

WORLD

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Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

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**Ideology in
Latin America**

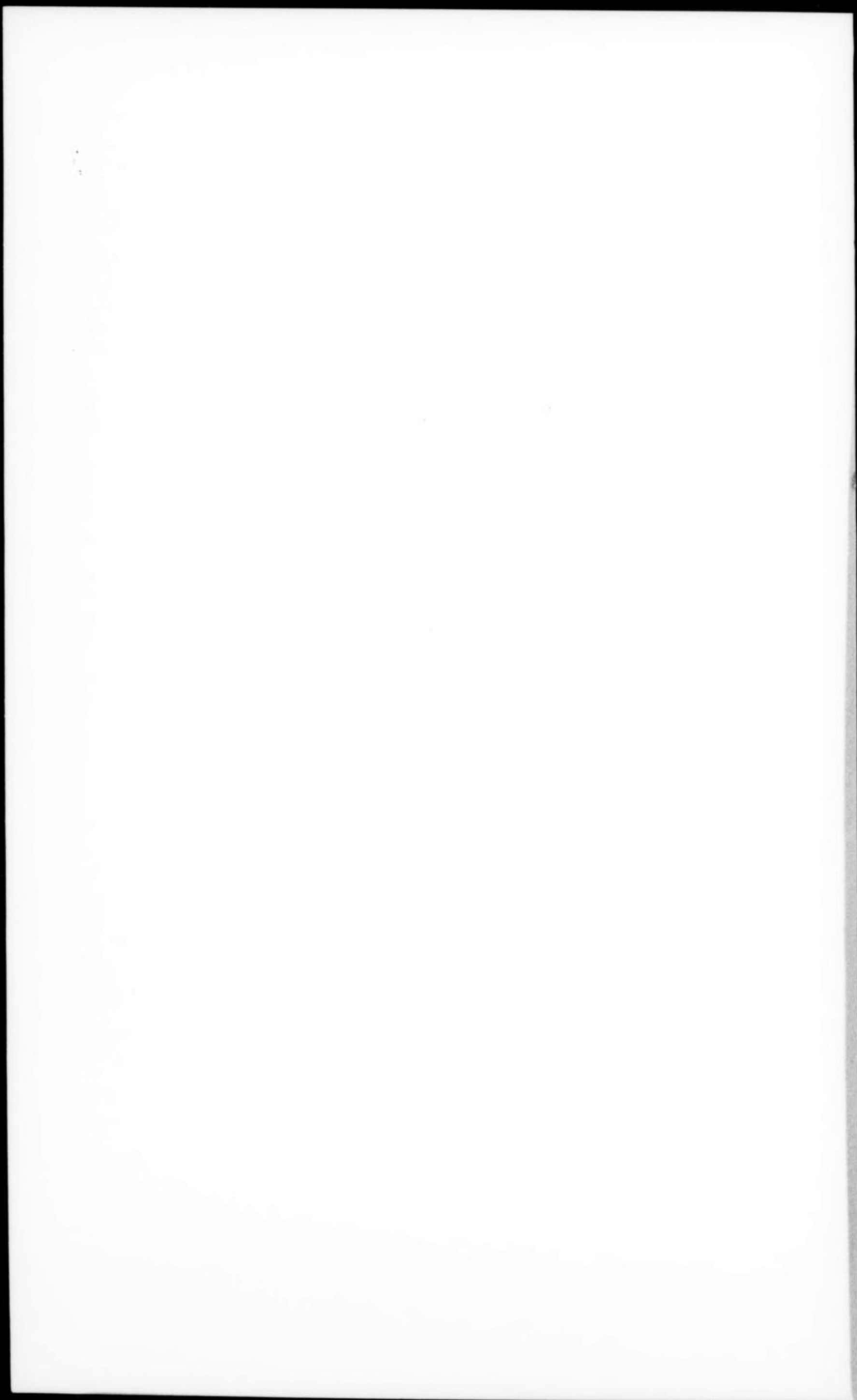
**Lenin and the
fraternal parties**

**24th CPSU Congress
—one year after**

**China's 'emergence'
in world affairs**

**Pseudo-socialisms
and real socialism**

**U.S. role in
Philippines**





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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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Features

- 5 The year since the
24th CPSU Congress
A. Kirilenko
- 19 Aspects of
Party economic policy
G. Mittag
- 27 Guadeloupe communists
G. Daninthe
- 33 Lenin and the
fraternal parties
E. Henry
- 42 New books on Lenin
and Leninism

Our round table

- 45 Latin America:
ideological front

In communist and workers' parties

- 63 CP of Brazil: 50 years
L. Ribeiro

Socialist world today

- 71 Aspects of cultural
policy
P. Matev

Viewpoints

- 77 Socialist economic inte-
gration and alignment
of development levels
T. Davadorzh

Battle of ideologies

- 84 Pseudo-socialisms and
real socialism
R. Leroy
- 92 Whom do the mass media
serve?
H. Mujica

Imperialism and anti- imperialist struggle

- 102 General and distinctive
features of the
liberation process
J. Texier
- 110 American imperialism
in the Philippines
F. Balagtas

Communications and comment

- 118 Versailles salutes
Indochina
V. Duvalé

(continued next page)

(cont'd)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>121 Franco's 'secrets'
exposed
<i>S. Zapiain</i></p> <p>126 Lessons of a strike
(British miners)
<i>L. Din</i></p> <p>Political commentary</p> <p>130 China's 'emergence'
on the world scene
<i>Jan Prazsky</i></p> <p>In lighter vein</p> <p>136 Adventures of a statue
<i>S. SH.</i></p> <p>137 Islands for sale
<i>E. I.</i></p> <p>137 A matter of leaks
<i>J. Lafter</i></p> <p>European security</p> <p>140 On the way to a
peace system in Europe
<i>K. Sorsa</i></p> | <p>145 Bar the road to war
(Interview with R. Fletcher
and R. Goor)</p> <p>From history of
socialist thought</p> <p>148 Charles Fourier
(200th birth anniversary)
<i>G. Shakh</i></p> <p>Books and journals</p> <p>154 Capitalism and
ecological problems
<i>E. Yorgen</i></p> <p>156 Our mailbag</p> <p>158 Renato Guttuso</p> |
|--|---|

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V. I. Lenin with delegates to the 2nd Comintern Congress on Revolutionary Martyrs' Square, Petrograd, July 10, 1920. (From article 'V. I. Lenin and the fraternal parties,' pp. 20-25)



The year since the 24th CPSU Congress

Andrei Kirilenko

All social life in our country, all the efforts of the Soviet people, are centered on carrying out the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. The year since it was held has been one of fresh achievement in the economic, social and cultural fields. Our Party and state have accomplished much on the international scene too.

The Central Committee report to the 24th Congress emphasized the topicality of Lenin's thought that 'the difficulty and art of politics consist in taking into account the specifics of the tasks of each period, the specifics of the conditions in which the Party operates'. Both our economic potentialities and social requirements have grown substantially in the past few years, and we now can, and should, simultaneously solve a wider range of the problems involved in communist construction. Having creatively analyzed the new conditions, the 24th Congress formulated a clear political line, set our immediate and long-range tasks and outlined a concrete program for the five-year period 1971-75.

I. The 24th Congress decisions and the tasks of the new five-year plan called for a higher level of political, organizational and educational work by the Party, perfection of Party leadership in all sectors of economic and cultural endeavor. The Party's leading and guiding role is becoming more multiform and the mass influence of its organizations is steadily increasing.

Bourgeois ideologists and renegades from Marxism allege that the advance of the scientific-technological revolution in the socialist countries and the attendant growth of the number of scientists, specialists and production organizers, are increasingly shifting the direction of society to a group of professionals, the 'intellectual elite,' and steadily eliminating the leadership role of the working people and the Marxist-Leninist parties. Characteristically, the authors of these 'technocratic' theories try to contrast to the political vanguard of the people the trained cadres, who, in the socialist countries, are drawn from the working class, peasantry and working intelligentsia.

That we have been able to train splendid cadres capable of

tackling the most complex problems is, we believe, an outstanding achievement of socialism. However, their individual talents and skills, their experience and creative endeavor, find full expression and application in the interests of the people precisely because all social development is directed by the Leninist party. Its role as the leading force and organizer of socialist progress and communist construction, far from declining – as socialism's enemies would like – is constantly growing.

Our understanding of this question was clearly formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU, at the 24th Congress: 'The wider the scope of our constructive work and the more complex the problems that we have to solve, the greater become the role and responsibility of the Communist Party, as leader of the masses.'

And to be up to its historic mission, the CPSU is constantly working to improve the qualitative composition of its membership, heighten their ideological training and activity, perfect the functioning of its organizations, extend and strengthen its links with the masses. The 24th Congress stressed the vast importance of these Leninist principles of Party work.

The CPSU expresses the interests of the entire Soviet people, whose unity is being strengthened on the basis of the socialist aspirations and communist ideals of the working class. Its influence in the system of socialist social relations increases with the growth of its political activity and higher cultural and professional standards. Hence, in regulating recruitment on a strictly individual basis, the Party attaches much importance to securing a predominance of workers in its membership. For a number of years now workers have made up the majority of the new recruits, in 1971 their share was 56.9 per cent, the highest for the past 40 years, and in the big industrial centers workers make up to 60-70 per cent of new members.

The Party shows constant concern also for recruiting front-rank collective farmers and intellectuals. In 1971, nearly 12 per cent of new recruits were collective farmers, about 24 per cent engineers, agronomists, schoolteachers, doctors, scientists, writers and artists. More than half of the new members are young people who have gone through the political school of the Komsomol. And it should be noted that Party membership is internationalist – at present over 100 nationalities are represented in its ranks.

It will thus be seen that the Party absorbs the politically more conscious and active forces of society. This enables it to act as the collective mind of the Soviet people, to rally together all the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, and to inspire and organize the people's effort in building communism.

Unswerving adherence to the Leninist norms of Party life and democratic centralism assures the cohesion and unity of its ranks and a high level of action-ability. The 24th Congress gave a high appraisal of the Central Committee's consistent policy of promot-

ing inner-Party democracy. All the conditions have been created for the normal functioning of collegial leading Party bodies, free expression by Party members of their views and will in resolving questions of Party policy and for unfolding principled criticism and self-criticism. Inner-Party information has improved, enabling Party members to approach with greater knowledge problems requiring solution, assessment of work done and of new developments in the country's life. The Central Committee is doing everything to promote and maintain an atmosphere of trust in and respect for people and is encouraging their constructive initiative.

Inner-Party democracy found vivid expression in the recent primary-unit election meetings and conferences which reviewed activity since the 24th Congress. Nearly the entire membership attended these branch meetings, marked by an active and business-like discussion of Committee reports in which about three million took part.

The development of inner-Party democracy is inseparable from stringent observance of Party discipline. A revolutionary Party can tolerate neither anarchistic laxity nor bureaucratic centralization which hamstrings mass initiative. Collective discussion and adoption of Party decisions is combined with individual responsibility of every Party member for the work assigned him. Efficient fulfillment of Party directives acquires all the more importance in view of the growing interconnection and interdependence of all branches of our ramified economy and of the various spheres of our social system. The 24th Congress decisions and directives add up to a program embracing all aspects of Soviet life—a breakdown on one sector is bound to affect many others. And if we add to this our expanding international contacts and increasingly closer economic integration within the socialist community, it will be no exaggeration to say that Party discipline, particularly in some areas, involves also international responsibility.

Since the Congress we have done much to give the forms, methods and style of Party work a pattern more commensurate with the requirements of social development at the present stage.

There is a definite trend in all Party organizations to tackle all problems with initiative and energy and with account for long-range perspectives.

As we know, the style of Party work, the effectiveness of its leadership, are to a decisive degree determined by the activity of its primary units, the branches, of which there are 374,000. In the past year too, this has been the focus of constant attention by the Central Committee. Central Committee surveys of the work of a number of Party organizations in leading enterprises and research institutes had a clear relevance to all Party activity. And the decisions adopted by the CC summarize experience and contain recommendations of how best to marshal our forces to bring out latent reserves in production, enhance the labor and socio-political activity of the masses and enlist executive, technical and scientific personnel to share in the ideological and political education of

their respective collectives. The work of primary Party organizations has been discussed also by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics and by Regional and Territory committees.

It has become customary for Party committees to solicit the advice of research institutes, scientists, specialists and front-rank workers in drawing up decisions. Another innovation is concrete research by Party organizations of social processes and the needs and requirements of the people. The data thus collected are a valuable aid in compiling integrated industrial and social plans.

The 24th Congress extended control of management bodies hitherto enjoyed by Party organizations in industry, to Party organizations in research institutes, designing bureaus, educational, medical and cultural institutions. In conformity with Congress decisions, Party organizations in Ministries and other central and local administrative and economic agencies exercise control of fulfillment of Party and government directives and observance of Soviet laws. As a result, 170,000 more Party organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than four million, are now in a position more actively to influence the situation in their respective collectives. And Party committees use this right to prevent negative developments, assure timely elimination of shortcomings and generally improve operation of the given enterprise.

Party organizations at all levels help to raise the role and improve the functioning of state and public organizations. The last elections largely renewed and brought new forces into the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Workers and collective farmers make up more than half of the members of Supreme Soviets of Union Republics and two-thirds of the local Soviets elected last year. There is also a considerably larger share of young people. The Soviets are functioning more effectively, are showing more efficiency in tackling their problems, their members are more active and there is more regular and more practical contact with constituents.

The rights and duties of enterprise trade union committees, which are closest to the masses, now have wider authority and functions. In the course of preparations for the 15th Trade Union Congress (March 1972) the unions have been strengthened, now that more qualified cadres have been elected to office, and have appreciably improved their work.

Komsomol activity, both on the political and labor front, continued on the upgrade in the past year. The USSR Students' Rally last October exerted a powerful influence on the education of our youth, notably the large army of students, bringing them closer still around the Party. In his speech at the Rally, L. I. Brezhnev set out our Party's policy on so important a question for our society as the training and education of young specialists able to meet the requirements of the present stage of communist construction.

The new tasks facing our society, the growing communist conviction, educational and professional standards of our people,

naturally call for a higher criterion in the selection of personnel. Today, application of our invariable principle of selecting personnel according to political and competence qualities means advancing to leading positions ideologically steeled and theoretically grounded erudite people with a thorough knowledge of their particular profession and a keen feeling for the new.

Party committees have of late been devoting more attention to systematic training of leading cadres. In the year since the Congress about 40,000 attended refresher courses for Party and local government officials. The Economic Management Institute founded last year caters to industrial managers up to and including government ministers. This is an important innovation designed to combine valuable practical experience with profound knowledge of the laws and methods of directing the socialist economy in conditions of the scientific and technological revolution.

Ideological work holds an important place in the Party's leadership of society. The theoretical and political content of the 24th Congress materials enabled us to draw the attention of Communists and the people generally to the major problems of Marxism-Leninism and to give the voice of the Party still more conviction, weight and impact.

We see the point and purpose of communist education in bringing the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism to the masses, so that they power their activity, determine their attitude to their work and social obligations, enrich them spiritually and morally. The Party's ideological and political activity helps to form the Soviet citizen, the builder of communism, dedicated patriot of our socialist country and confirmed internationalist. That is the purpose of the measures that will be undertaken in line with the recent Central Committee decision on preparations for the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The arts and literature hold an important place in the spiritual life of Soviet society. Everyone conversant with our reality knows that the spiritual values promoted and enriched by our intelligentsia are inseparable from the social ideals of the Communist Party. The 24th Congress gave a high appreciation of the work of our creative intelligentsia, but also pointed to some of the problems facing writers and artists, clearly orienting them on a higher idea-content and fuller artistic depiction of socially significant developments in Soviet life. The Party encourages rich and varied forms of artistic creation and fosters an atmosphere conducive to the development of artistic talents and to free creative endeavor for the great communist ideals. Last year's conferences of cinema workers, writers, artists and composers showed that the Soviet creative intelligentsia approves and supports the 24th Congress policy and is uniting still closer in its devotion to the communist ideas and in its dedicated service to the people.

In this year since the Congress, Party influence on all aspects of Soviet life has increased, contributing to fresh achievements in communist construction.

II. The extensive and complex work of compiling – on the basis of the 24th Congress directives – the 1971-75 economic development plan and detailizing it by years, ministries and Union Republics, was successfully completed. It sets out the overall aim of this, ninth five-year program, viz., *'a considerable rise of material and cultural standards through high growth rates of socialist production, its higher effectiveness, scientific and technological progress and accelerated growth of productivity.'*

Understandably, this greater accent on the many varied problems involved in heightening material and cultural standards necessitated major decisions. There had to be a new approach to allocation of resources, a series of structural changes in the economy, allocation of more national income to consumption and more investment in consumer goods production. But, in line with Congress decisions, we had to assure proper development of heavy industry, which remains the foundation of our economic strength, the country's defense capacity and the rising prosperity of its people. The five-year plan provides solutions for this complex of intricate problems.

An analysis of economic results for the past year will show that our economy is off to a good start in attaining the goals set by the five-year program. National income, used both for consumption and accumulation, increased by about six per cent.

A welcome fact is that all social measures projected for the first year of the plan have been implemented fully, including wage increases, better pensions for factory and office workers and collective farmers. The wages, salaries and pensions of 19 million people have been raised. Grants and benefits out of the public consumption fund, which equal approximately one-third of the budgets of Soviet families, have gone up substantially. Real income per head of population is up 4.5 per cent. And sales of many consumer goods have climbed visibly.

It is proper to note that in its plans for a further considerable rise in the people's standard of living, our Party lays a special accent on quality. In socialist society, consumption planning should not be reduced to the mere supplying of required material goods; it should be oriented on creating the most favorable conditions for life, work and leisure, for the exercise of all man's gifts, for the harmonious development of the personality. That is the essential meaning underlying the approach to questions of well-being by our 24th Congress, which so sharply distinguishes the socialist emphasis on the greatest possible satisfaction of man's material and cultural requirements from the petty-bourgeois 'ideal' of a 'consumer society' propagated in the capitalist countries.

In the final analysis, society's all-round progress depends on production. That is why we attach key importance to high and stable production rates. The 1971 target for industrial production growth was 6.9 per cent, while actual growth was 7.8. The technico-economic indicators of enterprises have improved. The target for labor productivity in industry was surpassed, accounting for more than four-fifths of the national income accretion. This is

a clear indication that factors of intensive growth predominate in our economy.

The 24th Congress set an aim of historic importance – to tie in the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system. And the very first year of the Ninth Five-Year Plan brought into full evidence one of its most characteristic features: extensive renewal of the technical basis of production, and introduction of more productive machines and techniques, making labor more highly skilled, technically equipped, meaningful and creative. The scope of fundamental and applied scientific research, of projecting and designing, and of experimentation, has expanded greatly, and so has training of scientists, engineers and technicians.

The building going on in the country is tremendous. Many of the Ninth Five-Year Plan building projects are unique in scale, such as the Tyumen oil-and-gas complex in Siberia, and the complex in Naberezhniye Chelny that will make 150,000 eight-to-twelve ton trucks and 250,000 diesel engines yearly, with the first automobiles due to come off the conveyer in 1974. Simultaneously, a new town with a 300,000 population is rising on the bank of the Kama. The Volzhsky Automobile Works in Togliatti, projected to produce an annual 660,000 motor-cars, will be completed before the end of the five-year period.

Concrete ways are being mapped out under the auspices of our Central Committee to assure comprehensive and harmonious economic development, as envisaged in the 24th Congress decisions. The range and high intensity of this creative effort is reflected in the fact that following exhaustive study after the Congress, the CC CPSU and the Soviet government defined practical measures to attain the five-year development targets for engineering, chemicals and fuel, the light and food industries, power and transport, the productive forces of some of the republics and economic areas, assure rational use of natural wealth and environmental protection.

Vigorous steps were taken last year to advance the comprehensive 24th Congress program for agricultural development. Special accent was laid on creating the requisite conditions for a stable growth of collective and state farm output. The year's capital investments by the state and the collective farms added up to the impressive sum of over 21,000 million rubles, or 10 per cent more than in the preceding 1970. The latest improved and highly productive technology and mineral fertilizers are being supplied to the farms in ever increasing quantities. And melioration schemes are under way on an unprecedented scale.

The Party is working for a fundamental solution of farming problems, which will be of the utmost significance for the progress of the Soviet economy as a whole, bringing closer living and working conditions in the rural areas to those in towns, and fortifying still more the worker-peasant alliance.

All this shows that the Soviet economy is on the upgrade, and progressive changes are in train. The Party's economic policy is yielding tangible results.

Based on the principles of scientific communism, it has enlisted the achievements of the science of management, and is profoundly realistic. It encompasses and backs with the prestige of the entire Party all the progressive tendencies objectively developing in our economy, and makes the most of the economic experience gained in implementing the decisions of the preceding 23rd Congress, as well as of the results of the set of measures known in the country as the economic reform.

The technico-scientific base of economic management is being expanded and improved. The development of new, more perfect electronic computers and control technologies is advancing on the required scale, and their introduction in practical work is being speeded up. Automated systems collecting and processing information required to control production and economic-organizational processes are being installed in industries, amalgamations, and many enterprises. This work is continuing, and its scale and scientific level are sure to go up.

In brief, vast creative efforts are being made to improve management and control. The substance of this is to organize still more effectively the nation's drive for more rapid economic and social development, and unite the tens of thousands of enterprises, and tens of millions of people, still more closely in the battle for our magnificent aims.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan is a synthesis of proposals made not only by planning and economic authorities, but also directly at enterprise level during the countrywide discussion of the draft of the 24th Congress Directives. What this means may be illustrated by the following fact: 24,000 out of the Minsk Tractor Works labor force of 28,000 took part in discussing its plan. Their proposals made it possible to set the five-year production growth target at 40 instead of the originally envisaged 28 per cent. This is a graphic example of how under socialism working people associate their own plans and hopes for a better life with the plans of their collective and the progress of society as a whole.

Party committees organize the study of economics, helping working people to learn the principles of planned socialist economy and to understand the economic mechanism of their enterprise. The CC CPSU passed a special decision on this score to improve the economic education of the masses, which will strengthen each Soviet citizen's sense of responsibility as master of the country not only for his own work, but also the work of his shop and the enterprise as a whole.

The working people regard the five-year plan as a personal and vital responsibility and have assumed socialist pledges to fulfil the set assignments. The Central Committee has oriented Party organizations and the economic executives on providing favorable conditions for the fulfilment of these pledges and backed up the initiative of producer collectives aiming to develop new production techniques and products, to reduce the time of designing them and starting up mass production, and to increase the output of con-

sumer commodities. The approach to assessing the results of socialist emulation is changing accordingly. Alongside quantity, increasing importance is attached to quality.

While giving due credit to the achievements of the past year, we are naturally careful not to oversimplify the tasks ahead. Despite obvious progress in building up the production of consumer goods, for example, which, as envisaged by the 24th Congress, grew more rapidly in 1971 than production of means of production, we are experiencing shortages of some commodities. And though more than 11 million Soviet people moved into new homes in the past year, there are still families needing better housing. Aware of this and of other similar problems, the Party is doing its utmost to resolve them in this five-year period.

Party organizations and the planning and economic agencies are now working to consolidate and step up the tempo attained in the first year of the current Plan. In the light of available experience vigorous measures are being taken in this context to improve the organization of production and labor, introduce new technology and production techniques, and to mechanize and automate labor. Responding to the decisions of the November (1971) Central Committee Meeting, Communists and everyone in the country are determined to achieve more than the Plan envisages in its second year and win a margin of gain for more rapid progress in the future.

III. The foreign-policy program of the 24th Congress is designed for the long term. The course of events has borne out the assessments of world development contained in the documents of the Congress, and the topicality and effectiveness of its constructive ideas.

The CC CPSU is carrying forward the foreign policy decisions of the Congress with initiative and vigor. The November 1971 Central Committee Meeting made an exhaustive analysis of the international activity of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, which deals with these matters daily. It approved unanimously the work accomplished since the Congress, and specified the trends and directions of the Party's further international activity.

Our Party and state cooperate continuously in foreign affairs with the fraternal socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties, and keep in touch with all progressive forces and peace-loving states. As a result of these joint efforts, further changes favoring socialism, democracy and peace have occurred in the relation of strength during the past year.

It may be noted that the acute aggravation of crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy and politics predicted by Communists, was not accompanied by any aggravation of the general international situation. The imperialists did not dare to resort to their usual method of sharpening the war danger as a way out of their predicament. On the whole, the international climate has improved

visibly, to which the policy of our Party has contributed in no small measure.

Acting on the decisions of the 24th Congress, the CPSU focused its main attention in foreign policy on the development of the socialist community. Our own Congress and those of the fraternal parties have contributed greatly to the elaboration of the problems of cooperation between socialist states, and to the framing of an agreed foreign policy. Their politico-ideological unity and the identity of the vital interests of the fraternal peoples, enable us to work out a common strategic and tactical line in international affairs through systematic comradely consultations, meetings and conferences. In 1971, too, a number of meetings and negotiations were held by leaders of fraternal parties and states for the purpose of such political coordination. An important conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries took place in Prague at the beginning of 1972.

The Comprehensive Program for the further development of co-operation and socialist economic integration adopted by the 25th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (July 1971) for the coming 15-20 years is, without the slightest exaggeration, of truly historic significance. The way for it was paved by the many years of activity by the fraternal parties aimed at moulding a new pattern of international relations, a new socialist system of international division of labor.

Showing constant concern for the strengthening of the socialist community—the mainstay of the forces of progress and revolution—the CPSU has taken far-reaching political measures to implement the peace program of the 24th Congress. This initiative has come to be known as the 'peace offensive' of the Soviet Union. It has yielded universally recognized results both in promoting détente, consolidating the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and in countering the aggressive designs and actions of the imperialists and their henchmen.

A place of the utmost importance is devoted in our policy of effective proletarian internationalism to all-round aid and support to the dedicated and just struggle of the people of Vietnam and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia against the U.S. imperialist aggression. In extending this aid, we took into account the concrete situation in the area, the assessments of the course of events by the Vietnamese comrades, and acted in full accord with them. Responding to the requests of our friends, we increased our military and economic aid last year.

Our position is clear and definite: the deciding word in settling the problems of the region belongs to none but the peoples of Indochina. And the proposals of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and of the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia, provide a realistic basis for such a settlement. And we shall continue to expose all attempts at imposing on the Indochinese peoples solutions contrary to their national interests,

no matter who makes them. The World Assembly for Peace and the Independence of the Peoples of Indochina, held recently in Versailles, was acclaimed in the Soviet Union as an impressive demonstration of the broad international solidarity of the progressive and peace-loving forces with the heroic patriots of Indochina.

Speaking of the other seat of war, the one imperialism created in the Middle East, we have jointly with our Arab friends firmly repulsed new imperialist intrigues there, aimed as before at overthrowing the progressive Arab regimes. The Israeli rulers and their patrons went to great lengths to complicate Soviet-Arab relations. But these perfidious designs are being foiled thanks to the firm and consistent anti-imperialist policy of the Soviet Union and the position of the progressive forces in the Arab world. A Soviet-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has been concluded, raising the relations between our countries to a new level. And since Egypt holds the key position in the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East, the Treaty is also of great help to the liberation movement of the entire Arab world.

The meeting held by Soviet leaders with leaders of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Algeria, and the growth of our inter-governmental relations, and of contacts between parties, show that Soviet-Arab friendship is growing stronger and that its content is becoming deeper.

Our solidarity with the national liberation struggle came into strong evidence during the recent events in Hindustan. The Soviet Union did not hesitate to support the liberation movement of the people of Bangladesh, which was a victim of out-and-out genocide by the military dictatorship leaning on foreign support. The Soviet Union favors a normalization of the situation on the Indian sub-continent and good-neighbor relations among all its peoples. The bonds between the CPSU and the national liberation movements assaulting the colonial and racist strongholds on the African continent have grown still stronger during the past year. The patriots of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Southern Africa know the big role played in their struggle by the aid and support of the Soviet Union.

The conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of India, too, ranks high on the list of positive international developments in 1971. This Treaty will doubtless contribute greatly to consolidating India's independence, and will serve as a factor of peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Soviet-Chilean relations are making good headway and this, as we see it, is of fundamental significance in the general system of international development. The people of Chile have boldly challenged imperialism. And we are backing them in their legitimate wish to shape their own future without outside interference. The revolutionary process, which follows a unique course, is continuing. As I have seen myself during my recent trip to attend the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Communist Party of

Chile, the working people of that country are firmly determined to carry their undertaking to its conclusion under the leadership of the Popular Unity government.

One hardly needs explain why the CPSU and the Soviet people attach special significance to European problems. Our deep interest in resolving them accords with the vital needs of the peoples of that continent and the rest of the world. We follow the well-known standpoint of the Communist movement set out in the documents of the Karlovy Vary Conference and the 1969 International Meeting.

There is every reason to speak of substantial progress towards a détente and peace in Europe. And the part played in this by the meaningful and courageous policy of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government is recognized by all. Such major undertakings as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to France, his meeting with Willy Brandt and his trip to Yugoslavia, have had a favorable effect on the political climate in Europe. A quadrilateral agreement has been concluded on West Berlin, followed up by pertinent agreements between the governments of the GDR and FRG, and between the GDR and West Berlin. All people aspiring to peace are looking forward to the ratification of the treaties between the USSR and FRG, and between Poland and the FRG, which would be in the interests of all European states and peoples, and those of world peace.

Full recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law by all countries, including the FRG, and the admission of the two German states to the UN, would be an important contribution to forging a European system of peace and security.

Hand in hand with the fraternal parties, the CPSU is working actively, with initiative, for an all-European security conference, which could well become a historic milestone in European affairs. The Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries issued in January defines the concrete principles for a dependable system of European security and cooperation. And the Assembly of Public Forces for Security and Cooperation, which is to convene in Brussels this June, will also no doubt help to transform Europe into a continent of lasting peace and broad cooperation.

The Soviet Union continues its persistent efforts to end the arms race, for disarmament. The great importance we attach to this is evidenced by the Soviet-American talks on limiting strategic arms, by our initiative in the matter of reducing both foreign and national armed forces and armaments in Europe, and by the Soviet proposals to convene a conference of the five nuclear powers and a world disarmament conference, etc.

Naturally, many difficulties and obstacles stand in the way as we tackle the big international problems of our time. Their solution is tied in with the entire system of international relations and requires action by all peace-loving forces and constructive participation by all states. The USSR is doing everything it can to guide

the course of events in a direction favorable for the peoples. It is in this light that it shapes its relations with such countries as the United States and the People's Republic of China.

We approach Soviet-American relations not from the standpoint of 'maneuver' on the chessboard of world politics, but with awareness of their importance for lasting world peace. We have always regarded as demagogical the line of replacing real struggle against the aggressive imperialist course with the fireworks of accusatory rhetoric, while simultaneously rejecting proposals designed to rally the forces opposing the aggressive policy of the United States and denouncing measures aimed at agreements that compromise no principles and are useful to peace.

In our relations with the United States our Party has always followed a line combining determined counter-action to its continuing attempts at imposing its diktat on other nations with a search for realistic mutually acceptable solutions.

As concerns our relations with the People's Republic of China, their normalization is obstructed by the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party's leaders. Their stand on all the most topical and burning issues is unfailingly contrary to the position of the Communist and Worker's parties. Suffice it to recall their posture in the matter of disarmament, including the question of a conference of the five nuclear powers, on the problems of European security, and their provocative line as regards a Middle East settlement. The Chinese leadership, acting in effect together with the imperialist circles of the USA, has opposed the national liberation movement of the people of Bangladesh.

The Chinese leaders are instigating anti-Sovietism, which they have made the basis of their foreign and home policies. They are continuing their divisive actions in the Communist movement and in the other anti-imperialist forces. Their diplomatic maneuvers are more obviously benefiting imperialism.

In its relations with China, our Party is guided by the principled policy confirmed by the 24th Congress, which combines unswerving defense of Marxism-Leninism, the fight for unity of the socialist world system and the world Communist movement with readiness to normalize state relations between the USSR and the PRC and restore cooperation and friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

Our Party welcomes the fact that fraternal parties approve the class orientation of the CPSU's international policy and give it their solidarity and support. The 24th Congress peace program and our Party's work in implementing it, represent our contribution to the Communist movement's collective effort to realize the united anti-imperialist action program adopted by the 1969 International Meeting.

The CPSU's activity in the international Communist movement after the 24th Congress has reaffirmed that we stand for maximum expansion of contacts with fraternal parties, close cooperation, coordinated action and constant exchange of views on pressing

political and ideological issues. That is borne out by the scale of our bilateral meetings with our friends, and by our participation in the collective undertakings of fraternal parties, including theoretical conferences.

We attach fundamental importance to the struggle against manifestations of Right and 'Left' revisionism and nationalism. Unity of basic ideological positions makes for effective joint struggle against imperialism and facilitates international Communist cooperation in the political sphere. But it is also an indispensable condition for developing the world Communist movement as the most influential social force of our time.

In its international activity, our Party and the Soviet state will continue to consolidate the positive changes of the past year and will make fresh efforts towards constructive solution of outstanding problems, will maintain unrelaxing vigilance towards imperialist aggressive policies and will do everything possible to assure the peoples peace, security and social progress.

We know that in this the CPSU has millions of allies throughout the world. The Soviet Communists will continue their unrelenting effort to consolidate all the revolutionary forces of our time and promote the political and ideological unity of their vanguard, the international Communist movement.

Soviet Communists look back on the year since the 24th Congress with a feeling of satisfaction. For our Party and people the year 1972 is noteworthy because in December we shall be celebrating the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The CPSU approaches the jubilee full of energy, enriched by many years of experience of struggle and constructive effort, confident in the correctness of its policy, strong in the confidence shown it by the people and monolithically united around its Leninist Central Committee.



Aspects of Party economic policy

Guenter Mittag

In the socialist countries, where the working class, together with its allies and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party, shapes all public life, economic policy is intimately linked with the overall development process and is part of Party policy. Economic problems are well to the fore, for they affect the life of millions of people. Correct solutions largely determine the rate and stability of social progress.

Experience has fully confirmed the correctness of the economic and social development course set by last year's Eighth SUPG Congress. Its decisions can be capsuled into its formulation of the *main task* of the current 1971-75 five-year plan: continued heightening of material and cultural standards on the basis of higher growth rates in production, its higher effectiveness, scientific and technological progress and increasing productivity. Explaining the substance of the Congress decisions, our Party's First Secretary, Comrade Honecker, remarked that all Party activity is for the benefit of the people, its happiness, satisfaction of its requirements. And there is the proof of experience that the people's requirements and higher economic effectiveness are intertwined aspects of one and the same problem.

In the relatively short period since the Congress there has been tangible evidence that its decisions are being successfully carried out.

The Party again has shown that it is concentrating on improving conditions, raising prosperity standards and thereby further strengthening the link with the working class, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, the entire people. The Congress decisions have met with warm response from the people, expressed in their effort to attain our plan targets—last year's industrial output targets were surpassed.

The clear policy, the far-reaching but at the same time realistic aims formulated by the Congress are expressive of socialism's maturity. This applies also to other members of the socialist community, of which the Soviet Union is the leading force. We can confidently say that the policy worked out by our Eighth Congress is fully in keeping with the decisions of the 24th CPSU

Congress. And the SUPG draws on the experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in its unremitting efforts further to strengthen and expand the socialist economy of the German Democratic Republic. Our Party fully shares and appreciates what L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said at the 24th Congress: 'As Lenin foresaw, economics is the main policy for the Party and the Soviet state, a policy on whose success decisively depends the advance of Soviet society to communism and the consolidation of our socialist country's international positions.' The 24th CPSU Congress decisions determine policy over a long period and reveal the distinctive features of developed socialism. They carry forward the objective process that brings out, more fully and multi-formly, the vast superiority of socialism. They present in a more vivid light the very substance of socialist economic policy and the great vistas it opens.

We shall continue to strengthen socialism in the GDR and to work in still closer cooperation with fraternal socialist countries. Socialism's strength in one country is inseparable from the strength of the socialist community as a whole. That determines our Party's internationalist position. *Firm alliance with the USSR is the reliable foundation of our continued progress.*

The Eighth Congress defined the main task of the five-year plan and clearly formulated the main goal of economic policy in conformity with the basic economic law of socialism, the operation of which is becoming ever more distinct and tangible. The five-year plan contains a far-reaching *social program*, and there is sufficient data to judge its fulfilment. For instance, the plan provides for a 21-23 per cent increase in real wages and salaries by 1975; in the initial year (1971) the SUPG introduced measures to increase the wages of 1.8 million workers. Commodity stocks are being increased apace to meet rising consumer demand and here the accent is on essential goods.

The Party is especially concerned fully to meet consumer requirements in terms of quality, choice and stable prices. Bigger quantitative output is not enough – the people judge our economic record by the availability of the goods they need. And they have every right to demand higher quality and better appearance. Low quality, besides annoying the consumer, hurts the economy. That is why SUPG organizations see the high-quality drive as a political task, as a component of their educational work. One of the socialist emulation slogans, 'Quality depends on you,' relates the demand of society to the work of the individual worker.

An important Congress decision concerns housing, and above all more and better housing for the working class. The plan calls for approximately 500,000 new, reconstructed and modernized flats by 1975; last year we surpassed our target and commissioned 87,500 flats.

Fulfilment of the plan's main task implies not only higher cash incomes and a better supply of commodities, but also more welfare services, such as free medical care, education, cultural amenities

and the like. Expenditure on these items is to increase 30 per cent over the five-year span, in other words at a faster rate than cash incomes. It need hardly be said that this continuous and sustained expansion of the benefits people enjoy out of social funds is one of the key principles of socialism. Nor is it merely a matter of economics, for here we have the antipode of the commercialization of all aspects of human life under capitalism.

The problems involved in attaining the plan's chief goal are not only economic, but also ideological; all thought and action must be centered on the continued advance of socialism and the assertion of communist relations. Hence, plan fulfilment is inseparable from the promotion of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and combating bourgeois ideology in all its forms.

The SUPG is working on the premise that the path to higher material and cultural standards lies through a rapid growth pace in industry, its higher effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and higher labor productivity. And intimately associated with all this is rational use of available resources, i.e., full use of labor power, materials and plant. Expanded production, essential to a developed socialist society, can be achieved only along intensive, rather than extensive, lines.

That regularity is operative in the GDR as in other socialist countries. The main element here is higher productivity, and its attainment is central to all Party work. The five-year plan calls for an industrial output rise from 164 billion marks in 1970 to 220 billion in 1975, when weekly output will be over one billion marks more than in 1971. Productivity will be up 35 per cent on 1970, the equivalent of the labor of 1.8 million workers. In 1971, industrial output increased 5.5 per cent, national income and industrial productivity 4.5 per cent. The stage is set for attainment of the 1975 goals.

The accent on intensive methods is due not so much to the lack of labor power, but to operation of an objective law of developed socialism. The job now is to make full use of available plant, modernizing it to operate at maximum efficiency. Accordingly, investments will be directed not so much to expanding old plants and building new ones, but to making full use of every element of our production apparatus. That is what we mean by high economic effectiveness.

The situation favors better use of the republic's production apparatus, but this entails, above all, elimination of all disproportions to produce a *fully balanced pattern of social production*. And towards this aim we are investing more than 30 per cent of all capital allocations in the power industry. By 1975 our power potential will have increased by 6 million kw, or double the increase in the previous five-year period, making it possible steadily to eliminate power bottlenecks. Last year investment in power rose 21 per cent, and more power capacity will be built in cooperation with the Soviet Union and equipped with Soviet technology.

Now, with more sophisticated specialization it is especially im-

portant to secure proper intra-industry proportions. In engineering, for instance, the plan envisages accelerated development in semi-fabricates, notably foundry work, tools, parts and element-complexes. Investment in foundry expansion increased 40 per cent in 1971. In other branches, too, the need is for priority expansion in what is sometimes called the 'parts-making industry,' i.e., materials, semi-fabricates, parts and element-complexes. This also includes synthetic fibres, output of which will be doubled over the five-year period to give the clothing industry a larger quantity and wider choice of fabrics. And in all these industries much is being done to raise productivity.

In combination, these and other measures will make for balanced and proportional development of the economy, though many major problems will have to be solved. Proper economic proportions are an inseparable and essential component of intensive development.

Increased output now hinges on continued scientific and technological progress. And technological progress presupposes more fundamental and applied research and more rational designing. We must make full use of technological progress to heighten material and cultural standards. That has always been our Party's approach to technology. Lenin, it will be recalled, linked economic development with the use of modern techniques.

