

WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

July 1979, Volume 22, Number 7 \$1.00



Belgium / 37

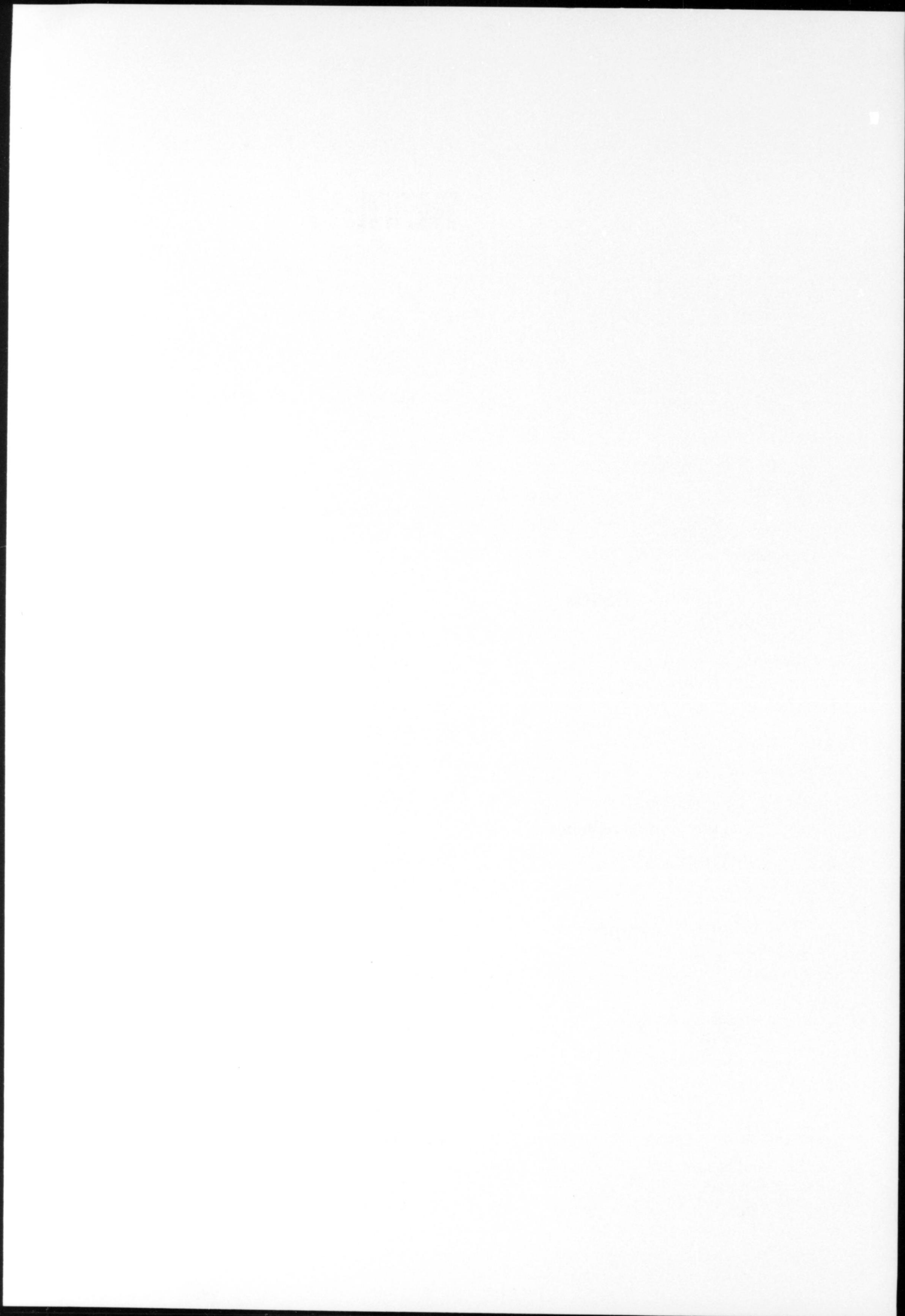
**On peaceful
coexistence / 3**

**35th anniversary of
People's Poland / 7**

**Peking's concept
of war / 60**

**Revolution and
democracy / 22**

**Middle
East / 52**





WORLD

Problems of

MARXIST

Peace and Socialism

REVIEW

July 1979, Vol. 22, No. 7

Theoretical and information journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

