economic and political democracy as a transitional phase to socialism.

Among the symptomatic phenomena of the crisis in recent years we can name at least seven.

1. Acceleration of inflation and rapidly rising prices, disorganization of monetary relations, violent speculation and the rising price of gold impelled, as a rule, by the crisis of the international capitalist monetary system.

2. More intensive capitalist competition in the international market with the prospect of real commercial wars.

3. A new upward trend in unemployment and decline in the rate of growth of production, signifying the end of the so-called postwar economic miracle. The downward tendency of the growth rate operates in both bright and bleak economic situations. Cyclical growth of production is frequently accompanied by still more massive and more persistent unemployment. Meanwhile, labor inten-

*F. Perroux, J. Denizet, H. Bourguignat, *Inflation, dollar, euro-dollar*. Paris, 1971, p. 26.

**See Commissariat Général du Plan. 1985—*la France face au choc du futur*, Paris, 1972.

***See *Halte à la croissance*, rapport de l'équipe du MIT dirigée par D. H. Meadows, Paris, 1972.

siveness goes up, purchasing capacity goes down, and the lesser producers go out of business.

4. Grave insufficiency, in face of the new requirements, of allocations for social needs such as education, research, health, housing, transportation and urban renewal.

5. The alarming magnitude of the debts of the under-developed countries, crisis in the Western 'aid' system; the grave difficulties for the developing countries resulting from the low prices on their export goods and from unemployment. (The crisis of the mechanics of exploiting developing countries and the structural crisis in Latin America have been examined in previous issues of this journal*).

6. Social and political struggles of a size and content unknown before the May-June 1968 events (France) and the 1969 'hot autumn' (Italy) everywhere in the capitalist world. Massive disenchantment with capitalism and rising aspirations for democracy and socialism. At the same time frantic attempts by the monopoly bourgeoisie to improve the system of state intervention in order to buttress its domination and contain the working class and democratic forces. As the WMR noted in its January 1972 issue, 'a deep crisis of capitalism's labor policy' erupted in most of the developed capitalist countries in the early 70s.

7. Finally, a profound ideological and moral crisis in the entire capitalist world, especially the United States, frequently interweaving with the political crisis. In France it is most acute in education (including higher), the Church, institutions of culture and information, and among the youth.

Over-accumulation of capital and the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism

In our brief examination of the economic roots of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism, we find that the Marxist theory of the over-accumulation of capital** is the key to a clear understanding of the subject.

Over-accumulation implies accumulation of excess capital—capital that cannot function normally. It accumulates as a result of the tendency for the rate of profit to fall. This tendency, the expression of an objective economic law, operates sporadically and does not rule out occasional rises in the profit rate.

The theory of over-accumulation is set forth in Chapter 15 of Volume III of Marx's *Capital*, entitled 'Exposition of the Internal Contradictions of the Law' (of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall—Ed.). Together with chapters 13 ('The Law As Such') and 14 ('Counteracting Influences') it comprises the volume's Part III, 'The Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall.' Scholars are inclined to refer only to Chapter 13 which shows why the profit rate tends to fall when the organic composition of capital rises. Yet to restrict oneself to that one chapter is to impoverish Marx's

*See No. 11, 1971 and No. 5, 1972.

**This aspect was examined at length in Choisy-le-Roi and in the collective treatise, *Le capitalisme monopoliste d'état. Traité marxiste d'économie politique*. Paris, t.I, II, 1971.

theory, to reduce it to the basic truths, leading ultimately to dogmatism. Chapter 14 is important because it examines the factors counteracting the decline of the profit rate: rises in the rate of surplus value, cheapening of the elements of constant capital, and others. As for Chapter 15, it shows how by virtue of the counteracting factors there is at first over-accumulation of capital and real decline in the rate of profit, and how then the process of capital accumulation is renewed, this time on a more extended basis. No examination of the phenomena of modern capitalism is really valid if it overlooks the implications of this chapter (though Marx did not complete it).

When the rate of profit declines due to a rise in the organic composition of capital, industrialists may raise prices to reverse the trend and continue accelerated accumulation of capital thanks to the large supply of cheap credit. Wages drop behind the rising prices and consumption drops behind production. Over-production results, showing that there is excess capital and depressing the rate of profit.

During over-production crises excess capital is either frozen or put into circulation at a lower profit rate, sometimes even at a loss. In the latter case we speak of a devaluation of capital. Along with lowering prices, cheapening the elements of constant capital and pressing down wages, this devaluation tends to raise the rate of profit. Besides, employing 'crisis rationalization,' the capitalist takes advantage of the unemployment to push up the rate of surplus value by pushing down the value of labor-power. Then the process of accumulation of capital begins all over again.

Marx enumerates other factors leading to the resorption of excess capital (apart from those operating in an ordinary crisis of over-production). One of them is export of capital, which checks the decline of the profit rate and yields especially high profits for precisely the capital that is denied normal functioning in the metropolitan country. Hence we have that specific feature of imperialism – export of capital – which Lenin associated with relative overabundance of capital. The profit rate of the monopolies rises also when released non-monopoly capital is attached to the functioning monopoly capital. A prominent part in raising the monopoly profit rate is played by finance capital, which marshals the cash of depositors content to receive a fixed interest (this aspect of the matter is examined by Marx in *Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter 14).

The propositions we have outlined above help to explain the state-monopoly phase of capitalism.

Capital in the hands of the state does not necessarily function on the same terms as private capital. A state enterprise may operate at a depressed profit rate, at zero profit, even at a loss. But state funds dispensed to private capital as subsidies or as gratis or cheap loans help elevate the profit rate of private capital. The same effect is achieved by state enterprises selling to private monopolies at low prices, and buying from them at high prices.

The capital put into state consumption (spending for education,

health, research, and the like) does not require the same profit rate as private capital. But by paying these expenses the state creates a good market for the monopolies and, in effect, indirectly subsidizes their research programs and investments. Last but not least, the neo-colonialist 'aid' rendered by imperialist powers also tends to enhance the market for it finances such industries as power and transport, enabling foreign private capital operating in the developing countries to raise its profit rate.

Export of capital, as we know, existed also in the pre-imperialist epoch. So did the state's interference in the economy. But under state-monopoly capitalism, the power of the monopolies increases tremendously. What we see then may be described as monopoly capitalism squared.