Our Eighth Congress emphasized that scientific research must be so organized as to contribute to higher productivity and economic effectiveness. This means that all the achievements of science and technology must be brought to bear in striving for the principal aims set out in the five-year plan. But these aims must be in line with our realistic potentialities and requirements. A subjectivist approach would adversely affect both research and the economy as a whole. For it has been proved that over-ambitious research plans and projects retard rather than accelerate economic growth.

Attainment of the plan's main goal through more intensive production methods calls for purposive effort organically to combine the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. Revolutionary changes in technology and production methods and proper utilization of materials offer immense opportunities for raising productivity. And this objective process has to be systematically utilized in the interests of our economic policy. Of course, it would be wrong to regard the processes that are part of the technological revolution as automatic and independent. At every stage we must correctly choose the orientation of technical progress to conform with our development level, and must be careful not to run ahead or lag behind. At this moment, for instance, the concentration point is *socialist rationalization*. We understand this to mean modernization of existing equipment, mechanization, automation of key production lines. Rationalization also implies efficient use of labor power, economy of materials, high quality and proper organization. But socialist rationalization also implies better working and general conditions. The overall aim is to raise pro-

ductivity; last year 45 per cent of all industrial investments went into rationalization.

Concentration on maximizing operation of the production apparatus does not imply that we are not going to build new factories or start new lines of production. Everything will depend on what methods can produce the best results with the least expenditure. The Eighth Congress formulated the essential features of socialist rationalization, in particular the role of automation in intensifying economic performance. Automation is a component of rationalization and as such will be systematically expanded. In this we shall be guided by our economic potentialities, with higher economic effectiveness always the priority task.

We understand socialist rationalization as unity of ideological, technico-economic and socio-political measures in fulfilling the five year plan's main tasks. The worker measures progress at his factory not only by *what* he produces, but primarily by *how* and under *what conditions*. At front-rank factories rationalization goes beyond improving technology and organization; it provides socialist working conditions. Many factories now have better equipped shops, rest-rooms, better sanitary facilities. Much is being done to eliminate strenuous and health-hazard operations. Of course, there are still many unsolved problems, but they are being successfully tackled, especially in factories where the workers share in rationalization and where, under the leadership of the Party branch, there is close cooperation of management, trade-union and local administrative bodies.

In the light of this all-embracing working-class political activity in carrying out our economic policy, we can fully assess socialist rationalization as a social process. Actually it is a form in which Lenin's ideas of a communist attitude to labor are being brought to reality. 'Communism,' Lenin wrote in his 'A Great Beginning,' 'begins when the *rank-and-file workers* display an enthusiastic concern that is undaunted by arduous toil to increase the productivity of labor, husband *every poond of grain, coal, iron* and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their "close" kith and kin, but to their "distant" kith and kin, i.e., to society as a whole, to tens and hundreds of millions of people united first in one socialist state, and then in a union of Soviet republics' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 427). And so, economic policy is inseparable from the development of socialist labor, from cultivation of a socialist labor morality. A narrow-minded, purely economic approach to the plan would hamper the struggle for its fulfilment, impede economic progress and the strengthening of socialism's social base. That is the conclusion drawn by our Party organizations in operating the Congress decisions.

In tackling the main task of the plan, we are aware that socialist economic integration is an all-important factor of success. One of the fundamental propositions formulated by the Eighth Congress is that the GDR, a component part of the socialist community, will continue faithfully to cooperate with it. Economic integration, and

in particular cooperation with the Soviet Union, is the firm basis of continued expansion of our socialist production. Deliveries of basic materials, fuel, plant, food and consumer goods from the USSR and other CMEA countries, enable the GDR to develop as a socialist country in no way dependent on the capitalist economy. In 1971, our trade with CMEA countries increased six per cent and exports to the USSR 11 per cent.

Joint development and exploitation of raw material sources is of immense importance. And our countries are pooling their efforts to assure an uninterrupted supply of fuel and industrial materials. For example, workers and engineers from the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the GDR are building a 5,000 km. gas pipeline, to bring Siberian gas to Czechoslovakia and the GDR by 1973. This is one of our biggest joint projects.

Investment coordination and joint industrial projects hold an increasingly important place in socialist economic integration. One example is the GDR-Czechoslovak agreement on long-term cooperation in olefin processing, including construction of an ethylene pipeline. This type of joint undertaking is being more widely used also in the production of consumer goods. For instance, we are building jointly with the Polish People's Republic a large cotton spinning mill in Poland.

Much attention is being devoted to scientific cooperation within CMEA. Its scope can be judged by the fact that over 5,000 research personnel are now involved in joint projects with the USSR.

Closer economic integration makes for closer unity of the socialist community. We are at the beginning of a new stage – the superiority of socialism will stand out more saliently in all spheres, and its position in the class confrontation with imperialism will be strengthened as a result of our joint efforts.

In-depth analysis of the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, notably the main economic law and the law of balanced, proportional development, remains a crucial condition for realizing the aims of our five-year plan and pursuing a policy geared to the interests of the working class and socialism. For the very efficiency of socialist planned economy lies in consciously utilizing the laws of economic development, and in line with Congress decisions we are concentrating on their fuller understanding and application.

The Leninist principles of economic management presuppose Party guidance of all social, including economic, development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This means state direction of the socialist economy; central state planning; use of such categories as accountability, moral and material incentives. Unity of these principles, which epitomize the very substance of socialism, and their increasingly effective application have always been basic to our progress.

And there is also this lesson to be drawn from our experience: a higher level of economic planning and management is possible only through consistent operation of our economic policy. In other

words, economic policy is inseparable from the ways and forms of its conduct.

Socialism's economic system is not something stagnant or ossified, but a living and dynamic organism. Speaking at the SUPG Central Committee plenum, Comrade Honecker referred to the need for a serious and thoughtful approach to the economic problems discussed at the Eighth Party Congress. He said: 'Take, for example, the questions involved in raising the quality of planning and drawing up an economic balance sheet . . . Plan compilation presents a good opportunity to assess the changes socialism's economic system undergoes with the passage of time. And this should enable us to eliminate all that is obsolete, give greater scope to positive elements and enrich our economic system with the new achievements of science.'

Obviously, socialism's economic system cannot be the product of subjectivist conceptualization. On the contrary, its existence and development are determined by the objective criteria that stem from the very nature of socialist society. And the inference that follows from our accumulated experience is that all measures designed to improve economic planning and management must be geared to our overall aim.

Economic regulation alone cannot solve all the problems. There have been attempts to increase revenue not by reducing production costs, but rather by producing 'profitable' goods. Of course, the production plan (in value) is fulfilled but the goods so produced do not meet national requirements. These are not merely economic problems; they relate to ideology and communist morality.

If material standards are to be raised, our planning must be increasingly based on accurate economic balance sheets, especially in consumer goods, with much more attention to quality and variety. The idea is to tie in every element of the plan with its main, overall aim. All aspects of planning must be directed at achieving the aims of socialist production, at satisfying the people's requirements by boosting production and making it more effective. That is the iron logic of the main economic law of socialism, and it applies to all our tasks and the methods utilized to accomplish them.

Intensive production calls for precise and economically substantiated production-cost norms (labor, materials, power, water, building, equipment). That is the only way to minimize production costs and compile reliable balance sheets. In this area we more and more often draw on Soviet experience.

We are determined to make maximum use of all production facilities, get the most out of them in the interests of the working class. In particular this applies to the industrial combines started in recent years. They operate on an accountability basis and their strength and effectiveness depend primarily on the strength of their constituent enterprises. We should always bear in mind that the problems of a socialist enterprise are not merely organizational, but concern every worker and his attitude to the community.

Bringing several enterprises into a combine should make for more effective operation, better management, and better research and development through closer division of labor.

Everything we are doing to build up and improve our socialist economic system helps to promote people's initiative. Our Party is convinced that socialist emulation is as much a basic feature of the new social system as, say, economic planning. And the importance and value of emulation increases with every step towards a developed socialist society. In fact, emulation is a powerful factor both in boosting productivity and in fashioning socialist consciousness, socialist relations between participants in the production process. And emulation can be correctly understood and organized only in the light of this dialectical interconnection. That is borne out by the experience of such front-rank enterprises as the Thaelmann Plant in Magdeburg and the porcelain factory in Kahla, to mention two examples. Our Central Committee and the entire Party are doing everything to make emulation part and parcel of the life of our society and give the workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals broad initiative in carrying out our socialist policy.

Implementation of the economic policy decided upon at the Eighth SUPG Congress, the conscious activity of our working class and all working people, confirm the Marxist-Leninist proposition that economic policy is always a class policy. There is no such thing as supra-class economic objectives. And no one should be surprised that our class enemy, in the present sharp ideological confrontation, would like everyone to believe that there are no fundamental irreconcilable contradictions between the socialist and capitalist economic systems. That tactic, based on the convergence theory, is meant to obscure socialism's objective advantages. Realization in the GDR of the Leninist principles of socialist economic management is closely linked with consistent struggle against revisionist ideology, and our Socialist Unity Party is doing everything to leave no room for ideological subversion.

The difference between the stable development of the socialist economy in the interests of the working people and the crisis-affected capitalist economy now stands out in bold relief. The workers' struggle against monopoly capitalism in the FRG and other imperialist countries gives the lie to all the demagogic propaganda. Nor should there be any illusions about the West German Social-Democrats, now the government party – they present no danger to monopoly capital.

The steady and impressive onward march of socialism stands out in sharp contrast to the futile policies of solving the working people's problems within the framework of imperialism. The slogan 'Marxism-Leninism Is the Basis for Solving All Problems' will in the future be just as effective as it always has been. And only with the Marxist-Leninist working-class party in power can economic and every other policy be in the interests of the working people.



Guadeloupe communists

Guy Daninthe

Before dealing with the political and social problems of Guadeloupe and the activity of its Communists, I would like to furnish some geographical and historical data by way of an introduction that may help readers in distant countries to an understanding of the present-day policies and methods of the Guadeloupe Communist Party (GCP).

Guadeloupe has an area of 1,800 square kilometres and a population of 330,000. In the autumn of 1493 Columbus' second expedition appeared off America's shore. The seamen had run out of fresh water and were threatened with death from thirst. Columbus vowed that he would name the first land where they found drinking water after the monastery of S. Maria de Guadalupe in the Spanish province of Estremadura, from where many of his companions hailed. That was how our country got its present name.

Guadeloupe is a beautiful country, rich in vegetation, with no poisonous plants, venomous snakes or beasts of prey. The only blight, our people say, is colonialism.

The island was a French colony for a long time and its aborigines, the Caribs, gradually became 'extinct,' giving way to French planters and African slaves. It is descendants of these two ethnic groups that form today's population.

Guadeloupe was an unusual kind of colony, for its people were granted French citizenship at a relatively early date and actively helped France to colonize various regions in Africa and Indochina. In 1946, the so-called Law of Assimilation converted our country from a colony into a French overseas department. And while the island's economy is still entirely controlled by French monopolies, which own three-fourths of its land area, it is safe to say that we are headed for the defeat and abolition of colonial rule.

Communist groups sprang up at the close of World War II. At present the GCP plays a notable role in the life of our society. The reasons? Firstly, Marxist-Leninist theory in this epoch is invaluable to every country of the globe. Secondly, a policy based on this theory produces a tangible effect on social development. Thirdly, the world Communist movement has vast experience. Its

creative application by even a relatively new and small party, such as ours, makes it possible to confirm Lenin's statement that the Communists' influence is greater than their share of the population. The assimilation of tested forms and methods of struggle was made easier by the fact that, until 1958, the GCP was a federation of the French Communist Party.

A challenging problem is to visualize the country's further development and shape our policy accordingly. No historical precedent may be regarded as a model ready for use in our country. This has to be said before setting out the policies which the Party has worked out on Marxist-Leninist lines.

As their class consciousness grows due in no small measure to the Communists' activity, the people are coming to realize the fallacy of the concept of 'assimilation.' After 25 years of French department status we have to work out our own, distinctive solution of the colonial problem. Our Party sees the solution in autonomy within an alliance with France. Autonomy is not independence,* and we know of the powerful appeal and explosive quality which the slogan of independence has now that colonial empires have fallen apart. But we Communists advocate political freedom and democracy and the self-determination of nations as a matter of principle and hence we must approach the problem soberly. No slogan should be advanced abstractly, in disregard of prevailing conditions.

The following thesis of Lenin's is valid for present-day Guadeloupe as well. 'The right of nations freely to secede,' Lenin said, 'must not be confused with the advisability of secession by a given nation at a given moment. The party of the proletariat must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case, having regard to the interests of social development as a whole and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 302-303).

It is the 'Leftists' who now call for an independent Guadeloupe; they do not deny that they want to strike a blow at the Communists in this way. Let us see what advocacy of this slogan may lead to. To begin with, nominal independence is not yet real independence. Our country lies in a region where U.S. imperialism never hesitates to crush a people seeking a genuinely democratic regime. The U.S. imperialists have drawn their lessons from the victory of the Cuban revolution. The examples of our neighbors, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, are revealing enough. And this we must reckon with if we are to win real independence.

While making Guadeloupe a French department has failed to solve many problems or meet our people's needs to the full, this new status enabled the working people, aided by the GCP and the trade unions, to make some social gains. We now have more

*An autonomous state would be expected to comprise the following agencies: an assembly elected by universal and direct ballot and enacting laws on all matters within the jurisdiction of an autonomous state; an executive body appointed by and accountable to the consultative assembly; an agency for cooperation (with France). This is the status proposed in the concluding declaration of 15 parties and public organizations of Réunion, Guiana, Guadeloupe and Martinique in August 1971.

schools, so that 90 per cent of our children go to school. A new housing program has been adopted. Thanks to the Communists, social maintenance has been improved. While striving for independence, we must not overlook the country's economic capabilities, so as not to lose what has already been won.

The history of Guadeloupe prompts us to be particularly vigilant whenever it is a question of self-determination. In the past, the demand for independence was raised repeatedly, but each time it became a weapon in the hands of reaction. As far back as 1792 the white planters, allying themselves with the British, demanded independence for Guadeloupe to stave off the abolition of slavery. Afterwards too, high-sounding talk about an independent state was used against the people's interests more than once. We do not regard historical examples as self-contained, but neither must we ignore them.

We believe the problem should be solved by granting the people an option. But this does not necessarily mean a rupture with France. The GCP regards as realistic an autonomous regime implying union or association with France. We proceed from the existence of traditional – historical and economic – links and the perspective of the democratic forces of France gaining ground. We feel that our approach to national problems is appreciated by the masses.

In these circumstances, the ability of the GCP to organize the people, primarily the working class, so as to maintain past gains and achieve new ones, is of the first importance.

The GCP has 1,500 members, 11 sections and about 50 nuclei. Most of its members are workers, many of whom are engaged in growing sugar cane, the island's main crop. The teachers, doctors and clerks in the Party are almost all of working-class or peasant stock, and the parents of many of them are still engaged in industry or farming. The Party has no full-time officials. However, the enthusiasm and devotion of its members, as well as the effective forms and methods used by it, have earned the Party prestige and influence in the country. Here are a few examples to illustrate.

The Party has its weekly, *l'Etincelle*. The weekly has modest facilities and no full-time editor. Yet it has a normal circulation – 5,000 copies – that is impressive if it is considered that many workers and peasants cannot read. Occasionally circulation goes up to 15,000 copies, as during the festivals of *l'Etincelle*, which have assumed a scale unprecedented in our country. The festival is a colorful event with music and song and dance, and people flock to it in national garb. It is held on the Sainte-Anne beach, one of the country's finest, where we set up stands displaying photographic and other material about the activities of our sections and our press, the Women's League, Communist Youth League and trade unions. Athletics and outdoor games are part of the festival. Sports are a favorite pastime in Guadeloupe and the cycling races held during the festival enjoy great popularity. We also have sailing contests and walking marathons, on which young people are particularly keen.

The festival attracts so many people (20,00 to 25,000) that the authorities say they cannot maintain order; the Communists do it themselves.

Hardly any Communist would regard festivals, dance or sports as something alien to political work. We are no longer afflicted with that 'infantile disorder' – looking on a Communist as a tribune always and everywhere, an ascetic kind of leader interested in nothing but marching columns. What makes Communists strong is that they live the same life as the people and share in their work and struggles and pastimes. The people believe in us because we appreciate and respect national traditions and customs.

L'Etincelle is the main instrument of our propaganda. But in a small tropical country like ours, where illiteracy is high, persuasion by word of mouth is the traditional and more important method. Besides, the majority of the population speaks Creole and has a poor knowledge of French. The Party has a number of excellent speakers whose gift of persuasion finds proper application at election and other meetings, in strikes and in the lecture hall. We make ample use of oral forms of discussing international developments. We offered several public lectures on the 24th Congress of the CPSU and held a number of meetings in defense of Angela Davis.

The Party's gains in municipal elections are an important index of its influence. Out of the 32 communes, Communists head eight that are, moreover, the most important ones, accounting for over half of the island's population. They include Pointe-à-Pitre, the country's economic and cultural center, Basse-Terre, the French administrative center, as well as the towns of Capesterre, Port Louis and Sainte-Anne. Furthermore, progressive candidates won election in four municipalities with Communist backing.

The Communists in the municipalities have gained high prestige by sustained effort to have the working people's needs met. In Pointe-à-Pitre, which has a population of 30,000, some 5,000 new modern homes and numerous schoolhouses have been built, so that all children of school age can study. The Communist-led municipalities give special attention to the poorest, the unemployed, and those who live on the borderline of starvation. They are given food. Much is done to raise the people's educational standard by offering them lectures on the history of the country and the working class, on literature and painting. We hold art exhibitions and invite theatre companies from France. Nothing of the kind was done in the past.

The General Council may be described as Guadeloupe's national assembly. True, it has virtually no powers, discusses matters of secondary importance and can only make suggestions, but still it is the country's chief representative body, at least in name. We are trying to win for the Council the power to decide independently on a number of matters, particularly economic ones.

Ever since the 1970 election the GCP has held nine seats out of the General Council's 36. In addition there is also a general

councillor who supports the Communist group. We are in a minority, but as debates are public and are occasionally broadcast, our criticism of government policies, our arguments and proposals reach the masses. Sometimes the prefect, who represents the government on the General Council, denies a Communist speaker the floor, but he cannot do that very often because proceedings are public.

Guadeloupe elects three deputies to the French parliament. During the first round of the latest general election the GCP candidates polled many more votes in all constituencies than anyone else. Nevertheless, only one Communist became a deputy. In two constituencies, the reactionaries succeeded through bribery and fraud in preventing the election of Communists in the second round. For all that, it is a fact that Communists poll from 45 to 50 per cent of the votes in a general election.

Thus we take part in election campaigning and in municipal and parliamentary activity. This is a notable field of work for us, and in carrying on this work we strive to uphold the working people's interests as effectively as possible, to build up our influence among the masses, win stronger positions in the nation's life and secure a bigger say for the Party in shaping the fortunes of the country.

We see the basis for the Party's further progress and growing influence in organizing the masses. Our work in the trade unions is important in this respect.

The trade union movement has been traditionally strong in Guadeloupe. Unions were formed almost immediately after France passed a law authorizing their activity. But at that time the unions were under Socialist influence and sought class collaboration. They were socially reoriented only after the founding of the Communist Party.

The main trade union organization is the Guadeloupe General Confederation of Labor (CGTG), once a member of the French CGT. It groups together the most diverse sections of the working people, including numerous employees of the sugar industry. The sugar industry accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of the national economy and employs 25,000 agricultural workers – out of a total of 60,000. It is primarily in this category that Communist influence is strong.

Substantial layoffs took place in some factories a few years ago. Needless to say, the employers did their best to get rid of active trade unionists. The threat of unemployment frightened many. This weakened the unions and they found themselves in crisis. Over the past two years, however, some headway has been made in trade union work due to Communists, and a number of militant organizations have been revived.

The movement is considerably handicapped by the activity of the ultra-Leftists, who have suffered a series of political setbacks and are now using demagoguery to talk their way into the trade unions. Communist trade unionists fight them without let-up, as

the following example shows. Last year the union of agricultural workers succeeded, before the cane cutting season, in signing a collective agreement providing for a nine per cent pay increase. It was the first time in a decade that an appreciable pay rise had been wrested. Besides, the workers won a number of other demands.

The 'Leftists,' taking advantage of the fact that the union of small peasants did not adequately defend the interests of its members, insisted that the agricultural workers strike in solidarity with the peasants. At the same time they falsely accused the Communists of cooperating with the employers. The Party fully used its influence to help the peasants and, as a result, they secured notable concessions. Whereas the employers paid roughly 50 francs per ton of sugar cane in the past, they were made to raise the price to 65 francs. The 'Leftists,' however, demanded a 100 franc increase—not one centime less. Their slogan was 'No compromising.' In the end the peasants got nothing, not even the concessions to which the employers had agreed. The workers' interests were injured and 'Leftist' influence among the peasantry fell off sharply.

'Leftist' elements continue, none the less, to advocate an adventuristic line. They campaign against the Communists and insist on boycotting elections and launching armed action. They still take a scornful view of political work among the masses and of patient organizing effort. They even threaten to take physical measures against our most popular leaders and to organize provocations against us. 'Leftism' and colonialism today link up quite often and virtually form a bloc against the genuine anti-colonialists, the Communists.

We see one indication of the maturity of our Party in its awareness of the menace of 'Leftism.' We have succeeded in steering clear of an adventuristic course because the Party, for all its shortcomings and weaknesses, has deep roots among the masses, is closely linked with the trade unions and with women's and youth organizations, and knows the people's needs.

Geographical distance does not prevent us from feeling that we are a part of the world revolutionary movement, and proletarian internationalism is an important slogan. Our Party supports the brother parties' policy of strengthening international Communist and anti-imperialist unity. We think highly of the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the decisions of other fraternal parties, as well as of their efforts against imperialism, for a lasting peace on earth.

This year the Guadeloupe Communist Party will hold its next congress, which will survey past activity and define the tasks ahead. It is bound to be a milestone in the Party's fight for the people's interests.



Lenin and the fraternal parties

Ernst Henry

Lenin's role in the world Communist movement is an inexhaustible theme, and there is no dearth of research material. There is the whole of Lenin's legacy: his books, articles, speeches, records of conversations. Much can be garnered also from the reminiscences of his contemporaries, Comintern documents and the literature of fraternal parties. No writer can cover all the ground, and this article is confined to the style of Lenin's relationship with fraternal parties.

What is the secret of Lenin's unparalleled popularity? Why does he command such affection, trust and admiration among Communists the world over?

He founded the world's first socialist state and the Party that built and developed it. After Marx and Engels he was the world Communist movement's greatest theoretician. The policy he charted out for it has successfully stood the test of history. Leninism was never 'purely Russian,' national; now as always, it is a world doctrine. That, of course, is the main thing, but there is also this: much depended on his attitude to fraternal parties, on what we call the 'style' of his relationship with them. Let us examine some of its dominant principles.

The internationalist criterion was determinative to all his discussions with foreign Communists, consideration of their problems, the advice he gave and sought. That was basic to all his arguments and conclusions, his recommendations to fraternal parties. To think globally, in terms of the world movement's interests and goals, solve national problems in inseparable interaction with international—such was Lenin's method. And that is what he required of every Communist, every proletarian revolutionary.

He wrote, away back in 1913: 'The class-conscious worker knows and feels himself not only a member of the *Russian* Marxist family—he knows he is also a member of the *international* family of Marxists.'

That thought was intrinsic to all Lenin's work, up to the last days of his life. And the conclusions he drew from it are crystal clear: every Party, no matter what its position in the world, must

reckon with other parties, with the movement as a whole; all common problems must be solved jointly.

He wrote in 1920: 'We are proud that we settle the great problems of the workers' struggle for their emancipation by submitting to the international discipline of the revolutionary proletariat, with due account of the experience of the workers in different countries, reckoning with their knowledge and their will. . . .' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 269).

Lenin taught Communists the political ability to combine the strength and interests of their workers' movement with world Communist strategy, the common interests of socialism being the first consideration. That is firmly embedded in everyone who has gone through this Lenin school of internationalism. For proletarian revolutionaries internationalism is part of their being and thinking, a trait of their character. It was of this material that the pioneer kernel of the world Communist movement was forged.

Paul Vaillant-Couturier, the French Communist, wrote in 1925: 'This man, who had shaken the world and in whose mind everything that had happened in the world was reflected and processed, retained to the end of his life the remarkable ability to feel and think like the Chinese coolie or the Negro farmhand. The oppressed Annamite and Indian, were just as much an open book to him as the Leningrad metalworker, the Parisian textile worker or the Virginia miner. Lenin was the consummate type of the new man, he was for us the herald of the future.'

Progressive workers in every country saw Lenin as one of their own. Witness this from Tom Quelch, British printing worker, labor veteran and British Socialist Party delegate to the Second Comintern Congress: 'Had Lenin come to London, he would have been recognized and welcomed by hundreds of thousands of workers of the great metropolis. The same can be said of every other big town in the United Kingdom and, I think, of every city of the world. . . . The proletariat is fortunate to have such men champion its cause.'

That was how Lenin was regarded by thousands of Communists who knew him or had seen him or had heard him; for them he was very much a member of their own Party.

Foreign Communists respected Lenin for his understanding of their needs and problems and, equally, for his open, comradely approach.

Engels wrote in 1882, in reference to the socialist parties, 'international cooperation is possible only between equals. . . .' That was Lenin's principle, too. He never sought to impose his views, always explaining and convincing, and this doubtlessly played an important part in the formative years of the Communist movement. Spirited and passionate as were the discussions between the different parties and trends, Lenin acknowledged the right of every party freely to state its views and to share in framing decisions which, once adopted, were binding on all.

The consideration and tact he showed in his criticism can be

judged from a letter to G. V. Chicherin early in May 1920. He asked him to read, 'Left-Wing Communism – an Infantile Disorder,' or get some other comrade 'with a good knowledge of the British socialist movement,' to read it, or at least the '*chapter on Britain*' to see whether there were any 'errors or tactless remarks.'

But there is also another aspect to Lenin's Party ethics. His courtesy towards disputants never degenerated into 'softness' or readiness to yield on matters of principle. His criticism could be devastating, but there was never anything personal about it. Only principles mattered. Lenin was irreconcilable to those who retreated from internationalism, slid into one or another form of nationalism, regarded their Party above all others, or tried to sever it from the world movement.

In his comments on amendments to the theses on the national and colonial question proposed by Paul Levi, leader of the German Right opportunists, Lenin did not hesitate to accuse Levi of falling into 'national-Bolshevism,' regarding Germany as the *only* nation in the world. And Lenin was just as harsh in criticizing Soviet Communists for underestimating cooperation with fraternal parties. He regarded all the problems of the world workers' movement from an internationalist standpoint.

Lenin's political intuition was truly amazing but it was not a gift of magic, rather the result of profound scientific analysis coupled with a vast fund of experience.

And not only once or twice, but dozens of times, Lenin accurately prognosticated the march of history and charted the movement's policy accordingly. We know that he foresaw the First World War long before it broke out, the collapse of tsarism and the rise in Russia of the world's first socialist state, the collapse of imperial Germany (during the controversy over the Brest-Litovsk peace) and (before the Genoa Conference) the breakthrough of the anti-Soviet diplomatic front, the collapse of imperialism's colonial system, the worldwide implications of the national liberation movement, and much more.

Foreign Communists were often surprised by Lenin's foresight when discussing problems of their own countries and many Party leaders emphasize that in their reminiscences. Time and again Lenin's analysis helped fraternal parties find their bearings in complex situations, work out a correct program of action and prevent setbacks. The key to that should be sought primarily in the depth of Lenin's scientific approach to the problems the movement had to cope with. For Lenin was not only a great practitioner of revolution, but also its *supreme theoretician*. Precise analysis backed by conclusions drawn from equally precise understanding of reality helped him continue the work begun by Marx and Engels, pose and solve such crucial problems of Marxist theory as the nature of imperialism and the possibility of socialism triumphing at first in one or several countries; the passage from bourgeois to socialist revolution; the new type of proletarian party; the building of socialism in one country, the alliance of the victorious proletariat with the

national-liberation movement, etc. Lenin's revolutionary practice was inseparable from his theoretical work, the foundation on which it was based.

For Lenin politics was very much a science. Every question was studied 'to its very depth': he would not agree to less. Hence, the ironclad logic, the steel strength of his arguments. This, too, often astounded foreigners.

A progressive American writer, A. R. Williams, who witnessed the October Revolution and had several talks with Lenin, quotes these words of another writer: 'Lenin does not reply to his opponents, he subjects them to vivisection. His is a razor-edge mind; it works with astonishing incisiveness, he immediately grasps the slightest mistake of his opponent, repudiates unacceptable premises and shows the absurd conclusions that follow from them . . . You are carried away by the strength of his logic, captivated by his intellectual passion.'

This is what John Reed wrote of Lenin: 'An extraordinary people's leader due exclusively to his intellect, alien to posing, never succumbs to moods, firm, unbending, without affectation, capable of explaining the most complex ideas in simple words and of profoundly analyzing a concrete situation, combining penetrative flexibility with bold thinking.'

Walter Ulbricht, who attended the Fourth Comintern Congress, recalls: '. . . Lenin immediately got to the heart of the matter. He was not to be sidetracked by secondary questions. He never missed an essential point.'

Searching and accurate scientific analysis. That is what enabled Lenin to foresee events in other countries, to see the contours of change and realistically appraise the forces of the working class and its opponents. And here, as in everything else, Lenin did not tolerate dilettantism or superficiality. His analysis always rested on reality and what it held for the future. Lenin wrote of Marx: 'There is no trace of an attempt . . . to make up an utopia, to indulge in idle guess-work about what cannot be known' (Vol. 25, p. 458). These words apply in full measure to Lenin too. It was practically impossible to shake, let alone demolish, his conclusions. And that is why his views, his counsel, his criticism, had such a powerful impact on fraternal parties.

In the international class struggle scientific analysis of the political situation is not enough. It has to be complemented by the art of strategy. Lenin possessed both.

The strategy of the world revolutionary process, the art of organizing and mobilizing the millions, of directing rebellion, tactics towards the bourgeois parties, bourgeois parliaments, the Social Democrat parties – to this day Lenin's thoughts on these and other problems are being studied by Communists in every country. 'Left-Wing Communism' is read as a veritable manual of revolutionary strategy, and from it millions in the fraternal parties learn how, and how not, to wage the revolutionary struggle.

There was not a single major issue of revolutionary strategy and

tactics to which Lenin did not respond. To cite but one example: in April 1919 the Munich workers proclaimed the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Their leaders, devoted and convinced Communists, were conversant with Marxist theory but lacked revolutionary experience. Bavarian counter-revolution, strong, crafty and merciless, mounted a devastating counter-attack. The revolutionary vanguard was small; kulak forces were being mustered around Munich, Reichswehr generals were preparing to strike; workers' power was in mortal peril. The alignment of forces did not favor the insurgents. Much would be decided in these critical days – and it was only a matter of days – much would depend on what the Bavarian Communists did, whether they could hold and strengthen their positions before the bourgeoisie struck at Munich. What was to be done?

On April 27, 1919 Lenin addressed a message of greetings to the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Conditions then were such that it reached the Bavarian Communists too late, when the counter-revolution had gained the initiative. Nonetheless, this message will always remain a classical example of the power and vision of Lenin's revolutionary strategy and tactics. It read in part:

'We ask you insistently to give us more frequent, definite information on the following. What measures have you taken to fight the bourgeois executioners, the Scheidemanns and Co.; have councils of workers and servants been formed in the different sections of the city; have the workers been armed; have the bourgeoisie been disarmed; has use been made of the stocks of clothing and other items for immediate and extensive aid to the workers, and especially to the farm laborers and small peasants; have the capitalist factories and wealth in Munich and the capitalist farms in its environs been confiscated; have mortgage and rent payments by small peasants been cancelled; have the wages of farm laborers and unskilled workers been doubled or trebled; have all paper stocks and all printing-presses been confiscated so as to enable popular leaflets and newspapers to be printed for the masses; has the six-hour working day with two- or three-hour instruction in state administration been introduced; have the bourgeoisie in Munich been made to give up surplus housing so that workers may be immediately moved into comfortable flats; have you taken over all the banks; have you taken hostages from the ranks of the bourgeoisie; have you introduced higher rations for the workers than for the bourgeoisie; have all the workers been mobilized for defense and for ideological propaganda in the neighboring villages? The most urgent and most extensive implementation of these and similar measures, coupled with the initiative of workers', farm laborers' and – acting apart from them – small peasants' councils, should strengthen your position. An emergency tax must be levied on the bourgeoisie, and an actual improvement effected in the condition of the workers, farm laborers and small peasants at once and at all costs' (Vol. 29, pp. 325-26).

Such was Lenin's message. What did it contain? A draft political program? Much more, and primarily a concise *operational plan*

drawn up by the strategist and tactician of the revolution for one of the first battles in the looming clash with the class enemy.

And who will question the importance for revolutionary strategy of Lenin's formulation, in his talk with Mongolian comrades in 1921, of non-capitalist development for their country.

Similar situations arose in those years in other countries too. Whenever these questions were discussed in the Communist International, Lenin helped find correct solutions. By combining the experience of the Russian revolution with international experience he could detect the regularities of the global revolutionary process and pinpoint the nerve centers of the class struggle in different countries.

What was at the bottom of Lenin's scientific analysis and strategic vision? All the evidence points to this: perceptive knowledge of Marxist theory and thorough knowledge of the workers' movement and of the general world situation.

Lenin tried to keep in touch with the situation in every more or less big country, its politics, economics, political parties, leading personalities. The range of his knowledge and interests was literally limitless. It can be judged from these observations of contemporaries.

L. Rudas, one of the founders of the Hungarian Communist Party, who met Lenin in the spring of 1919:

' "How many farm workers and poor peasants in Hungary?" he asked me suddenly.

'Recalling pre-war statistics, I said about four million.

' "So many?" Lenin asked, surprised . . . "Look, such things must be approached very seriously. Yesterday I met a leader of the Communist Party of one of your neighboring countries. I asked him the same question, he did not reply. What sort of a Communist is he if he does not know the correlation of class forces in his own country and, more important, does not know how many agricultural proletarians and semi-proletarians there are." '

From a letter to Tom Bell, British Communist, in August 1921:

' . . . How many miners are there in England? More than 500,000? How many in South Wales? Twenty-five thousand? How many miners were really represented in Cardiff on July 24, 1921*'

From a conversation with Czechoslovak Communist Antonin Zapotocky, August 18, 1920:

'How about the Party congress? When will you be holding it? September, you say? What is the Left wing counting on? You'll have a majority? . . . Well, I don't know, you might be rejoicing prematurely, for you don't know what the Rights are capable of, what they will do . . . And what of the trade unions? . . . Are they united? . . . Which unions are the strongest? Yours or the Social-Democrats? And who is in control?'

From a conversation with S. Rutgers, a Dutch Communist who had returned from America in 1918. Rutgers recalls: 'Lenin revealed

*Vol. 32, p. 510. Reference is to the congress of the South Wales Miners' Federation which voted for affiliation with the Third International.

an amazing knowledge of the situation in the United States and of the various leaders there, so that I could not even answer all his questions. Noticing my difficulty, he would shift to another question and in this way was able to extract a mass of concrete facts and information.'

R. Avramov, a Bulgarian Communist who returned from Germany and met Lenin at the close of 1917, writes: 'For more than two hours Vladimir Ilyich questioned me about the state of affairs in Germany. There was a hurricane of questions. Lenin wanted to know everything down to the smallest detail.'

A. Taimi, member of the Finnish revolutionary government formed in January 1918, recalls this of his talk with Lenin in February that same year:

'Lenin kept up a torrent of questions about Finland. Everything interested him: the position at the front, the laws promulgated by the revolutionary government, the behavior of different groups, the forces at the disposal of the Whiteguards, how many military-trained people we had, what we were in need of most . . .'

Whatever the country he dealt with, Lenin was tireless in his quest for information, and this despite his many other duties. Facts about the country were for him what figures are for the mathematician; they were his barometer of world politics. His knowledge of the facts surprised many seasoned leaders of fraternal parties. But Lenin wanted always to know more, always eager for a full, unembellished picture.

That applied also to his polemics with political opponents. Here, too, he was extremely scrupulous. For instance, in 1920, during the Turin Congress of the Italian Socialist Party, and in connection with Treves' anti-Communist speech at the Congress, Lenin began work on the article "On the Struggle Within the Italian Socialist Party." He sent this note to A. M. Geller who was collecting material about the congress:

'Be sure to get Treves' speech . . . Collect *all* the material and translate the *main* parts to *prove every point* concerning the Turin program, *prove*.'

Lenin would not accept any substitute for precise information, or any embellishment of the facts. Typical in this respect is his letter to Eugene Varga of September 1, 1921. Varga was then preparing organization of an Information Institute on the International Labor Movement. Lenin wrote:

'We need *full and truthful* information. And the truth must not depend on whom it is meant to serve.'

Lenin insisted on full, precise and reliable facts. His marginal notes on Varga's plan stressed the need for 'objective data,' which, he believed, were important not only for his own work as leader, but for every Communist. For Communists must learn from stark reality, not from simplistic or embellished versions, and must cultivate ability to think in practical terms. 'One must use one's own brains and be able to find one's bearings in each particular instance' (Vol. 31, p. 68).

And one more trait of the Lenin character: a tremendous capacity for work complemented by a realistic, business-like approach.

In relations with foreign Communists one can detect the same approach Lenin used as head of the Soviet government. Everyone who met him remarks on that.

There is the testimony of a British progressive, W. Hood, who met Lenin in 1919: 'Whatever he had to say, he said directly, clearly, without hazy words; there was no room for misunderstanding when you talked to Lenin, and no one went away with a false impression.'

And not only because his words always had a definite purpose, because his clarity followed naturally from his unshakable principles, but (let us add) because he was a man of action and never tolerated ambiguity. The veteran German Communist Walcher recalls: 'Lenin's manner of speaking can be described in three words: simple, truthful, clear. He always got down to the heart of the matter, explaining it in the most understandable terms. He was not irritated when he felt he was not understood – he would repeat his thought in a different way, but in simple terms.'

In assigning one or another task, Lenin did not overlook the details, always trying to foresee the little things. British Communist Joe Fineberg, who in 1918-19 was putting out leaflets for soldiers of the British and American intervention forces in North Russia, relates how Lenin '... was at pains to explain, down to the tiniest details, how to print, package and dispatch the leaflets so that they could penetrate through the most formidable barriers.' The man who stood at the helm of world history was concerned for purely technical details. For him everything in the revolution was important, nothing could be left to chance.

This might seem a minor thing, compared with the other qualities of this great thinker and revolutionary strategist. But in practice this, too, this attention to detail was invaluable to the cause of the revolution.

Another of Lenin's characteristics that, beyond all doubt, played a big part in the early stages of world communism, was his simple, comradely approach.

One has to bear in mind the period, the time when Communists of various countries were only just building their organizations and joining the Communist International. The parties were taking their first steps: many of their members – and many of their leaders, for that matter – were not too clear about the aims of the party, its program and tactics. And there was a large admixture of people who had no clear understanding of Marxism, some of them chance elements of petty-bourgeois or semi-anarchistic makeup, and they injected confusion and sowed discord. In some of the new parties the 'Lefts' were especially active, in others the Right opportunists. Party discipline had still to be inculcated and there were frequent threats of a split. There was much controversy, much serious debate. The supreme arbiter was the Communist International, founded on Lenin's initiative as the *collective leadership* of the world pro-

letarian movement, an organ in which the fraternal parties jointly discussed and resolved cardinal issues. The famous Conditions for Comintern membership were drawn-up by Lenin with regard for the concrete situation.

In those years Lenin was seen by Communists everywhere not only as a great ideologist and strategist, but also as a close comrade, a leader known for his modesty and humaneness, with no trace of high-handedness, and with sincere respect for the experience and knowledge of others. Like Marx, he would not tolerate anything remotely resembling a personality cult, and always sharply condemned any such attitude in relation to himself. Yet his authority in the fraternal parties was incomparably higher than conceivable under any personality cult.

Lenin was adamant where the principles of the international movement were concerned, and in serious cases even sharp. No one ever called him soft, that was totally alien to him, to his utter dedication to the cause and his sense of responsibility for the destinies of communism. When he had to attack he did so fully armed, and gave no quarter.

Italian Communist Umberto Terracini describes Lenin's speech at the Third Comintern Congress (1921) against the Leftists, including Terracini himself: 'His sharp attack mounted as he spoke. His speech was devastating, demolishing all our constructions, formulas and conceptions. Self-defense? No! On the contrary, a full-blast attack, because "if the Congress is not going to wage a vigorous offensive against such errors, against such 'Leftist' stupidities, the whole movement is doomed . . . We Russians, are already sick and tired of these Leftist phrases".'