Features

- 3 Peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation
A. Varela
- 7 A historical turning point
E. Babiuch
- 12 Our action program
A. Magnin
- 15 Key factor of economic progress
J. Kempny
- 19 Collective strength of the communists of the world
I. Sokolov

Exchange of views

- Revolution and democracy
- 22 International scientific conference
- 22 For creative quest
M. Ovari
- 25 Lenin's doctrine of dialectics and our day
B. Kedrov
- 30 Human values in Marxism and Christianity
H.L. Parsons

The party

- 33 Policy of alliances and the bourgeoisie
A. Maidana

- 37 Belgium: the working-class movement and the communists
- 38 Resolving concrete problems
J. Turf
- 40 Spearheading the class struggle
J. Garro, Y. Potyomkin
- 45 Escalation of terrorism
E. Rodriguez
- 46 New experience

Viewpoints

- The Middle East knot: solutions real and imaginary
- 52 A correct and principled stand
E. Touma
- 56 Program for national Palestinian unity
N. Ashhab
- 60 Peking's concept of war
N. Luvsanchultem
- 64 In defense of human rights
V. Terebilov

The press

- 69 Looking to the future
H. Fazio

Facts and figures

- 70 Effective and mutually advantageous
- 72 In brief

Represented on the Editorial Board and Editorial Council of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM are the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in the following countries: Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mongolia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Senegal, South African Republic, Spain, Soviet Union, Sudan, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela.

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

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

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

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in Arabic, Bengali, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Flemish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Malayalam, Mongolian, Norwegian, Oriya, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Pun-

jabi, Rumanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Turkish and Vietnamese.

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

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

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

Copyright © 1968 by Progress Books, Canada. All Rights Reserved. 



Peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation

Alfredo Varela
Vice-President, World Peace Council,
International Lenin Peace Prize laureate

International relations at this stage are marked by growing acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The policy of détente based on peaceful coexistence has produced significant results. It accounts for the process initiated by the Helsinki Conference to promote security and cooperation in economy, science, technology, environmental protection, humanitarian activities and other fields. World opinion, noting the auspicious changes in world affairs, expects this process to encompass more and more countries and to gain in depth and strength.

The presidium of the World Peace Council, which met in Prague last April on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the peace movement, gave these matters special attention. The debate centered on how to carry forward détente and cooperation and transcend obstacles to the implementation of the Helsinki accords. Speakers confirmed the view that a key task of the WPC is to secure the full assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence and an expansion of mutually beneficial political, economic and cultural relations among nations.

The peace movement may be said to have begun as a movement for peaceful coexistence. At its very first congress (Stockholm, 1950) and in its subsequent appeals to world opinion the WPC called for powerful mass campaigns to ban atomic weapons and exclude war from international relations. In the special circumstances of the time, this was a contribution to peaceful coexistence.

The peace movement had from the outset to overcome the resistance of reactionary imperialist circles and, indeed, that of certain progressives and democrats who failed to appreciate the significance of peaceful coexistence. These maintained that as long as the oppression of some nations by others persisted, so would colonialism and racism, and therefore peaceful coexistence of the two social systems was out of the question. Some of them were influenced by Maoist propaganda, which labelled peaceful coexistence as a 'threat' to liberation movements.

Life has shown that these apprehensions were groundless. Peaceful coexistence implies, first of all, that the antagonistic contradictions existing between socialist and capitalist countries and the struggle going on between the two systems, each of which operates from its own class positions, by no means make armed conflict inevitable. It rules out the settlement of these contradictions by the use or

threat of force, by interfering in the affairs of other countries, and infringing upon their territorial integrity and national sovereignty. It presupposes that every nation has an unlimited right to shape its destiny and decide its political, economic and social order. The policy of peaceful coexistence paves the way for curbing the arms race and advancing to general and complete disarmament. It undermines the political, economic and ideological positions of militarism and the more aggressive imperialist forces linked with it. This not only enables the socialist countries to bring about favorable external conditions in which to build socialism and communism but contributes to the struggle of the working class and other working people of capitalist countries for social progress, democracy and socialism.