Following the grave depression between the two world wars, a new type of state intervention has stimulated extended reproduction and accumulation of private capital. Now, a huge excess of private capital is building up. It is difficult to put to use, placing in question the survival of the capitalist economic mechanism more sharply than in the inter-wars period, thus triggering a crisis of state-monopoly capitalism.

If it were a matter simply of a falling rate of profit and not of excess capital requiring 'devaluation,' we should not be able to explain the objective inevitability of the structural state-monopoly changes and the crises of overproduction. The exacerbation of contradictions and the intensification of the class struggle compel the monopolies to make changes permitting voluntary adaptation to the falling rate of profit. This enables them to survive. Then, an improvement in the economic situation is again accompanied by a colossal accumulation of monopoly capital, eventually bringing back a new considerable and long-lasting over-accumulation. This, precisely, is the basic feature of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism.

At certain times, marked by and large by economic growth—such, for example, as 'the good old times' of 1896-1914 and 1945-1957—the emergence from successive crises of over-accumulation was relatively easy. The rate of surplus value was pushed up to a point where it compensated for the rise in the organic composition of capital, and the profit rate was then able to go up. However, rising productivity of labor coupled with the rising rate of surplus value, leads to a further rise of the organic composition of capital. Ultimately, constant capital outgrows variable capital to a degree where an increase in the rate of surplus value can no longer push up the profit rate for any appreciable length of time. A considerable and relatively long-lasting over-accumulation of capital occurs, attended by a decline in the profit rate and new, pervasive difficulties.

This is what happened in 1873-1895, the period of passage to monopoly capitalism, and in 1914-1944, when the latter turned into state-monopoly capitalism. Competition compelled capitalists to seek higher profit rates chiefly by cheapening elements of constant capital in a way that retarded the elevation of the organic compo-

sition of capital. And since the motive of capitalist production is to raise the surplus value, this led ultimately to new, still greater overproduction. Accompanied by a substantial reduction of the quantity of labor contained in means of production, it brought on more massive and more long-lasting unemployment. The sharpening of capitalist contradictions occurred on an extended basis, the structure of the economy built in the preceding historical period began to break up, and the class struggle gained in scale and intensity.

To avoid error in assessing the new, vast and long-lasting overaccumulation which betokens the beginning of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism, we must also take into account the expenditure for research, education and health, which influences the production of surplus value.

At present the swelling mass of surplus value is not able to assure a relatively stable rate of profit for the swelling mass of monopoly capital. To secure larger profits, monopolies intensify labor, step up exploitation, raise prices, and give free rein to inflation. More than ever, they are pleased to have the state participate in the financing of production and consumption. Allocations for the growing social requirements are cut back, because everything is subordinated to the maximum utilization of tax revenues and the country's other resources for the benefit of the monopolies. The high rate at which prices are rising undermines the stability of currencies, giving the head to monetary speculation with huge amounts of cash. Spiralling prices disrupt the home and foreign markets, adding to overproduction. Meanwhile rising productivity of labor contributes to the tendency of still more massive and uncontrollable unemployment, as we have seen in, say, the chemical industry of certain countries following the 1969-1970 crisis.

Some researchers confirm the above general propositions. Take the dynamics of the organic composition of capital. Joseph Gillman, a Marxist scholar, has come to the conclusion that in the United States it rose until 1914, then tended to decline and after 1944 again began to rise.* Lutz Maier, a GDR economist, shows that in the Federal Republic of Germany it was on the upgrade throughout 1961-1968. At this time the rate of gross profit tended to decline, while that of net profit went up (true, he did not account for the sharp drop of both in 1967). In 1969, the organic composition of capital went down slightly, and despite the albeit slow growth of production, unemployment increased.**

Our conclusions are backed up also by the dynamics of the so-called capital-output ratio (that is, the relation of capital to the value of produced goods. — Ed.). Changes in this ratio, despite the substantial disparities, are in a way related (especially in industry) to the dynamics of the organic composition of capital. Bourgeois economists contend that there was a distinct decline in the capital-intensiveness of production following the twenties. In reality, however, the ratio is subjected to long-lasting fluctuations. Calcu-

*See J. M. Gillman, *The Falling Rate of Profit*, London, 1957.

**See *World Marxist Review*, No. 3, 1972.

lations made by S. Kuznets (USA) show that capital-intensiveness went down at the end of the 19th century, and has been rising since 1946.* W. Hoffman's calculations show a decline in Germany as far back as 1873-1896.** M. Beckmann and R. Sato, whose investigation concerns the USA of 1909-1960, note that following the considerable drop in capital-intensiveness between the two world wars (most visibly after 1920), the decline first ceased, whereupon there was growth.*** And Tice says that following a decline in capital intensiveness after the Second World War it kept going up until 1958, and dropped slightly in 1962.**** France, J. Mairesse attests, the relation between capital (after depreciation) and production (potential) went down somewhat in 1950-1960, whereas in 1960-1970 there appeared an obviously reverse tendency.*****

The conclusions here are also based on indicators such as the postwar growth of state expenditures, mounting taxation (attended by a growth of the percentage of taxes in total state revenue), and the like. The data relating to the United States is highly revealing, for there we see the organic composition of capital rising alongside rising state expenditures.

Special features and outlook of the crisis

The present crisis of the capitalist system is due chiefly to the considerable and relatively long over-accumulation of capital. But the situation differs from that, say, of 1914-1944, when there was also over-accumulation. The new specific conditions of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism are:

- long-lasting over-accumulation of capital is now occurring in the framework of state-monopoly capitalism. Consequently, it cannot be combated by the intervention of the state (as in 1914-1944). On the contrary, in the new situation it is state intervention that leads to the long-lasting over-accumulation of monopoly capital and cannot, therefore, prevent the crisis from becoming more acute;
- the organic composition of capital has risen considerably due to the scientific-technical revolution. Expenditures on developing the non-productive sphere have grown to immense proportions, especially the spending on research and education. Arms spending, too, should be taken into account;
- the working-class movement is of a much higher order than between the two world wars. Socialist ideas are widespread. The intervention of the state in all social spheres on behalf of the financial oligarchy objectively accentuates the democratic anti-monopoly complexion of the popular struggle. The growth of wage labor stimulates the anti-capitalist outlook;

*See S. Kuznets, *Capital in American Economy*. Princeton, 1961.

**See 'Long Term Growth and Capital Formation in Germany,' in *The Theory of Capital*. Ed. by F. A. Lutz. London, 1961.

***See *The American Economic Review*. March 1969.

****See *Rapport à la 9e Conférence de l'Association internationale pour la recherche sur le revenu et la richesse*. Norvège, septembre 1965.