Lenin was ruthless in debate, but only when necessitated by the cause of the revolution. Any other approach was for him inconceivable. He did not resort to use of his power in debate, never placed himself above others. Clara Zetkin wrote: 'He merged with the mass of comrades. Was one with them, one of many. He did not want, even by a single gesture or expression, to exert the pressure of a 'leading personality.' That would never occur to him, though he was in truth an outstanding personality. Lenin behaved as equal among equals with whom he was associated heart and soul. There was no trace of the "man of power," his authority in the Party was the authority of an ideal leader and comrade, before whose superiority people bowed because they knew he would always understand them and wanted to be understood.'

British journalist Arthur Ransome remarked: 'Ambition was totally foreign to him.' Hungarian Communist D. Varga: 'Lenin never emphasized his superiority, never imposed his opinions, he was always able to convince, lead you to see the truth.' Clare Scheridan, the British sculptress, made this note: 'His face expressed deep thought rather than power.'

Lenin himself wrote:

'The leaders of the working class are not angels, saints or heroes,

*Terracini is quoting Lenin's speech at the Third Comintern Congress; Vol. 32, p. 468.

but people like anyone else. They make mistakes. The Party puts them right' (vol. 18, p. 172).

Everyone was impressed by Lenin's simplicity and modesty. And foreign comrades noted the sharp contrast between his simple way of life and the bourgeois comfort of Western Social-Democratic leaders.

A great revolutionary, Lenin was a great democrat. His knowledge of politics was multiplied by his knowledge of people. That explains the respect and affection he enjoyed in the fraternal parties.

And one more characteristic, the *dynamism* present in all his work, in all his actions as leader of the world workers' and Communist movement.

Everyone who met Lenin spoke of his love of life, his unfailing optimism (even when gravely ill), his unbending will, remarkable capacity for work, sense of humor. He was a man who radiated life. Arthur Ransome remarks that he had never seen a man of his calibre with such a lively temperament. An American, MacBride, wrote that a man without Lenin's sense of humor would not have coped with all the difficulties. Hungarian D. Varga: 'The more difficult the situation, the more he joked, the more lively he became, inspiring confidence in everyone who heard him.' Swede F. Stroem: 'Lenin was like a locomotive. There was remarkable force in this modest man.' Significantly, John Reed spoke of Lenin as the 'locomotive of history.'

But Lenin's immense vitality was concentrated on the main aim. His inveterate enemy, the Menshevik Dan, was compelled to admit: Lenin was invincible 'because no other man lives day and night by the single thought of revolution. He sees revolution even in his sleep. Well, what can you do with a man like that?'

Lenin the scientist, Lenin the strategist, Lenin the organizer, Lenin the man. In each of these capacities he helped the world Communist movement and on a scale which even now cannot be fully measured.

NEW BOOKS ON LENIN AND LENINISM

G. Bess, M. Simon, J. Milhau, *Lénine, philosophie, culture* (Lenin, Philosophy, and Culture). Paris, Editions sociales, 1971. 192 pp.

This book by French Marxist philosophers has three sections: 'Lenin and Problems of Philosophy' (M. Simon), 'Lenin's Struggle Against Philosophical Revisionism' (J. Milhau), and 'Lenin and the Cultural Revolution' (G. Bess). The authors do not confine themselves to a mere exposition of Lenin's concepts but show their relevance to present-day ideological battles and the theoretical and political activity of Communist parties, primarily the FCP.

Running through the book is the idea of the unity of revolutionary theory and practice, of philosophy and politics.

The interconnection of Marxist philosophy and politics implies that philosophy must be carried forward as a science if the party wants to use it as a sure guide in framing its policies. M. Simon shows Lenin's contribution to philosophical science and the main lines of its development and criticizes various attempts to reduce Lenin's philosophical writings chiefly to their political aspects.

Lenin's struggle against philosophical revisionism – a struggle which retains its validity – is another key subject of the book. J. Milhau points, in particular, to the validity of Lenin's critique of Machism as a weapon against neo-positivism, one of the principal trends of modern bourgeois philosophy. He concerns himself especially with exposing the anti-Marxist views of R. Garaudy, who accuses the French Communist Party of dogmatism and urges it to renounce its allegiance to 'one philosophy,' Marxism-Leninism. J. Milhau describes Garaudy's advocacy of philosophical pluralism in the Party as 'reactionary and revisionist degeneration.'

G. Bess deals with Lenin's theory of the cultural revolution, above all such problems as democratizing culture and bringing it to the masses, the Communist Party's attitude to the intellectuals and the partisanship of literature. He notes the results achieved by the Soviet Union in carrying out Lenin's program for the cultural revolution and stresses the historic significance of Soviet experience.

N. Doren

A. Wirth, *Lenin a filosofus* (Lenin the Philosopher). Budapest, Kosuth könyvkiado, 1971. 171 pp.

A favorite device of bourgeois 'Marxologists' and revisionists is to minimize the value of Lenin's philosophical legacy and to contrast Lenin the political leader to Lenin the philosopher, and the political practice of Leninism to its theoretical content. They give primary credit for the advancement of Marxist philosophy to Western theoreticians and not to Lenin.

The book refutes this allegation and reveals the lasting value of Lenin's philosophical heritage. It stresses that Lenin considered it vastly important to demonstrate the need for the revolutionary transformation of the world from the standpoint of theory and philosophy and took a firm stand against conceiving philosophy as 'abstractly speculative theory or empty philosophising divorced from life.' Lenin saw scientific philosophy as the 'living ideological content and methodological foundation of Marxism.'

Materialism and Empirio-Criticism contributed to the ideological and theoretical elaboration of problems posed by history, the author writes. He shows up the indefensibility of bourgeois and revisionist contentions that this work is purely political or even tactical. He proves that in it Lenin, defeating attempts to falsify Marxist philosophy and substitute positivism and subjective idealism for it, carries forward and concretizes Marxist philosophy on the basis of the achievements of science and revolutionary practice.

Lenin did much to develop materialist dialectics, which he saw

as a requisite of the scientific approach to the social problems of the time. The entire content of Lenin's philosophical legacy, the author points out, helps to search for ways of solving new problems and serves as a program for carrying forward revolutionary theory.
G. Szabo

V. I. LENIN, *On the Unity of the International Communist Movement*. London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1971. 350 pp.

VADASZ, S. *Lenin es a zimmerwaldi baloldal* (Lenin and the Zimmerwald Left). Budapest, Akademiai kiado, 1971. 231 pp.

V. V. GORBUNOV. *Lenin i sotsialisticheskaya kultura* (Lenin and Socialist Culture). Lenin's Concept of the Formation of Socialist Culture. Moscow, 'Mysl,' 1972. 340 pp.

B. M. KEDROV. *Lenin i dialektika yestestvoznaniya XX veka* (Lenin and the Dialectics of Natural Science in the Twentieth Century). Moscow, 'Nauka,' 1971. 399 pp.

Leninske uchenie o strane (Lenin's Doctrine of the Party). Bratislava, Pravda, 1971. 540 pp.

Lenin i problemy sovremennogo Kitaya (Lenin and Problems of Modern China). By a group of authors. Moscow, Politizdat, 1971. 280 pp.

M. B. MITIN. V. I. *Lenin i aktualniye problemy filosofii* (Lenin and Topical Problems of Philosophy). Moscow, 'Mysl,' 1971. 407 pp.



Latin America: the ideological front

A discussion seminar arranged by **World Marxist Review** was held in Prague on the ideological struggle of Latin-American Communist and Workers' Parties. Representatives of the following 14 parties took part: Communist Party of Argentina, Communist Party of Bolivia, Brazilian Communist Party, Communist Party of Chile, Communist Party of Colombia, Dominican Communist Party, Communist Party of Honduras, Mexican Communist Party, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, People's Party of Panama, Paraguayan Communist Party, Peruvian Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, Communist Party of Venezuela.

The discussion was opened, on behalf of the journal's Latin-American Commission by Jaime Fuchs, member of the Editorial Board. The need for an unremitting struggle against all varieties of opportunist and revisionist concepts, and defense of Marxism-Leninism, he said, was stressed at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. This is especially important today considering that Latin America has entered a new stage of the revolutionary struggle, into which many non-proletarian strata influenced by non-Marxist views and theories are being drawn. Winning them over to our side would largely determine the direction and character of the Latin-American revolutionary movement and would strengthen and broaden the anti-imperialist front. There is another reason, too, why the fight against hostile ideology has to be intensified: theories are still current that negate or belittle the role of the Communist parties, the working class and the masses, absolutize national specifics and disregard the general laws and regularities of revolution. It is therefore incumbent on the Communist parties to combat all the old opportunist conceptions and disclose and expose the new ones. Nothing hostile to the revolution must be allowed to take root. Closer contacts between our parties, plus a regular exchange of experience of ideological work, will strengthen the position of Latin-America's true revolutionary forces. That, Comrade Fuchs emphasized in conclusion, is the point and purpose of our discussion seminar.

The speeches are given in abridged form.

P. Ortega (Venezuela) On the ideological front we have to contend with two major trends – traditional bourgeois reformism, and 'Left' opportunism. The main conduit of reformism is the bourgeois Democratic Action Party. It started out as an anti-imperialist party, though not without elements of compromise and anti-communism inherited from Peruvian APRA-ism.* Once in power, however, it came entirely under the sway of U.S. imperialism.

Our Party's political and ideological struggle is directed against bourgeois reformism. And we are now in a better position to wage that struggle through the Popular Nationalist Front, to which the Party is affiliated. Social-Christian ideology belongs in the reformist category too. Its influence is mainly among the peasants and it is now seeking to adapt to the new times by a more anti-imperialist stance, but on the whole it is not a progressive trend.

Anarchist-type groups advocating guerrilla warfare have an insignificant impact. A much greater danger is the Petkoff-Marquez group expelled from the Party but still retaining some of its positions and firm links with organizations close to the Party.

Communist Party activity increased appreciably after the overthrow of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship in 1958. Party membership began to grow, but the new recruits, particularly the intellectuals and students who joined in the armed struggle, had neither theoretical grounding nor practical experience. There was thus nutritive soil for deviations from Marxism-Leninism and for petty-bourgeois sentiments. The importance of theory was disparaged, work among the masses brushed aside. More, shortly before the armed struggle there were proposals to replace Party organizations by guerrilla command groups. Every military leader wanted to impose his own particular policy, and the situation was further complicated by the factional struggle against the Party leadership.

A change of policy was necessary. But there was vehement opposition from one of the Party leaders, Douglas Bravo, who tried to seize control of the Party and was finally expelled. The Eighth Central Committee Plenum (1967) decided on a change of forms of struggle, but some Party leaders disregarded the decision.

In the late sixties the anti-Party groups began an all-out assault on the Party. Their ideological leader was Petkoff, and his ideology was patently anti-Soviet; he advocated 'liberal socialism,' rejected the Leninist organizational principles, the leading role of the working class in the revolution, proletarian internationalism, subscribed to the theory of two 'superpowers.' However, he was able to win over only a small group made up of demoralized and sceptical elements of the provincial intelligentsia influenced by all manner of 'neo-reformist' theories, and part of the students. They had little effect on the Party, but the situation was complicated by the fact that Pompeyo Marquez, the Party's organizational secretary, took a conciliatory attitude towards Petkoff.

The Fourth Party Congress (1971) expelled the Petkoff-Marquez

*Ideological trend represented by APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) renamed People's Party after Second World War; speaks for pro-imperialist big bourgeoisie. – Ed.

group and denounced its theories. Today the Party is much stronger, its membership has doubled, it puts out a daily paper, *Tribuna Popular*, and enjoys much wider influence, as reflected in the contributions to its Fighting Fund. We have also reorganized the YCL.

In this difficult struggle against the opportunists we could appreciate the strength of proletarian internationalism – fraternal parties extended a helping hand in a period of dire need.

D. Jimenez (Salvador). In our country Rightist influence is strongest in the trade-union movement. The economic trend, evidenced even in Communist-led unions, is giving cause for concern. Hostile ideology infiltrates the labor movement through different channels; the mass media, the ruling party's propaganda, the Church, small businessmen and artisan associations, etc. Nor should we discount the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization and the American Free Trade Union Institute, both of which are vehicles of U.S. imperialist ideology, and the latter even directly connected with the CIA.

Latterly, petty-bourgeois ultra-revolutionary ideology has been making some headway, chiefly among university students and factionalists expelled from our Party, but also, of course, among elements with CIA connections. The target of these 'ultra-revolutionaries' is the Communist Party, the trade unions, progressive movements and organizations, rather than imperialism and the oligarchy, those sworn enemies of the people. Drawing their support among students, and using 'revolutionary,' particularly Maoist, phraseology, they have put out tactical propositions that have no relation whatever to concrete conditions. They maintain that armed struggle by small underground groups is the only way to win power and implement needed structural change. They reject mass action for vital demands, describe the trade unions as 'hiring halls,' have only contempt for the masses.

The Communist Party is combating these dangerous views and stressing the need for unity of the working class and its joint action with other progressive social strata on the basis of a common program. Our difficulties are many. We are overcoming them by training propaganda cadres; strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically; training trade-union leaders and activists and arranging discussion seminars on such vital problems as interacting forms of proletarian class struggle, achievement of working-class unity. Our united action policy has helped to bring a number of trade unions into the general movement, particularly for reform of labor legislation.

We are applying similar forms in the fight against petty-bourgeois 'revolutionism' in the student movement. We have put out several pamphlets and sponsored discussion seminars for student activists to explain the fundamentals of our policy.

We can already speak of certain results: Party influence in the trade unions is growing, and so is trade-union membership, and there is a perceptible urge for unity.

R. Acosta (Peru). Using the mass media and the old APRA party, which still carries some weight among the masses and in the trade unions, the Rights are applying a dual tactic. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie is told that the present government is pro-Communist, that it wants to eliminate private property and impose socialist measures. On the other hand, the students, small businessmen, even the workers, are being told that Peru is under a gorilla, fascist government.

The ultra-Left (Maoists, Trotskyists, etc.) has for its common denominator anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and hostility to progressive change. Peru, the ultra-Lefts maintain, is today the scene of a North-American imperialist maneuver designed to sidetrack attention from revolution through paltry reforms. Peaceful change, they argue, is always revisionist; the only revolutionary path is the violent one. They negate the need to prepare the masses for socialist revolution, denigrate the role of the proletariat and hold up the students and intellectuals as the motive force of revolution.

The Peruvian Communist Party sees its main task in winning over the working class and peasantry for active support of anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist change. In this way we shall raise the revolutionary consciousness of the people. Once we have put an end to oligarchic exploitation and semi-feudal agriculture the road will be cleared to the higher, socialist stage of the revolution. But we are not prodding events; our immediate task is to facilitate the process of progressive change.

Another key task is to bring our socialist ideas to the men in the armed forces, among whom there are nationalist, patriotic and anti-imperialist groups. We concentrate on explaining the nature of socialist democracy, which gives the people the right to shape its destiny and unlimited opportunities in education and culture. In this work we should not, of course, forget about the role of the Communist Party in a socialist society.

While exposing all the calumnious attacks, we must explain our Party Program and the solutions we propose for the country's vital problems. Though our ideological work is still inadequate in the present situation, it has to be said that we have achieved good results in disseminating the ideas of Marxism-Leninism during the Lenin centenary, which in Peru was marked by seminars, discussions and conferences. We put out a weekly newspaper, *Unidad*, and use all our propaganda campaigns to recruit new members, collect funds, etc.

A. Alvarez (Paraguay). This discussion of ideological work has brought out the similarity of the problems before our fraternal parties, emphasizing both the need for their joint discussion and the community of our aims.

After the exposure in 1965 of the provocateur Creydt, who for many years stood at the head of our Party, his group slid into Maoist positions. It is a small sectarian group, anti-Communist and anti-Soviet and with no chance of winning mass support. That is

why it has adopted such extremist slogans as 'Victory or Death,' 'Revolution under all Circumstances.' We are working to win over some of its misled elements.

Right and 'Left' opportunism represent a serious danger, and the Third Party Congress called for a fight against both.

Party unity is possible only on a principled basis. The task therefore is to heighten revolutionary vigilance and step up the ideological struggle against Right and 'Left' opportunists who are playing into the hands of imperialism and the dictatorship by their continued attempts to split the revolutionary forces, isolate the working class and its Party from its allies in the democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. And in pursuance of that task we have decided to put out a theoretical magazine and also a document generalizing our experience in ideological struggle against all manner of revisionists and opportunists. We believe such a document will be of vast educational value to our Communists.

(M. Pereira, the Party's representative on the journal, discussed some aspects of the struggle against the Stroessner dictatorship, stressing the need to expose Right and 'Left' opportunism and the harm it is causing the revolutionary process.)

L. Thomas (Panama). Ours is a semi-occupied country. All the mass media are controlled by U.S. imperialism and this makes ideological work especially important and especially difficult. Our Party has stressed the need for constant exposure of the lying enemy propaganda and has urged Communists sternly to rebuff attempts to denigrate the Party's role of working-class vanguard and question its need for Panama.

Long years of illegality and ceaseless persecution have hampered the normal development of ideological work. That explains why it is not always commensurate with the requirements of the times. We are working to overcome that in the shortest possible time, though we realize this will be anything but easy.

Since the 1968 military coup* conditions have been more favorable for a broad public debate of the country's pressing problems and for the search of a way out of the crisis. Participation in the debate of spokesmen of the mass movements has assured decisions in the interests of the people and has considerably altered the draft labor code and the agrarian and educational reform bills.

In all these vicissitudes liberal-bourgeois reformism revealed itself as the most dangerous and harmful ideology. To mislead the masses the reformists are infusing new arguments into old theories. The object is to prevent solutions that would undermine their economic positions and weaken U.S. imperialist domination. Much of their propaganda centers around the 'menace emanating from outside our continent' and the consequential need for U.S. troops to 'defend the neutrality of the Canal.' Another propaganda figment is 'regional development' allegedly in order to prevent internal strife and conflict.

*The nature of the coup and the policy of its leaders are discussed in an article by R. D. Sousa, General Secretary of the People's Party, in No. 2, 1971, of WMR.

So far the reformists have not suggested a workable way out of the crisis, but they have assiduously instilled the idea that the socialist path is inapplicable to Panama and loans and technical assistance from the socialist countries would be 'ineffectual.'

Our Party is fighting these and similar ideological attacks of the class enemy. In fact, we can already speak of a measure of success. For instance, we have effectively refuted (in the course of the agrarian reform campaign) the reformist contention that our peasants are still immature and incapable of collective effort. And we are demonstrating that only in close association with the masses, teaching them and learning from them, can we solve all our problems and demolish reformist views and conceptions.

R. Perez (Nicaragua). For more than 35 years our country has been under a reactionary dictatorship. This has greatly complicated the work of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (NSP). In 1967 there was a sharp inner-Party struggle culminating in the expulsion of a group of opportunists, including the brothers Lorio who for many years were in the Party leadership. They have since set up a small group claiming to be Nicaragua's only Marxist-Leninist party. It makes slanderous attacks on the NSP, distorting its assessment of the situation, comes out against the CPSU and the international Communist movement and tries to penetrate NSP-led trade unions. And though it has the support of reactionary elements and the big bourgeoisie who are doing their inadequate best to sow confusion in the revolutionary movement, it will never, we think, manage to become anything resembling an effective political trend.

In recent years the middle strata have joined the workers and peasants in the fight for national liberation and the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship. And there has been much more activity from the progressive intelligentsia and students. Even some members of the clergy have taken a patriotic stand. Of course, this involvement of social strata sharing differing ideologies complicates our work and calls for much more flexibility.

The ultra-Left, united in the Sandinist National Liberation Front, plays an active part. The movement was founded 10 or 11 years ago and draws its support mostly from young people, especially students and members of the petty bourgeoisie. It is named after our national hero, Augusto Cesar Sandino. We have serious ideological differences with the Sandinists, primarily on the ways and means of restructuring Nicaraguan society. The Sandinists believe that can only be done – and should be done now – by mobilizing all the democratic and progressive forces for armed struggle. Our Party provides for that, too, as the only possible way of overthrowing the dictatorship, but we believe that the necessary revolutionary situation does not yet exist.

In the 60s we underestimated the importance of the revolutionary student movement. The mounting struggle against the tyrannical regime led to the foundation of the Socialist Youth Movement, an affiliate of the NSP, and it has been growing steadily and rapidly

since 1967. The National University has become the scene of an ideological clash between ultra-Lefts and supporters of our Party.

We are working towards unity of the democratic and progressive forces, towards unity of the student movement and its involvement in the common struggle against the dictatorship. In short, we urge a unitarian policy.

About two years ago, a national opposition coalition was formed under our Party's leadership and joined by the Independent Liberal Party (Left centrist), the Social-Christians and a conservative bourgeois group. However, the coalition collapsed following the defection of some of the Social-Christian leaders. The opposition bloc was broken up at a time when it was rapidly gaining strength and developing into a mass movement creating the conditions for the decisive battle to topple the dictatorship. The situation was further aggravated by the Liberal Nationalists and Conservatives joining forces in an election bloc.

In this situation, undaunted by harsh repressions, the NSP exposed the election farce staged by the reactionary bourgeoisie. We are explaining to the masses the nature of the present stage of their struggle, thereby raising their political consciousness.

G. Mesa (Mexico). The Mexican bourgeoisie has been brought face to face with economic and other difficulties that have put an end to the fictional political stability which the ruling element so loudly trumpeted as proof that Mexico had entered an age of class reconciliation.

The present government of President Echeverria came to power in 1970 against a background of socio-political instability. And like its predecessor it took repressive measures against every manifestation of opposition and every mass movement. But it has also resorted to demagogy, asserting that it is always prepared for a dialogue with opponents of its policies. This type of demagogy is helping to foster reformist illusions.

In this situation it is imperative for the Party to direct its ideological struggle primarily against official propaganda and its repeated attempts to camouflage the essence and implications of Mexico's present bourgeois regime. The Communists resolutely expose the opportunist contention about the 'unfolding' of democracy and warn the working class, peasants and other sections of the people against all such illusions.

They are a far cry from Mexican reality. The revolution of 1910-17 brought the bourgeoisie to power and accelerated capitalist development, so that today capitalist production relations are dominant both in the cities and rural areas. This has made for the rise and growth of the big financial bourgeoisie, which now controls all economic heights. The present government is doing everything to keep things that way. Our Party is popularizing the idea of a new, people's democratic and anti-imperialist revolution.

Mexico's Communists are making a sustained effort to expose and defeat reformism in the trade unions. Specifically, this applies

to the reactionary union leaders who, for all practical purposes, are agents of the government and enjoy its protection. Some believe that they can be voted out of office and their stranglehold on the unions broken. But the 1959 railway strike demonstrated the very opposite: the government sent troops to occupy all rail centers, jailed elected union leaders and put the reactionary leaders back in control.

We are convinced that painstaking and persevering effort can bring together all the opposition and revolutionary trends within the unions. Of course, this might take a long time, but it has to be done if we want to raise the workers' class consciousness. And only when the masses come to see from their own experience the need to oust the reactionary leaders, only then can we make this an immediate task.

The Communist Party is opposed to any tendency to give way to difficulties, abandon painstaking effort to win over the masses, shun legal opportunities for work within the labor movement and among other sections of the people. We are opposed to all tendencies that regard armed struggle as the sole means of changing the situation and renounce defense of democratic freedoms. The phrasemongers who propagate these views seem to forget that only in day-to-day struggle can the working class wrest from the bourgeoisie concessions that will create more favorable conditions for new gains.

D. Paz (Honduras). Our trade-union movement is largely controlled by agents of the American Free Trade Unions Institute, and for many years has been the target of class-peace propaganda. There has been a veritable spate of literature denouncing communism as the main enemy of 'democratic trade unionsm'; there are special courses to train union leaders, some are even sent to the United States or Puerto Rico to benefit from American 'trade-union know-how.'

At first we took a sectarian attitude towards Right opportunism in the union movement, but we have since rectified our policy. We have given up all thought of founding parallel unions and are working in opportunist-led organizations, explaining our policy to their members and recruiting militant workers for the Party. We use concrete examples to show the damage done by class collaboration and surrender to capital. And this is already yielding results—for instance, joint action by the two main union centers, the Honduras Confederation of Labor and the General Confederation of Labor, forced the government and Congress to make concessions.

Opportunist trends are widespread also in the peasant movement. The National Peasant Association, the country's biggest, is controlled by the above-mentioned American Institute. Our Party publishes pamphlets for the peasants, also extensive articles in its press, arranges study classes for peasant activists, and so on. We do not intend to set up parallel peasant organizations, instead we are concentrating on existing ones, working to change the alignment

of forces in our favor. And here, too, we can speak of results: the peasants are gradually shedding their anti-Communist prejudices and their leaders are more energetically campaigning for radical agrarian reform. In combating Right opportunism in the workers' and peasant movements, the Communist Party is bringing home to the people the fallacy of the 'social peace' concept, showing that its sole purpose is to prolong feudal and capitalist exploitation. But the final defeat of opportunism will still require much hard work. And we can accomplish that revolutionary task only by faithfully applying Marxism-Leninism.

In the struggle to win over the masses we have to contend also with 'Left' opportunism, which is widespread among the petty bourgeoisie. It has done much harm to the revolutionary movement. Working from subjectivist positions, the 'Leftists' extol guerrilla warfare and categorically reject organization of the working class and the fight for its vital interests. Their sectarianism and revolutionary phraseology play into the hands of reaction which is only too glad to exploit 'Left' adventurism to split the democratic forces. The ultra-Lefts operate chiefly among university students. They claim to be the 'real revolutionaries' and accuse the Communist Party of opportunism, branding its actions in defense of democracy as surrender and retreat from the revolutionary struggle. There is an element of anti-Sovietism in all their actions. But their influence is waning, for the youth is coming to see that hostility to the working class and its political party, appeals for 'bold actions' and contempt of the masses do not help fight imperialism. Young people are learning from their own experience that ultra-Left dogmatism and sectarianism, opposition to united action, the cult of violence and sham revolutionary phraseology are detrimental to the movement.

We employ different methods in the fight against 'Left' opportunism. Dissemination of the works of Lenin and of prominent leaders of the world Communist movement, publication of periodicals and books, organization of study circles and conferences, distribution of leaflets in the factories – all this helps enhance class consciousness and gives the workers a better understanding of the pressing issues in the fight against imperialism and reaction. We also utilize all legal opportunities, such as lectures at the university, exhibitions of posters, photographs, etc., illustrating the achievements of the socialist countries, various aspects of the world revolutionary movement and exposing the crimes of imperialism.

In its fight against Right and 'Left' opportunism, the Communist Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution. We believe that the agrarian, anti-imperialist people's revolution is an indispensable stage for Honduras. But that revolution can be performed only given a high level of consciousness and organization of the people, unity of all democratic forces and their insoluble link with the masses. Our Party tells the people that the ruling classes will never voluntarily yield power. The Communists are therefore preparing for all forms of struggle depending on the concrete poli-

tical situation and the objective relation of class forces. Unlike the 'Leftists,' we do not absolutize armed struggle, though we hold that the present situation in Honduras does not allow for peaceful achievement of our revolutionary aims. At the same time, however, we warn that any action undertaken without participation of the masses could be an extremely dangerous political gamble.

We have always been helped in our ideological work by the fraternal parties, especially Latin American. This support and solidarity have helped us counter opportunist attacks and imperialist subversion.

M. Sanchez (Dominican Republic). Present-day revisionism and opportunism are deviations from scientific socialism, and Lenin waged an irreconcilable struggle against them. Our Party has to contend with two opportunist trends. One of them, the Right deviation, has lost all influence within the Party and is now practically nonexistent. Its origins can be traced to individuals who fought courageously for the Party, but not from positions of Marxism-Leninism. When they returned from exile and convened the Second Party Congress, they had no clear action program, nor even an elementary plan of work in the trade unions. Our Party is now in the process of renewal. It has a new leadership, is developing propaganda of socialism and work in the trade unions.

'Leftism,' Maoist conceptions, have proved especially tenacious, and we are successfully combating them, notably in the capital. We follow the various ideological trends prevalent among the youth. Young people, though active against imperialism and the oligarchy, are liable to adopt incorrect postures. We hope that in time we shall win over larger sections of the youth.

J. Campusano (Chile). To consolidate and extend Chile's revolutionary reconstruction, the Popular Unity forces have mounted a tense ideological battle against Rightist and 'Left' trends impeding our progress. We are also watchful of reaction's organized forces in the National Party, the Right wing of the Demochristian Party under E. Frei, and the fascist ostentatiously styled 'Motherland and Freedom' group. Communists, who are, along with the Socialists, the political and social backbone of the anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist coalition, play a crucial role in the ideological struggle. That is why reaction's most ferocious attacks are against the Communist Party.

The lawful means at the disposal of the government, our experience shows, can assure the people genuine independence, social justice and higher living standards. The government's democratic gains help us combat estate owners, big capitalists and foreign monopolies. That the revolutionary process in Chile is unfolding without a civil war we owe to the unity and vigor of the working class and other progressive anti-imperialist sections of the nation. Home reactionaries and imperialism have not given up trying to divide the Popular Unity parties, isolate the government from the

masses and create confusion and chaos, which would eventually enable them to cut short the revolutionary process.

In the circumstances, the Communist Party's ideological work is centered on giving the masses the correct bearings in the complicated process of change, elucidating the government's objectives, winning over new sections of the people, rallying working people and students for active participation in building the new society, and frustrating the reactionary designs of the home oligarchy and of imperialism.

The Rightists are the main foes of revolutionary change. They are dismayed by the growing popularity of the Allende government's policy. Having lost hope of support from the armed forces, Rightists are forming fascist bands to assassinate government leaders and other officials, raid premises of Left organizations, and terrorize the population. But while fighting Rightists tooth and nail, the Communists and other Left forces are also aware of the existence of petty-bourgeois and ultra-Left groups, of which the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) is the most numerous.

Of late, many members of these groups have shifted to sounder ground. The Ranquil organization, for example, has ceased to exist; its members have joined the Socialist or Communist parties, while the remaining groups, including the Maoists, have little or no influence.

For years, MIR has denied the peaceful way of winning power, and the leading role of the working class party. It obstructed unity between Communists and Socialists and opposed the idea of a broad coalition of parties and movements. And the advent to power of the Popular Unity government MIR also tried to use for its own ends. This was when our Party declared that it condemned the movement not for its past, but for the posture it adopted towards the Allende government. However, the ultra-Leftists are intransigent and will not admit the fallacy of their concept. At present, they set objectives conflicting with the Popular Unity policy. Their slogans of radicalizing the Chilean revolution are totally out of context with the present stage of the revolutionary process, for they disorganize some segments of the people and furnish reaction with food for slanders and provocations against the popular government. In rural areas MIR urges peasants to seize the land of small and medium producers, and organizes assassinations. This creates an atmosphere of uncertainty among some people and provides the Rightist press with ammunition in charging that the government is trying to expropriate all property in the countryside. In the towns, MIR tries to provoke needless clashes between working people and employers, and fails to draw a line between those of the latter who had once held dominant positions and those who had in some way suffered from monopoly and imperialist policy. The ultra-Leftists refuse to acknowledge the role now played by the armed forces in protecting our national sovereignty and supporting government measures designed to advance the economy.

The Popular Unity government has made it clear that the economy

should rest on three types of property—state, mixed and private. It has also reassured the middle strata that they would be granted credits and allowed free enterprise, and that their property would be immune. But this does not prevent either the Rightists or the ultra-Left from attacking the government. The former predict that all property will be done away with, while the latter leaps across the necessary development stages and clamors for socialism at once, disconcerting the middle strata and misguiding the working people. The Communist Party is fighting these concepts. While disparaging barren rhetoric, it calls on the masses to gain new ground. Backing all legitimate and fair demands, it works for greater political awareness among the masses and for closer unity of the popular forces.

The Party's past history and the experience of the international labor movement show that the vanguard role in a movement is won in battle against distortions of Marxism-Leninism, fortifying the ties with the masses and making flexible use of different forms of struggle. Fidelity to these principles is winning us the people's support. Suffice it to say that the Party's membership has gone up to 150,000, and that the Communist Youth organization numbers over 50,000 members. To advance the revolution and cement popular unity we shall continue to combat the Rightists and the ultra-Left with all the means at our disposal—notably *El Siglo*, our newspaper, *Principios*, our journal of theory, and the Institute of Marxist Research. Defending Marxism-Leninism against all attacks, we hold, is absolutely imperative if the Party wishes to be the vanguard of the working class and the people.

M. Lafont (Colombia). The crisis gripping our country is affecting all areas of social and political life. To resolve the crisis by revolutionary means the Communists are fighting an ideological battle against pseudo-revolutionary groups attacking our line and tactics.

People from different social strata have entered the political battle. They have tremendous energy and great capacity for combat, especially the students. But sometimes their revolutionary zeal drives them on to a false road, and they succumb to 'revolutionary fever.' Then, in many cases, comes despair, or else a variety of anarchist postures. Indeed, anarchism had been the rage among students for a considerable time. Among other things, they opposed the idea of a national student body, arguing that it would inhibit the struggle, compress it into the framework of bourgeois legality, and make bureaucrats out of the university leaders. They employed the wrong methods of struggle, which impeded popular unity, and exaggerated the effect of actions and manifestations, each of which, as they saw it, could in isolation from the general struggle bring about an uprising and culminate in the seizure of power. As a result, they underrated struggles for partial aims, for workers' economic demands, and spread the illusion of easy victories, which leads ultimately to indifference. In effect, they denied the need for unity and spread the view that the regime could be overthrown by some social force acting on its own.

Our Party's 11th Congress (1971) called for patient but persevering struggle against these tendencies in the mass movement. It described them as anarchist, and showed that they spring up generally in the petty-bourgeois student milieu and that their exponents are trying to bring their influence to bear on the working-class movement.

Despite the strife between them, they possess common features, principally a liquidationist approach. Parading as revolutionary parties, they create confusion in the trade unions, break up the organizations that fall under their influence, oppose united action and refuse to mend the split in the Colombian labor movement. The ultra-Leftists deny the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary process, some maintaining that peasants should stand in the van, some that students, and other that intellectuals. Their stance is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet.

Some sections of the people, though influenced by non-Marxist parties and groups, see socialism as the way out of the crisis. The building of socialism in Cuba and the advances of the people of Chile suggest a realistic perspective, especially in view of the profound crisis of bourgeois reformism. The bourgeoisie, too, is toying with the notion of 'Colombian socialism': it has been put down in so many words in the program of the National Popular Alliance. The progressive clergy speaks of 'Christian socialism,' and even some members of the oligarchy have begun describing themselves as socialists. So our Party's 11th Congress called on Communists to explain the substance of scientific socialism to the people and to combat anti-Marxist interpretations.

The Rightist concepts evoke a response principally among the more affluent middle strata, which are inclined to be passive and conciliatory. But they also tend to affect working people. A substantial number of workers confined their struggle for vital demands to petitions only within the limits of the bourgeois labor legislation.

The point of departure in the Communists' ideological struggle is to augment the political consciousness of Party members. And we have definite achievements to our credit, though the number of competent cadres is still insufficient. The Party's Central Committee has only two research groups – one in Bogota and the other in Cali – which have been of great help. Party cadres are trained in our school, founded more than 10 years ago. Out of the 149 delegates representing Party branches at the 11th Congress, as many as 81 had finished this school.

In recent years we have also made headway in various mass organizations, where we formed propaganda courses. And in our research center in Bogota anyone who wishes may attend a one-year course in philosophy, political economy, the history of the labor movement, and the like, for but a modest fee.

We are putting out the works of Marxist-Leninist classics and publishing the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, our own theoretical journal *Documentos politicos*, and the weekly *Voz proletaria*. These publications and the Communist-influenced trade-union

bulletins and newspapers work actively against Rightist and ultra-Left trends, publicly denouncing the anarchist actions of the 'Lefts' in the student movement. To forge dependable popular unity and accomplish a revolutionary solution of the crisis, we must continuously combat Right and 'Left' concepts alien to Marxism-Leninism.

J. Gomes (Brazil). Our experience of the past ten years has shown what consequences one reaps from a lack of vigilance vis-à-vis revisionism and opportunism. Our Fifth Congress (1960) eliminated the painful crisis that had gripped the Party since 1956. We reassessed the sectarian and dogmatic aspects of the old political line, condemned leadership by fiat, and did not elect the exponents of these methods to the Central Committee. Following the Congress they began factional activities and were expelled. Accusing us of liquidationism and posing as the sole successors to our glorious revolutionary traditions, they organized with Maoist support what they called the 'Communist Party of Brazil,' a body now eking out a miserable existence, racked by internal strife and totally devoid of influence among the workers.

Yet, though we had saved the Party's unity and banished the factionalists from our midst, we failed to carry the ideological battle against Maoism to its conclusion. After the coup d'état of 1964* two tendencies appeared in the Party leadership. While the majority set out to analyze the mistakes and to adjust the Fifth Congress line to the new conditions, some members of the leadership opted against that line. They held that we were defeated because we had not prepared for armed struggle, and insisted that we should resist the military dictatorship by direct action only.

Though working deep underground, we fought resolutely against subjectivist views. The Party press rejected the idea of immediate preparations for armed insurrection, which did not reckon with the level of the workers' class consciousness, the degree of their organization and preparedness. We also opposed those who maligned us, denying the necessity of a Communist Party and claiming that a truly revolutionary party could grow only on guerrilla soil. Shortly before the Sixth Congress (December 1967) the factional elements were expelled; they were not followed out of the Party by any significant number of Party members. The Congress fortified our unity and approved the Party's political line and tactics, stressing that the dictatorship could be overthrown only by mass struggle and united democratic action. Building a strong and numerous working-class party, the Congress said, is the historical task of the Brazilian Communists.

At present we are successfully parrying attacks by ultra-Leftists who, essentially anti-communist, are frankly trying to split and dissolve the Communist Party. Though they have grown weaker after the brutal extermination of their leaders by the dictatorship, they

*For the causes of the 1964 defeat see 'Political Line and Tactics of the Brazilian Communists in the New Conditions' by Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the CC BCP in WMR, No. 6, 1968.

are still following their old line. We must therefore fortify our defense of Marxism-Leninism. True, our resources are still fairly modest: our central organ, the newspaper *Voz operaria*, the theoretical journal *Estudos* (establ. 1971), a political education scheme limited in scale, and, last but not least, the local edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*. But we are relying on the solidarity of the fraternal parties, and also expect from *Problems of Peace and Socialism* deeply reasoned articles exposing the essence of Maoism and all other forms of modern opportunism.

L. Padilla (Bolivia). The classical liberal-democratic doctrines are historically defunct. The ruling classes are trying to glamorize bourgeois reformist ideas, to befuddle the class and anti-imperialist consciousness of the masses. The bourgeoisie's participation in the 1952 revolution injected a certain amount of vitality into the reformist ideas, making them seemingly practicable. But just that is their weakness: it is hard to apply them in an imperialist-dominated country.

While examining nationalist-oriented reformism, we should not confuse bourgeois with petty-bourgeois or revolutionary nationalism. They have common features, but also substantial disparities. The main aim of bourgeois nationalism is a 'national state.' Its exponents maintain that before advancing to socialism the nation must assert itself and develop industrially. Their formula, it is easy to see, is meant to conceal the fact that they support dependent capitalist development. They advocate class reconciliation, elimination of contradictions and joint efforts for the supreme interest of the nation. They are anti-Communist, and stress that Marxism-Leninism as an ideological, philosophical and political school is native to Europe and hence inapplicable in Bolivia.

Petty-bourgeois nationalism seeks to protect the country's fundamental interests from foreign monopolies. It propounds the so-called model of 'national revolutionary development,' essentially oriented on building an economy of three sectors – private, cooperative and public. It has influence especially among the middle strata and the patriotic segment of the armed forces, and, as Lenin noted, acts as a progressive force that may join other forces in the struggle against imperialism.

The Social-Christian trend reproducing and disseminating the concepts of European and Latin-American Social-Christians is of relatively recent date. And the failure of the Chilean Demochristians coupled with the ineffective reformist policy of the present Socio-christian government in Venezuela has lessened Social-Christian influences in our country. The Bolivian Demochristian Party, once dominant on the campus, among intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie, is now split. Its younger members have gone over to the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR).