Moreover, peaceful coexistence raises a barrier to colonial and neo-colonial practices by precluding the use of force in international relations.

The victory of the Cuban and Vietnamese peoples, the downfall of fascism in Portugal, Greece and Spain, and the victories achieved by the revolutionary and liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Laos, Kampuchea, Iran and elsewhere proved that peaceful coexistence and détente benefit the peoples' struggle for freedom and economic and political independence and help them win respect for their sovereign rights.

It took time to evolve the main principles of peaceful coexistence. A decisive part in their formation was played by the Soviet state, which in the very first days of its existence declared steadfast effort for a just, democratic peace to be a principle of its foreign policy. However, socialism's refusal to resolve the fundamental contradiction of the present epoch by war failed for a long time to draw a response from the major capitalist countries. It was only a radical change in the balance of world forces in favor of socialism and the rise of a new historical situation that made it possible to adopt the policy of peaceful coexistence, which is becoming the main principle of international relations. And although the fundamental contradiction of the epoch persists, its solution takes forms other than armed struggle. What comes to the fore is peaceful economic competition between the two systems, and increasing mutually beneficial cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries in various fields.

There is a dialectical connection between peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation. In the context of the international division of labor, peaceful cooperation is a form and component of peaceful coexistence. The more consistently the basic principles of peaceful coexistence are applied, the more varied cooperation is and the deeper it goes. In turn, peaceful cooperation hastens the introduction of the norms and principles of peaceful coexistence and helps the world move on from cold war to détente.

The growing international division of labor is an objective reality. Anyone who assails it from this or that position and calls for economic, scientific and cultural isolationism, intending to rely solely on his own resources and potentialities, is dooming his nation to a lag in growth of the productive forces and hence in living and cultural standards.

Furthermore, cooperation between countries with different social systems is not only beneficial economically but makes for a better knowledge of the life and problems of various nations. This is highly important, for to quote Lenin, 'only exclusive attention to the interests of various nations can remove grounds for conflicts, can remove mutual mistrust, can remove the fear of any intrigues and create that confidence, especially on the part of workers and peasants speaking different languages, without which there absolutely cannot be peaceful relations between peoples or anything like a successful development of everything that is of value in present-day civilization' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386).

International cooperation — the material basis for peaceful coexistence — is particularly fruitful in Europe today. The Helsinki Conference and bilateral and multilateral agreements between European countries with different social systems help promote new international relations on this continent and lay the groundwork for European security. However, the Helsinki accords should not be restricted to Europe. They are universal and so can and should be extended to other continents with due regard to regional distinctions. It is interesting to note that the Helsinki agreements, being a guarantee of détente in Europe, help the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fight for their political and economic liberation, against racism and pro-fascist trends, since their implementation creates conditions for preventing imperialist interference in the affairs of these peoples. For its part, the liberation movement on the three continents contributes to European and world security by pursuing a foreign policy for peace and staying out of blocs, as the example of Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran and other countries that have taken an independent road demonstrates.

Growing international trade and cooperation in industry, science and technology are conducive to greater mutual confidence and add to economic incentives to maintain peace. The peace forces think highly of the socialist community's persevering effort to develop mutually beneficial re-

lations in various spheres between countries with different social systems.

The socialist community has some experience of bilateral cooperation with capitalist countries. I regard today's Soviet-French relations as an important stabilizing factor in the international situation and a tangible contribution to détente and peace. It is not accidental that the Soviet Union and France are called pioneers of détente in Europe and the world. Long-term programs for development and expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union have been signed, besides France, by Canada, Finland and other countries, as well as by the Belgian-Luxembourg economic alliance. A further instance of cooperation are the long-term agreements now in force between foreign trade agencies of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, on the one hand, and major U.S., Italian, West German, British and Austrian firms, on the other.