*****See l'estimation du capital fixe productif, *Economie et statistique*, Paris, juillet-août, 1971.

– last but not least, the international situation is highlighted by an intensification of the national-liberation struggle, by efforts even in developed capitalist countries to fling off U.S. diktat, and especially by the successful progress in the countries forming the socialist world system.

State-monopoly capitalism (which Lenin termed the 'threshold' to socialism) may be described as the expression of the general crisis of capitalism. And its crisis is a new phase of the latter crisis. Contrary to dogmatic and mechanistic notions, it is developing in leaps and is changing in quality. Its development may be broken down into several periods.

Following the Second World War, as we have already noted, there was rapid growth of production, highlighting the precipitous growth of state-monopoly capitalism. Relative stability replaced capitalism's tendency to retreat as in 1917-1949. The general crisis expressed itself in the development of state-monopoly capitalism, the collapse of classical colonialism, and the growing role of the socialist world system. Then, grave economic, social, ideological and political difficulties opened a new period in 1967-1969. The crisis of state-monopoly capitalism has put on the agenda the question of passage to socialism, its peculiarity from country to country throughout the capitalist world. The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties registered the fact that new conditions have appeared in the struggle for socialism.

In economics we should note the technological sources of the profound structural crisis sparked by the scientific-technical revolution. It is accompanied by a considerable 'devaluation' of capital, a visible decrease of the quantity of labor contained in means of production and an unprecedented increase of 'investments in the individual (education, research, and the like). The revolutionary requirement of developing the productive forces endangers – no longer in specific cases, but on the whole – the very aim of capitalist production: profit for the purpose of accumulation.

The most striking aspect of the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism is the crisis of the monetary system. The theory of the over-accumulation of capital sheds light on the phenomena in this area as well: acceleration of the rate of inflation; a considerably larger excess than in the 20s of liquid capital for speculation (\$50-60 billion in 1972); hoarding of gold as treasure. The devaluation of the dollar at the end of 1971 again saw the price of gold go up and, consequently, a drop in profits and devaluation of capital in terms of gold. Government measures failed to yield the expected result. A new international situation, different from that of the 20s and 30s, is now the setting for the crisis of the monetary system.

The monopolies, and the state guarding their interests, are trying to adapt themselves and find a capitalist solution to the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism. The 19th Congress of the FCP noted that a 'new stage' has begun in monopoly policy in France and probably in most of the capitalist countries since 1967-1970. Economically, it is highlighted by the following:

1. The state's tendency to interfere in the affairs of private capital not only by financial policy or through the state sector, but directly. Encouraging accelerated concentration of monopoly capital, the state affords it the use of all national resources, thereby buttressing its dominion. The state's 'planning' is being tied in more and more with the programming done by the monopolies.

2. Attempts are made to build up the system of inter-imperialist alliances, promote inter-state integration processes, and coordinate economic, particularly monetary and commercial, policy. It is hoped that this will prevent commercial conflicts and new collisions, restore order in the monetary chaos and help combat de-integration. Note should also be taken of the tendency to come to terms over new markets for commodities and capital, including in the under-developed and socialist countries.

3. Leaning for support on the state and their agreements with reformist trade unions, the monopolies are eager to 'freeze' wages, curb the strike movement and 'integrate' the working class and other wage labor into the capitalist system through 'participation' in management and profit. The financial oligarchy is trying to 'rationalize' allocations for education, scientific research, health and urban renewal in line with the 'logic' of the profit motive and arming.

The measures of 'adapting' monopoly capital are not entirely ineffective. All the same, their consequences are dangerous for capitalism. They do not help to stabilize the system. On the contrary, they are expressive of the crisis and are making it deeper. They add nothing to the edifice of state-monopoly capitalism, and only increase the stresses. They are sharpening the contradictions and merely postponing the day of the explosion, as evidenced, among other things, by the vain attempts to end the monetary and educational crises. So, whatever the monopolies do only gives impulse for the over-accumulation to continue.*

The way out of the crisis in France, as our Party sees it, is advanced economic and political democracy, opening up the way to socialism. This will not yet be socialist society. However, nationalization of the monopolies holding the commanding heights in the economy – even though a considerable private sector remains – will create the preconditions for the unfolding of an immediate struggle for socialism. In place of a state sector working in the interest of monopoly capital and playing a subordinate role, there will be a dominant nationalized sector, setting the scene for truly democratic planning. The economic changes this entails are practicable, provided the working class and all other democratic forces establish effective control over the state and effect a thorough political democratization at all levels. Advanced democracy will assure the participation of the working class, the masses, in governing the country. As we see it, economic, political and social democracy is

*The deepening of capitalism's structural crisis does not mean that the economic situation will never improve again. As a matter of fact, it has improved in the United States and the rest of the capitalist world since the end of 1971; but the improvement is marked by instability: unemployment is still considerable, and prices are rising as rapidly as before.

the form in which France will effect her revolutionary passage to socialism.

On June 27, 1972, the Communist and Socialist parties agreed on a joint government program, which falls into the pattern of our Party's earlier document, 'The Program of a Democratic Government of Popular Unity.' The joint Communist-Socialist provisions for nationalizing finance and banking, and monopolies dominating the key industries, are evoking the bourgeoisie's greatest objections. Though less than one per cent of the industrial enterprises come under these provisions, approximately half of all present 'productive investments' (excluding state investments in the productive infrastructure) will go into the new nationalized sector, the creation of which will be the first act of the new government.

Due to the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism, the competition between the two world systems is favoring the socialist countries, inasmuch as they are conducting the scientific-technical revolution in conformance with their specifics and potentialities within national frameworks and on the scale of the community as a whole. The economic ties between capitalist and socialist countries based on an equitable contractual foundation, are becoming stronger. The bourgeoisie has agreed to them in view of new difficulties in capital accumulation. However, they will not be overcome — they are of such great magnitude in character and scale that they place in question the very survival of the system of private capitalist profit. Yet economic ties between the two systems are helping to consolidate peace, promoting democratic development toward socialism in capitalist countries, stimulating rapid growth of the productive forces and a general advance in the socialist world, and facilitating the victory of the new mode of production in the setting of peaceful competition between the two systems.

In sum, major class battles are in the offing in both the national and international contexts.