The Marxist-Leninist ideology was acknowledged by the labor movement somewhere in the 40s. The Communist Party, founded in 1950, is now the main propagandist of Marxism-Leninism. True,

other political parties and groups also profess allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, but mostly for purely demagogic purposes. The spread of Marxism-Leninism is geared to the struggle of the workers and the difficulties which the Party has had to contend with in asserting itself as their political organization, on the one hand, and to the struggle against various forms of bourgeois ideology, on the other. It is safe to say, however, that the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of our national reality is gaining followers, and proving its superiority over the idealistic and quasi-scientific bourgeois conceptions.

The present-day situation is highlighted by clashes between the revolutionary and progressive forces and the bourgeois regime imposed on us by U.S. imperialism and the arch-reactionary militarist quarters of the continent.* And quite naturally that is also the context of the ideological struggle. The present rulers have made nationalism their official policy. It is up to the popular forces, therefore, to expose the class essence and true aims of bourgeois nationalism.

Bent on 'rooting out communism,' the bourgeois nationalists peddle the shopworn contention that Marxism-Leninism is a doctrine subservient to 'foreign powers.' They use the press, radio, television and other mass media to malign the Left parties, and all revolutionaries and patriots, whom they style 'enemies of the motherland.' The bourgeois nationalist ideological offensive is directed against all free thinking and against criticism of government acts favoring the foreign monopolies. The autonomous universities, where national problems were once discussed in relative freedom, have been closed. Publications offering patriotic solutions and championing national dignity and true sovereignty, have to be disseminated secretly. This also applies to Marxist literature.

Certainly, the reformism of the bourgeois nationalists will be defeated. And the revolutionary forces will eventually triumph over imperialism and home reaction. But our Party must still accomplish many things before this happens.

J. Fuchs (Argentina). We have always acknowledged the importance of ideological struggle. But now, with the growth of the people's anti-imperialist consciousness and its greater political maturity, with reaction going out of its way to impede unity and prevent the working class from performing its vanguard role, its importance has doubled. It is also topical because for Argentina the aim of a people's democratic government is no longer a mere slogan, but is fast becoming a realistic alternative as the popular united front grows stronger.

The bourgeois nationalism peddled by Peronist leaders, who hold key positions in the trade unions, is still influential among workers and the masses. The Communist Party is therefore centering its efforts on exposing this ideology, which preaches class harmony and denies the independent role and historic mission of the proletariat in the struggle for national and social emancipation. It is not our

*See L. Padilla's 'Some Lessons of the Events in Bolivia,' *WMR*, No. 11, 1971, for a study of the reactionary 1971 coup.

purpose here to analyze the social roots of Peronism, but merely to point out a few relevant facts. Towards the end of World War II our working class numbered a million people, many of whom had come from the villages with but meagre political knowledge. The favorable economic situation enabled Peron, then in power, to make a few concessions, while his ideologists engaged in virulent social demagoguery, claiming, for example, that the working class had come to power. This was a blatant misrepresentation of the class character of the Peron government, which our Party described as a capitalist-landowner regime. But the Party did not confine itself to just criticizing Peron. It pointed out some positive aspects of the Peronist economic policy, stressed its contradictory nature and the ineffectiveness of its reforms.

Peron's system of views was styled as a 'new philosophy of life' and contrasted with what Peronists described as the two extremes prevailing in the world – 'individualistic capitalism' and 'totalitarian collectivism.' However, Peronism's 'third position' was designed to keep the country capitalist and dependent on imperialism, as witnessed by the series of agreements and treaties with the USA. Our Party exposed this 'third position,' of which V. I. Lenin said that 'the only choice is – either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a "third" ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology)' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 384).

Peron also referred to a 'national socialism,' which he opposed to 'international communism.' Of late, his ideology has been espoused by several small groups who style themselves Marxist. They consist mainly of students and intellectuals of Maoist or Trotskyite views. They have many things in common with the bourgeois nationalists: both deny the leading role of the working class, the imperative of its alliance with the peasants, both advocate a simultaneous continent-wide revolution, both are rabidly anti-Soviet, and both oppose anti-imperialist unity.

To be sure, while combating bourgeois nationalism, we also bear in mind the anti-imperialist nationalism of large sections of the small and middle national bourgeoisie, which experiences the suffocating effects of imperialist domination. The Party is seeking to enlist these strata into the anti-imperialist front.

At present, Peronism is in a crisis. The differentiation between its Right and Left wings is advancing. The abyss is much wider now between the Peronist leadership and the masses, who have been acting in concert with Communists and other forces in recent years for political, as well as economic demands. The leftward drift of the Peronist-influenced masses is under way. The Peronists have not succeeded in winning the workers and the people for anti-communism. And it is one of our Party's principal tasks to free the workers from every trace of bourgeois-nationalist influence and win them for Marxism-Leninism.

The Peronist Right wing is following a policy of conciliation, and

the reactionaries are eager to benefit from it. General Lanusse has gone to the length of calling on Peron, his recent foe, to reach a political accommodation with the present regime. The purpose: to dampen the workers' and mass struggle and prevent at any cost the advent of a popular government.

The authorities dread the National Meeting of Argentines movement, which includes the Communist Party and the Peronist Left wing, along with other forces. Our Party is determined to enlist in this front the organized workers on a larger scale, for its program, which envisages struggle for a popular government, is in harmony with the interests of the nation and is designed to raise the living standard, and to assure social progress, genuine independence and sovereignty. That is the orientation of our ideological work. The 13th Party Congress, held in 1969, stressed that the only way to rally non-proletarian strata round the working class is to fight imperialist ideology and Right and 'Left' opportunism, which breed ideological confusion, diversion and organizational looseness.

The round-table discussion showed that the working-class movement has to contend with its old foes – the Right and 'Left' opportunists. True, the national specifics and the relation of class forces compel them to adapt themselves to the new conditions, to change their image. But no matter what garb they wear and what slogans they use, their aims are the same – to pervert the fundamental Marxist-Leninist postulates on revolution, the leading role of the proletariat, its party, the role of the masses, and so forth.

The discussion showed the harm done by opportunists to the revolutionary process in Latin America. Speakers stressed that continuous criticism of the various revisionist trends, defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and its creative application to the concrete conditions in each country, is one of the most important prerequisites for the growth of the revolutionary movement. It was also pointed out that this journal should publish more articles exposing the essence of ideologies hostile to the working class. The Editors will heed this wish.



Brazilian Communist Party: fifty years

Luis Ribeiro

In common with other Latin American countries, the Communist movement in Brazil was born under the impact of the October Revolution. The founding of the Communist party, the union of Marxist-Leninist theory with the labor movement, was the logical sequel to long years of revolutionary struggle.

'The first Communist groups, signifying the first steps to a Community Party, emerged from heated debates in the trade unions,' A. Pereira, a veteran of our Party, writes.* Preparations for the 1922 Constituent Congress were conducted amidst vigorous struggle against anarcho-syndicalism, sectarianism and liberalism in the labor movement. Organizing was especially difficult since 'there was no tradition of workers' political organizations or independent parties. The revolutionary trade unions, from which the Party arose, were of an anarchist persuasion and their ultra-liberal structure precluded anything resembling tight central leadership.**

In January 1922, the *Movimento Comunista* magazine called for a militant party committed to a uniform revolutionary program, strategy and tactics. Preparations for a party congress were started in February on the initiative of Communist groups in Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro. The Congress met on March 25-27, with nine delegates representing 73 members of Communist groups in Porto Alegre, Recife, Sao Paulo, Cruzeiro, Niteroy and Rio de Janeiro. The Santos and Juiz de Fora groups were unable to send delegates. There were representatives of the Comintern South American bureau and the Communist Party of Uruguay.

The Congress unanimously accepted the 21 conditions of Comintern membership and decided to send a delegate to the next Comintern congress. It adopted the Party constitution, which defined its structure and basic aims, elected a Central Executive Committee, appealed to Brazilian workers to build up Party organizations and trade unions, and addressed fraternal messages

*A. Pereira, *Formacao do PCB*. Rio, 1960, p. 33.

**A. Pereira. *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

to the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Thus was born the Brazilian Communist Party. Its history, so intimately associated with the life of the working class, has become an important part of Brazil's political history. Undaunted by incessant persecution, it has through all these years fought for the working people, democracy and socialism.

This, briefly, was the situation that had arisen in Brazil in those years: worker and peasant actions were paralleled by the rise in the army of the Tenentist movement aimed at overthrowing the Bernardes dictatorship (1922-26); mutiny in a number of garrisons and the heroic march of the Invincible Column led by Captain Luis Carlos Prestes (from 1924 to 1927 it fought its way across 25,000 kilometres of Brazil's heartland). On the other hand, a combination of demagoguery and repression led to a temporary decline of the strike movement.

It was against this background that the Second Congress met in May 1925, attended by 17 delegates. It sought to define the character of the Brazilian revolution, its motive forces and the role of the working class. The young Party thus began to work out its programmatic documents, and its central organ *Class Operaria* (1925) played a big part in popularizing them.

With the fall of the Bernardes government and the repeal of martial law at the close of 1926, the Party was able for a short time to function openly. It now had 600 members and from January to August 1927 published its own newspaper, *Nacao* (circulation 11,000). Through *Nacao* the Party popularized its program for an election bloc of the Left. This was indicative of its tactics in the changed conditions, and a Labor Bloc was organized, with one of its candidates elected to parliament.*

To prevent the continued spread of its influence, the Communist Party was banned, but unity of the Left forces was preserved under a new name, the Worker-Peasant Bloc. It established organizations in the main industrial centers and played an active part in state and municipal politics. Work among the peasants was still in the initial stage and the word 'peasant' in the name of the bloc merely denoted the aim of winning over the peasant population.**

Organization of the Bloc ushered in a new, higher stage in Party activity, which had been confined mainly to the workers. Now it could operate on a national scale. But the Party failed clearly to define the basic tasks and specifics of the Brazilian revolution and its own strategy and tactics. This condemned the bloc to gradual conversion into a sectarian organization and its subsequent dissolution when the country was faced with economic and political crisis.

The Third Party Congress was held at the close of 1928 and in the early days of 1929. There were 16 points on its agenda, among

**Nacao* was instrumental in organizing the mass 1927 May Day demonstrations, at one of which, in Rio de Janeiro, a Communist Party representative spoke in public for the first time.

**A. Pereira. *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

them the general situation in Brazil, the fight against fascism, imperialism and the war danger, trade union work, work among peasants, the Worker-Peasant Bloc, the YCL, the opposition, co-operation with Communist parties in other countries.

The 1930 coup d'état drastically changed the situation. Staged by the so-called Liberal Alliance, it reflected the contradictions within the bourgeois-landowner top crust and helped U.S. imperialism in its fight to oust its rival, British capital. But the coup was also meant to prevent a mass revolutionary flare-up. The new dictatorship started its career by savage repressions against its working class and Communist Party. Trade union and Party leaders were persecuted, imprisoned, exiled. More than 600 union organizations were disbanded and replaced by bogus unions under the Labor Ministry. May Day celebrations were banned.

In these conditions, Luis Carlos Prestes' joining the Party was an event of tremendous importance. As commander of the Invincible Column, Prestes, now the Party's General Secretary, was widely known and respected by the people, especially the working class, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. The people called him their Knight of Hope and his prestige and influence grew as the illusions engendered by the promises of the leaders of 1930 coup collapsed. Pereira symbolically describes Prestes' joining the Communist Party as union of the 'revolutionary proletariat under Communist Party influence and the popular masses, particularly the peasants, under the influence of the Column and its leader.'* In the 1930 May Day manifesto Prestes developed the Party's main programmatic propositions and defined the Brazilian revolution as agrarian and anti-imperialist.

The struggles of the early 30s gave our workers a closer understanding of their interests and their incompatibility with those of the bourgeoisie and landowners. The working class was now in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, of the fight against the onslaught of reaction and fascism both in Brazil and internationally. Together with the Communists, the workers campaigned for the release of Georgi Dimitrov. They attacked and dispersed demonstrations of the 'green chickens,' the derogatory name the people gave the Integralists.** Despite sympathetic treatment, even direct support by the government, the fascists were sustaining one defeat after another.

It was in this period that the first peasant leagues and trade unions, organized under Communist leadership, fought for land and against feudal exploitation. The beginnings were thus laid of a worker-peasant alliance. The Party's staunch stand, its independent ideological platform and irreconcilable struggle against the government won it the respect of the masses. Its fight against fascism and the war danger helped towards a broad popular front.

It was inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro early in 1935, under the name National-Liberation Alliance. Through its more than 1.5

*A. Pereira. *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

**Members of the fascist Integralist Action Party, agents of German fascism. - Ed.

million activists it led the mass revolutionary struggle, and its slogan, 'Bread, Land, Freedom' brought together a number of democratic parties and organizations. With the help of the Alliance the Communist Party, the main force in the Alliance, was able to bring its political program to the masses.

Later in the year, in November, came the armed rising, in the course of which the working class tried to capture power. Revolutionary action was especially intensive in Rio de Janeiro and the north-east. A popular revolutionary government was proclaimed in the city of Napal, it lasted four days.

The armed rising was suppressed but its sacrifices were not in vain. For it proved that the progressive forces could unite on the political platform advanced by our Party. But it also showed that Party influence was still inadequate and its positions in the main economic centers still weak.

Reaction was riding high. Prisons were filled with political detainees, torture became a common practice and the police could act with impunity.* The special tribunal handed down verdicts based entirely on 'free judgement.' Undaunted, the Party re-organized its ranks and worked to unite the trade unions and progressive forces against the 'New State,' born of the 1937 coup with the blessing of Hitler and Mussolini.

With the beginning of World War II, fascism launched an all-out offensive. All members of the Party Central Committee and the leaders of a number of state organizations were arrested and jailed. This was a terrible blow; indeed the reactionary government announced, through the press and radio, that the Party had been crushed once and for all.

The trial of the arrested Central Committee members opened on November 7, 1941, before a special tribunal. After the reading of the indictment, the accused were allowed to address the court. Prestes, who had spent nearly six years in close confinement, addressed his speech to the Party, to the Brazilian workers and people. He conveyed fervent greetings to the Soviet Union on this, the 24th anniversary of the October Revolution. The judges were stunned and it took some time before they realized what was happening and cut short Prestes' speech. This brought shouts in honor of the Soviet Union, the Brazilian Communist Party and Comrade Prestes. The Communists were challenging reaction on its own ground.

The brunt of Party work fell to local organizations and branches. They rapidly regrouped the Party forces and a Party Conference met in Mantiqueira in August 1943. Considering the nature of the problems it discussed, it had the significance of a Party congress. It worked out a new political line, called for mobilization of the masses to pressure the government to join in the war on the side of the anti-fascist coalition.** It denounced the liquidators

*Luis Carlos Prestes and his wife, Olga Benario, a leader of the German Young Communist League, were arrested in 1936. The Brazilian authorities surrendered Olga to the Gestapo and she perished in the Dachau concentration camp. - Ed.

**Brazil declared war on the Axis powers in 1942 and two years later, yielding to public pressure, the government sent an expeditionary force to Europe. - Ed.

who argued that there was no need for the Party in present conditions, re-established the Party leadership and elected a new Central Committee.

The Brazilian people contributed to the defeat of fascism by combating the dictatorship and fighting on the European battlefronts. In 1945 the people regained the rights and freedoms they had lost after the unsuccessful rising of 1935. Prestes was freed under an amnesty. The Communist Party was now legal, for the first time in 23 years. The Party press was growing and the Communist Party won a convincing victory in the 1945 parliamentary elections, polling a majority in Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Recife and other main centers; 15 Communists were elected.

In May 1947 Party membership stood at 150,000. Now a major political force, the Party exposed the enemies of the people, the causes of the country's backwardness and poverty, for which U.S. imperialist domination and the latifundia land monopoly were chiefly to blame.

Frightened by the growth of Communist influence and the scope of the workers' movement, the reactionary forces, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, banned the Party in May 1947 and annulled its parliamentary mandates. Brazil was swept by a fresh wave of repression, the Party was again driven into clandestinity and many of its members were killed in clashes with the police.

The period 1948-54 was one of continuous reactionary offensive and, on the other hand, continuous development of the workers' movement and wide use, often on a national scale, of its main weapon, strike action. Proletarian class struggle and unity were repeatedly discussed at Central Committee plenums. The rise of the strike movement was indicative of the bigger role the working class was now playing in political life. The big Sao Paulo strikes of 1953-1954 were an important signpost of the period. Economic demands were complemented by active struggle for peace and in defense of Brazil's national wealth and sovereignty.

The Party was the moving spirit in the mass campaign to safeguard the country's oil riches—the slogan was 'The oil belongs to us!' The emergence of Petrobraz, the national oil company, the five million signatures to the Stockholm Appeal and the successful campaign to prevent the dispatch to Korea of Brazilian troops were some of the concrete results of the Party's effort.

That effort had to be given interpretative generalization, sectarian mistakes laid bare and the Party and working class armed with a militant program capable of rallying and uniting the people. This was accomplished by the Fourth Party Congress which opened in Rio de Janeiro on November 7, 1954. The program it adopted set out the central orientation of revolutionary struggle, singled out the main enemy, U.S. imperialism, and called for a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front based on a worker-peasant alliance. The Congress opened a new chapter in the history of our workers' and Communist movement.

The next decade, 1954-63, saw a perceptible rise in the proletariat's role in the revolutionary process. This was largely due to the changed class structure of Brazilian society, the numerical growth and concentration of our working class. Proletarian actions, both in urban and rural communities, had a wakening effect on the peasant masses and strongly stimulated their struggle against latifundism. More peasant unions were founded and there was a revival of the mass movement for peasant leagues. Also more political activity by the middle strata, students and intellectuals.

The Communist Party strove to give these mass actions an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation. But this required working out a political course adapted to the new conditions. And in this context our Party was greatly helped by the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress. In a way they served as a catalyst, helped to disclose and correct negative aspects in our activity. The Party also purged itself of unstable elements who exploited criticism of the personality cult for an attack on our organizational and political principles.

The 1957 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties did much to strengthen the healthy forces within our Party. In 1958, our Central Committee drew up an action program, the March Declaration, which more precisely than the 1954 program defined the situation in Brazil and the ways and means of strengthening the united front. Responding to the changed alignment of class forces, the Declaration enabled the Party more actively to participate in political life and win *de facto* legality.

Firm ties with the working class and proletarian internationalism helped us overcome subjectivist, dogmatic and Left sectarian concepts that were impeding creative work and preventing closer ties with the masses. 'The history of our Party,' Prestes wrote, 'is the history of struggle to master Marxism-Leninism and its correct, creative adaptation to Brazilian reality in constant co-operation with the masses and through consistent self-criticism.'

In this period Party work centered on preparations for the Fifth Congress. Held in September 1960, it had wide reverberations throughout the country. The accent in its political resolution was on 'the fight for immediate solution of the problems confronting the people, for a nationalist and democratic government' that would assure Brazil's economic liberation, abolish the backward agrarian structure, extend democratic freedoms, improve the conditions of the people and follow an independent foreign policy. Congress oriented the Party on peaceful development of the revolutionary struggle for structural reforms. The Congress produced a programmatic document that enabled our Party and working class to march ahead to new successes for the revolutionary movement.

And that movement was greatly facilitated by the Cuban revolution, the rise of the liberation movement throughout the continent and the world, and the multiplying strength of the socialist camp. But the success of the anti-imperialist struggle and of fundamental

reforms necessitated defense of democracy and prevention of all attempts to bring to power a reactionary, pro-imperialist government. The working class and the Communist Party were the first to take up the fight for democracy, in which they were joined by the masses.

Faced with powerful mass actions, the reactionaries closed their ranks. In 1964, following a series of abortive attempts, they managed, with generous material assistance and political support from U.S. imperialism, to stage a successful coup d'état.

There followed one of the most complex periods in the life of our Party. Again reaction was riding high – endless persecution, wholesale arrests, torture and murder of Communists, trade union leaders, peasants, students, democratic and progressive activists. And this has gone on now for eight years, indicating that the dictatorial regime was imposed not only to safeguard the economic interests of imperialism and reaction, but also to prevent the very possibility of a nationalist and democratic government under working-class hegemony.

Despite these unparalleled difficulties, the Brazilian Communist Party retreated in an organized manner and continues its work in conditions of illegality. The defeat of 1964 gave rise to two distinct trends within the Party. The majority accepted the policy of the Fifth Congress. The minority argued that Party policy prior to the 1964 coup had been totally erroneous and urged armed struggle as the only correct way.

This had to be resolved by the Sixth Party Congress, which would reactivate the Party, notably its work among the masses, and unite it in the face of continued repression. The Congress met illegally in December 1967 and was preceded by comprehensive discussion of the Central Committee theses in all Party organizations. It denounced those who wanted to liquidate the Party and plunge its cadres into a senseless head-on clash with the fully armed class enemy. It analyzed the causes of the 1964 defeat and worked out its tactics of combating the fascist-type military dictatorship. Congress emphasized that 'the Communists are dedicating all their strength to the creation of a revolutionary government; they will join with all other forces opposed to the present regime and will share in the struggle for an anti-dictatorial government.'

The political resolution declares that at this stage the Brazilian revolution must overcome two basic obstacles to progress: North American domination and the land monopoly. This presupposes the existence of a broad anti-dictatorial front, but at the same time we must prepare the masses for a situation in which an armed rising might be imposed on them.

In celebrating the 50th anniversary of our Party's struggles and ordeals, we can say with justified pride that the Brazilian Communist Party is a reliable contingent of the world Communist move-

ment, supremely devoted to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We had an active part in the work of the Communist International and in the International Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties. Now as always, we energetically support the Cuban revolution, participate in the Latin American solidarity movement and in the great battle against the chief enemy of all the peoples, U.S. imperialism.

We have every right to be proud of our brave comrades, who make up the vanguard of the working class, of all the working people of Brazil. We can be proud of their unbending staunchness in the difficult work of accumulating the forces for the decisive battle with the dictatorial regime. And great as the difficulties ahead may be, we look to the future with confidence.



Aspects of cultural policy

Pavel Matev

Culture under socialism becomes a powerful social factor helping the people to acquire a deeper knowledge of the world about them and the processes going on in society and to determine their place in it. In socialist society, culture sends out impulses that influence people's thinking and action. Those who build socialism need a culture developing in accordance with the objective laws and requirements of the new society and strengthening the people morally, intellectually and emotionally. The political and social victory of the working class makes it possible to transform reality and man. It frees man from exploitation and paves the way for a flourishing socialist culture.

I. The main aspects of the cultural revolution in Bulgaria are universal. On the other hand, it has distinctive features determined by the political situation in the country, historical development, national specifics and international factors.

In guiding cultural development, the Bulgarian Communist Party creatively applies Marxism-Leninism to national conditions, drawing on the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties and relying on its own experience accumulated in class battles. The Party combated bourgeois ideology long before the socialist revolution triumphed. Communists worked on theoretical problems of culture with due regard to the objectives of the working class. The founder of our Party, Dimitr Blagoev, pointed in his article 'Erotica and Socialism' (1898) to the class differentiation in spiritual life and to the rise of prerequisites for a socialist culture even under bourgeois rule.

Socialist realism first found expression in Bulgaria's proletarian literature and criticism of the early decades of this century. It became established as a method in the work of Christo Smirnenski, Nikolai Khrelkov, Nikola Vaptsarov, Christo Radevski, Krum Kyulyakov, Krum Velkov and others. A militant democratic literature upheld ideas that made their way onto the stage and into the imitative arts. The proletariat's class and party positions were upheld by progressive philosophers and literary critics. Worthy of

note are the writings of such theorists and fighters as Georgi Dimitrov, Vasil Kolarov, Todor Pavlov, Savva Ganovski and Georgi Bakalov.

During the fight against the monarchy and fascism, Marxist-Leninist ideas won many followers. Under the impact of Party propaganda and the working people's growing liberation struggle, the most gifted were drawn to socialist ideas. Progressive intellectuals joined in the Resistance movement of 1941-1944.

In our country, art has never been entirely isolated from life nor the artist from the people. This is because many intellectuals came from the working classes and inherited the tradition of civic responsibility and close links with the people from the period of national renaissance. The progress and pace of the cultural revolution in Bulgaria benefited from a reasonably high degree of literacy and fairly widespread atheism.

As in other socialist countries, our cultural revolution is meant to give the people unlimited access to culture, encourage their aesthetic requirements, mould their Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and put education and the whole of spiritual life on a new basis. These difficult tasks can be accomplished thanks to the democracy of the socialist system and to the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist state.

The establishment of new social relations, the emergence of a socialist culture and the formation of a socialist mentality take place simultaneously. Radical changes in the structure of society imparted a new character to culture. The individual began consciously to transform his environment and himself. Today his fate is linked with the solution of pressing social problems. The influence exerted on the new man by culture and art came into harmony with his social mission.

From the very first, the socialist revolution set national culture apart from all bourgeois ideologies. At the same time the rudiments of a democratic culture, which came into being in the capitalist period, were allowed full scope. The Party's correct solution of problems relating to tradition, continuity, and the evaluation and mastering of the nation's cultural legacy in the course of the revolution was highly important. The state based its cultural policy on recognition of the class content of culture and the objective need of working-class leadership of the cultural revolution. As never before, culture was brought to the people, largely through free education at all levels and the many attendant social benefits. In addition, the number of schools, theatres, cinemas, clubs and libraries has been increasing.

Georgi Dimitrov played a tremendous role in laying the ideological foundations of cultural progress and in rearing a socialist intelligentsia in the early years of socialist building. His letters to diverse groups of intellectuals and students and his articles on culture (published in 1946) are as valid as ever. They depict the

type of cultural worker endowed with a searching mind whose effort is inseparable from the new society's tasks. These letters are also a reflection of Dimitrov's own personality – that of a revolutionary thinker who set great store by talent and was well aware of the specifics of artistic endeavor.

The socialist revolution enabled Bulgaria's cultural workers to show in their creations the magnitude of the sharp class collisions that preceded the winning of freedom and to reveal the destiny of a people looking ahead. It helped writers and artists to feel the heartbeat of a heroic time and to portray the new hero.

We follow the Leninist principle of close links between art and the people's life. The educational and cultural standards of the masses are improving from year to year. This has freed the builders of the new culture of orientation on a small group of connoisseurs or, on the other hand, on the tastes of an aesthetically and culturally backward audience. For more than a quarter of a century now, our socialist art has seen its mission not in providing entertainment for entertainment's sake, but in contributing to the ideological and aesthetic education of the people. And while bringing culture to the masses is a social, moral and psychological process, it has certain objective and measurable characteristics.

Universal secondary education is gradually encompassing the whole nation. Bulgaria's 8.5 million people have 19,000 cultural establishments at their disposal – clubs, houses of culture, theatres, cinemas, libraries, museums. Stage productions and concerts draw 12 million people annually, the cinema 110 million and museums over eight million. Every year roughly five book titles are brought out per capita and public libraries issue more than 43 million volumes. Radio and television are becoming part of the people's life.

Culture has made notable progress in the rural areas. Much of what was remote from, or even incompatible with, life in the countryside has become reality. Our villages now have music schools, literary groups, picture galleries and museums. Roughly half a million people are engaged in amateur art. Cultural facilities are continuously updated and extended.

There are favorable objective conditions for cultural growth and the people show more interest in cultural values. This interest is becoming part of the people's spiritual life. It is a mass culture.

II. Spiritual life and creative effort are being democratized parallel with the extension of socialist democracy in every public sphere. A new, public-cum-state system of cultural leadership was set up in 1967, more in keeping with the growth and role of culture. The prerequisites for this reorganization were created by the country's socio-economic, political and cultural progress. They express themselves in quantitative and qualitative changes in public education, science, the arts and letters, and the people's social consciousness and moral principles. The reorganization was preceded by careful analysis. The objective laws underlying contemporary social pro-

cesses were probed into and account was taken of the intricacy and dynamism of today's world, the results achieved in the cultural field, progressive national traditions and the interests of people active in culture and all other working people.

The new system of cultural leadership carries forward the democratic principles of government and makes for greater participation of the public in the management of cultural affairs.

We introduced the principle of electivity in setting up agencies in charge of cultural affairs, from the Committee for Art and Culture to the district, city and communal councils, which are all accountable to their electorates. The intellectual and cultural community elects these committees and through its representatives shares in the cultural policy and activity of the socialist state.

The place and role of creative workers in public affairs today are determined by both the cultural values they create and the extent of their participation in government. They are represented on all other government bodies, from the People's Assembly to the communal people's councils, and now they play an active part in the management of a distinctive social activity, which means that they have assumed a new civic responsibility.

What made us choose precisely this form of combining public with government initiative? To begin with, we wanted to heighten the role of the creative workers' unions and the working people's public and cultural organizations in discussing and solving various problems of cultural and creative activity and to leave more room for initiative, to make leadership more efficient and cultural and ideological work as a whole more fruitful. Direct participation of creative unions in these public-cum-state agencies enhances their role in social life and cultural development.

Cultural leadership is a complex concept going far beyond purely administrative or legal activity or responsibility. The establishment of new agencies and the involvement in their activity of those who create cultural values make it possible to take fuller account of the many-sided and distinctive character of cultural leadership and go deeper in evolving an integral cultural development program for the nation on scientific lines in the period of building a mature socialist society.

This form accords with the historical traditions of Bulgarian culture, which has invariably shared the people's fate and aspirations. It is interesting to note that in the years of the Turkish yoke it was the bold Bulgarian patriots who brought education to the people, so that at the time of the national liberation war of 1877-1878 there were a comparatively large number of schools maintained by elected school boards. Clubs as a cultural medium arose in Bulgaria 114 years ago. They carry on cultural education among the population and initiate library and museum collections and the formation of music companies and folk choirs. Their rise and activity were a product of the recognized necessity for the cultural advancement of the people. The Bulgarian stage has the same

origin. A hundred years ago the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was founded – a result of the initiative of scientists and cultural workers backed both morally and materially by patriots.

Thus, even lacking a state of their own, our people had their schools, cultural centers and press due to the initiative of democratic-minded men of culture. This tradition is being carried forward in new conditions by the new agencies in charge of culture.

'The Party,' says the BCP Program adopted by the Tenth Congress, 'will regulate and coordinate relations between government bodies and public organizations in such a way as to ensure the progress of socialist democracy at every stage of the advance to a mature socialist society, enrich its forms and combine government activity with widespread initiative on the part of public organizations and with the promotion of joint public and government control.'

We do not regard the present form of cultural leadership as complete or as a model. As far as we are concerned, it is a fortunate form we have found and can use. It reaffirms Lenin's idea of the diversity of the peoples' road to socialism.

Bulgaria's public-cum-state bodies can be described as the result of our Party's long years of experience in this field, as its contribution to the theory and practice of building developed socialism.

What is the structure of the agencies entrusted with cultural leadership? The supreme body is the Cultural Congress, held once in five years. It elects by ballot the Committee for Art and Culture, which directly guides the country's cultural life. Constituted on the principle of democratic centralism, it accounts for its activity to the Cultural Congress and the Council of Ministers. Its plenary meeting elects the Executive Bureau, made up of a chairman, his deputy, a chief secretary and members. The chairman is a member of the government. At present the Committee comprises 161 writers, artists, composers, journalists, actors, architects, researchers and public personalities.

The Committee decides on the general lines and perspectives of cultural policy, methodologically guides the cultural institutions under its jurisdiction and closely cooperates with creative unions and public organizations. It provides scope for the talents of our people, brings artists into the advance of socialist culture, popularizes the achievements of national and progressive world culture, draws up long-range and current plans for the extension of material and technical facilities for culture, and so on.

Appreciable functions have been assigned to the councils in charge of various cultural activities. These councils have been set up in the associations, directorates and Committee departments in charge of museums, theatres, music, the imitative arts, folk art, and so on. They are another connecting link between the state and the public and are composed of people prominent in relevant fields of culture. They discuss and settle problems of organization,

creative work and method and bear collective responsibility for their decisions.

The system of elected district, city and communal cultural councils corresponds to the country's territorial and administrative structure. The councils are elected by ballot at district and communal conferences or meetings for two and a half years, that is, half the interval between national congresses. The communal council has from nine to 25 members, the city or area council from 25 to 40 and the district council from 40 to 70 members. Local cultural bodies elect bureaus for current work. The district councils set up sections to deal with the various cultural activities. A total of 14,000 have been elected to the new cultural agencies.

Their structure and powers are designed to combine the principle of a single plan with the people's initiative and creative effort. The task of these agencies is to stimulate creative effort, contribute to national culture, make effective use of cultural assets for the communist, patriotic and aesthetic education of the people and safeguard socialist culture against bourgeois influence.

In the early years after reorganization, the problems of putting work in the new control bodies on a proper basis and making it as efficient and regular as possible, with ample recourse to public participation, proved particularly difficult. The experience gained as work goes on helps us to deal with this problem.

Our experience reveals the intrinsic connection between various cultural activities, as well as between cultural and economic progress, ever more fully. The new system gives culture a greater influence on other aspects of public life.

We have no intention of stopping at what has been achieved. 'The idea of setting up the Committee for Art and Culture,' Todor Zhivkov told the Tenth Party Congress in the Central Committee report, 'was an expression of our people's long-standing democratic traditions in this sphere and the Party's innovating effort in the matter of fostering socialist democracy. Certain important steps have already been taken in this direction. But the main task has yet to be accomplished. The greatest drawback of the current practice is the discrepancy between the principle of combining public and state endeavor and its actual implementation, its limited and still rather nominal application.' The report stresses the need to establish closer links between the Committee for Art and Culture and the creative unions, and the importance of increasing the role of the Party organizations of these unions, furthering internal democracy in them and making Communists in leading positions more aware of their responsibility. The Party's constant concern is the guarantee that the reorganization of cultural work will be completed.



Socialist economic integration and alignment of development levels

Tsedevsurengiyn Davadorzh

The socialist world economy is not a projection or natural continuation of the capitalist. It has its own basis and rests on the cooperation of the national economies of the socialist countries. As it grows stronger, the objective international division of labor gains in scope and becomes more complex in form, until attaining the stage of integration. And it stands to reason that under socialism this economic internationalization is essentially different from capitalist internationalization tainted by all the ugly features of the bourgeois world.

I. What mainly distinguishes economic internationalization under socialism is the new type of relations between the socialist countries, favoring consolidation of their national economies and an enduring economic alliance of nations 'founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent' (Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293).

The formation and consolidation of the socialist world economy is an objective process based on an international division of labor that gradually inducts the national economies of socialist states into the world economy. While retraining their integrity, they become its inalienable component. The trend towards integration is witnessed in many countries, including capitalist ones. But socialist integration differs from the capitalist in forms, as well as essence, and is conscious and planned.

Under capitalism, too, economic internationalization attains the high stage of integration. It should be remembered, however, that throughout the history of capitalism each new development in the framework of economic internationalization also engenders new forces of economic division, that the basic antagonism of bourgeois society causes an interlacement of integration and disintegration. Pointing to the specific unity of the opposites inherent in imperialism, viz., competition and monopoly, V. I. Lenin showed that precisely this compound of conflicting principles is the essence of imperialism and breeds the seeds of its final crash (See Vol. 24, p. 465).

Socialist economic integration is a development of the international division of labor, the alignment and combination of the national economies of socialist countries for the joint effectuation of economic tasks of common interest and the erection of an international economic complex. Stability of economic relationships between socialist countries in the integrated framework is secured by close cooperation in production, envisaging direct jointly controlled links between producers and consumers.

While stressing the objective premises of socialist economic integration, we should not overlook its conscious and planned character. The Comprehensive Program adopted by the 25th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in July 1971 defines integration as a conscious plan-regulated process of socialist international division of labor.

Historically, the growth of national economies preceded the emergence of a world economy. The theory of the socialist world economy, too, is based primarily on an analysis of the growth of the socialist mode of production in the national frameworks. Socialist international economic relations are the same in principle as the economic relations within the socialist countries. The cooperation and mutual assistance among participants in socialist production is the same, though socialist economic laws operate in the world system in specific ways. Inasmuch as property is national, the production ties among socialist countries are necessarily voluntary and rest on a community of interests. As this community of interests arises, concerted effort becomes an objective necessity. The reason is clear: by pooling resources the fraternal countries attain more effectively the basic aim of social production – to satisfy the growing requirements of the people.

In the absence of a material basis for the complete fusion of national and international interests, the socialist states' progressive policy of accentuating economic unity is of the utmost significance. Economic integration is essential for removing some of the non-antagonistic contradictions between the national and international stemming from such objective factors as political independence and national economic integrity.

The results attained by concerted effort are invariably higher than the simple arithmetical sum of national economic potentials. A conscious and deliberate gearing of each country's social production to the objective of furthering the socialist world economy as an entity administered by voluntary and stable coordination of economic policy, therefore, provides the greatest scope for the effective operation of socialism's intrinsic economic laws, with economic integration paving the way for the gradual induction of the economies of individual socialist countries into the general reproduction process.

Not to be overlooked, however, are the difficulties of resolving some of the integration problems. It says rightly in the Central Committee Report to the 24th CPSU Congress delivered by L. I. Brezhnev that 'the economic integration of the socialist countries

is a new and complex process. It implies a new and broader approach to many economic questions, and the ability to find the most rational solutions, meeting the interests not only of the given country but of all the cooperating participants.'

The Comprehensive Program envisages a variety of approaches: economic policy consultations, greater collaboration in planning, balanced expansion of international specialization and cooperation in production, more extensive links between enterprises and industries, and the like. The main instrument, as before, is collaboration in planning, covering forecasting, coordination of plans and joint planning of some industries. Besides, integration also requires an appropriate mechanism to align planned guidance with commodity-money relationships in the socialist world market.

II. Socialist integration holds out the promise of a general increase of the socialist countries' economic potential and a gradual alignment of their development levels, yielding what Lenin termed the factual equality of nations. The considerable historically-conditioned disparities in development levels are eliminated but gradually, as the socialist world system grows stronger.

In the capitalist world the processes objectively leading to integration bring about a concentration of economic resources in the industrially-developed zone of imperialist states and a widening of the abyss between this zone and the developing countries. In contrast, the specifics of socialist cooperation and the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution in the socialist environment necessitate an alignment of economic development levels. And all CMEA countries, the highly-developed ones as well as the industrially less developed, have a stake in this.

The alignment of economic levels, as we see it, is expressive of the economic law of the uniform development of socialism, seen these days as a trend in socialist international relations of production. Uniformity in development is, in effect, one of the advantages of the socialist economy accruing where all exploitation of man by man is totally abolished. The objective benefits of planning and uniformity, consciously used by the socialist states in their economic policy, thus complementing each other, assure stable and high rates of continuous development.

The objective of the highest possible productivity of labor requires a common, fundamentally new technical basis and an abundance of highly trained personnel. But that is not all. Not only do economic levels differ from country to country, but so do the structures. And quite considerably. As a rule, countries with a relatively modest economic potential have but incomplete economic structures. And their main aim in the context of integration is to set a priority on branches of material production for which they possess the most favorable conditions, making for the maximum concentration of production and the use of the top achievements of science and technology.

Economic literature focusses attention on the interdependence

of the development level and the structure of national economies. A variety of standpoints exists on this score. Irrespective of country and time, some hold, nothing but a prevalence of heavy industry and engineering assures a high degree of economic growth. They do not visualize the possibility of a country with, say, agriculture and mining predominating, ever attaining a high degree of social labor efficiency. Yet, as we see it, making an absolute of the structural factor is unjustified, for this stems from a mistaken conception of the socialist international division of labor.

In the capitalist world, it is true, the smaller developing countries that are chiefly agrarian and have nothing but extractive industries cannot hope to attain economic independence and a high degree of economic development, because to procure means of production they are dependent on the industrially developed imperialist powers.

This was also true of the world's first socialist country, which, completely surrounded by capitalist states, was therefore compelled to build up its technico-economic independence and defense capability at a priority rate. It is scarcely right, however, to apply the same approach mechanically to each socialist country at the present time, discounting the principle of fraternal mutual aid and close cooperation, which connotes entirely new relations between the industrially developed and less developed socialist countries. The Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration envisages special advantages as an auxiliary means of speeding the economic development of the industrially less developed states. And in this context top priority is attached to building national economic structures that secure the maximum effectiveness of investment and outlay.

For countries with a modest economic potential it may be best to develop branches relatively more advantageous than others, branches in which they can attain the highest labor productivity, be it agriculture or the extractive industries. Especially so, since agriculture, a most important branch of material production, is fast becoming industrialized due to the growth of agrarian-industrial complexes, the latest technical equipment and other factors operative under socialism. The drive for a simplistically conceived progressive economic structure, on the other hand, usually engenders parallelism, with countries that have a low economic potential duplicating industrial enterprises of a relatively small scale in the unfavorable conditions of insufficient concentration.