I believe multilateral economic cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries is particularly important today. In 1976, the Soviet Union, Iran, Czechoslovakia, the FRG, Austria and France signed multilateral agreements on natural gas deliveries to Western Europe and the purchase of pipes and plants for the construction of gas pipelines. The number of agreements on cooperation in industry and of product-pay-back agreements has grown. Favorable changes have also come about in trade. East-West trade in 1975 was worth about \$50,000 million, the annual growth rate considerably exceeding that of world trade. Economic cooperation in Europe goes on against the background of increasing integration. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which groups ten socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America with a population totalling 435 million, plays a growing role. At present it is the world's most dynamic economic organization. The industrial output of its member countries is twice as large as that of the EEC and its foreign economic relations involve 78 developing countries and 60 international organizations.

The CMEA advocates normal relations with the Common Market on the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and non-interference.

Progressive world opinion holds that mutually useful relations between CMEA and EEC countries would help materialize détente and further peace. At the second international conference on new initiatives in East-West cooperation held in Vienna last March, businessmen, scientists and public leaders from 14 countries and delegates from various international organizations described economic, scientific and technological cooperation between countries with different social systems as a factor of peaceful coexistence. Yet the West is in no hurry to establish such relations although life itself speaks of the necessity for extensive international cooperation, since solving global problems such as the provision of food for a fast-growing world population, the augmentation of the energy, raw material, and food resources of mankind, and the preservation of the ecological balance of the planet

will take collective effort by many countries.

The main principle of cooperation between the two social systems is mutual benefit. What prompts many foreign firms to seek economic relations with CMEA countries is primarily the stability and dependability of the socialist market. Businessmen need to sell their goods and bankers would like to invest funds which a stagnant capitalist market cannot absorb. Capitalists realize that the difficulties which monopolies come up against in selling their output on the Western market, being faced with bitter competition, and the difficulty of securing energy and raw materials and coping with unemployment can be overcome in a measure through economic cooperation with the socialist countries. The CMEA market has already guaranteed the preservation of hundreds of thousands of jobs in many capitalist countries and helped them make greater use of their industrial capacities.

The CMEA countries, in turn, benefit from exchange and cooperation with capitalist countries by purchasing plant and using foreign expertise and technical facilities.

To be sure, economic incentives play the decisive role in foreign economic relations. But it is also important that in the course of international cooperation meeting the interests of all partners the political climate should be rid of the after-effects of the cold war and that mutual confidence among nations should grow, with a more durable peace as the end result.

Peaceful coexistence is not limited to trade and cooperation in industry. International cooperation takes many forms and extends to politics, science, technology and culture. Reciprocal visits at the highest level and regular consultations between foreign ministers, as well as visits by government, party and parliamentary delegations and by public leaders and people prominent in science and culture have become established international practice.

Of great importance is the formalization in terms of international law of the principles of peaceful coexistence, primarily in the Final Act of Helsinki, the treaties signed by the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia with the FRG, and a number of documents concerning disarmament.

Mankind has vast opportunities for cooperation under joint scientific and technological programs of space exploration and research in nuclear energy, medicine, microbiology and other key scientific fields. Cultural exchange in conditions of peaceful coexistence is an important form of cooperation between countries with different social systems.

However, détente encounters many roadblocks. Some western countries violate the provisions of the Final Act regarding the development of trade and economic relations. They resort to discrimination against socialist countries. Some capitalist countries restrict imports, ban the export of various types of plant and commodities to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and are reluctant to conclude product-pay-back deals stipulating that deliveries of plant and services shall be paid back in

output of plants built with the aid of Western technology. There are many cases of deliberate misinterpretation of scientific and technological cooperation with countries of the socialist community. Socialist countries are made out as lagging behind developed capitalist countries in the scientific and technological spheres and hence as having little to offer and much to gain from technological exchange. In some countries the authorities obstruct the work of companies set up in partnership with foreign trade agencies of CMEA countries.