Communist Party in revolution and building the new society¹

The proletariat's historical mission as the chief motive force of social progress is more visible in the present-day world than at any time before. The working class is in power in the socialist countries. Its political and economic battles influence all aspects of the national life of capitalist countries. And thanks to the might of the socialist community and international proletarian solidarity, it holds increasingly strong positions in the world arena.

All Marxists know V. I. Lenin's profound observation that the strength of the working class 'is far greater than the proportion it represents of the total population.'² And the fact that now the working class influences the main world processes more and more tangibly, it owes not only to its greater numbers, not only to its key position in material production, but also to the active and successful work of the Communist parties, which 'have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.'³

I. The leading social role of the proletariat in the class struggle, in social progress, can materialize into concrete *political* gains only if it acts as an organized ideologically committed class. This is the reason why, Marx and Engels said, it must form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party.⁴

They advanced the initial scientific ideas about the politico-class essence and aims of the proletarian party, the party of Communists, listing among its prime tasks the 'formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.'⁵ Elaborating upon these ideas and taking guidance in the experience of the international and Russian working-class movement as he analyzed the world situation at the turn of the 20th century, Lenin produced a comprehensive teaching on the revolutionary party of the proletariat, showing that the working class must have a new type of party to perform its leading role in the passage of society from capitalism to socialism and communism. His teaching on the proletarian party of the new type, the party of our epoch, outlines its ideological pillars,

organizational structure, principles of leadership, and standards of inner-party life.⁶

The Marxist-Leninist party of our epoch personifies such class features and qualities of the proletariat as selfless courage, resoluteness, and boundless loyalty to the revolution. It is at once the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat and the political leader of the broad masses.

It is a close-knit organization of confederates governed by the principle of democratic centralism, which is the source of its battle-worthiness in the revolutionary struggle and of the effectiveness of its policy in building socialism and communism. Faithful to Lenin's instructions. Communists see to it at all times that the Party should be organizationally monolithic and repulse all attempts to introduce into the party structure and party life elements of looseness, indiscipline and factiousness, which are alien to the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninist party consolidates itself and acquires political prestige in offensive battles against bourgeois ideology and opportunist and revisionist currents in the working-class movement.

The Communist and Workers' parties are guided by Lenin's proposition that 'the proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of the organization, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class.'⁷ Leaning on the working class and fighting consequently for its interests in the political arena and in social life - this is what determines the main aspects in the activity of the Communist Party.

In the socialist countries, the Communist parties organize and direct all the life of society in accordance with the interests and ideals of the working class. 'The Party will continue to direct its efforts to securing the growth and strengthening of the influence of the working class in all the spheres of the life of our society and to making its activity and initiative more fruitful,' Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, stressed at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (March-April 1971). And the same thought was put forward at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (May 1971) by its General Secretary, Comrade Gustav Husak: 'Being the party of the working class, the CPC will apply all its energy to strengthening . . . the leading role of the working class so that it should be in level of education, culture, political awareness and class consciousness the main fighter for the political, economic and technical development of society, for the socialist way of life.'

The recent congresses of the Communist and Workers' parties of a number of capitalist countries emphasized in their documents the need for still more active ideological, political and organizational work among the people, principally the working class.

The Duesseldorf Congress of the German Communist Party (November 1971) defined the strengthening of bonds with the work-

ing class as its main task for the period ahead. What this implies, of course, is broadening the proletarian base of the Party, fortifying its political positions. However, as Comrade Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the GCP, explained, it 'is not an end in itself but a means of upholding the interests of the working class and increasing its leverage in state and society.'⁸

The program document, 'The Road to Socialism in Canada,' adopted by the Communist Party of Canada at its 21st Congress (November 1971), says that the Party 'works actively to make the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism the property of the working people.' The Party seeks to win 'leadership of the majority of the working class . . . It engages in public work on all issues of the day, and fights for the unity of the working class.'

The political resolution of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India (October 1971) orients Communists on vigorous promotion of the 'class line, the line of the working class' in Party policy. It calls on Communists to make the most of the favorable opportunities in the country for a general shift leftward, but warns that this cannot be achieved 'without steadily strengthening and increasing the role and weight of the working class and of the worker-peasant alliance in our national political life.'

These examples concern different aspects of the relationship between Communist parties and the mass of workers. In all cases, the main objective is to continually consolidate and expand the ties with the masses, to fortify the Marxist-Leninist parties organizationally and ideologically. In one way or another, there is always a close, living interconnection between the class and the Party, the proletariat and the Communists.

Bourgeois ideologists and Right and 'Left' opportunists go out of their way to misrepresent the essence of the class-party relationship in the revolutionary working-class movement. Sometimes they say that the Party 'acts as dictator' in the movement, and sometimes, going to the other extreme, try to belittle its importance in the class struggle. Of late, they have been showing a predilection for portraying Communists as exponents of a political school that has nothing whatever to do with the aspirations and ideals of the working class (e.g., Djilas maintained recently in the *New York Times* that 'Communism is not a workers' movement'⁹).

The activity of the Communist parties, the social functions they perform, confute these fabrications. The Communist parties help the proletariat to apprehend itself as the foremost class. Nor do they foist on the workers any contrived truths. The theoretical propositions which they address to the working class 'merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes.'¹⁰ In other words, the Communist Party imparts to the mass of workers a scientific theory which explains the laws of social development and enables the working class to comprehend clearly the conditions, tasks and prospects of its struggle. By so doing, the Communists fuse the working-class movement with

scientific socialism. The 1969 International Meeting stressed that parties would continue 'to explain to the working people the real meaning of their struggle and the conditions for victory.'¹¹

The Communists' ideological work blends organically with their organizational activity. This does not mean organization in general. For the trade unions, too, are a form of workers' organization, promote their unity, and help them defend their economic interests. The Communists, on the other hand, organize the working class not only for economic, but primarily for political struggle, the struggle for democracy and socialism, without which the class movement of the proletariat cannot yield palpable social results, cannot achieve victory over capitalism.

Lastly, the Communist Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. In many countries the facts show that even at the helm of power other parties arising in the working-class movement – e.g., the social-democratic parties of Western Europe – go no farther than half-hearted reforms, leaving intact the pillars of capitalist social relations. The Communist Party, the revolutionary proletarian party, on the other hand, sets the aim of radically re-patterning the socio-economic system and developing society in the interests of the working class, of all working people.