By virtue of the advantages of the socialist international division of labor some countries could continue developing their traditional branches, receiving all the required highly-productive machinery and equipment from fraternal countries. This can lead to a higher effectiveness of production.

The idea here, let it be stressed, is not to conserve the old structure of the national economy, but to reconstruct the economy

along the most advantageous lines. And it applies to the smaller countries, which have a limited home market. In the setting of the present scientific-technical revolution a universal economy in a small country can hardly be described as progressive or suited for rapidly overcoming backwardness. None but the socialist countries can resolve the problem on the basis of complete equality. And they have tackled it in the framework of integration, under which no national economy may be regarded as isolated from others. In accordance with the Comprehensive Program, all its participants are building a single, progressive industrial complex.

It is quite legitimate, therefore, to avoid universality and work for an effective structure based on a precise estimate of the country's economic condition and the opportunities of the socialist international division of labor. The criterion to go by in assessing the structure is correspondence of the various spheres of productive labor to the needs of society at the lowest conceivable expenditure of social labor.

The Program of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party envisages 'maintenance of the correct proportions between branches of the economy, between production and consumption, . . . building inter-connected and mutually complementary branches of the economy.'

The principal ways of gradually aligning the economic levels of the CMEA countries are effective use of national resources in line with the advantages of the socialist international division of labor, and all-round aid and support to the industrially less developed states. Many types of aid are envisaged in CMEA decisions: opportunities for broad participation in specialization and cooperation in production on the basis of a planned, stable and continuously expanding market; assistance in scientific and technical development; sharing of production and professional know-how; assistance in prospecting, use and processing of mineral wealth; credits on easy terms, and the like.

III. Accelerating the growth and raising the effectiveness of the economy of the Mongolian People's Republic, the CMEA Comprehensive Program points out, is part of the general drive to align the economic levels of CMEA countries. The people's revolution, the 50th anniversary of which Mongolia celebrated last year, impelled a national revival and progressive development. By virtue of the fraternal alliance with the victorious Soviet working class, making the most of its economic aid, Mongolia was able to bypass an entire epoch, that of capitalism, and to begin building socialism.

Having wiped out centuries of socio-economic and cultural backwardness, Mongolia is now an agrarian-industrial state with a rapidly growing economy. Feudal Mongolia had a typical feudal monocultural economy. Cattle-breeding, and this in its most primitive form, was the nation's only occupation. Now, the socialist

industry built up after the revolution and oriented on effective use of the country's rich national resources, is a key area of material production. Its present output is 15 times that of prewar. In the past 20 years average annual industrial growth has been 10.3 per cent. In 30 years, investment in the economy increased 68-fold. Agriculture is based entirely on the two forms of socialist ownership of means of production. And the livestock population has more than doubled. Besides, the number of tractors has approximately tripled in the past decade alone. The rise in the nation's standard of living is reflected in the doubled population and similarly doubled life expectancy. Illiteracy has been wiped out, and education is free. The number of students in higher schools per 10,000 population equals that of most highly developed capitalist countries.

But for all these advances, Mongolia still ranks among the CMEA countries as economically less developed, trailing behind considerably in per capita national income. This is why the CMEA Comprehensive Program envisages special measures to speed up Mongolia's economic growth in line with its natural and economic conditions.

We are now completing the building of the socialist material and technical basis as an optimum complex. The Mongolian People's Republic will soon be an industrial-agrarian land with rationally structured extractive and manufacturing industries forming an effective combination of basic branches of socialist economy. As a result, the country will come near the foremost socialist countries in per capita national income.

Building the optimum economic complex requires substantial investment and support of the fraternal countries. And, as envisaged in the Comprehensive Program, the other CMEA countries have declared their readiness to help industrial projects and grant easy-term credits. Preferential prices will be used when necessary to promote productivity in agriculture and in developing minerals and forestry. Aid is also envisaged in science and in speeding scientific-technical progress.

To make the aid of developed CMEA countries more effective, joint building and operation of industrial and other projects is envisaged, involving financial, material and manpower resources of fraternal countries.

Mongolia has large reserves of coal, phosphorite, fluor-spar, copper ore, non-ferrous and precious metals and much other natural wealth, which she plans to develop jointly with other interested countries, thus including them in the economic turnover of the socialist world system. Cooperation in building and operating joint enterprises makes for fuller use of natural, material and financial resources, assuring a rational harmony of national and international interests. In short, Mongolia regards the development and consolidation of joint enterprises as one of the promising forms of cooperation with other socialist countries. 'Joint enterprise,' wrote Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC MPRP and Chairman of

the MPR Council of Ministers, 'can speed up the general economic development of the socialist states, the rate of economic growth in the less developed of them, help overcome the contradictions between the international character of the modern productive forces and the limited internal capacities of individual countries, between the requirements of the developing objective process of gradual integration of national economies of socialist countries and the still narrow scope of the international socialization of socialist owned means of production.'

Socialist economic integration, a qualitatively new stage in the all-round cooperation of the CMEA countries' national economies, is geared to the general objective of strengthening the socialist world system by rationally combining the international and national interests of the fraternal states.

The article by T. Davadorzh is the last of the VIEWPOINTS series on socialist economic integration. The discussion, opened with an article by O. Bogomolov in the November 1970 issue (also see WMR, Nos. 5, 8, 11, 1971), involved researchers and economists of a number of countries, who set out their views on the essence of socialist integration, its forms, and ways of development. A new aspect was added to the discussion with the adoption by the 25th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (July, 1971) of the Comprehensive Program for the further deepening and improvement of cooperation and development of socialist economic integration. An agreed scientifically grounded action program consonant with the common interests of the socialist countries, the document set researchers many concrete problems crucial for the success of the integration processes and, consequently, the economic progress of the CMEA countries. Solving these problems will take some time. Meanwhile, new problems will doubtless arise, for we are dealing with new historical processes vitally important for the socialist countries. The journal will therefore return to the topic of socialist economic integration in its future numbers, analyzing such aspects registered in the Comprehensive Program as alignment of international and national economic interests, ways of structuring the international economic complex, elimination of disparities in economic levels of socialist countries, the difference between socialist and capitalist integration, development of economic ties with non-CMEA countries, and the like.



Pseudo-socialisms and real socialism

Roland Leroy

From the President of the Republic who speaks in all serenity about the 'socialist' aspects of his policy and Chaban-Delmas who refers himself to the *Front populaire*, down to the Right and 'Left' opportunists, everybody in France these days calls himself socialist. Even the most blatantly reactionary offer prescriptions for a fundamental transformation of society.

This is happening because socialism is effectively on the order of the day. It is the ideal to which diverse segments of society are aspiring, which makes it highly pertinent to define the basic features of socialism and, first and foremost, to study critically the different conceptions fashioned by the various social groups, parties and organizations.

Nowadays, when the truly scientific and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism is being put into practice by many millions of people, it is particularly important to demonstrate the socio-political substance and theoretical implications of the non-Marxist and anti-Marxist conceptions of socialism. It is important to show their true relation to the existing socialism and to its theoretical basis, to capitalist society and the revolutionary struggle of the working class. It is important, as Frederick Engels counselled, to learn to differentiate between 'socialism conscious and unconscious . . . socialism of the working class and of the middle-class' (Preface to English edition of 'The Condition of the Working Class in England').

Precisely for this purpose we shall here endeavor to analyze the three varieties of contemporary pseudo-socialism.

Reactionary bourgeois socialism

The leaders of France speculate on declarations of allegiance to socialism. Giving lip-service to the need for remedying social anomalies, for certain transformations, they make frequent references to 'participation' and 'worker shareholders,' condemning 'capitalism such as now practised' and maintaining that with their 'new society' the notion of 'classes is in the act of vanishing.' This sort of thing is as old as capitalism. Suffice it to recall Louis Napo-

leon's idea of 'abolishing pauperism' or that of 'social Christianity' advanced by Pope Leo XIII. When the establishment invites the workers 'to integrate in the system,' to practice 'accord,' it really wants them to accept the *status quo* and renounce class struggle.

Bourgeois ideologues apply themselves to 'purging' class consciousness in the 'theoretical' domain. Raymond Aron contends, for example, that the revolutionary consciousness of the working class as conceived by Marxism rests not on the real interests of the workers but on a kind of ideological fiction, a 'phenomenon of collective psychology.'^{*} Another sociologist, Alain Touraine, presents class consciousness as a phenomenon solely of the 'industrial society's' formative period, giving way subsequently to a consciousness of 'social totality.'^{**}

When Chaban-Delmas says the government is seeking to work into its economic policy the best it can take from both capitalism and socialism without prejudice to either, one cannot help recalling what Engels said of people who preach from 'their impartial "superior point of view" a socialism soaring high above the workers' class interests and the class struggle in the eager desire to reconcile in superior humanity the interests of the two contending classes. But these people are either novices with still a lot to learn, or wolves in sheep's clothing, the bitterest enemies of the working class' ('The Condition of the Working Class in England'). The present experience in France bears this out. The sixth economic development plan is a creation precisely of 'wolves in sheep's clothing.' It was framed to fit Pompidou's formula of raising the concentration and financial capacity of the biggest international monopolies, and envisages measures curtailing consumption and augmenting tax revenue at the expense of wage-earners, with the effect of increasing the lag in urban transport, housing, education, culture, sports, etc., redoubling unemployment and pushing up prices while wages and salaries remain the same.

Naturally, the government motivates its scheme with lofty aims. Less consumption, more work and greater savings, it says, are indispensable conditions for France's industrialization, with everyone playing his part in the country's economic growth.

Following the mass movement of May-June 1968, which exposed the profound crisis of our society, there appeared ideologues of bourgeois socialism less straightforward and more flexible in their formulations. The so-called centrist-opposition with Lecanuet at its head, Left-wing Gaullists like Edgar Faure, and reformers à la Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber – each with his own new '*contrat social*' – propose to transform society and obviate the need for a socialist revolution.

The radical Servan-Schreiber Manifesto, for example, declared that better government, 'a more rigorous respect for the laws of profitability in the system of production,' was the only way to

^{*}Raymond Aron, *La lutte de classes*, Paris, 1964.

^{**}Alain Touraine, *La Conscience ouvrière*, Paris, 1966.

secure a rapid and continued accretion of purchasing power. This definition shows the true purport of bourgeois socialism. From the Saint-Simonists gathered round Napoleon III to the technocrats of the Fifth Republic, irrespective of whether they were in power or were merely seeking it, there has always been an ideological trend connected with the most powerful capitalist groups which described as socialism that indefinite degree of state regulation exercised to 'modernize the economy,' promote 'industrialization,' and eliminate outdated forms of capitalism. And this is exactly what Pompidou has in mind when he says France is neither capitalist nor socialist, but both combined.

This kind of ideology is not without influence. Salary-earners, particularly the administrative personnel, the engineers and technicians, sensitive to the anarchy of capitalist production, the waste, the roadblocks to the expansion of the productive forces, are quite willing to accept the idea that better organized production by so-called neutral specialists, that is, those in the service of the state (also presumed 'neutral') is the only solution. With such formulas capitalism has always tried, and often succeeded, in winning over theorists and politicians who originally lined up with socialism. This was the case with the disciples of Saint-Simon and with the trade unionists of the reformist General Confederation of Labor of the 1930s, whom their technocratic views led to embrace fascism.

The technocratic ideology should be taken seriously. It is easy enough, for example, to combat the Manifesto of Servan-Schreiber, who assures us of his conformance with socialism and declares in the same breath that 'a good social policy will not necessarily alter the economic nature of wage labor because capital demands remuneration and surplus value for its enterprise.' It must still be proved, however, that far from eliminating anarchy in production, 'modern' capitalism drives it to its zenith, as borne out in every capitalist country by the stagnation of entire economic branches and regions, the cutbacks in even advanced research due to concentration, the waste of human resources, and the like.

Reformist socialism

Social-Democrats profess ideological fidelity to socialism as a system based on collective ownership of the principal means of production. But though they pay this tribute, which is more of a ritual with them than anything else, they proclaim that the way to socialism is paved exclusively with social reforms.

Sweden, a country where Social-Democrats have been in power for forty consecutive years, permits us to judge of Social-Democracy in practice, especially because international Social-Democracy has long referred to the Swedish example as a 'model' contrasting with the socialism built in the USSR. To be sure, the references to the Swedish model have become less categorical of late. Socialist leaders like Guy Mollet, for example, have gone so far as to recognize that the Scandinavian countries cannot guarantee further progress

unless they effectuate 'structural reforms' and attack the 'private property of monopolies and trusts.'

Yet the 'Swedish experiment' is still the favorite example of 'democratic socialism.' The University Office of Socialist Research in France put out a pamphlet recently, maintaining that in Sweden the way has been paved for society's evolution to socialism. It cites the following declaration of the Swedish Social-Democratic leaders: 'Swedish socialism has assumed . . . certain functions which had earlier been the exclusive functions of capitalists and are still such in other capitalist countries, in particular the United States. We do not have total socialization of property, but we do have selective socialization of some of its most important functions. Thanks to functional socialism we have avoided violent collisions in society, the development of which we have guided in a manner generally acceptable to non-doctrinaire socialists.' The declaration went on to say that 'precisely in Sweden there seems to be evolving a true way of life resting on a new democratic culture and possessing new values.'

This manner of approach is typical of the reformist conception of socialist transformation. For the opportunists a workers' party is principally a party of social reform working for 'gradual transition' from capitalism to socialism. True, it is no longer possible to declare that socialist revolution can be the natural product and the sum of the reforms mitigating the ills of capitalism, but as the attention devoted to the Swedish example appears to imply, it is now a question of 'progressively destroying' the capitalist system and 'replacing it with a better one,' more humane and more consonant with the needs of the eternal and abstract human essence. Socialism is reduced to a struggle for man's liberation from all oppressive services, for the florescence of the individual personality. The deepening of the social contradictions and the growing role of the working class are ignored, while the question of political power, the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class and its allies, is almost completely obscured.

In fact, however, Sweden's working class has given its Social-Democratic leaders many a rude reminder that it is conscious of its class interests and historical mission. Take just the great miners' strike in Kiruno in 1969-1970. The Swedish workers are quickly losing faith in a 'socialism' that leaves 95 per cent of the means of production in the hands of Wallenberg and other monopoly tycoons.

Right opportunism is alive in all capitalist countries, and France is no exception. The main features of 'reformist socialism,' as we see it, are the following.

Philosophical anthropology, in the center of which is the individual rebelling against society, is substituted for dialectical and historical materialism. The Marxist definition of the human essence as the 'aggregate of social relations' is negated. So is the materialist approach, which Marx and Engels used to prove that the measure of human freedom is not rooted in an abstract ideal but in the level of the productive forces, the knowledge of nature and society.

We are told that the character of the epoch has changed, that it is no longer determined by the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, but by a contradiction between man and the things he produces. Accordingly, ethical socialism and abstract humanism replace the teaching of the class struggle, and reforms in the realm of consciousness and culture substitute for social revolution.

The existing socialism, the socialist world system (allegedly 'decaying' and 'degenerating') is denied recognition, while the universal laws of socialist construction are negated and different 'models' of socialism are built for each country.

The theory of the historical mission of the working class gives place to a theory of the 'dissolution' of the working class in the middle classes. The Socialist International has struck out of its program not only the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also every mention of the leading role in history of the working class. One is led to believe that the amelioration of the material condition of working people in capitalist countries, won in bitter class struggles, signifies their 'embourgeoisement.' No mention is made of the fact that the distance between the economic conditions of workers and of the big bourgeoisie has not diminished (in Britain, for example, Cambridge professor Jack Rvelli showed, 42 per cent of the personal fortunes belong to but one per cent of the population), and that such vital needs as education, participation in social affairs, and the like, are almost totally neglected.

Opportunists brand as 'theoretically erroneous' the proposition of Marx and Engels that exploitation becomes more intensive. In fact, however, the modification of certain forms of exploitation has altered nothing in its substance. In the United States, for example, the growth of the mass of surplus value is tremendous: in 40 years it has increased nine-fold.

The false idea of the 'dissolution' of the working class in the middle classes serves as the theoretical foundation for the so-called third way or third force. It is quite superfluous proving the fallacy of all these opinions at a time like the present, when the monetary and economic crisis has laid bare the social contradictions of the capitalist system.

None of the socialist parties, not even those with a clear majority in parliament or with a long record in government, has led the people to socialism. Their excuse is that all they aimed for was 'democratic socialism.' The Vice-President of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, Wehner, declares: 'Just as much socialism as possible without strangling democracy for all.' But what can 'democracy for all' stand for under capitalism? Translated into political terms this concept represents a formal democracy, as contrasted with proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy. The accent is on formal political freedoms, freedoms of the individual and the representative system, while the search for democratic forms of the people's real participation in directing the affairs of the country is totally overlooked. It is in line with this approach that the succession of British Labor governments acted unfailingly as intrepid and loyal managers in the service of big capital.

The French Socialists have always underscored the democratic dimension of socialism, but completely sidestepped its socio-economic basis. Like Jaurès, they regard socialism as a projection and materialization of the promises in the Declaration of Human Rights that have not been kept by the bourgeois republic. It is precisely in this spirit that they have always celebrated the Paris Commune.

The Communists cannot but agree that socialism alone will render real and complete the political and individual freedoms which are but formal ones under capitalism. But for Communists socialist democracy is a far broader concept. 'Only socialism based on public ownership of the means of production,' stresses the 1971 Joint Statement of the CPSU and FCP '... creates conditions for true political and economic democracy.' And the Statement amplifies: 'Continuous development of democracy is a vital necessity, a condition *sine-qua-non* for the development of socialism.'

The French Socialists have never formally disowned Marxism. Not even at the time of Leon Blum or at the height of the anti-communist hysteria of the 1950s (which doubtless indirectly reflected the ideological influence of the FCP among the masses). But they unfailingly obscured the need for a revolutionary leap, until the statement on the discussion between our parties in December 1970 served notice of a certain evolution of French Social-Democracy. 'Whatever the significance of the profound reforms that may be realized,' the Statement said, 'socialist transformation cannot be the natural product and the sum of reforms designed to rectify the ills of capitalism. The purpose of the two parties is not to improve the existing system, but to replace it with another. This replacement is a revolutionary change.'

However, the postures of the majority in the Socialist Party as presented in the recently-published draft of its program either depart from, or contradict, the common platform worked out by our parties in December 1970. The choice which the Socialist Party will make at its coming congress will influence the further relationship between Communists and Socialists. This is why the French Communists hope that the Socialist Party does not revise the positions defined in the joint statement and adopts a program assuring united action with our Party for the purpose of replacing the existing regime.

Socialism and 'Left' extremism

Examining the features common to all ultra-Left trends – the early anarchism combated by Marx, neo-Trotskyism and the latest varieties of 'gauchism' influenced by bourgeois sociology and technocratism – we shall see that, in effect, 'Left' opportunism is not very far removed from the traditional Social-Democratic concepts. The recent revival of 'gauchist' reformism is nothing but a symptom, showing that the bourgeoisie needs new tools of ideological struggle. It is experienced enough to know that out-and-out reaction is totally ineffective at a time of massive revolutionary movements. It needs

an ideology that would sway even its adversaries in favor of imperialism through a devious use of anarchist revolt and a revival of utopian sentiments. 'Left' extremism rests on the same social basis as Right opportunism. 'The growth of the working-class movement,' V. I. Lenin wrote, 'necessarily attracts to its ranks a certain number of petty-bourgeois elements, people who are under the spell of bourgeois ideology, who find it difficult to rid themselves of that ideology and continually lapse back into it' (*Coll Works*, Vol. 17, p. 230).

The main features of 'Left' extremism may be grouped as follows: confusion as to the role of the working class in the socialist revolution, the class nature and functions of the state, and the ways of transition to socialism. On each of these issues the stance of the 'gauchist' ideologues and organizations is akin to the traditional postures of the social-reformists. Reformism may be said to be a compound of elements, different combinations of which create the appearance of different ideologies.

In some cases 'Left' extremism negates the role of the working class in the struggle for socialism, arguing that developed capitalism, the 'consumer society,' has destroyed the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat. This leads either to the pessimistic inference that revolution is impossible, or an inference, flattering for the petty bourgeoisie, that other strata (or generations) are replacing the proletariat (a trend represented in particular by Herbert Marcuse). In other cases 'Left' extremism denies the need and possibility of alliances, dooming the working class to revolution by a minority (a neo-Trotskyist trend). The Social-Democrats, it may be proper to note, who reject the perspective of a socialist revolution performed by a minority, advance a conception of the working class which encompasses all wage and salary workers.

Scorning a class analysis of the bourgeois state, 'Left' extremism either rejects revolutionary conquest of political power or advances a cataclysmic thesis of conquering it at any price. The theory of 'the conquest of power' – in enterprises, the university, the village, etc. – is presented as a system in a book of the same name by Gilles Martinet, which is the gospel followed by the United Socialist Party. After seizing economic power, it is argued, political power will drop like ripe fruit to the feet of the working class or – this is the anarchist interpretation – disappear at once and forever. This is a return to Proudhon and those disastrous consequences of proudhonism for the labor movement as corporative narrowness and rejection of politics. Also, it is impregnated with the 'classical' or technocratic reformist idea that the state is neutral. Associated with the 'conquest of power' theory is the concept of 'co-government' as an essential feature of socialism, on which grounds the socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries, whose cardinal objective it was to replace the bourgeois state with a state of the working class and its allies, is denounced as 'bureaucratic.' After this who can deny the close resemblance between 'Right' anti-communism and 'Left' extremism?

For Marxist-Leninists the point of departure is that all phenomena and all aspects of social life are rooted, in the final analysis, in the historically determined mode of producing material values. The ultra-Leftist 'conquest of power' theory tries to belittle this point, thus obscuring the fact that capitalism rests not on an abstractly-conceived hierarchy, but on the separation of the producers from the means of production, and on the exploitation of producers, which generates the class struggle.

Taking cover behind ultra-revolutionary rhetoric, the neo-Trotskyites and French Maoists put a sectarian construction on the nature of working-class political power. Making liberal use of quotations from Marx, Engels and Lenin, they turn them into a kind of catechism, distorting correct ideas. Certainly, the leading role in the socialist revolution and in building socialism belongs to the working class. In this sense socialism amounts to working-class power. But can the working class go it completely alone? To insist on this is to lack a sound and realistic knowledge of the disposition of class forces, to ignore the realities of our society and the ways and means of conquering power.

Capitalism was considerably weakened as a world system by the emergence and consolidation of the socialist system and the collapse of colonialism. France is ripe for socialist revolution. The monopoly bourgeoisie may still be able to find palliatives for the glaring contradictions of the capitalist system, but cannot produce radical solutions. Yet as a result of the state-monopoly concentration of economic wealth and the greater role of the state in social affairs, capitalism still has considerable strength. Besides, the ruling class has perfected the techniques of manipulating public opinion.

The working class faces a strong, well-organized adversary deeply conscious of his class interests. To fight him, the workers require a powerful political organization, and are quite grown to the task of building one. Not only workers, but other working people – office employees, small and middle farmers, intellectuals, artisans and shopkeepers – are victims of exploitation. Hence the need – and the realistic opportunity – for forming class alliances and rallying all who suffer under the monopoly boot. Those are the implications of Lenin's broad democratic front idea. The ultra-Leftist notion of 'exclusively' working-class power would only isolate and disarm the working class.

Left-opportunist ideology sidesteps the problem of defining the way to socialism and its stages. To see what social forces could be the allies of the working class, to determine the concrete conditions of the class struggle, we need a historico-materialist analysis of the socio-economic situation in the country. The French Communist Party has outlined the perspectives of the stage of economic and political democracy on the way to socialism. 'Left' extremists accuse the Communists of reformism, arguing that advanced democracy is not socialism, while the Right reformists maintain that advanced democracy is all that socialism should ever be, and deny the need for any further advance. The stage of advanced economic

and political democracy is a stage in which monopolies grow weaker and are isolated, and a stage of ideological struggle in which the majority of the nation becomes aware of the need for socialism. Isolation of the ruling class and unity of its adversaries is an objective law of the class struggle, a law which the 'Left' extremists totally ignore.

The working people of the world can now not only compare the various concepts of socialism, but also acquaint themselves with the real socialism built in a number of countries. They can see the identity of main principles and basic objective laws, and, on the other hand, the broad variety of forms these principles and laws assume in the specific conditions of each country. For peoples fighting for socialism the *identity* of principles is the proof that socialism is a fundamentally new social system and refutes the reformists' prescriptions of a 'third way.' The *variety* in which these laws operate confirms the fact that socialism is a living and developing system, and certainly not an embodiment of some abstract 'model,' certainly not a result of a historical accident.

Opening up the way to communism is the principal law and historical mission of socialism. Right, as well as 'Left' opportunists do not see the difference between the phases of the communist formation. Both of them want socialism to accomplish what it cannot yet accomplish – to establish complete equality and to resolve contradictions that can be overcome only by transition to communism.

Communism is neither pipedream nor wishful thought. Material and spiritual preconditions are required before the transition can be made to this higher phase of the new system. And these preconditions are being wrought by the existing socialism, won in struggle by the working class and its allies. Its practice proves that the Marxist-Leninist scientific theory is true.

Whom do the mass media serve?

Hector Mujica

Latin America, a traditional target of U.S. imperialist ideological expansion, serves as an experimental laboratory for forms and methods of moulding public opinion to suit the North American monopolies and the local oligarchy. The 1969 International Meeting emphasized that 'U.S. imperialism continues to step up its economic penetration as well as its political, ideological and cultural intervention in Latin American countries.'

And the main instrument of that intervention is the capitalist press, radio and television of these countries. Exposure of their reactionary role in disseminating bourgeois ideology, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism is a key condition for uniting the anti-imperialist forces.

Dependence on big business

Even a cursory acquaintance with the Latin American capitalist press (about 200 dailies) will show up the absurdity of all the theories about its 'objectivity' and 'independence.' For apart from everything else, it depends on imports for printing equipment, ink, paper, etc. More important still, it is wholly dependent on foreign monopolies for advertising and on international wire services for information.

Most Latin American bourgeois papers were founded in the early 1800s, at the height of the liberation struggle. Naturally, many then played a progressive role, but their record since then has been one of cynical betrayal of national interests. Gradually leading newspapers became a profitable investment. But the paymaster calls the tune, and that applies to the Panamanian *Estrella de Panama*, the Ecuador *Comercio*, the Argentinian *Prensa*, the Venezuelan *Universal*, the Brazilian *Estado de Sao Paulo* and the Mexican *Exelsior*. Together with many other dailies they are pliant tools of reaction whenever the issue is one of changing the backward socio-economic structure, or the popular struggle against the U.S. imperialist stranglehold, or the movement for democracy and progress.

Their reactionary coloring is largely due to their slavish dependence on advertising, the main source of revenue and profit. In Brazil, advertising accounts for two-thirds of newspaper and magazine space and for four-fifths of revenue; the Mexican press devotes 60 per cent of its columns to advertising; in Venezuela, the monopolies spend more than \$100 million annually on advertising – more than the national budgets of Costa Rica or Ecuador.

Many Western authors choose to by-pass such facts, some because they are themselves dependent on the bourgeoisie, others deliberately want to conceal the dominating role of advertisers. But any journalist who knows the inner workings of the press will tell you that no big capitalist paper would survive for three months without the sops from advertising agencies.

Madison Avenue agencies are operating in many Latin American countries. From the Rio Grande to Patagonia there are advertising agencies serving such top imperialist monopolies as General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, Coca Cola, Standard Oil, Shell, United Fruit and many more. Operating through Latin American subsidiaries, such as McCann Erickson, Thompson and others, they flood the press, radio and television with advertising matter describing the incomparable qualities of American automobiles or Coca Cola. That is one way of controlling the mass media.

Many Latin American newspapers and magazines have grown into major capitalist enterprises with modern technology, a vast publishing apparatus, radio and television stations, a huge staff of journalists, printing workers and circulation personnel. But for all this show of solidity, for all their super-modern sky-scrapers, they are financially and politically dependent on the North American monopolies. U.S. imperialism factually stage-manages the Latin American capitalist press on all crucial issues. That explains its anti-national and reactionary character.

And the U.S. monopolies brutally suppress even the most timid attempts at independence. Recalcitrants are given short shrift. In 1961, the Caracas *Nacional* refused to join the hysterical anti-Cuban campaign. It was immediately ostracized by the Venezuelan Advertisers' Association, which in turn is controlled by Sears Roebuck, General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and other U.S. monopoly concerns. The paper was denied advertising and there was a good deal of panic in industrial and government circles. The editors were told: 'Either you are with Cuba or with the United States!' And, of course, they chose to be with the U.S. Nevertheless, the editor was sacked and the editorial staff purged. Peace was thus restored in the Venezuelan big business community and today *Nacional* is one of the most thriving Latin American dailies.

All this brings back to mind Lenin's words that 'for the bourgeoisie freedom of the press meant freedom for the rich to publish and for the capitalists to control the newspapers, a practice which in all countries, including even the freest, produced a corrupt press' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 283).

Who supplies the news?

Most of it comes from the American wire services Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI). Between them they account for about 80 per cent of all the news appearing on the pages of the daily press and on the radio. Their competitors are Reuters (Britain), AFP (France), ANSA (Italy), EFE (Spain) and DPA (West Germany). A while ago leading Latin American papers joined with Reuters to found their own wire service, the Latin agency, but so far it has made little more than a dent on the UPI and AP monopoly.

Reports on events anywhere in the world, including Latin America, reach the readers only after 'appropriate' doctoring. The basic aim of all these agencies is to instil anti-Communist ideas, and news is slanted to discredit the revolutionary vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties, Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

A new development is use of copy from the *New York Times* and *Paris Monde*, both of which are regarded as the leading 'liberal' papers. For many years they were kept away from the general public in the Caribbean countries, for they were meant exclusively for the 'initiated' – in fact, on occasion all copies were confiscated.

But things have changed: both papers now provide a full teleprinter service for the Caribbean press. This influx of 'liberal' articles is a fresh imperialist propaganda trick necessitated by the significant changes in Latin American public opinion. It is no longer satisfied with the type of information provided by AP and UPI. The use of *New York Times* and *Monde* 'liberal' propaganda is meant to fill the vacuum.

No account of imperialist propaganda in Latin America would be complete without mention of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), the main conduit of ideological influence on public opinion. USIA spends about half of its budget on Latin America, which accounts for about two-thirds of Voice of America broadcasts and slightly less than three-fourths of all the USIA 'national' centers, through which it conducts its propaganda.

In addition to its official functions (publishing, radio and television, cinema shows, libraries, 'cultural centers') USIA has unofficial ways of infiltrating the Latin American press, instigating articles by local authors, in every case with the sole purpose of fostering anti-Communist sentiments and trumpeting the 'American way of life.'

The USIA has its men in many U.S. diplomatic missions, most of them CIA agents experienced in subversion. Every day they send leading newspapers information on international developments together with commentaries by 'independent-minded' American publicists. In Buenos Aires, USIA even runs its own publishing house which, besides flooding the Latin American market with its own product, subsidizes publishing firms in Cali (Colombia), Sao Paulo and Mexico City.

Imperialist ideologists and their agents stint neither effort nor money to control the mass media, lull the vigilance of Latin Americans and influence their thinking. One method is to penetrate the journalism schools organized and maintained chiefly by journalist associations. Their instructors are invited to the United States and given special scholarships; a few years ago the State Department arranged annual visits to Washington of Latin American publishers and journalists, and Latin American governments are now inviting (on U.S. initiative, of course) American journalists for a 'dialogue' on continental problems. The CIA has a hand in all this and makes sure that its agents are included in all such visits.

These and similar measures are part of the U.S. imperialist ideological offensive against the peoples of Latin America.

Radio and TV

The technological revolution has been a powerful impetus to the development of broadcasting and television. And the imperialist monopolies and their propaganda agencies are making wide use of both for ideological conditioning of the people, especially in Latin America with its largely illiterate population.

Latin American broadcasting is run by private companies now

moving towards amalgamation into systems modelled on the North American ABC, NBC and CBS. Today, 19 Latin American national broadcasting organizations belong to the Inter-American Broadcasting Association (AIR), which in many respects is patterned on the Inter-American Press Society (SIP). Both organizations have an active share in imperialist ideological penetration. Plans are afoot for still another pro-imperialist organization, Inter-American Telecommunications Network.*

Like the capitalist press, commercial broadcasting is closed to progressive writers and journalists, to all peace supporters. And like the capitalist press, it is a pliant monopoly tool. For instance, AIR circulates texts which the stations are under obligation to broadcast. During the abortive invasion of Cuba, all stations were ordered to broadcast an article praising the CIA.

But there have been cases of smaller stations coming out against this type of propaganda and for independent broadcasting. But not for long: fear of losing advertising, and resultant insolvency, forced them to toe the line. It is enough for Washington, or even the U.S. Embassy, to say the word for any radio station, even in a remote part of our continent, to 'fall into line.'

Venezuelan radio uses much of its broadcasting time to advertise foods, liquor, cigarettes, detergents, etc. This helps to create a false feeling of prosperity and admiration for the 'American way of life,' publicity for which has in the past ten years reached unparalleled dimensions. U.S. exports, besides foods, detergents, etc., include radio programs larded with anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, racialism and contempt of the personality.

Television is one of the main conduits of U.S. influence. The Latin Americans call it 'the maddening American.' Surveys covering a number of countries show that television is having a ruinous effect, especially on the youth. Professor Eduardo Santoro of Venezuela says American TV programs inculcate in the young the idea that FBI and CIA agents, Pentagon officers and American judges embody all that is good in man, whereas Indians, Negroes, Chinese, Vietnamese and Mestizos belong to 'inferior races.' The effect this is likely to have on the youthful mind can easily be imagined.

Misinformation

Daily and hourly, the mass media let loose a veritable deluge of misinformation disguised as news. And in this, too, they are performing a definite social function, disorienting public opinion.

AP, UPI and USIA reports on international developments are extremely tendentious. The picture of the U.S. they bring the reader is that of outpost of 'Western civilization,' 'democracy' and 'freedom.' But they are studiously sparing on news of Latin America,

*Venezuela and several other countries have concluded an agreement with the U.S. bringing them into the communications satellite system (INTELSAT). This enables them to modernize telephone and television communications, but it also makes them dependent on equipment supplied by the U.S. COMSAT concern.

the terror and reaction in many of its countries and the anti-imperialist struggle of its peoples.

A while ago the Monte Avila publishing house put out a study of Venezuela, containing data about how the capitalist press treats political news. We learn, for instance, that more than 70 per cent of the news columns are devoted to the activity of the Democratic Action and ruling Social-Christian Party (COPEI) and only 15 per cent to the Popular National Front, Popular Electoral Movement, Republican Democratic Alliance and the Communist Party.

Another survey, by the Public Information School of Venezuela University, shows that the U.S. dominates the international news: AP and UPI items about the United States dwarf the meagre information of what is happening in Latin America itself.

And how is the information presented? The underlying principle is the 'big lie.' Lenin, it will be recalled, remarked that 'a popular method always used by the bourgeois press in every country with unerring effect is to lie, scream, raise a hullabaloo, and keep on reiterating lies on the off-chance that "something may stick".' (Vol. 24. p. 118). These words neatly fit present-day imperialist propaganda.

During the Chilean presidential elections U.S. information services gave the most fantastic predictions of the outcome. Venezuelan bourgeois papers use every imaginable label to libel the governments and leaders of Cuba, Chile and Peru.

Though Latin America's capitalist papers differ in some ways, they have in common a clear anti-national, reactionary and anti-Communist orientation. Their attacks aim at the Left forces at home and the Soviet Union abroad. Any 'Sovietologist' from the U.S. or FRG can be sure of front page billing. And any Zionist who comes out with fabrications about 'persecution of Jews in the USSR' is invited to hold a press conference, write articles and commentaries which are then made the starting point for a long and noisy campaign.

The Soviet Union's space achievements cannot, of course, be ignored, but the attempt is made to belittle them by using small type, while every U.S. achievement gets banner headlines.

The victory of progressive forces, on Ceylon, say, rates only two columns, but any advance by the neo-fascists in Italy will get more than five columns. All anti-Communist items are given sensational dressing and prominent display.

As is only to be expected, this leaves Latin Americans poorly informed about the pressing problems of our time – we are sometimes referred to as 'under-informed nations.' Imperialism wants to keep us that way and divert our attention to less sensitive subjects. Hence, the assiduous cultivation of the sensational, pornography and violence. And in these three areas comics play a very prominent part. Millions are spent on these crude, anti-Communist productions.

Studies of the reading public are carried out systematically. The U.S. monopolies conduct public opinion polls – the pretext being exploration of the Latin American market – and the questions asked are politically slanted: for instance 'What party do you support?'

This is added proof that advertising revenue is by no means the only goal of the imperialist monopolies. There is another, more important goal, the moulding of public opinion, for apart from everything else this is a guarantee of stable profits.

The ultra-Left press, weapon of division

The upsurge of the liberation movement in the 60s has been attended, notably in the past five years, by the emergence of a large number of ultra-Left publications. Most of them are the product of the spontaneous student movement, but some are obviously inspired by the class enemy. And though their circulation and influence is small, their role and place in the mass-media system deserve closer study and appraisal.

First, they cover a wide ideological spectrum. They draw inspiration from neo-Trotskyism and propositions long demolished by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, from the ideas of Kautsky, Bernstein and Bakunin, or from the new 'discoveries' of the 'underground press' in Europe and the United States. They publish anti-Soviet slander, vilify the Communist parties, try to teach their Central Committees how to behave, spread all manner of fabrications supplied by renegades of the Petkoff type. Over a period of years their mentor was Herbert Marcuse. During the May 1968 events in France they were all praise for Cohn-Bendit. True, they condemn America's criminal aggression in Vietnam, but at the same time give support to international Zionism. Alongside pronouncements by spokesmen of the revolutionary intelligentsia, they print obvious lies about the Cuban revolution.

Nearly all these papers try to attach themselves to the revolutionary movement from the 'Left.' Their common denominator is pseudo-revolutionary phraseology complemented by a motley collection of 'isms.' Of course, many articles appearing on their pages are written from anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist positions. But incredible theoretical eclecticism and ideological infantilism make for a confused position in the battle of the two ideologies. And it is legitimate to ask 'whom are they fighting?'

Significantly, some of these ultra-Left periodicals are printed by leading firms. Why, one wonders, should they want to print these 'ultra-revolutionary' papers and magazines? Well, they know what they are doing – barking dogs do not bite – besides, these firms have a definite class interest in using the ultra-Left press to sidetrack and mislead the masses.

For all these publications, wittingly or unwittingly, are weapons of division and disorganization. While preaching an abstract socialism, they attack the socialist world. Many anti-Communist groups use materials published in the ultra-Left press for their own ends. It does not pose questions that could be profitably discussed among workers, say, but concentrates on its stock in trade – slander and vilification, cynicism and advocacy of 'youth power,' which is held up as a counterweight both to reactionary governments and to Chile's Popular Unity government.

The emergence of the ultra-Left press should be seen as a result of the mounting class struggle in Latin America, the disintegration of obsolete socio-economic and political structures, and the growing understanding that capitalism offers no way out. Ideologically immature youth cannot always find the correct path, and the ruling classes are only too ready to woo these ultra-Left elements in order to impede the revolutionary movement.

However, when it is a matter of ideological vacillation there must be patient educational work to help some of these 'Left' publications realize that they are echoing imperialist and oligarchic propaganda, to help them shift to a correct policy. But when we are dealing with agents of the class enemy there can only be irreconcilable struggle.

The conscience of Latin American journalism

The reactionary bourgeois press is confronted by the progressive, revolutionary press, above all the Communist press, whose writers and editors are devoting all their talent, in some cases life itself, to the liberation cause.

Born under the influence of the Great October Revolution, it has become an effective weapon in the Communist parties' ideological struggle. It represents a new, higher stage of proletarian maturity and is indicative of the growth of social consciousness. Undaunted by the difficulties it has to face in many countries, it brings to the people the great liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Often enough the progressive press is just leaflets put out and circulated in the face of immense difficulties. In Brazil, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Paraguay the progressive press is the target of savage police terror.

In other countries, however, the Communist press has become a powerful factor and is rapidly gaining influence. The Cuban Communist daily *Granma* has a circulation of over 500,000, and *Mella*, the youth paper, *Verde Olivo*, the army paper and several more have big circulations too. Special mention should be made of the Cuban news agency *Prensa Latina* which, despite the U.S. blockade, has been highly instrumental in neutralizing and exposing the misinformation disseminated by imperialist propaganda agencies.

Chile, where the people have undertaken deep-going reforms, has one of the biggest Communist papers on the continent, *Siglo*. The Communist Party also publishes theoretical journals and the newspaper *Puro Chile* in cooperation with other Popular Unity affiliates. The Socialists have their own daily, *Noticias de Ultima Hora*.