The foregoing is most typical of the United States, where this policy toward socialist countries has been given a theoretical basis. The proponents of confrontation, who include some Congressmen, spokesmen of the administration and academics, claim that any benefit derived by the East from trade is a liability for the West. They urge the U.S. to manipulate trade in such a manner as to bring about 'favorable' changes in the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Union. This makes it clear why discriminatory trade and credits legislation with regard to the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries is still in force in the United States and why certain quarters in the West make interference in the affairs of socialist countries a condition for greater cooperation.

However, this linkage, the effort to use business cooperation as a lever for attaining strategic and political advantages over socialist countries, is an object of increasing criticism. Realistic-minded businessmen are aware that by denying most-favored nation status to the Soviet Union, the United States has attained none of its major political goals and has merely handicapped its exports.

The opponents of détente and cooperation with socialist countries resort to many other devices. One of these is the 'closed society' myth. It alleges that while the Western countries favor more contacts of every kind with the socialist countries and the free movement of people and ideas, these countries avoid communication with other nations and exchanges of information and contacts.

The facts refute all the 'closed society' stories and the allegation that socialist countries limit access to cultural values of other nations. During my visits to socialist countries, I satisfied myself that they publish many more Western authors than the capitalist world publishes authors of socialist countries. There is also an obvious imbalance in the exchange of films and television programs.

The difficulties of cooperation between countries with different systems are in some measure due to the fact that the principles of peaceful coexistence are only just gaining ground in international relations. Imperialism's adjustment to the new situation is a contradictory, fragmentary and slow process. The legacy of the cold war years — prejudice, distrust and fear of taking a fair stand on the peace initiative of the socialist community — is still there. Inasmuch as the capitalist countries' adaptation to existing realities is forced, some of them seize every opportunity in an attempt to mount at least a partial

offensive against the socialist community and retrieve lost military and political positions. Many capitalist ideologues and politicians would like to make détente conditional on ideological concessions from the socialist countries, but as they meet resistance they question the very possibility of peaceful coexistence and political détente.

Peaceful coexistence does not eliminate the ideological struggle between the two social systems. On the contrary, this struggle is intensifying in the climate of détente, acquiring greater importance. On the one hand, more opportunities arise for disseminating socialist ideas; on the other hand, anti-socialist propaganda is becoming more subtle. However, this struggle must not be allowed to develop into a psychological war prejudicing the international climate and leading to a political and military showdown.

The mass media play an important role in normalizing international relations, publicizing the ideals of peace, and fostering mutual confidence. Regrettably, some influential newspapers and periodicals as well as broadcasting and television companies of the capitalist world fight shy of bona fide cooperation in the information sphere. They misinform public opinion and exert pressure on the socialist countries in a bid to make them live according to rules incompatible with socialist democracy. These attempts run counter to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, which all signatories have committed themselves to carry out.

To stave off a new world war is the paramount problem today; the very existence of mankind depends on its solution. The socialist community, which is loyal to peace and humanism, declares invariably for complementing political with military détente, curbing the arms race, and bringing about general and complete disarmament under rigid international control. Entirely in keeping with the spirit of Helsinki and the idea of promoting cooperation is the Soviet proposal for the parties to the Helsinki Conference to sign a treaty on refraining from first strikes with nuclear or conventional weapons. So is the signing of SALT-II, which is based on the principles of equality and equal security of the two sides. The confidence measures approved at Helsinki, such as prior notification of war games and the invitation of foreign observers to them serve the same purpose.

Peaceful coexistence is an encouraging phenomenon of today. An idea advanced by Lenin and incorporated in the early documents of the Soviet state as an appeal, it has become a principle of international relations in the lifetime of a single generation. The experience of peaceful coexistence gained to date suggests that war can be banished forever from human history.

Much has been done to this end but much still remains to be accomplished. The WPC Presidium called on all men of good will and all peace supporters to persevere in their effort for disarmament, détente and the elimination of colonialism, racial discrimination, and all international tensions.