Communists fight resolutely against opportunist forces that seek to sidetrack the movement of workers and people to the reformist path of conciliation with the bourgeoisie. In contrast to Right and 'Left' opportunism, which restrains the revolutionary activity of the working class and denies it the prospect of victory over the power of capital, Communists 'do not counterpose the fight for deep-going economic and social demands, and for advanced democracy to the struggle for socialism, but regard it as a part of the struggle for socialism.'¹² The Communist parties reject the left-sectarian, dogmatic contempt for the present-day, intermediate tasks of the revolutionary movement, which amounts to passive contemplation, waiting for great events; what it means in practice is inability to lay the ground for these events.

Marx and Engels wrote: 'The Communists, therefore, are, on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.'¹³

II. The Communist Party's unbreakable link with the working class, its work in the interest of the mass of the people, makes it objectively the political representative of all working people. For the proletariat is a revolutionary class which by liberating itself also liberates all toilers from the power of capital; to liberate itself it must battle for the social emancipation and national freedom of all exploited and oppressed classes, strata and groups.

The Communist Party organizes and politically directs the alli-

ance of the working class with the peasants, with other working people, with all revolutionary, democratic forces. Both during the struggle for power and after the victory of the revolution, in all stages of socialist and communist construction, Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as essential to lean upon the broadest masses. They follow Lenin's behest: 'We want parties that will be in constant and real contact with the masses and will be able to lead those masses.'¹⁴ Isolation from the masses, he stressed, is one of the greatest calamities than can befall a Communist Party, so great, in fact, that it may jeopardize both revolution and socialist construction.¹⁵

The nature of the Communists' work with the masses, their method of enlisting the people for conscious participation in the revolutionary movement, in constructive socialist labor, depend on concrete historical and local conditions.

The Theses discussed by the 20th Convention of the Communist Party USA (February 1972) says: 'The public visibility of the Party and its direct activity in its own name need to be considerably expanded. In this connection the 1972 elections, with the participation of the Communist presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, offer exceptional opportunities to bring the face of the Party forward to a new degree throughout the country.' This is the kind of work appropriate in a situation unripe for immediate revolutionary changes and necessitating persevering, patient and skilful work to bring home to the masses the need of resolute struggle for a radical change in social relations.

In a situation where the Communist Party is able to set aims directly connected with conquest of power, it elaborates its tactics to suit the concrete conditions and decides whether the peaceful way is possible or whether – due to terror, repression and armed resistance by reaction – it must go over to actions of a non-peaceful nature. Yet Lenin's following rule is valid in all cases: 'The more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary.'¹⁶

On the eve of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Lenin confidently said: 'Our victory is assured.' He explained why he was confident:

'We have the following of the majority of a class, the vanguard of the revolution, the vanguard of the people, which is capable of carrying the masses with it . . .

'We have the following of the *majority* of the people . . .

'We are in the advantageous position of a party that knows for certain which way to go.'¹⁷

Lenin's analysis, whose accuracy was confirmed by the victorious outcome of the armed October uprising, is also valid today as a guideline in the practical activity of Communist parties in capitalist countries. To unite for anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle all the sound, democratic forces of society comprising the majority of

the people, to work out and offer the masses a clear constructive action program – those are the tasks which Marxist-Leninist parties are now working on in the capitalist countries.

It is a signal feature of the revolutionary activity of Communist parties fighting for the emancipation of society from monopoly power that they address themselves to the masses and work perseveringly and meaningfully for a united front of Left and democratic forces, promoting their consolidation and growth.

The recent joint government program agreement (June 1972) between the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party of France is an example of successful progress towards unity of Left, democratic forces. It is a constructive plan of action for the Left government which both parties have set out to instal in power. To carry out this program, Comrade George Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the FCP, said, 'We must rally and unite around it all workers, all democratic and national forces, all men and women of France regardless of philosophical convictions and religion, who oppose the policy of the present government and aspire to profound democratic changes. What is needed, in other words, is a powerful and broad popular union. The movement of the masses will be decisive.'¹⁸

The Communist attitude to other Left parties and organizations representing various sections of working people, the democratic and progressive forces, is conditioned by the Marxist-Leninist conception of the proletariat's leading role, on the one hand, and the identity of its interests with those of all the laboring classes and groups, with those of the masses, on the other. As pointed out in the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'Communists, who attribute decisive importance to working-class unity, are in favor of cooperation with the Socialists and Social-Democrats to establish an advanced democratic regime today and to build a socialist society in the future. They will do everything they can to carry out this cooperation. Communists are likewise in favor of cooperation with other democratic parties and organizations interested in the renewal of society.'¹⁹

The Communists' cooperation with other political forces can continue after the proletariat comes to power, in the conditions of socialist construction. In the Polish People's Republic, for example, the political system is based on the Polish United Workers' Party's cooperation with the United Peasant and the Democratic parties in the framework of the Popular Unity Front (PUF). Speaking at the Sixth PUWP Congress, Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the CC PUWP, described the PUF as an important factor in marshalling the nation's energy, as a 'platform for the participation in building socialism and in political life of the broadest sections of the population in People's Poland, of public and professional organizations, artistic unions, the progressive public movement of Catholics, of all supporters of socialism, all patriots!'

At the same time, the resolution of the Congress stressed, for example, that 'it would go against the essence of democracy to

grant freedom to political action by anti-socialist forces, to allow free play to alien political tendencies.' Indeed, socialist democracy is democracy for the toilers, for the people. It affords all citizens and their organizations the broadest opportunities for constructive activity *in favor of socialism*. Rejecting conciliation with the bourgeoisie during the period of struggle for power, Communists continue to combat reactionary, anti-socialist forces also after advent to power of the proletariat.

Advocates of a return to political 'plurality' (not short of reviving reactionary parties) in the socialist environment, where leadership is held by the Marxist-Leninist party for a number of historical reasons, maintain that criticism of shortcomings and flaws in the work of the machinery of state and public life by the opposition would help eliminate them and thereby ostensibly serve the interests of socialist construction. Yet the criticism would be the criticism of opposition, that is, anti-socialist in nature and purpose. The Communist and Workers' parties have other effective methods, which they use broadly, to combat mistakes, errors of judgment, bureaucracy and conservatism. First and foremost, socialist and inner-party democracy is constantly expanded, and active participation is assured by all Party members in the discussion and adoption of decisions. Communist parties also see to it that their own activity and the work of the state apparatus, of economic and other institutions and organizations, in which they exercise guidance, should be continuously checked with the interests of the masses, of the people. They do their utmost to involve working people to the maximum in running the state and society, in developing criticism and self-criticism and exercising popular control.