The Peruvian Communist paper, *Unidad*, is rapidly gaining popularity. The Peruvian government has resumed publication of *Peruano*, a daily founded nearly 150 years ago by Simon Bolivar. The people have taken over two other papers, *Extra* and *Expreso*, which are now cooperative enterprises. Both uphold the gains of the 1968 national-democratic revolution.

The Argentine Communist Party's newspaper *Nuestra Palabra* and its several theoretical magazines are widely known and read throughout the continent. The Uruguayan Communists have two militant organs, the *Popular* newspaper and *Estudios* magazine. In Colombia, the Communists have founded a large publishing center which puts out the newspaper *Voz Proletaria* and a number of magazines. There are Communist papers in Venezuela (*Tribuna Popular*), Ecuador (*Pueblo*), Panama (*Momento*) and also in Costa Rica, Salvador, Honduras, Mexico and Martinique.

The list could be continued, but the main thing is that the press of the 350,000 Latin-American Communists is in the van of the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle. To use Lenin's words, it is 'part of an enormous pair of smith's bellows that fans every spark of the class struggle and of popular indignation into a general conflagration' (Vol. 5, p. 508).

The growth of the Communist press testifies to the upsurge of the Latin American revolutionary movement and to the inability of imperialism and the oligarchy to suppress it. For constant attention to the cardinal issues of our time and revolutionary optimism are distinctive features of the Communist press. It keeps the masses abreast of international and national developments, mobilizes them for the accomplishment of concrete tasks, exposes the subversive role of imperialism and its agents, acts as a tribune of proletarian internationalism and fraternal solidarity with the workers' struggle in all parts of the world.

For a long time the very word 'Cuba' was taboo for the capitalist press. Cuba was only mentioned in a disparaging context, always the target of calumny and insults. The revolutionary press has consistently and vigorously supported the Cuban revolution, and with the same vigor and consistency it has opposed the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the designs of the Israeli militarists in the Middle East, and supported the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress.

The reactionaries fear the Communist press and are using every available means in repeated attempts to destroy it, from economic pressure to outright repression. That is why there have been so many casualties among Communist journalists. But the Communist press lives and fights on, gaining in strength and scope because it is a genuinely free press and because the people need it.

The many problems of the mass media should be examined primarily from the standpoint of the class struggle, the revolutionary anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic actions of the workers, peasants, lower middle class, students and intelligentsia.

As mentioned above, recent progress in the mass media is largely due to the technological revolution. But just as achievements in physics can be used by irresponsible politicians to the detriment of mankind, progress in the mass media is being used by U.S. imperialism to uphold its interests in Latin America. The mass media are increasingly becoming a major industry for the manufacture of

public opinion. The fight to abolish imperialist control is a priority task of the democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic movements.

The monopoly press will not, of course, voluntarily give up its positions. After the Cuban revolution, much had to be done to readjust the capitalist press until it vanished together with other institutions of the old machine of government. And I might point also to the hue and cry raised by the Inter-American Press society when the staff of the Peruvian *Extra* and *Expreso* formed a cooperative and took over the two papers, an initiative warmly supported by most Latin American journalists' associations.

The time is ripe for making the Latin American press fully independent. And there need be little doubt that, as revolutionary situations mature in Latin America, progressive journalists will take over the press that now serves imperialism and the oligarchy.



General and distinctive features of the liberation process

Jorge Texier

The peoples of Latin America have many things in common, including territory and language. They freed themselves from Spanish or Portuguese colonial rule early in the 19th century, only to fall under the sway of British and then U.S. capital. This explains the dependent condition and backwardness of most of our countries and should give an idea of the Latin Americans' hatred for their oppressors, above all for U.S. imperialism, their chief enemy.

The appearance of the working class on the historical scene and its courageous fight against imperialism and bourgeois and land-owner oligarchy imparted a consistently revolutionary content and organized character to the liberation process and brought the idea of unity and solidarity into social thinking on the continent.

The Latin American liberation process today is generally characterized by a growing struggle against imperialism in which the working class and Communist parties play an outstanding role and which involves more and more social strata, and by the trend toward unity of all progressive, democratic, revolutionary forces.

However, the formation of Latin American nations and their socio-economic and political development show distinctive features setting them apart, as Cuba from Mexico, Chile from Peru, or Argentina from Paraguay. In other words, the revolutionary struggle has its national specifics and each people contributes to the overall liberation process in its own way.

Historically, the revolution on the continent is one process but its rate varies from country to country. How soon the revolutionary forces will win depends on how fully they take account of the distinctive features of their countries in choosing their tactics and fighting methods.

Anti-imperialism and the working class

The Second Havana Declaration noted that 12 out of 1,000 Latin American children die before they are four years old. Starvation, disease and premature old age kill four Latin Americans per minute. One in every four able-bodied citizens is jobless, so that unemployment affects 25 million people. There is a shortage of 20 million

homes and 80 per cent of the population live in houses lacking elementary facilities. Fifty million Latin Americans cannot read or write. This state of affairs has been brought on primarily by U.S. imperialism and the domestic oligarchies.

Imperialist interference in the economy has deformed, and in some cases held up, the development of capitalist production relations. Antiquated, pre-capitalist forms of exploitation persist in a substantial part of the Latin American countryside. The U.S. monopolies make fabulous profits by exporting capital to our countries.* Capitalist development geared to monoculture and raw material exports aggravates inequality in trade. It makes Latin American countries increasingly indebted to and dependent on the United States.

The general result as far as the peoples of Latin America are concerned is economic backwardness, poor living conditions, a deformed culture, repression of the working people and democratic organizations, persecution of the working-class parties, dictatorial rule and military intervention. Hence the fight for socio-economic and political progress is inseparable from the fight against imperialism and oligarchy.

The Cuban revolution dealt a severe blow to the system of imperialist domination and raised the revolutionary movement on the continent to a new plane. Cuba was not alone. It won thanks to the support and solidarity of the peoples of the world, first of all the Soviet people. However, for almost a decade the Republic of Cuba was the only state of the continent to be fighting unrelentingly against U.S. imperialism and Latin American oligarchy.

The situation is different today. Chile is on the same side of the barricade as Cuba. The Popular Unity government, in which the Communist and Socialist parties play the decisive role, has nationalized mining, the banks and monopoly enterprises. It is completing the agrarian reform and expropriating the latifundia. It has ended imperialist and oligarchic rule, established relations with Cuba and other socialist countries and proclaimed socialism to be its goal.

The Peruvian people, for their part, are committed to anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic change. The military government under President Alvarado has nationalized a number of U.S. enterprises and expropriated the latifundia held by foreign monopolies and the home oligarchy.** In Panama, power is in the hands of a military nationalist government whose position on a number of issues accords with the objectives of the struggle against imperialism and oligarchy.

Action against imperialist domination is assuming vast proportions in Argentina, Uruguay and Mexico. In Venezuela and Colombia a vigorous campaign is under way to nationalize oil. In Costa Rica, action by the working people and students compelled the

*From 1946/1967, U.S. investments amounted to \$5.5 billion. In the same period the United States drained about \$15 billion in profit.

**News of the coup d'état in Ecuador came after this article had been written. The statements of the new government of Gen. Rodriguez Lara, made up of nationalist minded officers, contain positive points. Latin America thus has one more government which, possibly, might come out against imperialism and the oligarchy.

government to refrain from joining the Central American Defense Council. Actions by the students and academic communities of El Salvador and Honduras against imperialist inroads into education aroused a vast echo.

Late in 1971 the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay met to launch closer cooperation against U.S. imperialism. 'Imperialism and oligarchy,' the meeting stated, 'are operating jointly against the peoples of Latin America. This makes for an ever more widespread awareness that the popular forces of the continent have a common destiny. The gains of each country are welcomed by the peoples of the other countries, and are a stimulus for them. Fascist and imperialist aggression in any part of the continent is aggression against all Latin American peoples. Solidarity and mutual aid today are more necessary than ever.'*

Due to the mounting struggle against imperialism, a number of Latin American governments clash more or less violently with the U.S. government and anti-American organizations. Though differing over many issues, the signatories of the subregional Andean Pact have agreed to curb foreign capitalist penetration. The meetings which President Allende of Chile had with the presidents of Argentina, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia struck a crippling blow at the imperialist doctrine of 'ideological frontier.' The presidents of these countries declared for a foreign policy based on equality, sovereignty, non-interference and renunciation of force. Fidel Castro's historic visit to Chile and his meetings with the presidents of Peru and Ecuador had strong repercussions.

These facts speak of a new stage in the anti-imperialist struggle on the Latin American continent. Today the U.S. imperialists are resisted, not only by Cuba, the working people of the continent, its progressive parties and movements, but by the governments of Chile, Peru and Panama. For the countries of the continent opportunities arise for joint action against imperialism.

Lenin said that in fighting for liberation, the peoples of dependent countries would inevitably move on to struggle against the very foundations of exploitation. The qualitative changes that have taken place in the liberation process in these countries prove this idea perfectly correct. The fight against imperialism and oligarchy on the continent is becoming ever more markedly anti-capitalist due to the active participation of the working class, which makes up over half the gainfully employed population of Latin America.

Though the proletariat may not be equally numerous in all the countries of the continent, it has evolved as a class everywhere. Furthermore, its historic role as organizer and leader of the masses is determined not so much by its numbers as by its place in social production. To quote Lenin, the working class 'expresses . . . the

*Last year too, the Communist parties of Central America, Mexico and Panama held their Eighth Conference, which urged the peoples of the region to defend Cuba and foil imperialist attempts to provoke armed conflicts between Central American countries.

real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people. . . .' (Coll. Works, Vol. 30, p. 274).

The experience of a number of countries, in particular Chile, shows that the proletariat, united in trade unions, tempered in battles with the class enemy and having its organized political vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, is a powerful motive force of the liberation struggle. Its task is to lead—in one form or another, at an earlier or later stage of the revolutionary process—the peasants, the urban middle strata and the people as a whole against U.S. imperialism and the bourgeois and landowner oligarchy.

Expanding the social basis of anti-imperialism

Recent years have seen a distinct polarization: the forces championing progress, democratic freedoms and changes for the benefit of the majority of the population, on the one hand, and the foreign capitalists, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the landed oligarchy, on the other.

Since the Cuban revolution, increasing numbers of students, members of the professions and the urban middle strata, and various sections of the armed forces and the Church have joined in the anti-imperialist struggle, which for a long time was carried on by the working class and the peasantry plus the more radical section of the intelligentsia.

Some of the young people taking part in the revolutionary struggle have joined Communist or Socialist parties or their youth organizations, as in Chile. But in a number of other countries young people have formed their own organizations, often opposed to proletarian parties. This is due to the ideological immaturity and the inexperience of numerous young people. The result is wrong assessments of the Latin American revolution, the role of the working class and the Communist party, and the ways of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Armed groups were widespread, which after a few gains drifted into isolation from the mass movement and espoused anti-communism, and, in effect, prejudiced the progress of the anti-imperialist fight. To expose their theory and practice is an important task of the Communist parties if they are to win more young people for Marxism-Leninism. As a result of the Communists' effort, these groups are losing ground, the bulk of the younger generation joining in the working people's fight. It is only close association with the working-class movement and its Communist vanguard that can provide youth with a revolutionary perspective.

The social basis of the fight against imperialism and oligarchy is also expanding due to the radicalization of the urban middle strata. These include not only intellectuals, whose condition under capitalism is more and more approaching that of the proletariat, but also the petty and middle bourgeoisie. Domination of the economy by foreign and domestic monopolies leads to the ruin and proletarianization of increasing numbers of employers and traders. The resultant

spontaneous protest impels them to join the fighters against imperialism and oligarchy. Though these people are influenced by bourgeois ideology, they join in actions against the common enemy, and this is important.

A changing world situation, the growing might and influence of the socialist community, the collapse of the colonial system, the triumph of the peaceful coexistence policy promoted by the Soviet Union, and the victory of the Cuban revolution all had a powerful impact on even such seemingly unshakable institutions of Latin American countries as the Army and the Church.

The working-class and Communist movement was faced with the problem of drawing all these forces and strata into a common struggle for socio-economic progress, for the fundamental objectives of the working-class and popular movement. A lively dialogue has developed between Marxists and Christians. We already have an example of coalitions involving Christian-Democratic parties. Numerous spokesmen of Chile's Catholic Church, in particular Cardinal Silva Enriquez, support the popular government's patriotic measures. The newly-established secretariat of the Priests for Socialism movement sponsored a continental conference of clerics opposed to imperialism. The Church plays a notable part in the fight against dictatorship in Paraguay, Brazil and elsewhere.

The upsurge in the anti-imperialist struggle did not by-pass the armed forces. The rise of a nationalist wing in them means that imperialism and the oligarchy can no longer count on them as an instrument of suppressing the liberation movement. In some cases the spread of patriotic sentiment tends to make the military an appreciable factor in anti-imperialist actions.

The armed forces play an important role in the changes being effected in Chile. They back the policies of the popular government and are prepared to defend constitutional order against foreign or home reaction. Mutual understanding between the working-class parties and progressive elements of the armed forces of Peru and Panama is improving. Following the reactionary coup in Bolivia an Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front was set up in which army officers who led the overthrown democratic government are active.

The participation of students in the people's struggle, the radicalization of the urban middle strata, the adoption of progressive positions by numerous Catholic priests, the rise of progressives in Latin American armies and their readiness for joint action with working-class parties are indicative of substantial changes in the alignment of forces on the continent.

The rise of anti-imperialist fronts

The deepening economic and socio-political crisis, the growing class struggle in town and country and the mounting antagonism between the people and the oligarchies and imperialism are factors helping to establish united anti-imperialist fronts in Latin American countries. This is a new common characteristic of the liberation process.

Typical of the popular coalitions in the making are their wide scope, the involvement of new social strata, including priests and servicemen, in addition to the workers and peasants, militant joint action and the elaboration of anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist programs. Their immediate object is genuinely popular anti-imperialist governments.*

Left unity is not merely a result of agreement between political leaders. It springs from the powerful movement of the people, from the trade union battles for economic demands, from united action by the working class and other segments of the population. Unity is a result of agreement and understanding between the Communist Party and other working-class and popular parties.

Chile's experience shows that only by going over from struggle for their immediate demands to struggle for more important objectives will the masses come to realize the need for far-reaching changes against oligarchy, monopoly and imperialism so as to end backwardness and a dependent condition. In Chile this process culminated in the formation of Popular Unity, a democratic multi-party bloc of Communists and Socialists, radical non-believers and Left Christians. This bloc unites workers, peasants, office and professional employees, intellectuals, students and small and medium employers.

The formation of a popular government carrying out revolutionary changes proves that the 1960 Meeting of Communist and Workers' parties was correct in saying: 'Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people.'

Peru is passing through a difficult period of transition. It has to decide on its further path. The Communist Party and General Confederation of Working People are trying to carry the process of change deeper. The military government's anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist policy and the people's active struggle are leading to a further isolation of the reactionaries. The working people and their political organizations have an increasing say in decision-making on which the country's future hinges.

In Argentina a people's coalition – the National Meeting of Argentines – has been set up. It unites diverse political parties and trends and has put forward a democratic program offering progressive change. There is a Broad Front in Uruguay. The substantial proportion of votes cast for the Front's candidate in the latest election

*Experience in establishing united fronts on our continent has accumulated for decades. As far back as 1929 a conference of Latin America's Communist parties stressed the importance of united action by all socio-political forces to prevent the victory of fascism. During the Seventh Congress of the Communist International the Communist Party of Chile proposed reorganizing the country's Left Bloc into a Popular Front. This democratic coalition won the presidential elections in 1938.

was an important advance towards eventual victory for the progressive forces. The Colombian people take strong action against the country's anti-popular bourgeois-reformist regime. The Communist Party, while using various forms of struggle, works to form a broad-based democratic coalition. In Ecuador local committees and provincial Popular Unity organizations have sprung up. A similar movement is under way in Venezuela.

Despite a terroristic regime, the progressive forces in Brazil tend to unite on a broad anti-dictatorial program. In Paraguay the fascist regime's repressive measures failed to stop democratic action.

In El Salvador agreement was reached on united action by the Communist and Christian-Democratic parties and in the Dominican Republic, by the Communists, the Revolutionary Party, Socialists, Left Christians and nationalist-minded servicemen.

This list is incomplete. The main thing is the decisive participation of Communist and Workers' parties in the formation of broad-based fronts. Communists, says the Document of the 1969 Meeting, are doing all they can to 'bring about greater mutual understanding between the numerous and diverse anti-imperialist trends and movements, taking into consideration their specific features and showing respect for their independence.'

Specifics of the liberation process

In evolving revolutionary strategy and tactics in the imperialist epoch, Lenin stressed the necessity for 'learning to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *specific relations* between classes and parties, to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study, and predict.' (Vol. 31, p. 89).

Latin America's Communists act on this advice. Thus, the Communist Party of Chile, in evolving its policy, regarded the existence of numerous democratic parties and their activity in parliament and the trade unions as a manifestation of class struggle in the country. Régis Debray and his Chilean followers, who flatly rejected the idea of using 'bourgeois institutions,' seemed to forget that the Chilean parliament, for instance, served as a vast platform for our explanatory work among the masses. The Communists opted for using all legal opportunities, which provided them with a broad social basis, earned them political allies and enabled them to create the Popular Unity bloc by joint effort.

The task of the Popular Unity parties is to win full political power now that they control the government, which enables them to a considerable extent to direct the nation's development. Being in government, the popular parties have nationalized the big monopolies, set up a strong state sector in the economy and completed the first stage of the agrarian reform.

The people's assumption of power through elections, without civil

war, is due to the distinctive character of Chilean history. This experience should be neither made an absolute of nor mechanically imitated. The Chilean 'phenomenon,' like the vivid example of revolutionary Cuba, whose people fought their way to power, shows that there is more than one way to victory. The peoples of other countries of the continent will use this or that element of Cuba's or Chile's experience according to their own national conditions.

An interesting aspect of the liberation process in Latin America is the emergence of nationalist military governments in Peru and Panama. They took power after overthrowing oligarchic castes which had ruled with foreign monopoly backing. These governments are carrying out a series of reforms, including the agrarian reform, and uphold national sovereignty. They have no direct links with any party and follow an indefinite political program. However, the logic of events makes them lean on the working people and their trade unions and parties for support.

We are in the presence of yet another potentiality of the liberation process. To be sure, it is difficult to foresee developments but if the policy of these governments is consistent they will presumably become rallying points for Left forces and carry the process of social change deeper, with the working class and its political vanguard playing an increasing role.

From the standpoint of history, the rise of this type of nationalist military regime in Latin America is one of the trends of the anti-imperialist struggle at a time when the working class and its party do not yet wield sufficient influence to lead the masses in the struggle for power. In these circumstances the task of the progressive forces is to make a correct assessment of the new alignment, bring their tactics into line with the new situation and evolve a policy that will enable them to press forward the struggle, using the opportunities afforded by such governments. The possibility of civilian progressive forces joining in a government of this nature should obviously not be ruled out.

Thus it is manifest that there are many roads to people's power on our continent. Despite its general anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic and anti-capitalist trend, the revolutionary process varies increasingly from country to country.

The conception of the liberation process as an interweaving of international and national factors, of general objective laws and distinctive features, is basic to the strategy and tactics of Latin America's Communist and Workers' parties, which contribute their share to Marxist-Leninist theory. By studying objective reality in its multiformity, they are in a position to choose the right path to such common objectives as winning full independence, restoring their national resources to the people, developing the national economy in the working people's interests and forming anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist governments, with the transition to socialism as a prospect. The Communist parties' influence on social

consciousness is growing as they fight for these objectives. They are winning increasing support among the people because they are loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and devotedly serve the cause of their people, the cause of socialism.

American imperialism in the Philippines

Francisco Balagtas

The economy

The fundamental basis of continuing American imperialist exploitation and domination of the Philippines, notwithstanding its independence, is the monopoly stranglehold on its economy. This stranglehold was deliberately imposed and carefully nurtured over the four decades of direct American sovereignty and for a quarter of a century after independence. The infamous parity provision of the Bell Trade Act required the Philippine government and people to amend their Constitution to extend to the Americans equal rights with Filipinos in the exploitation of natural resources and in the ownership and operation of public utilities.

As a result of the combined impact of the deteriorating economic situation and the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation led by the Communist Party, the leading spokesmen of the exploiting classes were finally compelled to join in the denunciation of the onerous trade and parity provisions of the Bell Trade Act. In the late 1960s, even the American monopolists were forced to accept 'in principle' the abrogation of their parity rights (due to terminate in 1974) and the renegotiation of the trade arrangements. However, the American monopolists resorted to delaying action. They got the Philippine Congress to pass the Investment Incentives Law which, under the guise of encouraging native investments, was really intended to encourage American investments. They are also entering into joint-venture relationships with Filipino capitalists as junior partners. This and other sops induced the national bourgeoisie to abandon its industrialization demands, leaving only the Communist-led national liberation movement and a tiny minority of progressive national bourgeoisie to work for industrialization.

The American monopolists are maneuvering: they want to keep their parity rights even after 1974, and a treaty that would assure them 'national treatment.'

U.S. monopoly policy in the Philippines was centered for decades

on preserving the agrarian character of the economy and impeding industrial growth. The latest twist in the economic phase of the tactics of neo-colonialism is the so-called 'development diplomacy,' which includes colonial industrialization, infra-structural development, land reform and agricultural development, etc., allowing a limited growth of the economy in the interest and under the control of the monopolies. Colonial industrialization permits the development of only such industries which would generate monopoly super-profits. These include packaging and assembly plants, mining and forest industries producing export raw materials and light industries. They also include consumer goods industries owned either by subsidiaries of American monopolies or by joint ventures of American-Filipino capital, intended to take advantage of cheap raw materials, and abundance of cheap labor and to circumvent tariff duties.

The U.S. monopolists encourage the building of the infra-structure — roads, bridges, ports, harbors and similar facilities. Such construction is of no interest to private investors due to high cost and slow returns. True, the infra-structure is essential, but its development should be tied in with an overall industrial development program. Yet the Americans encourage the administration to seek huge foreign loans to finance an ambitious infra-structure program. Moreover, by requiring counterpart funds, limited national resources are diverted into the infra-structure at the expense of industries, particularly heavy industry, which the country badly needs for a genuine program of industrialization.

Such loans also place a heavy burden both on the national budget and on the limited foreign exchange resources. The government inevitably finds itself unable to pay the principal and interest due on the foreign loans. Then a consortium of American and other foreign banks come to the 'rescue' of the government by offering a 'stabilization loan' to meet short-term obligations. However, to qualify for the 'stabilization loan,' a favorable recommendation from the International Monetary Fund is required. Consequently, the government is compelled to open all its records to the representatives of the IMF to enable them to 'assess' correctly the state of the national economy and thereby help 'advise' our economic planners in 'adjusting' the national economic development program.

The following example shows what this means. Some two years ago the IMF representatives recommended devaluation of the Philippine peso by allowing it to 'float.' The government accepted the recommendation in the face of opposition from nationalist groups. The floating of the peso in the early part of 1970 resulted not only in the sharp rise of prices and a corresponding decline in the purchasing power of fixed incomes like salaries and wages, but also in the buying off or buying into Filipino-owned industries by the U.S. monopolists with their up-valued dollars. This partially explains the resurging tide of discontent culminating in August 1971 in the suspension by the President of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus.

The neo-colonialist approach is also evident in recommendations of U.S. agrarian 'advisers.' Imperialist-inspired land reform and agricultural development policies are a device to emasculate the revolutionary peasant movement and to expand the domestic market for the manufactures of the U.S. monopolists and their subsidiaries.

The substitution of the leasehold system for the obsolete landlord-tenant crop-sharing system, the introduction of more efficient agricultural methods of production (irrigation, fertilizers, seed selection, pesticides, etc.) and the organization of producers', consumers' and credit cooperatives increased production and incomes of peasant-discontent areas, which were declared land-reform areas. These changes generated illusions about the efficacy of the land reform legislation, leading to a tendency towards reformism. However, peasant discontent continues not only due to the widening gap between the rich and the poor, but also because of the high prices the peasants are compelled to pay for consumer goods, especially after the floating of the peso.

The rural concealed unemployment, which only a decisive program of industrialization can eliminate, is making matters worse. This industrialization could be financed, even if partially, with the vast fortunes accumulated by the feudal landlords. The Americans, however, prefer to see the landlords invest in capitalist agriculture, rather than in industries which would compete with U.S. exports. Consequently, they encourage landlord plans to exchange their big landed estates in areas of peasant unrest for much bigger fertile public agricultural land in the still undeveloped regions of the country and to shift to capitalist agriculture.

Complementing the imperialist-inspired land reform are the 'community development' and 'military-civic action' schemes which were elaborated and tried in South Vietnam and are now being applied in the Philippines – not without the knowledge and aid of U.S. advisers – especially in rural areas of actual and potential peasant dissidence. The army, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and mass organizations influenced by it, and imperialist-influenced civic and religious organizations are particularly active in promoting these schemes. The objective is to engage the restless, dissatisfied peasants in miscellaneous ways of supplementing their meagre income, specifically by subsidizing household handicrafts, to keep them away from the revolutionary path of struggle.

Politics

The ultimate guarantee for the maintenance of the American monopolist stranglehold on the Philippine economy is American military might and its presence, visible or invisible, in the country.

After the Second World War, in line with the American imperialists' scheme of world domination, they invented and projected the danger of foreign communist aggression and internal communist subversion to hasten their obtaining military, air and naval bases in the country.

Reacting to the relentless campaign by the Communist Party of the Philippines and the national liberation movement for the removal of American bases, which campaign was subsequently joined even by pro-imperialist elements among the exploiting classes, the American monopolists threatened to remove their bases of lesser military utility. Only recently they made good their threat by withdrawing from their naval base in Sangley Point.

Supplementing their military presence, which they are trying to reduce to the minimum to blunt the growing anti-imperialist sentiment, the American monopolists are resorting to more sophisticated and flexible techniques of political control, especially over the armed forces of the Philippines. The high echelons of the military establishment are carefully screened for their ideological loyalty, meticulously indoctrinated in American military schools on American democracy and altruism and properly impressed with American military and economic might. They are also brainwashed on the evils of communism and the twin dangers of foreign communist aggression and internal communist subversion. To insure their blind loyalty, they are lavishly rewarded and even corrupted. The same policy is used for the national police.

No wonder the armed forces of the country and the police see their main task in suppressing the anti-imperialist movement for national liberation. For this purpose, the armed forces are trained in counter-insurgency techniques. The local urban police forces are trained in riot control to suppress militant mass actions in urban centers of population. In the rural areas of peasant restlessness and dissidence, Barrio Special Defence Units (BSDU) similar in orientation to the 'guardia civil'* under Spanish rule and to the 'neighborhood associations'** during Japanese occupation, are organized to spy on the activities of the revolutionary peasantry, and to kill, with impunity, militant peasants and other activists.

The American neo-colonialists interfere grossly in the nation's political affairs. Through its control of the high echelons of the military establishment, the Joint United States Military Assistance Group (JUSMAG) is in a vantage position of whipping into line any potentially nationalistic President, through the threat of assassination or coup d'état. It is also in a position to influence the results of national elections in favor of American candidates. But growing anti-American sentiment is gradually rising as an impediment to such direct interference.

Since 1946, it was a basic policy of American monopolists to support financially, propagandistically and through other forms of pressure, a new candidate for Presidency against a re-electionist candidate. This is because the Philippine constitution does not allow a third term for President. Consequently, a second-term President can afford to be relatively independent of American dicta-

*These were armed civilians authorized to arrest, detain, and otherwise commit acts of terrorism against suspected political dissidents against Spanish and Friar rule in the Philippines.

**Japanese-inspired organizations of village residents in rural areas and street residents in cities designed to keep tab of the population and suppress anti-Japanese actions.

tion, unlike a first-term President who is compelled to seek American support for his re-election. Where the American candidate belongs to the ruling party, the American monopolists maneuver to have their candidate transfer to the opposition party and be its presidential standard-bearer, as were the cases with Magsaysay in 1953 and Marcos in 1965.

As a safeguard against the possibility of a nationalistic President using the ample powers of the Presidency against monopoly interests, the American neo-colonialists, operating through their allies in various parties, particularly through the Church-influenced Progressive Party (now Christian Social Movement), succeeded in having the powers of the national government decentralized, under the guise of securing provincial and municipal autonomy. With such decentralization, the American monopolists now have the choice of dealing either with the national government or with provincial and municipal governments, depending on their respective amenability to American influence and control.

The American monopolists, through their intelligence agencies, particularly the CIA, have been and still are engaged in a policy of massive infiltration in the governmental structure among the Presidential staff, cabinet members, the lower bureaucracy, armed forces, Congressional members and their staff, the judicial system up to the Supreme Court and its staff, economic agencies and organizations, trade unions, peasant organizations, student, youth and women's organizations, civic and religious associations, public and private educational institutions, mass media and political parties, including even the 'Mao Thought' party, and the Socialist Party. Aside from intelligence information, the aim of such infiltration is to implement imperialist policy, cleverly cloaked by catch phrases and slogans such as 'unfinished revolution,' 'democratic revolution,' 'welfare state,' 'people's capitalism,' 'democratic socialism,' 'restructuring of society,' etc. In addition, the aim of the imperialists is to sow confusion and promote a split within the movement for national liberation by projecting the issues of 'revisionism,' 'social imperialism' and 'super-powers.' They encourage their class allies and agents to mouth slogans on nationalism, revolution and socialism to divert the masses away from the CPP in favor of those loudly proclaiming these slogans, and to facilitate entry of their infiltrators within the CPP.

In addition to utilizing native class interests as a basis for their subversion, the American imperialists also resort to corruption as a weapon of control and domination. Many nationalists and anti-imperialists and even professed Marxists whose convictions are not as strong as their desires to accumulate wealth and exercise power which goes with wealth, have been induced to abandon their principles by being offered public office with all its opportunities for private aggrandizement. Thus financially corrupted, such holders of public office generally become pliant instruments in the betrayal of national interests. Those whose sense of decency makes them reluctant to betray the national interests are finally

compelled to do so under threat of exposure of their malfeasance in office.

All this sparks legitimate and rapidly growing popular discontent, likely to erupt in widespread open anti-imperialist actions. So the American monopolists are in the process of abandoning their discredited puppets and inflexible class allies in favor of flexible class allies and new and fresh political personalities as potential political instruments. The current Constitutional Convention (delegates elected in November 1970 and convened in June 1971 are still in session) offers them the opportunity to maneuver behind the scenes to 'restructure society' in a manner calculated to arrest, if not to reverse, the growing mass disillusionment concerning the feasibility of achieving fundamental changes through constitutional and parliamentary methods of struggle. In particular, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the Church-influenced Christian Social Movement have been most aggressive in demanding the holding of a constitutional convention with the warning that such convention is the last chance to avert a violent revolution similar to the victorious Cuban revolution.

Ideology

Education, patterned after the American system, is one of the main areas of U.S. imperialism's ideological penetration. The public school system, with thousands of American teachers forming the hard core of the initial teaching force, planted the seeds of the Americanization of the Filipinos. Philippine history was distorted to suit American imperialist aims. Filipino revolutionary heroes were either ignored or down-graded, while American heroes and Presidents were unduly projected. The basic aim was to project the Americans as superior, altruistic, mighty and democratic. Their conquest of the Philippines was presented as a humanitarian mission to 'civilize' the Filipinos, hiding the real imperialist motivation of such conquest.

Supplementing the public school system in brainwashing the Filipinos, is the American system of scholarships and pensionados. The most talented Filipino students and college graduates are sent to study in American universities which add the finishing touches to their American conditioning in the Philippine schools. In the United States, they are awed by American bigness, affluence and efficiency, which reinforce their feeling of inferiority towards the Americans. Such inferiority complex leads to a consciousness of dependence and a feeling of helplessness without American aid and tutelage. After completing the finishing touches, these scholars and pensionados are sent back to their country and given strategic positions in the government service, private enterprise, educational institutions, mass media and the armed forces. Wittingly or unwittingly, they served and continue to serve as the best agents of American imperialism, to make the Filipinos grateful for American imperialist exploitation and domination.

The American monopoly stranglehold over the Philippine economy includes control of the mass media. This control is achieved through lavish appropriations for advertisements on which the mass media depend for survival. By giving or withholding advertisements, the American monopolists have succeeded in compelling owners of the mass media to carry the American imperialist line in all its zigs and zags. The most recent example of this power and the flexibility and cleverness with which it is being exercised is the prominence being given by the mass media to 'Maoist' propaganda attacking the genuine Communist Party of the Philippines and the Soviet Union.

In line with their traditional policy of 'divide and rule,' the American monopolists encourage regionalism and tribalism, which serve to impede the development of national consciousness. They have carefully nurtured the historical hatred of Moslems for Christians, encouraging the Moslem Filipinos to secede from the Philippine Republic and put up their own state in the island of Mindanao, which is rich in natural resources for imperialist exploitation.

Even while the American imperialists and their agents encourage regionalism and tribalism among the relatively backward sectors of the population living in remote regions, they simultaneously pay lip-service to nationalism among other sectors of the population in places reached by the organizational activities of the Communist-led movement for national liberation. They assiduously promote the concept of the compatibility between nationalism and pro-Americanism symbolized by the 'positive nationalism' of Magsaysay, the most unashamedly pro-American of Filipino puppet presidents. They equate anti-imperialism with either 'extreme' or 'narrow' nationalism or downright pro-communism, and, at the same time they also encourage racialism and chauvinism.

In certain carefully studied cases, they even encourage anti-imperialist slogans and oratorical rantings and verbal and written denunciations of imperialism, provided they are not accompanied by a serious analysis of concrete American imperialist techniques of exploitation and domination, and by a concrete and rational program of action designed to undermine, and eventually overthrow, imperialist control and domination. Consequently, there exists in the Philippine scene the phenomenon of licensed 'nationalists,' 'anti-imperialists,' 'revolutionaries' and 'communists' who are free to propagate their ideas, utilizing the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie-owned mass media (newspapers, magazines, radio and television), while the genuine patriots, anti-imperialists, revolutionaries and Communists are either being harassed and suppressed or denied access to such mass media.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have made the Communist Party their main target, for neither its outlawing nor persecution could reduce its influence on the masses. Realizing the ineffectiveness of the 1957 anti-subversion law, the American neo-colonialists and their agents and class collaborators tried a new tack by intro-

ducing in 1969 legislation to repeal the anti-subversion law and to legalize the Communist movement through a system of registration. Receiving no favorable response from genuine anti-imperialists, progressives and Communists who correctly saw such proposed legislation for what it is, as a trap to lure the gullible, the anti-Communists reversed gears. They began to implement a policy of inducing sincere, if naive and inexperienced, students and other young elements to engage in adventurist and anarchistic acts of terrorism and violence. At the same time, they hired mercenaries recruited from criminals, gangsters and the lumpen proletariat to commit similar acts of political terrorism. The overall aim is to create a psychological climate of rampant violence, terrorism and anarchy to justify the imposition of martial law and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and thereby put a serious obstacle to the use of constitutional and parliamentary methods of struggle by the revolutionary movement.

Last August, President Marcos suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, seizing on a terroristic act of the anarchists as a pretext. In lifting the suspension after more than four months he now claims that the Communist movement is under control. But the imperialists and their local agents would be pleased if they could provoke events like those in Indonesia in 1965 or in Sudan only recently.

The situation is therefore extremely complicated and explosive. The dominant classes are closely connected with imperialism, which operates more and more in the guise of 'reformer' and 'renovator' of socio-economic relations. Our adversaries spare no effort to isolate the masses from our Party. The CPP, learning from its past mistakes and the relevant experiences of fraternal parties, is currently engaged in sharp ideological struggles both within its own ranks and within the national liberation movement fighting for progress and for social and national freedom. It is persistently struggling against adventurism, anarchism, ultra-revolutionism, sectarianism and dogmatism, all of which tend to isolate the Party and weaken the national liberation movement. It is equally persistent in combating tendencies towards tailism, lagging behind the masses, awaitism, to assume the leading role in the anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation.



Versailles salutes Indochina

Recent years have seen many displays of solidarity with the peoples of Indochina fighting for independence against imperialist intervention. But there has never been anything so representative as the Versailles Assembly last February. Convened on the initiative of the Executive Committee of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam and 48 French national organizations working for peace in Indochina, the World Assembly for Peace and Independence in Indochina attracted 1,200 delegates from 84 countries and 31 international organizations to the Palace of Congresses neighboring the historic palace of Louis XIV.

The delegates listened with rapt attention to the representatives of fighting Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. All speeches, the photo displays in the lobbies, the mass of literature and documentary film showed what the XX-century barbarians were inflicting on the peoples. Here are a few facts and figures summing up the imperialist carnage:

From 1965 to 1971 the Americans dropped over 13 million tons of explosives on Indochina, or more than twice the amount used against the fascist bloc countries during the Second World War. As many as 6.6 million tons of bombs were dropped from the air alone, or 43 times more than on militarist Japan. The explosive power of the ammunition used by the Pentagon on the Indochinese 'testing grounds' equals almost one thousand atomic bombs of the type that destroyed Hiroshima.

American toxic substances have turned one-fifth of South Vietnam into a barren wasteland, destroying hundreds of millions of pounds of rice and scores of millions of cubic metres of forest.

By the most modest estimates, the United States has already spent \$120 billion on the Indochina war – about \$360 a year for each person on the Peninsula, whose annual per capita national product is only \$120.

What is the 'dividend' reaped by the U.S. rulers from the vast resources spent on the war? Hundreds of thousands of Asians and Americans killed, still more maimed and homeless, cities bombed out, villages, fields and forests scorched with napalm, and a military and political impasse. The widely advertised 'Vietnamization' has

done nothing to scale down the war and has merely shifted the bulk of the casualties to the troops of the puppet regimes.

The largest delegation at Versailles was that from the United States. This despite Nixon's efforts to block the Assembly and his statement that there was no point in holding the Assembly after Washington's 8-point peace program, which only elicited some ironical smiles.

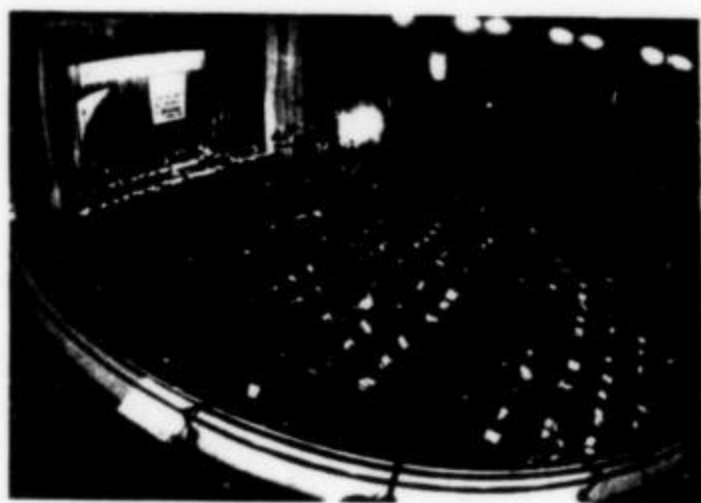
'Just the opposite is true,' said Bob Greenblatt, a leader of the American People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. 'After Washington made its proposal there was all the more reason for holding the conference. The People's Coalition's view is that the 8-point program of President Nixon is a continuation of a process that he began with the introduction of the new air war. Nixon is trying to appear the peace-maker. Actually, he means to continue the aggression against Indochina.'

It is proper to recall that after his so-called peace program failed to foil the idea of the Assembly, Nixon made direct representations to the French government. However, his crude pressure was to no avail. Then William Porter, U.S. spokesman at the Paris negotiations, tried to discredit the Assembly delegates by calling them a pack of agitators representing no one. This evoked indignation, especially among the American delegates. Jane Fonda, the film star, said: 'Porter's statement that this conference is a meeting of dangerous persons and renegades, and I don't know what other names he has called us, is an out-and-out lie. If in Paris Porter represents his type of people it means that the Paris talks on Vietnam are worthless, because they are not representative of the American people who want to stop this war immediately.'

The peace-loving forces are countering the aggressor's maneuvers by greater cohesion, and are determined to render broad support to the peoples of Indochina.

'In the struggle to curb the American aggressor,' says the message sent by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, to the Assembly, warmly received by its participants, 'the solidarity and unity of all honest people, of all who cherish peace and justice, is of the greatest significance.'