Spokesmen of national and international public organizations and noted men of science and culture who met in Prague could not ignore the fact that while the overwhelming majority of the peoples of all continents readily support every initiative for peace, the Chinese hegemonists have attacked the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, thereby posing an undisguised, brazen challenge to the entire world community. The peace movement has emphatically condemned this criminal gamble of the Chinese leaders and urged all peace fighters to continue their campaigns of solidarity with the gallant Vietnamese people. The WPC Presidium called the attention of world opinion to the exceedingly serious situation which the Chinese militarists had created in Southeast Asia, a situation that endangers world peace.

The World Peace Council, operating through peace organizations and committees in various countries of all continents and using its direct contacts with numerous governments, parties, national and international non-governmental organizations, the UN and its specialized agencies, plays an increasing part in the formation of world opinion. It will go on helping the world public to identify the source of the greatest threat to peace and propagating peaceful coexistence, détente and peaceful cooperation between countries with different social systems as the only road to the establishment of the new, progressive social order in a peaceful economic contest with capitalism, and to the growth and victory of anti-monopoly forces and national-liberation movements in a climate of peace.

A historical turning point

Edward Babiuch

Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary, CC PUWP

35TH ANNIVERSARY OF PEOPLE'S POLAND

July 22, 1944, is a special date in the thousand-year history of Poland. It marked the dawn of a new era for our people, the era of national liberation and social emancipation, people's rule and socialist construction, alliance with the Soviet Union and membership in the community of nations following the Marxist-Leninist road. In Poland's eastern part, freed from the nazi barbarians by the Soviet Army and the people's Polish Army, there came into being the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PCNL), a worker-peasant government representing the people's democratic forces. The manifesto adopted by the PCNL at Chelm on that day charted the path of Poland's social revolution. The propertied classes, which had failed the test as guardians of the destiny of Poland, lost power. Responsibility for the future of the nation was assumed by the masses under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary Polish Workers' Party. The party set out to lead the country to socialism, being convinced that the major national and social problems dating from a dramatic past could be solved for all time only by establishing people's rule, effecting far-reaching social changes and closely cooperating with the Soviet Union.

This tremendous, complex task bearing on the very foundations of national existence had to be carried out in the uncommonly difficult conditions of a country that had been bled white and devastated; it necessitated the unity of all progressive and democratic forces. In line with the concept of struggle for national liberation and social emancipation evolved in the years of occupation, the party adopted a strategy for close alliance between the communists and the left wing of the socialist, peasant and democratic movement, reliance on the workers and peasants, and the gradual winning of support for People's Poland from vacillating sectors searching for ways of their own in the new situation.

Credit is due to the predecessor of the PUWP, the Polish Workers' Party, for combining revolutionary firmness of principle, loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and internationalism with realism, the formulation of program tasks and the ability to win over the masses.

Our party's contribution to the 35-year history of People's Poland and the leading role which it has played in the people's life and the socialist development of the country since the change in July 1944 are characterized by a correct, courageous and

imaginative approach to the solution of the big difficult problems of the social revolution and the construction of a new society. All our initiatives were inspired by the resolve to apply such principles of building socialism as the leading role of the working class and its party, the growing role of the masses as makers of history and the motive power of progress in every sphere, and the gearing of the country's entire development to the good of the people. It was under the leadership of the party that the creative forces of the nation were united and the foundations of its political and moral unity strengthened.

The past 35 years of our history have been marked by changes in social and economic relations in town and countryside; a land reform and the nationalization of industry; the socialization of the key industries, and socialist industrialization; a developing planned economy, and rapid growth of the productive forces ever more fully meeting the people's requirements; the democratization of education, a spreading culture, and the shaping of a socialist consciousness and socialist social relations between people.

We note with satisfaction that the PUWP and the political forces cooperating with it have won the confidence of the working class and other working people. What the July Manifesto forecast 35 years ago has been translated into life; in fact, we have made greater headway than was envisaged at the time. The PCNL program is the first political program in Polish history to have been fully carried out. The past 35 years have been a period of great change in our people's life, a period in which peace gained the upper hand over war, freedom over slavery, progress over reaction, and justice over oppression and exploitation.