The Communists hold, as Comrade Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress, that 'the Party's policy yields the required results only when it fully takes into account both the interests of the entire people and the interests of various classes and social groups, and directs them into a single common channel.'

III. Of late, bourgeois and opportunist ideologies contend more and more frequently, in one form or another, that the importance of the Communist Party for the revolutionary movement and socialist construction is declining. In the profound socio-economic and political crisis gripping capitalism, they argue, new strata and groups – who, due to their class nature and ideological and political aspirations, stand outside the proletarian, Communist movement – are being drawn into the radical opposition, even the revolutionary struggle. In the socialist countries, on the other hand, the general cultural level of the people has risen, the competence of personnel in all areas of the economy and government is immeasurably greater. Hence, they aver, it can cope with the most complex administrative, economic and technical problems on its own. Ergo: the Party is becoming redundant as the leading force in society.

In one case, therefore, it is maintained that the importance of

the Communist Party in the social revolution is declining, and in the other that socialism, too, can be built without the ideological and political guidance of Communists. These notions bear an astonishing resemblance to the well-known slogan of the Russian counter-revolution, 'Soviets without Bolsheviks.' And this wholly justified historical parallel shows the essence of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist notions about revolution and socialism without Communists.

The state of affairs in both the capitalist and the socialist parts of the world is clear evidence of the fact that the growing magnitude of the revolutionary movement and the successful progress of socialist and communist construction do not depreciate the leading role of the Communist Party; on the contrary, they make it still more relevant and responsible.

Take the following examples.

The joint government program agreement of the Communists and Socialists of France is impelling far-reaching changes in the alignment of class and political forces in the country, creating a situation that opens up a realistic way to the system described in FCP documents as 'advanced democracy' and a 'form of passage to socialism.' New non-proletarian, non-communist forces have or are joining the struggle for this idea. However, the French Communists warn against the illusion that everything comes about by itself, and rightly regard it as their task to stand organizationally and politically at the head of the class movement unfolding upon the basis of the joint program. 'The French Communist Party stands in the vanguard of the popular union for a democratic government, for a policy of social progress, freedom, peace and national revival, opening up the way to socialism'—this is the first item on the agenda drawn up by the CC FCP for the Party's 20th Congress scheduled at the end of this year.

Examining the situation in the United States, the CP USA takes due note of the uplift of mass movements, but also of their definite politico-ideological confusion. In fact, Comrade Gus Hall said, the American people are showing 'a rising mood of militancy. There is a continued growth in political consciousness.'²⁰ The conclusion drawn from this in the Theses discussed at the 20th CP USA Convention, is that 'the rise in political consciousness and the continuing growth of radicalization among the various sectors of the people render . . . increasingly immediate and urgent' the need of leadership by the Party in the ideological education of, and political work among, the masses. This is decisive for the success of the country's democratic, anti-monopoly forces.

Communist and Workers' parties play an important role in fortifying militant democratic and anti-imperialist movements and revolutionary processes in Latin America, gradually opening up the way to socialism already followed by Cuba. They work for joint action and anti-imperialist unity in the battle against the oppression of foreign and local monopolies and the landowning oligarchy—the chief enemies of the Latin American peoples aspiring to social and

national liberation. As stated in the theses for the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina, 'our persevering work in building a united front of all democratic and anti-imperialist movements requires clearing away such obstacles as opportunism and bourgeois nationalism, which usually disguise themselves in socialist garb to prevent the working class from playing its vanguard role in the process of national liberation, and such as anti-communism, that favorite weapon of the imperialists, employed to prevent unification of the peoples in the great battle for liberation.'

Unification of all progressive forces is one of the most serious tasks of the revolutionary movement in the Middle East, where in a number of countries national parties and organizations of widely disparate orientations are taking part in the anti-imperialist struggle. But however great the urge of the Arab people for such unification, it cannot come about spontaneously, automatically. It will be easily seen, therefore, how important the initiative is of the Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party (January 1972), which organized the joint appeal by more than a score of parties and political movements of an all-Arab conference of patriotic and progressive forces. This is yet another illustration of the fact that the logic of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement casts the Communists in the role of the guiding and organizing force both in the class and the national liberation struggle.

The greater leading role of the Communist parties in the socialist countries, too, where material and spiritual progress naturally accentuates the importance of a conscious, organizing instrument, is also traceable to the objective social requirements. The need for scientifically-grounded guidance of the complex processes of economic, social, political and cultural life, is ever more compelling. The concrete problems are, of course, dealt with by specialists, by government and economic agencies. But elaborating the general perspective, the overall strategy of development, selecting cadres and marshalling the working people to fulfil programmed aims — this is something only a Marxist-Leninist party equipped with a scientific knowledge of the laws of social development can accomplish. And as Comrade Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress, 'the larger the scale of our creative work and the more difficult the problems that have to be tackled, the greater become the role and responsibility of the Communist Party, which leads the masses.'

Past experience fully bears out the Marxist-Leninists' theoretical conviction that all attempts to 'release' the representative bodies of the socialist state from Party guidance or to limit the Party's influence on the economy, culture and public life, are bound to turn into concessions to the class enemies of the working people. There can be no vacuum in the sphere of politico-ideological leadership of a society. The slightest relaxation of the Communist Party's guiding role amounts, in effect, to encouragement of anti-socialist elements, to impairment of the people's interests.

To perform their complicated and highly varied tasks, Communist parties continuously improve their ideological, organizational and

political work in the masses, improve the selection and distribution of cadres, and cultivate among them a sense of responsibility for their job, creative initiative, and the pioneering spirit. Of late, these objectives legitimately occupy a conspicuous place in the life of the Communist parties in the fraternal socialist countries. Continuous perfection of the forms and methods, of the style of party activity, is a crucial factor of success in the performance by the Party of its leading role in society.

The Communist parties operate in different conditions. Acting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and taking into account the local specifics, they frame their policy independently. At the same time, they know that 'the effectiveness of each Communist Party's policy depends on its successes in its own country, on the successes of other fraternal parties and on the extent of their co-operation. Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class.'²¹ Hence, Marxist-Leninist parties agree their actions in resolving the vital practical problems of the revolutionary and general-democratic movements of our time. Hence their striving for mutual exchanges, for joint theoretical work.

The unity and joint action of all the contingents of the world Communist movement is the expression of the principal distinctive feature of the Communists: their profound internationalism. Today, too, we can legitimately describe their activity in words that resounded in the *Communist Manifesto* 125 years ago: 'In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality.' *Lars Henderson*

1. This is the seventh in the series of popular articles for students of Marxist-Leninist theory. The previous six appeared in Nos. 7, 9 and 12, 1971 and Nos. 3, 6 and 8, 1972.