The speeches we heard, our talks with delegates and the press reports convinced us that the solidarity movement is becoming an ever more formidable force and can no longer be ignored. Consolidated action on a world scale, says the Versailles resolution, represents a force making victory possible in the struggle for peace. The comprehensive aid from the socialist states and the other peace-loving countries, the developing solidarity movement in various parts of the world and the broad support of world public opinion are



Working session in hall of Palace of Congresses

reliable proof for the fighting people of Indochina that in this struggle they are not alone.

Highly conspicuous in the Assembly's atmosphere of solidarity, friendship and comradely support was the absence of delegates from the People's Republic of China. Broaching this subject in his talk with us, Rene Duhamel, Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labor, said: 'Solidarity with the peoples of Indochina is the concern of the workers and people of all countries. We would have very much liked to see representatives of the Chinese people and the Chinese workers here with us. Peking's refusal to participate in the Assembly did not prevent it from taking place and has not lessened its success. On the contrary, by their action the Chinese



Participants in solidarity march in Paris streets

leaders have isolated themselves – temporarily, I hope – from this worldwide movement. I also hope that the organizations representing the workers and people of China will soon reconsider their stand and see that their place is at our side, with the workers and people of the whole world, demonstrating effective solidarity with the Indochinese peoples.'

The Versailles forum helped greatly to strengthen the solidarity movement. New trends have appeared, attesting to its maturity. This was noted, among others, by Isabelle Blume, the World Peace Council's Presidential-Coordinator. 'I have attended few international conferences,' she said, 'where the desire of each delegate to shoulder the responsibility for the trust placed in him and see it through to the end was so pronounced. It was stressed at meetings of the working commissions that we have not yet done everything we could, that the public in many countries is poorly informed, and, particularly, that the solidarity movement in the United States is still not what it could be. This individual concern and our movement's consolidation will have very important political consequences.'

One more outstanding feature of the Versailles Assembly was that the delegates from practically all the imperialist-dominated countries stressed the similarity between the situation in their respective lands and that of Indochina, linking the Indochinese liberation struggle with that in their own countries and the common tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle. Many noted the identity of imperialist methods in different countries and the identity of imperialism's strategy and tactics in trying to impose its will on other nations. This was the subject raised during an interview for us by Cheddi Jagan, former Prime Minister of Guyana and Leader of the People's Progressive Party. He said:

'So far as our own country is concerned, we have a puppet government similar to the puppet government in South Vietnam. And

we have to fight for genuine independence. We have political independence now, but not economic independence or social independence. This is because American imperialism is dictating to the puppet regimes about the policies, about the domestic and foreign policies, and the result is that everything is going down, the economy is depressed, while the cost of living is rising. In attempting to crush the growing dissatisfaction the government is relying on the police and the army. It is a similar trend you have in Vietnam and thus our view is that if world public opinion as represented at this conference can force American imperialism to allow the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to determine their own future—that similar pressures can be built up to force American imperialism to do the same thing elsewhere, in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa, in my country, and thus we see all of this as an interconnected whole.'

The thoughts of all who attended the Versailles forum were expressed in the Assembly's Appeal, adopted on the closing day, demanding that the U.S. government immediately and completely withdraw its armed forces from Indochina, stop the air war and all military operations against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and concede them the right to peace, freedom and independence.

On the same day Paris witnessed yet another powerful demonstration of solidarity with Indochina. Despite the bad weather, the Assembly delegates and thousands of French, Belgian and West German peace supporters, who had come to Paris especially for the occasion, held a solidarity march along the traditional route of the Parisian proletariat from Republic to Bastille Square, carrying banners and streamers reading: 'Solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia,' 'Stop the bombing,' and 'Get American troops out of Indochina.' There were similar demonstrations in many other French cities.

After the demonstration we saw a wall poster near our hotel signed by the Communist Party of France, explaining the essence of President Nixon's 'peace program.' And this poster, too, was a fervent appeal to rise in battle for peace and justice. V. Duvalé
Versailles-Prague

Franco's secrets exposed

Last autumn Franco's Labor Ministry sent a secret directive on 'possible conflicts' to provincial governors, its own local officers, leaders of the official trade unions and other persons. It called for repressive and other measures to contain the workers' struggle for socio-economic and political demands.

Though classified as 'secret,' its contents reached the Communist Party and the Workers' Commissions, became known throughout Spain and filtered out of the country. Below are its main points, the authenticity of which is beyond the slightest doubt, and our comments.

In the opening passage the Ministry calls attention to possible labor conflicts as a result, chiefly, of the rising cost of living, due 'to the by no means splendid economic situation in general and the situation in some of the economic branches in particular.'

Conflicts, it points out, might also be caused by the recent release from detention of a large number of political activists and members of illegal workers' organizations. Referring to instances in Gijon, El-Ferrol, Cordoba and the SEAT motor plant in Barcelona, the Ministry warned industrialists that attempts were being made to circumvent its measures and to win reinstatement for dismissed workers, resulting in the activists' getting back their former jobs. The document amplified: 'We presume that the industrialists are aware of the risks of bowing to these demands and hope they will not yield, for that would doubtless tend to increase the tension.' Employers are counselled to be firm, and to start a black list, which, in effect, means dooming rank-and-file union members and activists to unemployment and starvation.

The second section of the paper contains detailed instructions to the Franco unions and local officers of the Labor Ministry for the eventuality of workers' unrest: before the opening of any collective bargaining or re-negotiation of the collective agreements . . . show the utmost discrimination in appointing chairmen of bargaining commissions and their advisers; during the bargaining, and especially in the event of a breakdown, prevent the holding of mass meetings or workers' assemblies; terminate the bargaining at once if mass actions break out in enterprises or industries.

The official unions are told to keep in close touch with the Ministry and to 'reconcile the attitudes of the parties concerned, avoiding agreements which the government would subsequently have to amend or annul.' To this end the unions are instructed 'to cultivate among workers an appreciation of the tie-up between social and economic aspects' (that is, to prevail on workers to accept the employer's decisions, taken in his interests and to his advantage. - S.Z.).

Local authorities are advised to avert conflicts by arranging for effective information about illegal activities, gatherings, and the like, and making preventive arrests; to curb dissemination of illegal propaganda; to prevent workers from picketing enterprises and shops.

The concluding section is addressed to the press and other mass media, which the Ministry described as of the utmost importance at times of labor unrest. Information about labor conflicts, the Ministry complained, the press obtains from the interested party . . . with the result that public opinion supports the strikers. The newspapers are advised to make the maximum use of information com-

ing from the Franco unions and the Labor Ministry and unfavorable to labor. In the months to come, the paper says, 'the line of hushing up conflicts or of restricting information about them to the minimum should prevail. . . . This should also be specified in the Information Ministry's instructions to the press, radio and television.'

In substance, the authors of the directive involuntarily admit what the Communist Party, the Workers' Commissions and the democratic opposition to the Franco policy of repression have maintained all along: the Labor Ministry operates as a gendarme protecting the interests of the oligarchy and preventing workers from making their legitimate demands, while its local officers and the leaders of Franco unions carry out the will of the capitalists. They are told to be police informers, to write denunciations against worker activists and organizers, and prevent or break up meetings – in short, to impede all militant working-class action.

Considering the origin of the directive, some of its passages actually sound like an official confirmation of the crisis gripping the Franco regime. For example, it admits the strong discontent of the workers and the entire laboring population over the rising cost of living. Official 1971 statistics admit an 8.4 per cent rise in prices, though in Madrid, say, the price of staples and other consumer goods went up 50 to 100 per cent.

With its basic policy unchanged since 1939, the Franco regime blocks the way not only to a renovation of Spain's economy, but even to moderate 'neo-capitalist' reforms. The 'by no means splendid' state of the economy is an understatement. Gloomy would be nearer to the truth. The automobile industry, tractors, engineering, building, mining, textiles, electric appliances, and the like, are in the grip of an unprecedentedly deep crisis. Hundreds of the lesser, medium-sized and even some larger enterprises, are closing down. Many thousands of workers are losing their jobs. In farming, use of machines and artificial fertilizers is falling off, and large areas of arable land lie fallow.

Unemployment is officially set at 240,000, but private bodies and international experts estimate at least 600,000 unemployed. Furthermore, a million-and-a-half Spaniards have left the country, seeking jobs elsewhere in Western Europe.

It did not require any extraordinary foresight in these circumstances for the Labor Ministry to predict a tense period of social conflict. In fact, that period has already begun.

The crisis of the Franco regime – this is its main feature – is set against the background of labor's growing unity and higher degree of organization, a greater degree of activity and initiative by the politically conscious proletarian core rallied around the Workers' Commissions. And other forces are ranging themselves alongside this vanguard, with the Communist Party giving active support to this new working-class movement that is improving its forms of activity, is battling with increasing vigor for the working people's demands and accumulating experience in the long, relentless and complicated class confrontation.

The Labor Ministry, as we have seen, wants to prevent mass meetings that draft collective contracts in democratic debate, for such meetings help merge the workers' vanguard with the masses. The repression policy of the government, industrialists and Franco unions is frustrated by the workers' unity. If thousands gather at meetings in enterprises to discuss ways of defending their class interests, no repressions will break their will or force them to abandon the struggle for their rights. The ruling class, even though it may 'foresee' conflicts well in advance, is no longer able to hold back the workers' movement.

At the time the directive was being circulated, building workers were on strike in Madrid, Seville and Barcelona, and SEAT automobile workers were fighting a long and hard battle. Chrysler workers in the capital and those of Citroen in Vigo were continuing their strike, and there were stoppages in the iron-and-steel industry. The Asturian miners were on strike for two months. The loss in October and the first three weeks of November 1971 added up to over nine million man-hours, or as much as in the 12 months of 1970.

And in the new year the strike movement continued to grow. Bank employees, the Madrid steelworkers of the Perkins enterprises, the workers at Chrysler's, Barreiros, and at Babcock-Wilcox, the dockers and furnacemen of Biscay, the ironworkers of Guipuzcoa and the textile workers of Barcelona have all fought for their demands, workers in SEAT and other metal-working enterprises have again taken strike action, also miners in Sallent and 20,000 in Asturia.

The salient feature in the present set-up is that the workers' demands are not merely economic, but also of a political complexion: to end repressions, amnesty political prisoners, create class unions, and assure democratic and union freedoms.

The workers' persevering struggle is accompanied by actions of other social strata. Students of Spain's ten universities, with a total enrolment of 150,000, took militant action in the early months of 1972. Protests by university professors and instructors, school teachers and doctors, are increasing. The anti-Franco opposition, joined by a large number of lawyers and other professionals, is more articulately exposing police abuses. The popular movement for a truly democratic alternative is gaining support. And to broaden it, the Communist Party is giving fresh impulse to manifestations by workers, farmers and other working strata for their interests, against the dictatorship.

The first National Assembly of Catalonia, organized by a large group of fairly influential democrats, adopted a broad program of joint struggle against Francoism. This should be put down as an important advance.

Opposition sentiment is also mounting among the clergy. The ecclesiastical world obviously wishes to disengage from the Franco regime. Not only are ordinary priests participating in popular manifestations, which is not novel, but even top-ranking churchmen are beginning to take a public stand against the dictatorship, for in-

stance, the joint assembly of bishops and priests, the Justice and Peace Commission, and similar bodies. Statements censuring the regime in veiled, but often also overt terms, are becoming more frequent.

Thousands of Catholic workers, students, engineers and scientists are exerting powerful pressure on the church hierarchy by their participation in mass actions. The attitude of the hierarchy is evidence of the reluctance of part of the top churchmen to be identified with Francoism, for this could harm the church in future. But irrespective of its motives, criticism of the regime by the church is objectively aiding the struggle against Franco and weakening his position.

Examining the intricate interlacement of conflicting tendencies in the regime, we should bear in mind, however, that Franco has one clearly fixed policy – the policy of repression.

And the repression is aimed at large segments of the population, at everyone who entertains opposition sentiments. But, of course, the most savage of all are the repressions against Communists and members of the Workers' Commissions. Earlier this year, Lucio Lobato, member of the Communist Party's Executive, was sentenced to 21 years' imprisonment. Similar severe sentences have also been passed in other cases. A group of Galician Communists, workers in Malaga, students in Valencia and Madrid, and Basque patriots, have been flung behind bars. Long prison terms and huge fines are imposed for membership in the Communist Party, participation in Workers' Commissions, attendance at workers' or students' meetings, and for disseminating leaflets.

Franco is building up his repressive machinery and passing new legislation to intimidate democrats. The list includes the social-danger laws, the amendment to the social-order rules, the anti-terrorist clause in the military code. Armed police disperse workers' meetings in factories and have been in occupation of universities throughout the past three years. They do not hesitate to use firearms, as during the Madrid builders' strike, when worker Patino was brutally killed, while worker Villalba was a victim of police brutality during the strike in SEAT, Barcelona.

Politicians, lawyers and publicists are arrested and heavily fined. One such case was that of Moreno Galvan. Even moderate criticism of the regime is cause enough for suppressing a periodical, as in the case of the newspaper *Madrid*. Court proceedings have been initiated against its publisher, Calvo Serer.

Franco threatens everyone who opposes his regime or ventures even timid criticism. His New Year's message contained a fresh threat. Addressing the ecclesiastic hierarchy, he made it clear that he would govern with the same methods he has used throughout these 35 years.

But the situation has changed and the changes are irreversible. The government wants to crush the Communists, but the Party is gaining strength each day, consolidating organizationally, gaining

more influence among the masses. The government tries to prevent strikes, but the workers' actions are growing in scale and are more militant. It tries to block workers' meetings, but meetings are held all the same thanks to the firmness and organization of the working class and its activists. The government hopes to hamstring the student movement, but the number of students participating in organized struggle is growing. It has done its utmost to intimidate intellectuals, but the intelligentsia is acting with greater purpose and determination.

The repressions do, indeed, inflict losses on the fighters against Franco. But the regime will not deter the struggle of the working class and the rest of the nation.

Those are some of the main features of the situation in Spain early in the year, with still more far-reaching and determined workers' action ahead.

S. Zapirain

Lessons of a strike

It took a commission under Lord Wilberforce a mere ten-and-a-half hours, or less than any other comparable investigation had ever taken, to conclude that the British miners' demand for a wage rise was justified. But this came after six weeks of a national strike exacting much courage and sacrifice, resolute action, such as mass meetings and demonstrations, and around-the-clock picketing of pits, coal dumps, oil tanks and power stations.

Britain had never known so sharp a class conflict since the 1926 general strike. An emergency was proclaimed. The dispute went far beyond the controversy between the strikers and the National Coal Board, assuming the character of a trial of strength between all working people and the Establishment. The official 'incomes policy,' designed to shift the whole anti-inflation burden onto the shoulders of the working class, was put to a new test, probably the most serious ever.

There were several reasons why the Tory government must have decided to use the miners' demands for a showdown with the unions. First of all, the Tory policy of 'combating inflation' was at stake, inasmuch as the maximum wage increase it allows is seven or eight percent (although the cost of living last year alone went up 10 per cent), while the miners wanted 25 per cent. Secondly, the battlefield was a nationalized industry and the Tories have long held that this is where 'austerity' should begin. Thirdly, the government had expected that the difficulties which the miners' strike was bound to cause would set large segments of the population against the strikers and result in isolating them. The bourgeois press forecast that the miners would have to go it alone.

But those who schemed on those lines saw once more how poorly they know British labor. Millions of ordinary people stoically withstood the hardships they had to go through in January and February. Whatever complaints there were, were against the government, not the miners.

Even the more objective capitalist press could not deny the miners' plight. 'Let's forget sentimentality about miners,' wrote the *Observer*. '... A simple truth remains: these men have one of the dirtiest, hardest, most dangerous jobs in Britain. It breaks most of them in the end. There's no security in it: pits are closing everywhere; the number of jobs in the industry has halved in the past 10 years. And for it they are badly paid.'

Indeed, the coal industry increased productivity by 60 per cent over the past decade yet miners went from first to sixteenth place in wage rates of industrial workers. Many miners' families could not have made both ends meet but for overtime and relief. 'I actually get, unless I work overtime, less than I got 10 years ago and the cost of living has risen almost 100 per cent,' said Jack Barnes, a miner.

Due to the inadequacy of appropriations for industrial safety, working conditions are very hard despite modernization. Pneumoconiosis, caused by the inhalation of coal dust, is a common disease and the death rate among miners aged 45 to 54 years is about 12 per cent higher than the average in British industry.

Ever since the war, successive British governments have sought to close 'unprofitable' pits, referring to the technological revolution but being prompted primarily by the desire to help the oil monopolies. Even now the National Coal Board is set on closing another 30 pits although last winter's strike would seem to have shown how heavily Britain depends on coal. Those in charge of the coal industry are for ever complaining of a shortage of funds, saying that wages cannot be put up without raising the price of coal, which would mean hitting the consumer. However, they say nothing about the enormous sums paid to former pit owners, nor do they admit that the relatively low selling price of coal has become a way of subsidizing the monopolies at state expense and that, to this day, the National Coal Board only gets 56 per cent of the selling price of domestic coal and 85 per cent of the cost of coal sold to electricity boards. The rest is pocketed by private sales and delivery companies. Such is one of the freaks of state-monopoly nationalization.

Whoever advised the Heath cabinet to resist the miners might have foreseen how the public would react at a time when MPs had just been given a nearly 50 per cent raise and the Queen's Civil List had been increased to £1 million to meet 'higher living costs.' These facts drew from Labor MP William Hamilton that it would take two miners fifty years of hard work to earn as much as Prince Charles gets every year for doing nothing.

The Tory press tried in vain to overawe the miners by telling them that 'the sympathy will soon cool to freezing point if homes go

unheated.' The miners' strike will go down in the history of British labor as a shining example of proletarian solidarity, both at home and abroad. Other British unions continuously allotted substantial relief funds for the strikers. A number of municipalities granted the strikers' families various benefits. Meetings and demonstrations in support of the miners' demands swept the country. Members of other unions, university students and school children joined in picketing. Despite the vacillation and resistance of the Rightists on the General Council, the TUC leadership backed the strikers on the whole, even though it did not use every opportunity to hasten their victory.

Britain's working people realized that the issue was not only the miners' wage claim; what was at issue was the Tories' entire anti-labor and anti-democratic policy as set out in the Industrial Relations, Immigration and other legislative acts.

The widespread solidarity movement was one of the decisive reasons why the government did not venture to call in the police. With the strikers enjoying universal sympathy, police interference would have boomeranged by extending and aggravating the conflict. The government knew only too well on whose side British opinion was in those trying weeks. A poll conducted at the height of the strike revealed that the majority of the population supported the strikers. Had a general election been held at the time, it appears that only 40.5 per cent of the electorate would have voted Conservative against 49 per cent in favor of the Labor Party. Both British and foreign bourgeois papers stressed the markedly class character of the conflict and assessed its outcome as a bad Tory setback.

The Communist Party played a big role during the strike. Communists have traditionally been influential among miners, especially in Scotland and Wales. This time too, they were in the forefront of those who backed the strikers.

Bourgeois propaganda described the strikers as 'enemies of society.' The *International Herald Tribune*, expressing the bourgeoisie's class solidarity, commented editorially on February 15 that 'during two world wars, the German submarine fleet and air forces tried vainly to accomplish as much industrial disruption as British coal miners, with backing from some other unions, have accomplished in about five weeks.' The paper argued that, speaking generally, a contradiction of interests had developed between society and the unions, that strikes had become too easy since nowadays 'striking workers and their families do not starve, nor are their places taken by scabs on any permanent basis.' Citing the example of the United States and Britain, where 'union labor has acquired great power in critical areas of community life,' the paper closed its comment with the provocative query, 'Is there any countervailing power within the community?'

Questions like that are now put by numerous other bourgeois papers, some of which demagogically compare the strength of the unions to monopoly capitalist power to claim that society is compelled to defend itself against both. That, of course, is the limit of

hypocrisy. Imagine putting private capitalist monopolies, which hold the lion's share of wealth and fully control the bourgeois state, on a par with the trade unions, which must rely on class organization and solidarity to defend the interests of millions.

Another favorite device of anti-labor propaganda is to accuse strikers of 'violence,' meaning primarily picketing. It is true that miners' pickets at coal dumps and power stations had occasional scuffles with scabs. But those clashes were invariably provoked by scabs or the police defending them. After all, it was Fred Matthews, a 37-year-old miner, father of six children, who became a real victim of violence during the strike. While on picket duty, he was killed by a truck driven by a scab.

The victory of the almost 300,000 British miners will undoubtedly have a strong impact on the class battles to come. Above all else, the lesson in proletarian solidarity and mutual support, which marked those six weeks, will not be useless.

L. Din



Re China's 'emergence' on the world scene

The more than 20-year fight to re-establish the legitimate United Nations rights of the People's Republic of China was consummated last fall. At about the same time a number of capitalist countries which had adamantly refused to recognize the PRC agreed to establish diplomatic relations with it. This, the bourgeois press said, signified China's emergence on the world scene.

It would be more correct to speak of China's second emergence on the world political scene. For there is no erasing from history the role it played in the early and mid-1950s in promoting a healthier international climate. Participation in the Geneva Conference on Indochina, Bandung, the friendship bridge across the Himalayas into neighboring India, consolidated, moreover, by the Pancha Shila principles – they all added up to a purposive policy of peace and helped enhance the PRC's international prestige.

At that time Peking's foreign policy initiatives and constructive moves were based on cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. Drawing additional strength from this alliance with fraternal countries, China carried increasing weight in international affairs. And though the American veto kept the door to the UN closed, even many of America's allies felt themselves compelled to accord Peking diplomatic recognition. And so, logically and consistently, the People's Republic of China was advancing to positions worthy of a great socialist power.

Unfortunately, in the latter half of the 1950s this ascendant process was terminated. Chinese foreign policy took an abrupt turn accompanied, in particular, by mounting tension, and later armed conflict, on the Sino-Indian frontier. In subsequent years, official diplomatic activity was factually suspended and Chinese ambassadors in 43 countries were recalled. The Chinese leaders systematically fostered enmity towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, not stopping even at military provocations on the border with the Soviet Union. Anti-Sovietism became a built-in element of Peking's foreign policy. Wide use was also made of a special type of 'foreign-policy' activity which evoked legitimate concern and condemnation in the Communist and Workers' parties,

as their leaders repeatedly emphasized, notably in the pages of this journal: the Peking leadership devoted its international activity to building up breakaway groups in the Communist movement.

It is only natural that this should not have gone unnoticed in the United States. The Sino-American dialogue begun in 1953 in Panmunjom and for many years continued in Warsaw, was suddenly turned from a routine and peripheral State Department operation into a priority concern of the President of the United States. Less than two weeks after his inauguration, Nixon wrote in a memorandum to one of his aides: 'I think we should give every encouragement to the idea that this Administration is seeking rapprochement with the Chinese.' And now the President of the United States has, for the first time in history, visited China on the longest presidential visit to any country.

No one is likely to question that direct contacts between states with differing social systems can help toward peace. But there is no ignoring the fact that the present revival of Chinese foreign policy activity rests on fundamentally different principles than those of the early 1950s. That has been made abundantly clear by recent developments. Instead of cooperation with members of the socialist community, pride of place has been given, the press says, to China's parallel interests with U.S. imperialism.

At the close of last year many observers still maintained that the Peking government would agree to receive President Nixon only if Washington took some prior meaningful steps to cease its aggression in an area very close to the frontiers of the People's Republic of China. The U.S. has taken no such steps. More, in the closing days of 1971, after a more than three-year interval, it resumed its savage bomb attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. And even without waiting for Peking's reaction to this aggressive move, White House spokesmen said it would not prevent the President's visit. They knew what they were talking about: the Peking leadership reacted first by diplomatic silence and later by a protest which, the American press says, was conspicuous for its 'studied restraint.' The Argentine Communist paper *Nuestra Palabra* was fully justified in asking: 'Why does Mao prefer to pass over in silence, or only meekly protest, the stepped-up bombing of Vietnam and the other Indochina countries?'

Why indeed? It would seem that there could be no understanding between the Peking leaders and Washington on the issues involved in Indochina. In fact, their differing positions are clearly set out in the Sino-American communique. And the PRC has always professed support for the patriotic forces of Indochina in their battle against American aggression. That is one aspect. There is another - effective international assistance to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their fight for liberation requires effective unity of the world's anti-imperialist forces. And if the Peking leaders welcome the head of an aggressor state, at the same time declining to participate in the Versailles World Assembly for

Peace and Independence in Indochina, then this is certainly not a contribution to anti-imperialist solidarity. On the contrary, it only helps Washington's strategy.

U.S.-Chinese rapprochement was put to another trial last year with the developments on the Indian subcontinent. The U.S. found itself in a very ambiguous position. In line with its traditional strategic doctrine, one would have expected it to support (to use bourgeois press parlance) 'Indian democracy' against 'Chinese communism' and the 'Pakistani dictatorship.' But the U.S. was bound by an alliance with Pakistan, a member of two imperialist blocs and Washington's partner in many bilateral agreements. The Chinese leaders were faced with much the same dilemma: either follow their oft-repeated declarations of fidelity to the ideals of the national-liberation movement, or be guided by their close relations with Pakistan based on a common antipathy for India.

The attitudes of the U.S. and China showed what 'democratic principles' really mean for Washington and 'revolutionary internationalism' for Peking. The latter threw all its political weight behind Yahya Khan's bankrupt tyrannical regime. The idea, obviously, was to use the Pakistani military-bureaucratic machine to strengthen China's position on the Western and Eastern flanks of India. The U.S. did the same. What were its motivations? At the height of the UN debate on the Indo-Pakistani conflict, *The Economist*, that staid British capitalist journal, wrote, with full justification: 'For the moment President Nixon is making everything else serve his desire to get on the best possible terms with Chairman Mao before he goes to Peking in February. That is the only apparent explanation of his determination, with the support of China, to go on harrying India in the UN.' To this might be added that China's position in the United Nations has disappointed the world's peace forces. The Czechoslovak Communist Party paper *Rude Pravo* remarked: 'The present Chinese leadership has time and again voted with the United States in the United Nations and the Security Council.' This meant, in particular, joint attempts by Washington and Peking to disrupt the efforts of the socialist and most other countries to resolve one of the crucial issues of our time, disarmament.

Clear evidence of Washington's desire to curry favor with the Chinese leaders was the disdain it showed for the interests of its close imperialist ally - Japan: to please the Peking leadership the United States did not warn Tokyo of the contemplated presidential visit to the People's Republic of China. One gets the impression that Washington wished to profit from the Sino-Japanese contradictions and had grounds to expect certain 'compensatory' concession from Peking.

Nowhere are the Sino-American 'parallel interests' more manifest than in the attitude towards the Soviet Union. The journal *Hungchi* said last August that Mao Tse-tung's ideas 'very clearly define who is our main enemy, who is our secondary enemy, and who are our

temporary or indirect allies.' French Communist Jean-Emile Vidal, visiting China at that time, later reported in *L'Humanité* that *Hungchi's* innuendo was exhaustively clarified at special meetings held across the country: The 'main enemy of the present moment' is the Soviet Union, while 'secondary enemy' means the United States. Unblushingly, the top Chinese leaders, too, began making statements to the same effect.

Formulas and oral declarations carry little weight if unsupported by deeds. Foreign observers visiting China of late all say that the country is preparing intensively for war. Air-raid shelters are built, the population is drilling in paramilitary units, and propaganda calls on the people to be alert. The bulk of the Chinese army is deployed in northern regions. This can well create the impression that Peking is taking seriously its own fib of 'main enemy of the present moment.' That it is nothing but a fib is obvious to any clear-thinking person. Working consistently for world peace and security, the Soviet Union has always aspired to good-neighborly relations with China and closer friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

But recently, U.S. political strategists were content that Peking tarred the United States and the Soviet Union with the same brush and displayed equal hostility to both. Now they observe that Peking has ended this attitude of 'equidistance' and is opting for closer relations with one of the two sides—the United States. Nixon's trip, therefore, looked very much like an attempt to exploit this. Comrade Segre, head of the International Department, CC Italian Communist Party, observed on this score in *L'Unita*: 'It would be surprising, in fact, if these designs were absent.'

Those are the more substantial highlights of the PRC's second 'emergence' on the international scene.

China's foreign policy cannot but exert a considerable influence on the course of the struggle between imperialism and the forces of peace, socialism and national liberation. And on whose side of the barricades do we see the Peking leadership?

That, of course, is shown not by its words, but, by its deeds. For example, while giving lip service to peaceful coexistence, the Peking leaders refuse to regard it from the Marxist standpoint as a form of class struggle. What with their virulent anti-Sovietism, their peaceful coexistence with the leading imperialist power may, as a result, prove an invaluable trump for the foes of international security and the social and national emancipation of the peoples. The *Morning Star*, organ of Britain's Communist Party, notes rightly that coexistence cannot be built on an anti-Soviet foundation. This, it adds, will only breed new dangers for peace.

Proclaiming their allegiance to the Third World, the Chinese leaders do not specify what socio-political quarters they give their favor to in the former colonies and semi-colonies. But their deeds show that military dictators of the Yahya Khan breed can well rely on Peking's favors if it thinks it can profit therefrom. Further-

more, no true revolutionary who cherishes the interests of national freedom and social progress will ever be able to understand how open support for the brutal terror against the Communists of Sudan could ever fit into Peking's revolutionary formulas.

Assessing the recent evolutions of Peking diplomacy, Akahata, organ of the Communist Party of Japan, wrote: 'While negotiating with the "leader" of American imperialism, the pillar of world reaction, China refuses to sit at one table with the anti-imperialist forces of the whole world.' Yes, one can only marvel at the Chinese leaders when they claim a 'vanguard role' in the present-day international revolutionary movement and parade as defenders of the small and middle-sized countries.

Faced with the facts, which characterize the actual postures of the Peking leadership, Marxist-Leninists have no choice but to note unequivocally that China's leaders have departed from Marxism in theory and from class strategy and tactics in practice. This is a source of some considerable satisfaction to our adversaries. Unfortunately they happen to be right in saying (*China News Analysis*, Hongkong, August 20, 1971) that all the current talk about China's emergence from isolation is essentially true, but that even after its admission to the UN and establishment of friendly relations with many countries, it will remain self-isolated in the other domain – the Communist world.

The term 'self-isolated' could not have been more appropriate. No one anywhere, either in the socialist countries or the world Communist movement, has ever tried to 'excommunicate' the People's Republic of China or China's Communist Party from the common revolutionary, anti-imperialist struggle. On the contrary, fraternal parties have, patiently and consistently, been trying for years to prevail on the Chinese leadership to normalize relations, to find ways of accommodating the differences, and have expressed readiness for broad cooperation on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. Nor have the governments of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states ever ceased their efforts to restore normal inter-state relations with the People's Republic of China. Peking, however, turns a deaf ear, and the energy it displayed in organizing the rapprochement with the United States bears out the impression that it wishes to hear nothing about it.

Imperialist propaganda is going out of its way to present the U.S. President's visit to China as an event of the utmost importance, a turning point and the beginning of a new chapter in man's history (this claim was made personally by the U.S. President, who said that his seven days on Chinese soil were 'the week that changed the world'). Lurking behind this is a whole philosophy, used as the basis for U.S. imperialism's present-day strategy, reposing on a reactionary utopian longing to exclude class struggle from the world's political affairs and to 'abolish' the central contradiction of the age, that between the two social systems, which is inexorably undermining the world positions of capitalism, imperialism.

There is no reason to exaggerate the significance of the Sino-American negotiations. But neither should they be minimized. The rapprochement between the United States and the PRC could be of benefit if the two countries, each of which possesses much international weight, were faithful to the good intents referred to in their joint communique. But with the published text containing many deliberate omissions and the content of the negotiations (as Nixon has said) kept a closely-guarded secret, the world's reaction to the Peking meeting understandably evinces many reservations and doubts as to its possible consequences for world peace and security. The Communists, participants in the world revolutionary movement, have good reason to be apprehensive of the here enumerated political aspects of the Sino-American rapprochement. It will be some time before the course of international affairs will fully reveal the implications of the February talks in Peking, which Chinese propaganda chooses to describe as a manifestation of the 'revolutionary line' in international affairs.

Jan Prazsky

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ADVENTURES OF A STATUE

The tragedy that took place in Chicago's Haymarket Square 86 years ago is well known: on May 4, 1886 the police attacked a demonstration of workers demanding the 8-hour day. Many demonstrators were killed or wounded, the exact number has never been made public. Seven policemen were killed by a bomb thrown by a paid stooge. Four of the demonstrators were arrested, tried and hanged, though there was absolutely no evidence of their complicity in the crime.

The memory of the Haymarket martyrs is revered by workers throughout the world – it is in their honor that May 1 is celebrated as the day of international labor solidarity.

The Chicago police have not forgotten Haymarket either. In fact they put up a monument on the site of the tragedy. Not to the victims, but to their executioners. A three-metre statue of a policeman was put up on a tall pedestal in the hope, apparently, that the people of Chicago would cover it with flowers in token of their respect. There were no flowers, but there were bombs. In fact, the *New York Times* remarked that this was 'Chicago's most frequently bombed statue.' There was a series of explosions in October 1969 in protest against the police attack on a youth demonstration during the Democratic Party convention. A year later there was another explosion; it cost \$5,500 to repair the damage.

Guarding the statue became a problem. In 1970, after it had been repaired, it was placed under round-the-clock guard. To make doubly sure, it was constantly scrutinized by a hidden TV camera. This cost the city \$68,000 a year, more than the statue had cost. There were several suggestions how to reduce the cost. One journalist proposed manufacturing a stock of cheap plastic copies that could be put up after explosions: there would be no need for guards, or costly electronic devices, and the city would save money and spare itself embarrassment.

The police did not take kindly to that idea. Mayor Richard Daley

rejected it—replacing the bronze figure by a synthetic one, he believed, would be taken as a slur on the police.

But something had to be done and, in the end, it was decided to remove the bronze status from Haymarket Square and put it in a safer place. It now stands in the lobby of Chicago police headquarters.

L. Sh.

ISLANDS FOR SALE

The Greek colonels have chosen as the emblem of their regime the phoenix, the legendary bird risen from the ashes. It probably would have been wiser to choose Mercury, the god of commerce. For according to press reports the colonels are about to put Greece's islands on the market.

There are hundreds of them, but only about 40 are in private hands. The best known, of course, is Skorprios, which Aristotle Onassis has turned into a private mini-state. Another shipping tycoon, Stavros Niarchos, has turned his island into a pheasant-shooting ground for the jet set. Most of the other islands are still state property. The colonels are determined to change that.

'Any extra cash?' rich foreigners coming to Athens are asked. 'You can buy yourself an island in the Aegean. And you better buy while we are selling them at cut prices. And while there is a wide choice: inhabited, uninhabited, suitable for bathing resorts or naval bases.'

Altogether about 1,000 islands are up for sale, beginning with tiny ones in the central Aegean (45 acres at \$100,000) and ending with a big island in the north-east near Skopelos (4,500 acres, \$3,600,000). The colonels need money and they count on netting between \$260 million and \$330 million.

They are not very specific on how the money will be used, though there have been hints that some of it will go into schools and 'public buildings,' the latter, presumably, meaning police stations, courthouses and prisons.

Be that as it may, the colonels have proved imaginative and resourceful businessmen. This retail trade in islands is probably only the beginning. For if they succeed in selling the islands (except those suitable for concentration camps), what is to prevent them from selling more Greek real estate? They might, for instance, split up some of the coastal areas into plots, or sell whole mountains and valleys. And if there is no buyer for Mount Olympus ('your best address in Greece') some American admiral is sure to bid for a strip of the coast for the U.S. navy.

The Greek people are not likely to accept this bargain sale of their national territory.

E.I.

A MATTER OF LEAKS

'Put the traitor in jail!' Mr. Ashbrook shouted as he walked into Mr. Ichord's office—Ichord is Chairman and Ashbrook member of

the House of Representatives Internal Security Sub-Committee, formerly known as the Committee on Un-American Activities.

'Yes, clap him in jail!' Ashbrook repeated holding out a copy of the *Washington Post* and pointing to an item saying that Indian reaction had started a barbarous aggressive war against Pakistan, invading its territory and murdering its people in a vain attempt to impose a puppet regime that calls itself Bangladesh.

'You are reading the wrong thing,' Ashbrook interrupted. 'That's a report from Peking. Look at the next column.'

And the next column began: 'Secret Sensitive; meeting of Washington Special Action Group on Indo-Pakistan Conflict. Kissinger: "I am getting hell every half hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India. He has ordered suspension of aid to India. He's not inclined to see Pakistan defeated. He does not believe we are carrying out his wishes!"'

'Put Kissinger in jail,' Ichord said. 'He isn't carrying out the President's wishes. He is a traitor, no doubt about it!'

'But don't you see?' Ashbrook countered. 'He is a traitor who divulges state secrets. Do we want Americans to know that their government, having proclaimed neutrality, has from the very start been supporting Yahya Khan and his glorious cutthroats?'

'Of course not,' Ichord replied. 'Let's get at the author of these vile exposures, especially since he is telling the truth. Who is he?'

'Jack Anderson of the *Washington Post*, and what's more, he says the government has no right to tell lies.'

'He must be mad,' Ichord said.

'No, that's just the point. He isn't mad and we must teach him a lesson.'

'We certainly will,' Ichord muttered reaching out for a subpoena blank.

Ashbrook came again next morning.

'Put the traitor in jail!' and he handed Ichord the morning paper.

'What is it this time?'

'Seymour Hersh of the *New Yorker* has dug up a batch of secret documents about the My Lai massacre - 155 old men, women and children shot down on orders of American officers.'

'False?' Ichord asked.

'True!'

'Who are we going to punish this time? The soldiers or the officers?' Ichord wanted to know.

'Hersh, of course,' and Ashbrook handed his chief a subpoena blank.

Ashbrook showed up again several days later.

'The President insists that we prevent any further leaks,' Ichord told him. 'We can't carry out policy if top secrets are leaked to the first newsman. What are we doing about it?'

'Well, for a start we've sacked Admiral Welander, the liaison officer between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the White House.'

'Is he guilty?' Ichord asked.

'Unfortunately, no, and Anderson claims he had never even spoken to him.'

'Have you made him take the lie detector test?'

'We decided not to. Anderson volunteered to take the test, but why should we risk our reputation and the reputation of the lie detector?'

'That's right. But why do you suspect Welander?'

'He fought in the Korean and Vietnam wars, and any man who went through these two wars is not likely to support another unjust war.'

'What's that?' an angry Ichord asked. 'What, are you one of them too?'

And he pressed the button for the guards, at the same time picking up a subpoena blank.

J. Lafter

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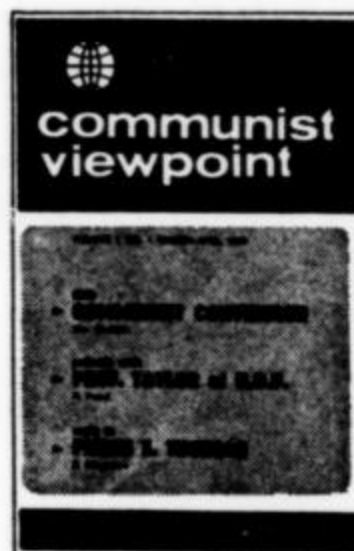
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Having advanced a constructive security and cooperation program for Europe, the Communist and Workers' parties have expressed readiness to work for it in collaboration with the broadest political quarters, particularly the Social-Democratic parties of the continent. The journal has already carried a number of articles and commentaries on this subject by Communists (e.g., see Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 1971; Nos. 1 and 3, 1972). But since our readers also wish to know the standpoint of other political forces, we here present an article by the Secretary of Finland's Social-Democratic Party, Kalevi Sorsa, recently appointed Foreign Minister, and opinions expressed in conversations with our correspondent by Labor MP Raymond Fletcher and Professor of Louvain University, Belgium, Canon R. Goor.

Their standpoint on some of the important issues relating to European peace differs visibly from that of the Communists. Yet of late the views of some Social-Democrats, Laborites and clericals show points of resemblance with our own. This tendency is developing under the impact of the realities, the demands of the masses, the consistently peace-loving constructive policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the course of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

On the way to a peace system in Europe

Kalevi Sorsa

In the quarter of a century since the Second World War the process of European détente has moved ahead visibly. Negotiations have been going on for years, and steps are being taken to remove the most serious of the obstacles to better relations between states. The aim is to build a dependable security system

on the continent. An all-European conference is being planned for this purpose. The Finnish government's initiative, furthering practical preparations for the conference, paved the way to substantial progress.