Developments have fully confirmed the correctness of the July 1944 decisions, which were a product of historical experience, the will and struggle of the working class, and the Polish communists' wisdom and sense of responsibility. Today's socialist Poland, our people's common homeland, provides incontrovertible proof that the road taken 35 years ago was correct.

Pondering on the 35th anniversary of the July Manifesto, the present generations of Poles also think of the lessons of Hitler Germany's attack on Poland 40 years ago. To win a lasting victory in the struggle for freedom and independence to which the whole nation was roused in September 1939, it was necessary to work out a level-headed and far-

sighted strategy and to apply it competently and steadfastly.

Credit is due to the Polish people for joining resolutely in the struggle against German imperialism in its degenerate nazi form. The Poles made a fitting contribution to the anti-Hitler coalition's victory over fascism. The main part in defeating Hitlerism was played by the first socialist state and the Soviet people. Mankind will always remember their immortal feat.

Although Poland was denied effective assistance by the Western allies, it fought heroically against fascism. For us, the war and the occupation had tragic consequences. The nazis set up mass annihilation camps, made plans for the physical extermination of all our people and proceeded to destroy our culture, education and science. In plundering us economically, they destroyed our industry, agriculture and transport and laid waste our towns and villages.

As a result of the nazi aggression, terrorism and massacres, over six million Poles lost their lives from 1939 to 1945. In proportion to population, our people suffered the biggest losses in human life. The nazi invaders struck hardest at the workers and intellectuals, at left-wingers and patriots. They massacred Jews, and only those who were hidden and saved by Poles survived.

The war and the looting carried on by the invaders inflicted enormous damage on our national patrimony — roughly 40 per cent of its prewar value was destroyed.

The Polish people never laid down their arms in the face of fascist violence. Regular Polish troops and guerrillas fought on almost every front of the Second World War in 19 of the 23 states of Europe and Africa involved in the hostilities. About two million Poles fought on the battlefields of the Second World War.

The Polish Army, 400,000 strong by the end of the war, was the people's main armed force. Beginning with the historic Lenino battle, it fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army and made at the closing stage of the war a tangible contribution to the defeat of Hitler Germany, a fact underlined by the Poles' participation in the capture of Berlin.

We state with deep satisfaction that our people have learned the lessons of the past.

Efforts by the workers, peasants and intellectuals made it possible to eliminate the enormous ravages of war and to end Poland's serious socio-economic lag in a historically short time. We established a strong and well-knit socialist state. We promoted our independence and safeguarded the security of the just, historical frontiers of our country in complete accordance with the interests of both Poland and its neighbors. The lands in the west and north, restored after centuries, became once again a part of the motherland.

We won strong and loyal friends with whom we are united by a common social system, common ideals and goals and identical fundamental interests. Alliance, friendship and cooperation with

the Soviet Union gave us solid guarantees of sovereignty, security and fruitful progress. The Polish People's Republic plays an ever bigger role in the world and gains increasing international prestige. Along with other fraternal countries, we are advancing along the road of social progress. Socialist Poland is a country whose impact on the dynamic development of the world is growing.

Poland is carrying on manifold activities intended to further economic, scientific and technological relations with the CMEA. It is helping to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty Organization. We are making an appreciable contribution to the defense capability of socialism and fostering internationalism in our society.

The PUWP is a solid component of the international communist and working-class movement. It works for closer unity of the movement on the principles of internationalism, which is an indispensable condition for new gains of our common cause on the world fronts of the class struggle.

Unshakable alliance with fraternal socialist countries, solidarity with the forces of freedom and social progress the world over, and constant readiness to develop beneficial relations serving the cause of peace with countries whose social system differs from ours are important interconnected aspects of Polish foreign policy. Their purpose is peace; they serve and build peace. We have committed our entire prestige, which our policy has earned us in the eyes of world opinion, and all our efforts toward implementing the socialist peace program. Contrary to the activity of military-industrial complexes, the intrigues of those in West Germany who seek a revision of the frontiers that have shaped historically in Europe, and attempts to push the world back to the cold war, we work for greater political détente and for its reinforcement through military détente by putting forward specific proposals to curb the arms race and proceed to disarmament.