2. V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 274.

3. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

4. See Marx, Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Engels to G. Trier (December 18, 1889), p. 409.

5. Marx, Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

6. For a detailed examination of the main structural aspects of the party of the new type, the role of its organizational principles, see WMR, No. 9, 1972.

7. Lenin, Vol. 7, p. 415.

8. World Marxist Review, No. 3, 1972.

9. *New York Times*, August 1, 1972.

10. Marx, Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

11. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, Moscow 1969, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 38.

12. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties*. Moscow 1969. op. cit., p. 24.

13. Marx, Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

14. Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 236.

15. See *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 192.

16. Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 498.

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 24.

18. *L'Humanité*, July 10, 1972.

19. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*. Op. cit., p. 24.

20. Gus Hall. *Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion*. The People's Struggle for a New Beginning. New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1972, p. 73.

21. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*. Moscow, 1969. Op. cit., p. 37.



Novo Vreme

*Theoretical journal of CC
Bulgarian Communist Party*

Editor-in-Chief Nikolai Iribadzhakov of **Novo Vreme** speaks of his journal, its history, subject matter, its work with authors and readers, and his opinions on how to run a theoretical party journal.

This year, *Novo Vreme* will be 75 years old. Its first editor was Dmítr Blagoyev, founder and leader of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, one of the foremost Marxists of his time, a man of independent and bold intellect, boundlessly loyal to the Bulgarian and international workers' movement and the principles of proletarian internationalism. These qualities Blagoyev imparted to *Novo Vreme*, a forum of revolutionary Marxism. *Novo Vreme* told the growing working class of its historic mission, and contributed to the consolidation of the independent proletarian political party, promoting its Marxist ideology and doing battle with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views of the Bulgarian Narodniks, 'economists,' anarchists and Right opportunists. The journal published several articles which exposed the social-chauvinism of the leaders of the Second International, the cause of the ideological break with them, and reaffirmed loyalty to the workers' internationalist duty.

The journal was suspended during the First World War, and renewed publication in 1919, whereupon it appeared for five consecutive years. During this period it published articles that enriched our Party ideologically and helped fortify its revolutionary standpoint. It advocated the cause of the October Revolution and propagated Lenin's teachings. In his article 'Yesterday and Today' Blagoyev wrote: 'This great revolution, known as the *Bolshevik Revolution*, ushered in a new world radically different from the bourgeois, the capitalist and imperialist world that had reigned supreme only yesterday. It is causing deep changes throughout the old world, in the psychology, consciousness and feelings of people, especially the popular masses that had heretofore been deceived and oppressed. It is arousing the consciousness of the proletarians and working people exploited and oppressed in capitalist society, fanning the flame of revolution, changing them completely today from what they were yesterday.'

In 1923, when the monarcho-fascist clique seized power, it banned *Novo Vreme*.

In January 1947 the journal entered on a new period, continuing and developing its finest traditions in the environment of socialist construction. It took guidance in Dimitrov's emphasis on Marxist-Leninist theory as a major factor in building the new society.

The April 1956 meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party had a crucial bearing on the work of *Novo Vreme*. It gave broader scope for bold, creative theoretical thought, condemned stagnation and smugness, and at the same time called for militant irreconcilability towards bourgeois ideology, dogmatism and revisionism. In this sense the April line set the sights on forging close, unbreakable links between theory and practice, and on promoting the all-round creative development of scientific communism.

The development of Marxism-Leninism is not an arbitrary and mechanical combination of diverse ideas, but a creative theoretical generalization and conceptualization of accumulated historical experience, of regularities, tendencies, possibilities and requirements born of social progress. And whenever history sets the revolutionary working class and Communist movement new tasks, we see the Party's theoretical work become considerably more lively, stimulating a persevering search for solutions.

Bulgaria is in the midst of just such a period. We have acquired a tremendous amount of experience in building socialism, and this requires deep analysis and generalization. Some phenomena and tendencies, too, require theoretical conceptualization.

The theoretical and practical issues involved in the building of developed socialist society, the main and immediate task of the Party and people, have been examined thoroughly in the Bulgarian Communist Party's Program adopted by the Tenth Party Congress and in the Report of the First Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov. But no matter how thorough, the guidelines could not be final. 'The program does not lay claim to being the absolute truth spelled out by the ultimate instance,' Comrade Zhivkov stressed. 'While providing theoretical answers to certain problems, it does not lay down the law as to the future development of theory and does not inhibit further creative research. . . . The Program will be the basis for the further elaboration of the theoretical problems of our social development.'

To define developed socialist society and to show its place in the first phase of communism—this the Congress pinpointed as the 'cardinal question of our present-day Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.' It said: 'The correct elaboration of the other theoretical problems relating to our social development depends in the ultimate degree on correct theoretical elucidation of this question.'

And this guideline the journal follows in all its theoretical work. Many new, difficult questions arise. We must define the distinctive features and regularities of developed socialist society, the specifics of its economic foundation, social structure and superstructure. In

other words, we must determine the changes in the material and technical basis and the productive forces in the stage of mature socialism, and the changes in economic relations, the structure and relations of classes and social groups, town and country, the family, the individual and the state, and the forms of socialist democracy. Also, we must determine the changes in the role of science and art, morality, law, education, the public and individual consciousness, and the new elements in the correlation of the subjective and objective, and the requirements the Communist Party must cope with in its guiding activity.

The building of developed socialist society also involves a number of international problems: the further extension of socialist economic integration, perfection of its forms, enhancement of its role in fortifying the socialist world system and in the economic competition of the socialist against the capitalist world.

The other group of questions concerns the place of developed socialist society in history. Is it a national, regional or international phenomenon? Why is it objectively necessary as a stage in the growth of socialism, and of the communist formation in general? What are its main criteria, that is, what objective requirements must it meet to qualify as not simply socialist, but *developed* socialist, society – the highest and culminating stage of socialism? What are the main prerequisites for it and what is the 'basis of socialism as such'? What will be its essential results for our people, for the socialist world system, the worldwide revolutionary process, the victory of socialism and communism throughout the world?

To elucidate the above problems is the main, but certainly not the only, purpose of the journal. It ranges far afield, delving into philosophy, economic theory, history, politics and ideology, culture and art. Literature and other forms of art are dealt with in surveys and reviews.