The relaxation of tension in Europe is doubtless traceable to the fact that the European peoples see détente as the only possible way of assuring their vital interests. The scale of the arms race and the development of means of mass annihilation have made the alternative of settling disputes by force totally senseless, because that would mean wholesale destruction. Especially the new generation understands this well, rejecting the very idea of revenge. The arms build-up is seen as an impediment to higher standards of living. The European peoples have understood that cooperation is in their best interest, especially because events in other parts of the globe, e.g., in Asia, are jeopardizing world peace. The confrontation of military groupings in Europe creates uncertainty and reduces the scope of cooperation. This is something the peoples of the small, including neutral, European countries feel very distinctly.

The arrangement resulting from the Second World War (principally, frontiers) is universally recognized. The immunity of frontiers is the point of departure to a system of peace. It is the only possible basis on which to develop normal relations among European countries and assure their equal and mutual cooperation.

The treaties concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany with the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic in 1970 have shown conclusively that the historical realities in Europe are properly recognized. The Berlin agreement,* concluded in the autumn of 1971, is for all sides a satisfactory accommodation of a problem that had once seemed insoluble. It also creates premises for stable peaceful relations between the two German states.

The neutral countries' policy, too, has contributed to this course of events. The good relations between Finland and the Soviet Union have brought stability to Northern Europe, where favorable relations prevail among the states of the region. The Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was renewed for another 20 years in July 1970. The basis for Finland's peaceful neutral policy, it also furthers European peace. Finnish-Soviet relations are for all countries a model of peaceful coexistence by states with different social systems.

Despite the favorable premises, Europe has made but the first steps towards a system of peace. Much negotiation and effort is still required to resolve the outstanding problems.

The requirements to be met by the new system should be clearly understood. From the standpoint of the small and neutral states the most important aim is to create a situation of treaty-based peace, totally ruling out the use of force as a means of resolving disputes, and substituting cooperation for confrontation.

*The reference is to West Berlin. — Ed.

Thereupon, it would be possible to move forward to the dissolution of military blocs, to universal arms reduction and complete disarmament. Cooperation furthers trust, and trust leads to cooperation.

Thus, the present artificial division of Europe would gradually disappear, restoring the historic commercial and cultural ties among peoples. This general line of development should be followed in an organized way, setting up appropriate institutions, and supported by various permanent all-European bodies.

The system of peace should afford all European nations equal opportunities for influencing and participating in the making of decisions. The status of the small and neutral states should be fortified, and opportunities for regional cooperation, say, among the Northern countries or the Baltic states, should be improved.

These objectives are a matter of urgency, because European and world development is revealing many an alarming feature. Certain acts stemming from the existence of European economic blocs are complicating matters for the neutral countries. Finland's economico-geographic interests, for example, require cooperation with the West, as well as the East, but in the present situation we are unable to make full use of it.

In principle, stabilization in Europe would benefit the entire world, especially the developing countries, which regard the present arms race as a senseless waste. The peace system should not lead to any isolation of the continent, because, consonant with UN aims, the developing countries are in dire need of much greater economic support than they have been getting so far.

There are several alternatives for going about creating the system of European peace. One of the most promising is the European security conference. That is universally recognized. Finland has come forward with initiatives, which world opinion has acclaimed, for preparing and convening the conference. Our country has suggested Helsinki as its venue, and this, too, was widely approved. The original proposal said that the conference should be carefully prepared and that all countries should have the opportunity of participating. The Finnish government has been maintaining contacts with all interested governments for about three years now and has repeatedly reported on the progress of the preparations.

The time has come, as I see it, to advance to the stage of multi-lateral preparations. A preparatory meeting could be held quite soon in Helsinki, so that the security conference could convene in 1972. As concerns the practical aspects, Helsinki is well equipped for such meetings and for the conference.

It appears, however, that certain political problems are tending to put off the dates I had hoped for. No common view on the Security Conference was achieved by the NATO Ministerial Council at its December 1971 session, though most of the NATO states seem to regard a preparatory meeting as timely. This may delay a decision until early summer.

Ratification of the so-called 'eastern' treaties of the FRG is now

the central problem. It is in the interest of all European countries that these historic treaties should be approved at the earliest date. However, the process of ratification should not hold up preparations for the conference.

The Western powers have also raised the question of arms reduction as preliminary to a security conference. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have announced their readiness to reduce arms. The pertinent negotiations could, presumably, be held at the security conference or alongside it. But, they could also be held after the conference in the framework of a permanent body specially formed for this purpose. In any case, that is a concern principally of the countries with the greatest armaments. The small and neutral states hope that the security conference will devote the maximum time to problems of cooperation.

The conference agenda could include the following items: a general treaty renouncing the use of force and affirming peaceful relations among European states; cooperation in economic, scientific, technical and cultural spheres, and in ecological matters; constitution of permanent bodies of cooperation, which it would be best to organize in the framework of a regional arrangement in line with Chapter 8 of the UN Charter.

Though the matter of the conference has not yet been entirely cleared up, it is quite legitimate to discuss the subsequent steps more concretely. Apart from a general reduction of arms, in which Finland, too, could participate, earlier proposals could be considered of nuclear-free zones and other regional disarmament schemes. We also have a stake in President Urho Kekkonen's proposal of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

In the economic domain, our Social-Democratic Party has proposed that the Economic Commission for Europe* should be used much more effectively. Equal participation in it by all European countries is, of course, imperative.

A special commission or council for European security, with a permanent secretariat, could be set up to discuss arms reduction and disarmament. And, I hold, Helsinki would be a suitable place for the secretariat – because, among other things, large-scale conferences on these matters should convene frequently and, if possible, regularly, as general meetings of a European regional association.

An all-European community, as I have said, presupposes equal participation by all European states. In a 1968 program statement our Social-Democratic Party demanded recognition of the right of both German states to participate in this community, and their admission to the United Nations and other international organizations. In September 1971 the Finnish government announced that it was ready to establish normal diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on a general equal basis. At present, too, as will be recalled, Finland maintains the same kind of relations with both states. The SDPF

*A permanent UN regional body.

hopes that the international status of the German Democratic Republic will soon be formalized.

Erecting the edifice of European peace, we should remember that world peace faces numerous crises and that this is complicating matters everywhere. We Finnish Social-Democrats firmly demand an end to the war in Indochina and an opportunity for all nations of the region to exercise their right to self-determination. U.S. troops must be withdrawn at once from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. In the name of peace in Vietnam, we support the peace program of the National Liberation Front and of the NLF-backed government of the South Vietnam Republic. We wish to emphasize that enduring peace in Vietnam cannot be attained either by violence or against the will of the Vietnamese people.

Special thanks for the improvement of the European climate should go to the forces that fought consistently during the difficult years for an enduring peace. We should be grateful to the Peace Movement for not neglecting its important tasks. This is why it continues to be important. The working-class movement – the unions as well as the political movement – was the backbone of the peace forces and still stands in their van. Back at its 27th Congress in 1966 our Social-Democratic Party welcomed the idea of a European security conference advanced that year by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the signatories of the Warsaw Treaty. We deeply appreciate the socialist countries' efforts to consolidate European peace.

Europe's Social-Democrats, too, march in the front ranks of the peace movement. It is due to their persevering efforts throughout the past quarter of a century that the peace policy of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany under Willy Brandt proved fruitful. The Congress of the Socialist International – the collective organ of Social-Democratic parties – held in Helsinki in May 1971, demanded the earliest convocation of a European security conference. Governments that include Social-Democrats are working for this conference and for a more active peace policy.

The Social-Democratic Party of Finland also maintains and develops contacts with the ruling parties of the European socialist countries, so as to be able to conduct a direct and open dialogue on problems of interest to both sides. The joint Statement by CPSU and SDPF delegations in May 1968 says, in part: 'The delegations of both parties note with satisfaction that contacts and frank negotiations between different trends are developing in the international labor movement, and hope that these will continue, inasmuch as they facilitate united action in defense of peace, against the danger of a world war, in support of social progress.'

The contacts between the SDPF and the CPSU exercise a positive influence on relations between the neighboring peoples. They are a new thing in the international labor movement. And we are pleased to note that such ties between the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe and the ruling Communist and Workers' parties of Eastern Europe are expanding at different levels. Recently, an SDPF

delegation visited Hungary and the GDR. And we have had still earlier contacts with other socialist states, and are eager to multiply them.

Of late, possibilities for cooperation between Social-Democrats and Communists have been discussed in the Socialist International. In May 1971, CC CPSU General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev offered cooperation to Social-Democrats in the sphere of peace and security.* Later, the proposal was renewed, particularly in the *Pravda* in August 1971. It has met with understanding and, in effect, positive response in diverse circles. The matter will be discussed more specifically by the governing organs of our International this spring.

We cannot tell yet at what forms of cooperation, and in what particular spheres, we shall arrive. It seems to us that the forms are of no decisive importance, since the attitudes of different parties diverge. The main thing is that contacts should expand, especially for the purpose of solving the problem of European security and cooperation.

On the basis of cooperation, public organizations, too, could facilitate the erection of a peace system. In our country we have a Committee for a European Security Conference, on which all parties and trade-union movements, and the youth and students, are represented. Minister R. H. Oittinen, a leading Social-Democrat ideologue, is chairman of the Committee. Its members are helping actively to hold a security and cooperation meeting of representatives of European public opinion in Brussels this June.

*The reference here is to L. I. Brezhnev's speech in Tbilisi at a festive meeting held by the CC of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, May 14, 1971.

Bar the road to war

R. Fletcher. A nuclear war, if it ever broke out, would differ thoroughly from both world wars. It might prove to be an irreparable disaster for mankind. Nor would it, unlike past wars, help to achieve any political objectives. Those who still bank on a nuclear showdown would do well to realize this.

There is a school of military theorists who maintain that one could use nuclear weapons where there are no cities, as at the North Pole or the South Pole. But even there, nuclear explosions are bound to have most tragic effects by contaminating enormous expanses of water and the atmosphere. In terms of common sense, nuclear war is a horrible crime. As for Europe, a heavily populated continent, nuclear war here would be the equivalent of blowing out one's own brains. So we have to find some alternative to settling international disputes by force. The world bristles with contradictions. There are serious differences of opinion, of ideology, in

particular between Communists and Social-Democrats, and we have to learn how to overcome these differences by different means.

Some politologists suggest that peace can be planned. Planning is a common practice in the military sphere, as we all know. But it can be reversed to stave off conflicts by scientific and technological methods.

There is, for example, the 'games theory.' It uses computers and modern electronic methods to pinpoint potential areas of conflict, so that statesmen and diplomats can deal with dangerous situations before it is too late. Specifically, I think if we had used this technique on the West Berlin question, we could have reached agreement much earlier. And I wish to stress that the four-power agreement on West Berlin is a gigantic step towards European security.

Countries can cooperate in planning a lasting peace irrespective of their social systems. During the last war the four great powers formed a gigantic coalition which destroyed the Third Reich, destroyed Nazism and fascism. They can join efforts to destroy other evils which now afflict the world. If all methods are used to avert conflicts and if mankind sets out steadfastly to promote world peace, we can create in the next decade a situation in which world war will be inconceivable, only a lingering memory. To build peace is like building a house: you lay the first brick and then you put another brick on top and in the end you have a house.

I think we may agree with those who argue that implementing the proposal for a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, that is, regional disarmament, would go a long way to strengthen peace. It has its merits, for the countries could make further headway once they started the process of disarmament. It is like running down a hill – if you start to run it is very difficult to stop.

The arms race, above all the perfection and stockpiling of missiles and nuclear weapons, as well as endangering world peace, makes it extremely difficult to solve numerous vital problems of mankind. Military programs swallow enormous sums while a large proportion of the world's population lives in hunger, without proper housing, educational opportunities and medical care. Yet man has begun to venture into space, blazing the trail to the planets. The progress achieved in science and technology makes it possible to solve the most challenging international problems by joint effort. One of them is environmental pollution. Not less important is progress in medicine – it should cross national boundaries and benefit all. We should spend money on what the people need, not on manufacturing arms. This is the real alternative to war preparations. The importance of this alternative for man's future should always be stressed by politicians and journalists.

R. Goor. Nuclear, germ and chemical weapons impart an entirely new character to war. There is the terrible risk of a substantial part of the planet's population being wiped out, for war could

reduce immense areas of the globe to lifeless desert. Hence, use of weapons of mass annihilation is inhuman and unnatural, an absolute and unjustifiable evil. People should do their utmost to avert war. The struggle to preserve and strengthen peace has become mankind's supreme overall goal.

The mere absence of war is not yet real peace; it is an illusion of peace. The war danger must be eliminated by eliminating injustice, revenge-seeking, unreasonable ambitions and antagonisms between countries. But there is a special aspect: the legitimacy of wars of national liberation. Wars of this nature are caused by tyranny, which must be combated. It is only natural that the oppressed should rise against their oppressors, domestic and foreign alike, and take to arms as a last resort. However, a rising is likely to bring on intervention by foreign powers. As a result, 'local conflicts' threaten to expand into total war.

All countries should respect the right of nations to self-determination. The peoples' just struggle should be supported. And if we want durable peace effective international measures must be taken to prevent the extension of 'local conflicts.'

The movement for European security and cooperation may eventually set an example to other continents. Political cooperation in Europe may, once it has become a reality, lead to coordinated steps towards peace in other parts of the world. Given security and cooperation, Europe could follow a common policy on, say, the Vietnam war or the Mideast conflict. That would further security and cooperation everywhere.

European security and cooperation could become a step towards planning world peace. But planning peace is not a purely theoretical, speculative concept; it is an imperative of the times. It should be carried forward through deeds, not by mere rhetoric.

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Charles Fourier

On his 200 birth anniversary

Every day at the same hour the inhabitants of Montmartre in the 1820s and 30s would see a grey-haired gentleman of medium height, wearing a blue frock-coat and with a white scarf wound round his neck, hurrying home in the expectation, as he said, of finding the 'candidate' waiting for him. 'Candidate' is how Francois Marie Charles Fourier described the man of wealth who, learning of his grand societarian project, would come to offer the money for its realization.



Fourier neither guessed the identity, nor lived long enough to see, the real candidate – not a wealthy philanthropist, but the 'iron battalions of the proletariat' which did not grow up to their historic mission until after socialism turned from a utopia into a science. But relinquishing its place to science, socialist utopia may be said to have been synthesized by it. Acknowledging the deathless contribution of their forerunners, Marx and Engels said that their own doctrine 'reposes on the shoulders' of such thinkers as Saint-Simon, Owen and Fourier.

Fourier was first and foremost an outstanding personality, an extraordinary man in all respects, striking and unique.

By saying so we do not mean his achievements – they were very few in his outwardly regular and fairly colorless life. Here are its highlights. He was born into a merchant's family (on April 7, 1772) in the French trading city of Besancon. His education was in no way systematic, save for the course in a Jesuit college. He wanted to be a military engineer, but was compelled by his father, almost by force, to go into commerce. He was a man of affairs in Lyons, Marseilles and elsewhere, lost whatever fortune he had, and worked for a living in various trading firms (as expert or cashier). In the autumn of his life (he died in 1837), supported by his relatives and friends, he led a modest and lonely existence, devoting all of himself to his theory.

So it was not his deeds that gave him stature, but the extraordinary versatility of his creative personality and the intensive inner life of his spirit.

Very early in life he displayed a keen interest in all kinds of things, and in all things endeavored to introduce improvements. He wrote about reorganizing army logistics, suggested a plan for force-crossing the Alps (at the time of revolutionary and, eventually, Napoleonic wars), fathered a scheme for developing railways, experimented with paints and dyes, and projected the idea of an architectural reconstruction of cities and towns.

In sum, he may be legitimately described as a man of universal endowments. His universalism blended a predilection for natural science with a deep love of art and music, and with the imaginative mind of an artist. He had the deepest respect for mathematics, physics, chemistry and other disciplines, which, to be sure, was natural in an age when 'positive' scientific knowledge showed its superiority over scholastic exercises so convincingly. Yet at the same time, Fourier wrote odes and invented a new system of writing music, and his works, betraying the wish to set out thoughts in as reasoned a manner as possible, were at once lively and written with a literary flair.

One more feature: a blend of 'systematized' thinking, seemingly specially trained to analyze the complex mechanics of social affairs, with profound psychologism, an aptitude to reach into the recesses of human emotion, to grasp the motivations of man's behavior. This aptitude explains, perhaps, why human emotions figure so conspicuously in Fourier's philosophical system; it is an accepted fact, at least, that his observations on education are of considerable value to pedagogics and are still valid.

This diversity of gifts fused in this man with a naive and perhaps even somewhat childish faith in his own messianic role. The reader should remember, he wrote, that one of Fourier's discoveries is more important than all the other scientific work since the emergence of the human race. To be sure, this providentialism was to some extent typical of all utopian socialism. (At approximately the same time Saint-Simon proclaimed that 20-25 centuries hence, when, according to his project, the epoch of his 'positive system' would set in, he would reappear to take personal charge.) Fourier sincerely believed in his mission of benefiting mankind, of showing it the true way to happiness. And no matter how naive this may sound today, the man has unquestionably earned his claim to gratitude by all his varied endeavor, for to him no aim was loftier than that of serving justice and the common weal.

Most known utopian thinkers have left us their ideas about the principles of rational social organization. The most eminent of them (Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella) have portrayed the ideal society in fictional form. Only a few ventured on the titanic job of creating a systematic socialist doctrine. And Fourier is one of their number. As conceived and as finally put down, his system is all-embracing. It includes philosophical postulates that serve as a

kind of general ideological backdrop for the principal theory – the scheme of society's historical development. His criticism of the social reality of the latter 18th and early 19th centuries is truly inexorable. And the concept of a just social system is presented as a direct contrast to it. The mere volume of the matter subjected to conceptualization, the magnitude of the labor put into composing this vast sociological canvas, justify the comparison of Fourier's dedication with the exploit of Lamarck in biology or Humboldt in geography.

Certainly, Fourier's system reflects the extreme paucity of the social science of his time. Besides, invading literally all spheres, it was not in many that he could be truly abreast of the then already available knowledge. His general philosophical postures, for example, are muddled, impregnated with mysticism, and presented in an extremely complicated manner. The same holds true of his political theory – it lacks clear and precise conclusions, while overflowing with 'liberal,' unprovable inferences. In this respect Fourier is obviously inferior to his outstanding countrymen – Diderot, Montesquieu and Rousseau, the philosophers and political thinkers who had ideologically fostered the French bourgeois revolution.

Yet he leaves them far behind in what Frederick Engels termed social philosophy, in perceiving the motive forces of social development, the connection and causality of historical events.

Roughly speaking, the philosophical groundwork of Fourier's doctrine boils down to the following: nature and society are in substance single; their main common property is motion subordinated to sublimely established laws and regularities; the laws governing motion in the material world were discovered by Newton (the law of gravitation), while he, Fourier, by analogy, discovered the laws of the development of the social world – attraction and repulsion of human emotions.

For Fourier the history of society is cyclical: it moves from the chaotic primordial state to ultimate harmony. The phases are four – childhood, puberty, adulthood, senility, divided all in all into 32 periods. In the beginning of the 19th century humanity was still in one of the periods of the first phase – the period of civilization. What impels the movement from phase to phase, and period to period? No, not the divine will or any other outside influence, but processes in the womb of society and among these also the development of production.

Knowing the law governing its history, Fourier held, mankind can now quite effortlessly enter the era of harmony and establish a societarian system based on producer-consumer associations known as phalanges and consisting of some 1,600 members, each of whom would have the opportunity to elect an occupation to his own taste and, besides, vary his work, going, say, from the workshop into the field, from there to the animal farm, etc. With labor changing from a heavy burden into enjoyment and a medium for developing the creative potentialities inherent in each man, there will be no parasites and idlers, and various types of labor contests will push up the productivity of labor.

Fourier did not envisage complete equality in his ideal society. The phalange he conceived as a kind of co-operative, with those shareholders who put in a bigger capital receiving a correspondingly bigger share of the joint product. Former capitalists were also to be granted the privilege of doing the easiest work and getting more time for recreation. Hoping that the rich would enter the phalanges of their own will, Fourier evidently did not risk frightening them with the prospect of equal rights. In substance, he set something like a transition period in which the owners of capital would be broken in for labor. This was also to be promoted by universal education, with all children passing through the social school of labor, which, naturally, would lead to a gradual eradication of social distinctions.

The members of a phalange inhabit a phalanstere or common building, something like a palace where each is provided with every kind of amenity, with an efficient mechanism catering to consumer needs (cooking, laundering, infant nurseries and kindergartens, and the like) leaving people more precious leisure and relieving women of household chores. To the latter, it is proper to note, Fourier attached enormous importance, maintaining that greater women's rights are the main source of social progress.

Under the societarian system there is to be no state, and no relations of dominance and subjection. It runs by self-administration reposing on friendly relations among people and their wish to deal with matters in a spirit of accord. Neither is there any system unifying the phalanges, though they are closely associated by their common pattern, through exchange and other factors.

Such is the contour of Fourier's social utopia. It stands to reason that we cannot here so much as list all the original ideas conceived by him in its context. Alongside hundred per cent fantasy,* his outline of the future contains approaches to many of the important problems of social life (e.g., that of eliminating the antithesis between town and country, and between physical and mental labor), methods of resolving them, and conjectures as to the various 'sectors' of the ideal social body.

But the greatest value in the doctrine of the eminent utopian attaches not to the project of a societarian system, but to its critical examination of the capitalist reality of his time. And the impact of this criticism is doubly great, because it was made in the wake of the bourgeois revolution, when capitalism was prospering and was the bearer of progressive slogans, and when many astute and penetrating minds held that the golden age had at last come.

Fourier was not ensnared by any of these illusions. He described the period as one of fading civilization. The revolution had yielded no radical changes: the place of the aristocrats ('big vassals and oligarchs') was taken over by directors of stock companies. The system of production and distribution was incongruous to the extreme. It bred idleness and left opportunities galore for the exist-

*'Fourier has few to equal him in the history of social ideas for the utopianism of his notions of achieving the social ideal,' says the outstanding Soviet scientist, Academician V. P. Volgin (Introduction to *Selected Works of Ch. Fourier*, in Russian).

ence of various parasites. Fourier made a close study of the latter's mode of behavior and even produced a classification of idlers. He drew attention to the senseless waste of the fruits of human labor and noted that in the period of fading civilization 'poverty is born . . . from abundance,' arriving at the general conclusion that the social mechanism always yielded results opposite to the aims which people set themselves. One of the most typical traits of the existing system, Fourier wrote, 'is the chaos in production and administrative relations,' with its implicit ruthless competition or 'unintermittent war by each individual against the community.'

Engels wrote that Fourier presents 'a criticism of the existing conditions of society, genuinely French and witty, but not upon that account any the less thorough. Fourier takes the bourgeoisie, their inspired prophets before the Revolution, and their interested eulogists after it, at their own word. He lays bare remorselessly the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world. He confronts it with the philosophers' dazzling promises of a society in which reason alone should reign, of a civilization in which happiness should be universal . . .' (*Anti-Duehring*. Part III. Socialism).

Probably the most striking example of Fourier's perceptiveness is the concentration of power in the monopolies, which he had in effect predicted. To be sure, the word 'predicted' is not entirely suitable. In modern scientific terms, Fourier's inferences were based on an extrapolation of the tendency towards monopolization which he spotted in the domain of production and especially exchange. In the big industrial and commercial firms of his time he espied 'the embryo of a far-flung feudal coalition which would soon capture the entire industrial and financial system and breed *commercial feudalism*.' Seeing this as 'a product of the influence on the social system of the commercial spirit,' Fourier warned that 'its acquisitional tendency augurs terrible ills for civilization.'

Fourier's criticism of capitalism does not confine itself to the economy; it reaches into the political system and all the areas of ideology and human relations (love, family, education, and the like). This part of his doctrine testifies forcefully to his penchant for 'scientific investigation and sober, unprejudiced and orderly thinking.' The following passage offers a splendid illustration: criticizing philosophers for their reluctance to 'go to the bottom of things,' he says that 'looking into matters of production economy they forget to deal with association, which is the basis of all economy; dealing with politics they forget to define the norm of population density, though it is the basis of popular welfare. . . . Speaking of the rights of man, they forget to advance as a principle the right to labor, which, it is true, is impracticable in civilization but without which all other rights are worthless.'

No where did Fourier's strength and his weakness manifest itself more distinctly than in his disciples and successors.

Strength, because but few of the creators of socialist doctrines (naturally, this does not apply to scientific socialism) could boast of so large a number of followers and of so lasting a loyalty to their

ideas, and of their disciples' so persistent wish to effectuate their schemes.

Weakness, because all attempts at creating a viable phalange proved futile, showing beyond question that the idea is impracticable, that the hope of enlisting wealthy 'benefactors' is puerile, and – which is still more important – that the expectation of reconciliation, of cooperation between labor and capital, is totally groundless. In 1832 a rich disciple organized a phalange near Paris, but the experiment collapsed no sooner than it was begun. The experience of the North American phalange set up in the 1840s was still more disappointing. It fell apart not from paucity, but from over-abundance: having amassed some capital by assiduous cooperation, its members elected to branch out on their own.

Fourier initiated a far-flung social movement. His followers, of whom Victor Considerant was the most prominent, founded the 'societarian school,' published periodicals for many decades, and even tried to invade the political scene. But unlike their teacher, the proliferators of Fourierism, the 'antipodes of Fourier,' as Engels called them, played a negative role, because they preached accord with capitalism and thus impeded the growth of a militant proletarian revolutionary movement.

To a greater or lesser extent, Fourier's ideas have influenced social thought in many countries. In Russia, for example, their impact was experienced by the Petrashevsky group. Ultimately, however, Fourierism, which belonged like the other trends of utopian socialism to the formative period of the labor movement, was bound to go off the stage of history.

None of the utopian systems was able to offer realistic ways of building a communist society. But for all their idealism, fantasy and inconsistency, the great utopians anticipated many of the truths proved by Marxism-Leninism.

That is why Communists and all friends of socialism pay tribute to the memory of Charles Fourier.

G. Shakh

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Capitalism and ecological problems

Protection of man's natural environment against pollution and destruction concerns all nations—the biosphere has no national frontiers. Pollution processes in one country can adversely affect the planet's ecological balance. For instance, scientists estimate that more than 50 per cent of the atmospheric pollution comes from U.S. industry. Destruction of the environment is most intensive in developed capitalist countries. But the problem also faces the socialist countries and is taken into account in their economic and social development plans.

In recent years ecological problems have become the subject of analysis in Marxist literature. And this book by Gus Hall,* General Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, is a substantial contribution to an understanding of the social aspects of the problem.

The very fact that the question has arisen is an indication of the gravity of the situation. The peoples have had to pay by depletion of their national wealth for capitalism's predatory and irresponsible attitude to the environment. Now they have to pay much more, and in the past decade there has developed a very real danger of ecological crisis, for the very biological conditions of human existence are being undermined. Hall writes: 'Pollution is not only a serious social problem for the future but it dangerously affects the lives and health of people today. It threatens all life on this planet.'

Bourgeois literature deliberately distorts the underlying causes of the ecological crisis. There is the widely held view that pollution is a technological problem totally unrelated to the nature of the social system. And there is the argument that pollution is the result of inadequate attention by the government or of a 'carefree' attitude by individual capitalists and their managers, who ignore the consequences production can have for the environment. Hall refutes all these opinions, remarking that though pollution is related to technology, technology is not the cause, neither are the irresponsible actions of individuals. For like other crises, 'the crisis of the environment has its roots in the inherent characteristics of capitalism.' And concretizing that thought, the author shows that the crisis

*Gus Hall, *Ecology: Can We Survive under Capitalism?* New York, International Publishers, 1972. 96 pp.

stems from the sharpening contradictions between the technological revolution and capitalist exploitation of its results. In other words, the selfish interests of the capitalist corporations clash with the interests of the people. The human race, the author emphasizes, faces the challenge: will it be capitalism or survival?

Ecology has its class aspects. Most of the pollution is in the industrial ghettos where the workers live and work. Testimony by workers is cited to show up the conditions that are part of the anti-human character of capitalism. The problem of safeguarding the environment, the author stresses, can be solved only in the fight against the oldest crime of capitalism, systematic undermining of the workers' health in the mills and mines. And Hall cites many facts to show that the monopolies have no intention of protecting the environment if this in any way militates against their profits. Of the 500 top American corporations, only 44 per cent spend money on anti-pollution measures, and in most cases they do so in deference to public opinion.

Ecology, Hall says, has been seized upon as an issue by the political demagogues, and President Nixon was the first to exploit it. All the clamor about ecological problems is being used to sidetrack public attention from the war in Indochina and from social and political problems at home. Destruction of the environment has found its most shocking and concentrated expression in America's Indochina policy, with its slogan 'kill every living thing that moves' and 'destroy everything that grows.' And the author draws the logical conclusion: 'an end to the policies that are destroying the environment must start with an end to the policies that are destroying Indochina.'

The environmental crisis can be compared, in terms of its consequences for mankind, to the danger of nuclear war. Can we prevent the destruction of life on the planet, considering that capitalism might lead mankind to ecological catastrophe? The author rejects the fatalistic view: 'Mass struggles can prevent capitalism from totally destroying civilization either by nuclear war or by uprooting the environment.' And the fight against pollution and contamination of the environment must be intensified because 'the leading capitalist countries - the United States, West Germany, England, Japan and France - are losing the battle' against pollution. Furthermore, there is the ever-growing danger that we are reaching an environmental point of no return.

Final solution, the author says, can come only with the replacement of capitalism by socialism. But there is need for immediate mass action in the capitalist world. And Hall spells out the immediate goals of such action: federal laws against pollution; nationalization of industry that violates these laws; anti-pollution measures to be financed out of corporate profits; the power of environmental control to be with the people. Discussing the Communist Party's attitude to the anti-pollution movement, which involves millions of Americans, the author says the Party must become the organizer and leader of this movement, give it a profound social content and

help millions still influenced by reformist illusions to become a new force in the fight for socialism.

One of the ideological consequences of the maturing ecological crisis, the author believes, is that it 'forces millions to compare the basic sense of values that motivate the two social systems – capitalism and socialism.' The advantages of the new society are clearly manifested in its attitude to the environment. Under socialism, Hall says, protection of the environment has become a social necessity and society is in a position to curb the forces destroying nature and to combine technological progress with proper protection of natural resources. In socialist countries environmental protection is provided for by law and government policy. And the author cites the drama of two great lakes, Baikal in the USSR, which has been saved from contamination, and Erie in the USA, which is now a dead lake. (Since Gus Hall's book, the U.S. Budget Bureau has rejected, out of 'economic considerations,' an allocation of \$141 million to clean the Great Lakes). Epitomized in the two lakes is the basic contradiction of the two social systems: In contrast to the capitalist world, 'in the socialist countries the battle for a livable environment is being won.'

Gus Hall's book enriches the Marxist understanding of environmental problems. Its conclusions will help towards further study of this acute social issue and towards working out a concrete program of action in the interest of the peoples. *E. Yorgen*

OUR MAILBAG

'Revolutionary greetings in 1972!

Emile N. Mbidi
Assistant Secretary General
Angola National Union of Working
People.'

I have found very interesting the various articles in your journal in which leaders from different parties have described the situation in their party and country and the activity of their party. These articles have helped to make their experience available to other parties and your journal is very important in building this pool of common knowledge. I am sure that there are many people who would like to have a more continuous and detailed contact with parties who have similar situations on problems as their own. I suggest a new section in which the theoretical journals and other publications of the Workers' and Communist parties would be reviewed. It would help them to do this if it provided information on journals, subscriptions and addresses.

K. W. Perrott
Hamilton, New Zealand.

I have been a reader of your journal ever since its first issue. Like its predecessors, it keeps me in touch with the organizational and ideological activities of the international movement.

I am especially interested in your articles and reports on theoretical conferences and international forums, imperialism (your supplements are of especial value), non-Marxist socialism, and bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Elemér Szana
Budapest, Hungary.

Problems of Peace and Socialism is an important theoretical and political forum of the international working-class and Communist movement. The Marxism-Leninism section of the library at the Party Political Education Center in Bratislava carefully catalogues all articles for use by propagandists, university and Party-school students, researchers and for our discussion seminars.

In 1971, we selected 388 items from eleven issues of the journal to be used as source material in university political courses.

For the library staff,
Jan Vojtasek
Director
Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

I draw extensively on your journal in my propaganda and teaching activity. Articles citing vivid facts are particularly valuable for the younger readers. The Indictment of Imperialism series in the July 1969 issue was an effective exposure of imperialism, and a valuable reference source. I constantly draw on other issues for facts of this kind. I hope *Problems of Peace and Socialism* continues to publish more such factual exposures.

S. P. Bocharov
Nikolayev, USSR.



Self portrait

Stone-cutter



His brush is his weapon and his tool

60th birthday of Renato Guttuso

Stone-masons, sulphur mine workers, laundresses, Sicilian peasants are among the key figures of many paintings of Renato Guttuso, an artist who glorifies labor and the working people's desire for freedom, peace and happiness. Guttuso's art is inspired by lofty civil ideals and gives a truthful image of life. It calls to struggle. A modern painter, he says, should use his brush primarily as a weapon. This is his credo as a Communist artist—he insists that an artist must not merely portray life but help through his art to transform society.

Guttuso evolved his attitude to art in the grim school of struggle against fascism. He became a militant anti-fascist in the early thirties, when he established contact with underground organizations and hid Communist literature in his studio. In 1948 he joined the Italian Communist Party.

During the war Guttuso was liaison officer of a guerrilla unit, a duty he combined with that of a journalist and public speaker. Most of the works dating from that period owe their origin to the Resistance. After the war, Guttuso was among the foremost champions of peace and friendship among nations and of social progress. His paintings, prompted by proletarian solidarity and profound humanism, convey an explicit political message. The World Peace Council has awarded him the Gold Medal for Peace.

The Editorial Board of this journal wishes Renato Guttuso, a Communist artist ranking among the foremost men of world culture, all the best on his 60th birthday.

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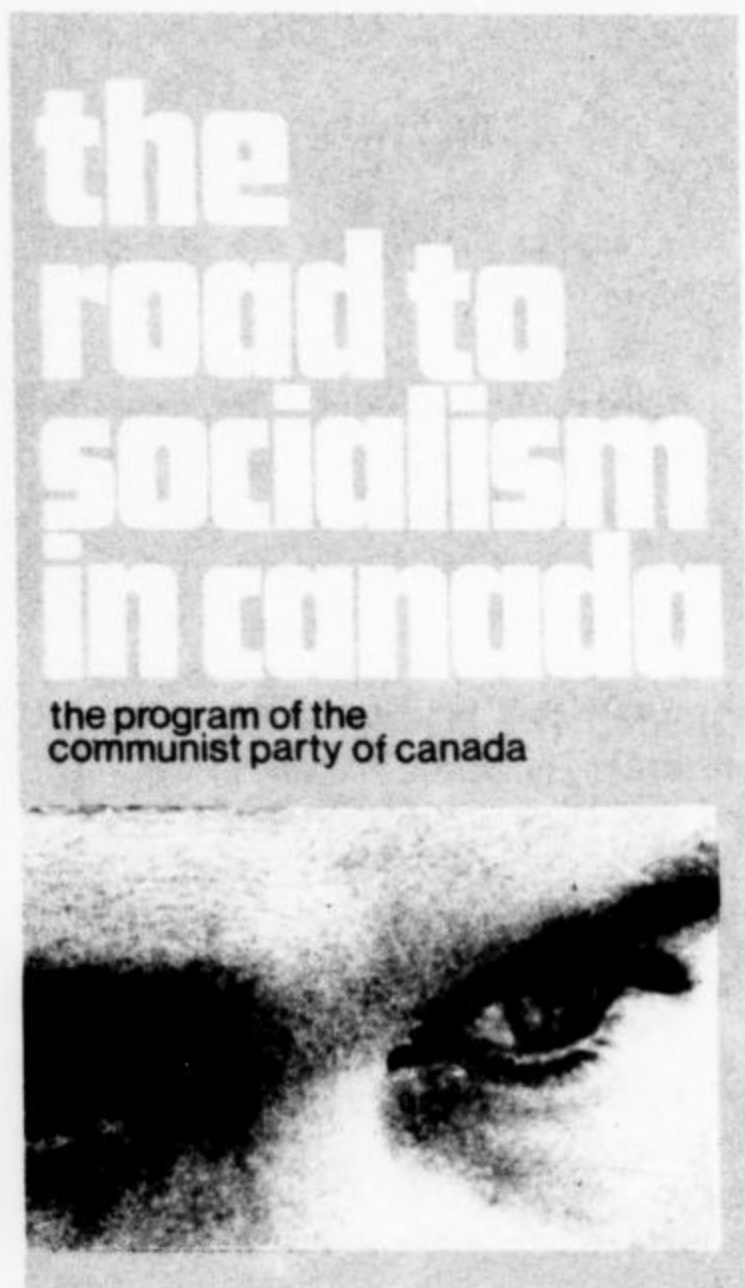
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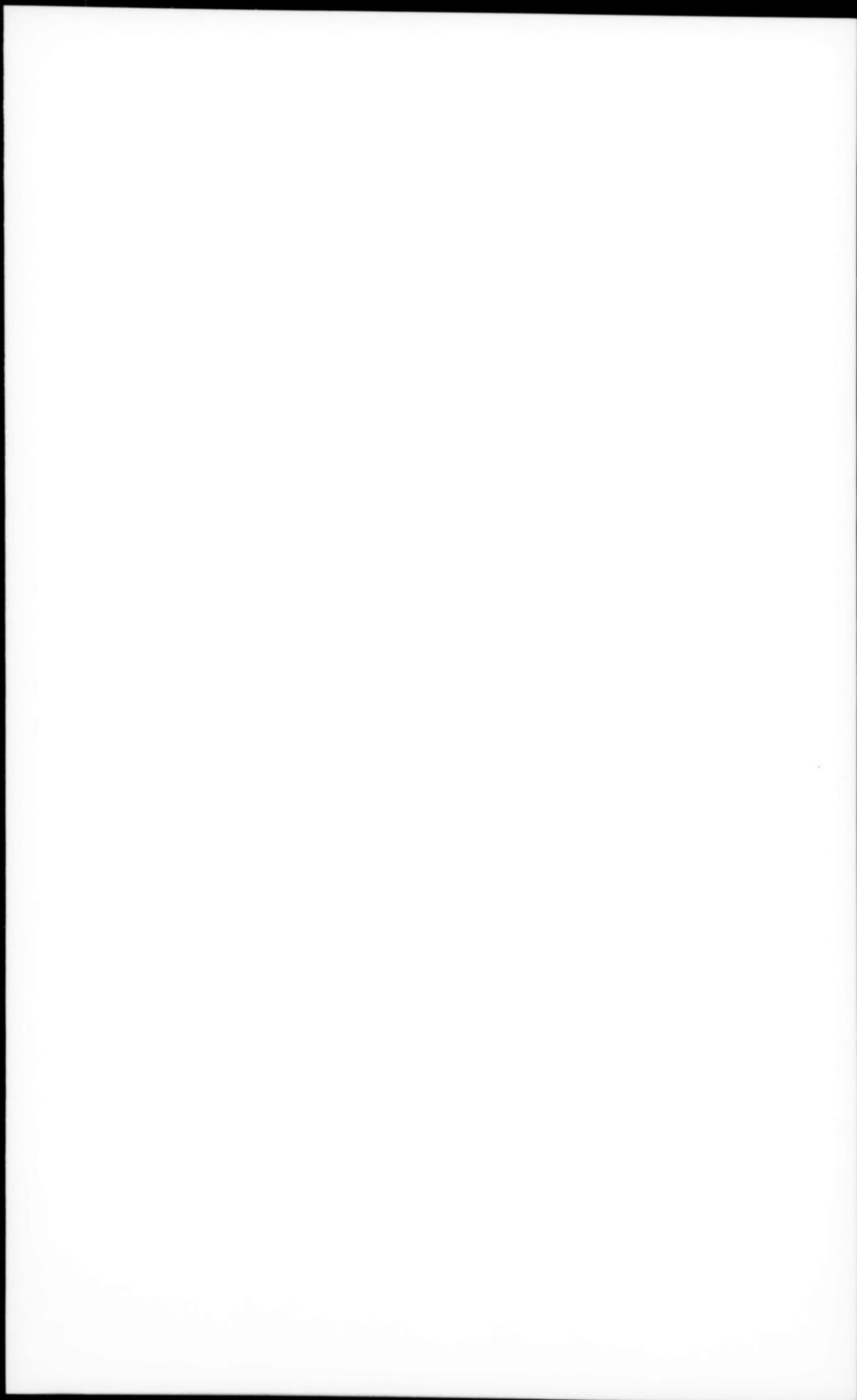
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