This year, the year of Georgi Dimitrov's 90th birthday, we have run articles about the life and work of that great Bulgarian in every issue: 'Revolutionary, Orator and Theorist' by Todor Zhivkov; 'Georgi Dimitrov – Builder of Socialist Bulgaria' by S. Todorov; 'In the Service of Internationalism' by I. Mikhailov; 'Great and Everlasting Friendship' by T. Dragoicheva, and others.

Faithful to the Party's internationalist tradition, *Novo Vreme* devotes itself also to the problems of the international Communist, workers' and national liberation movement.

We take it as a most important duty to acquaint our readers with the experience and achievements of other socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union and the CPSU, and for this purpose co-operate closely with the theoretical journals of the fraternal parties. In the 'Guest Writers' department of our first issue this year, for example, we carried articles specially written for us by the editors of *Kommunist*, the journal of the CC CPSU, about the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, and in return our editors contributed articles to the *Kommunist* about the decisions of the Tenth BCP Congress.

The 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, celebrated this year by the Soviet people, is an auspicious jubilee for us, too, and for all progressives. Naturally, we are running articles about it.

Here are some of the international topics examined by us: the vanguard role of the CPSU and USSR in the world revolutionary movement; the topical issues facing the French Communist Party; Chile's revolutionary path; the role of the working class in the world revolutionary process; the battle for a new, democratic, socialist Italy; the new stage of the Communist movement in Arab countries; neo-colonialism and the present-day strategy of imperialism, etc. The journal has these regular departments: 'Problems of International Politics,' 'Countries and Events,' 'International Review,' and 'Criticism of Bourgeois Ideology.'

Combating 'Left' and Right opportunism, Maoist distortions of Marxism-Leninism, and the splitting activity of the Chinese leaders, we have published articles entitled, 'Modern Reformist Theories of the Bourgeois State and Their Reactionary Essence,' 'The Logic of the Adventurist Ultra-Left Groups,' 'The Maoists' Anti-Sovietism and Nationalism—Instrument of Splitting the International Working-Class and Communist Movement,' 'Maoist Theories and the Third World,' etc.

The article, 'The Maoists' Foreign-Policy Doctrine and China's Attitude to the Main International Problems,' says in part: 'The main aim of the Maoists' foreign-policy doctrine is to discredit the USSR and CPSU, split the international Communist and working-class movement, and impair the world revolutionary process. . . . The Communist and Workers' parties, all anti-imperialist forces, must expose the anti-socialist and unscientific essence of Maoism. By so doing they will contribute to the struggle of the international Communist and workers' movement for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in defense of the true interests of the revolutionary forces throughout the world.'

The diversity and depth of the subject matter reflect the stature of the contributors—high-ranking Party workers, prominent philosophers, sociologists, economists, art experts, and historians. Young researchers are also invited to contribute, many of them gaining prominence as theorists and propagandists through participation in our journal. The Party's theoretical journal offers good opportunities for scientific activity. The purpose of *Novo Vreme* is to advance Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought, and the scientist associating with the journal is thereby directly connected with the Communist Party, the leading force of socialist society, its Central Committee, with all social life, its most important, most topical, most vital problems and processes.

The journal's circulation of 32,000 is fairly large for our country. It is read mainly by Party functionaries and activists, statesmen and government employees, production managers, scientists, art and culture workers, professors and teachers, and students—all who are interested in theory.

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication)

LENIN, V. I. *La guerra imperialista* (The Imperialist War). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1972. 221 pp.

ALBERDI, P. G. *Los paises socialistas en la historia contemporanea* (The Socialist Countries in Contemporary History). Buenos Aires, Ediciones 'Centro de estudios,' 1972. 256 pp.

ALEKSANDROV, I. *Eskalastia pozora* (Escalation of Infamy). Moscow, Politizdat, 1972. 120 pp.

VLADOV D., GENCHEV G., MATEYEV B. *Sychetavane na ikonomicheskite interesi pri sotsializma* (Aligning Economic Interests Under Socialism). Sofia, 1972. 279 pp.

Dossier sul neofascismo (A Flie on Neo-Fascism). Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1972. 120 pp.

Ideologicheskaya borba i sovremennaya kultura (Ideological Struggle and Modern Culture). Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1972. 447 pp.

A magyar forradalmi munkasmozgalom tortenete (The History of the Hungarian Revolutionary Working-Class Movement). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1972. 680 pp.

KIM, M. P. *Sovetsky narod – novaya istoricheskaya obshchnost* (The Soviet Nation – A New Historical Identity). Moscow, Politizdat, 1972. 349 pp.

KISS, T. *Hol tart a KGST-integracio?* (How Is Integration in CMEA Developing?). Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1972, 236 pp.

Komunisticka internacionala (The Communist International). Prague, Svoboda, 1972. 576 pp.

CORREA, J. *Los jerarcas sindicales* (Trade Union Leaders). Buenos Aires, Editorial Polemica, 1972. 110 pp.

MICHALIK, M. *Moralnosc a wojna* (Morality and War). Warsaw, 1972. 384 pp.

Mongol-zevleltiyn nairamdlyn ur shim (The Fruits of Mongolian-Soviet Friendship). Ulan Bator, 1972. 112 pp.

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SIRACKY, A. *Problemy a perspektivy socializmu* (The Problems and Prospects of Socialism). Bratislava, Pravda, 1972. 296 pp.

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EDITIONS IN ENGLISH

(World Marxist Review):

Central Books Ltd., 37 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C. 1, England.

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Imported Publications, 1730 West Arcade
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FRENCH EDITIONS

(La Nouvelle Revue Internationale):

Société d'Édition et d'Information 9,
Boulevard des Italiens, Paris (2e) France.

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Geneve.

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sirovani tisku, Praha 6, Thakurova 3,
Czechoslovakia.

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us', Sofia.

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Mesto, Ve smeckach 30.

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden, Dr.
Tvaergade 3, 1302 Kobenhavn K.

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Deutscher Buch-Export und Import
GmbH, Leipzig 701, Leninstrasse 16.

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Austria.

Genossenschaft Literaturbetrieb Zürich,
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Warszawa, Wronia 23.

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Ediciones Paz y Socialismo, Apt. Na-
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Fondo de Cultura Popular, Apdo. postal
2353, Mexico 1, D.F.

Empresa Editora Austral, Agustina 1101
—Local No. 6, Casilla 13201, Santiago,
Chile.

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Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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203 Lima, Peru.

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