It is from this position that we explicitly condemn the Chinese leadership's adventurist, great-power policy designed to bring on destabilization and aggravate the international situation. A sinister instance of this policy was the aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which showed that the Chinese leadership had fully broken with the revolutionary traditions and ideals of socialism.

Led by the PUWP, our state invariably serves peace, a cause meeting the interests of all mankind. Worthy of note among Poland's numerous international initiatives and moves is the fact that the motion of Edward Gierek, General Secretary of the CC PUWP, to educate the peoples for peace, was carried by the 33rd UN General Assembly. We declare for the full materialization of the noble ideas of the Peace Program advanced by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, for the realization of the new proposals of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and principal author and staunch champion of the socialist strategy of peace.

Our party holds that the main content of the revolutionary process in our epoch is determined

by its general features, embodied for the first time in the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. But to build the new society successfully it is essential to fully take account of national distinctions, and of the place and time in which the struggle to achieve social progress goes on. Our experience has borne out Lenin's words that 'all nations will arrive at socialism — this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.) It also bears out the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that counter posing distinctive features to the common development laws of socialism, let alone underrating these laws, adversely affects revolutionary and liberation struggles.

One of the causes of the September defeat was Poland's economic weakness. Due to the selfish policy of the propertied classes, pre-September Poland was a country with a predominantly backward agriculture and an inadequate industry, a state dominated by foreign capital and affected with chronic unemployment, a state with an overpopulated countryside and a low standard of living in spite of attempts to advance the economy.

In setting out to rehabilitate our country, we had not only to end the economic lag of pre-September Poland but to make good the terrible losses inflicted on us in the years of war and occupation. Tremendous efforts and devotion by our working people and competent leadership by our party made it possible to raise Poland from the ruins, end its age-long lag and lay a solid groundwork for economic and cultural development on modern lines. Unemployment, hunger, insecurity and forced emigration in search of a livelihood are a thing of the past.

Thirty-five years after July 1944, Poland's presence on the economic map of the world is most noticeable. Holding 62nd place in area and 23rd place in population in the world, Poland is among the world's first ten countries in industrial output and national income growth rate, a position it has been keeping for a long time.

We have transformed our country from an agrarian into a fast-developing industrial-agrarian state which commands large material resources and an up-to-date production capability. Notable changes have occurred in agriculture and the countryside generally. The social, professional and educational composition of society has changed in the lifetime of one generation. Before the war, farming was the main source of income for 60 per cent of the population and in 1978, for only 23 per cent. The state sector, which produces about 85 per cent of the national income, employs over 72 per cent of the workforce. The student body today is close to 7.3 million, which means that students account for one-fifth of the population. In this respect Poland is ahead of many countries having a higher economic standard.

An active investment policy made possible by a

fast-growing national income has helped us expand and modernize social production. Fixed assets, worth about 1,900 billion zlotys in 1946, rose to nearly 7,382 billion zlotys in 1977 (in comparable prices).

The large scale of socialist industrialization has turned Poland into one of the most dynamically developing countries in the world. Our industry now turns out 31 times more goods than it did in 1938, nearly five times more than in 1960, and 2.1 times more than in 1970. But these figures do not give a full picture of Poland's industrialization today. Of increasing importance is the changing structure of production involving the installation of new technological processes, and the advance of science and technology. This is a very important source of growth of social labor productivity. Here is an illustration of the advances in this field: between 1960 and 1977 the value of industrial goods in constant prices went up by more than 330 per cent, and the labor force by only 60 per cent, which means a rise of productivity per head of 170 per cent.

Polish industry now employs about 4.7 million persons, that is roughly five times more than it did before the war. This has led to the country's rapid urbanization. From 1946 to 1978, the number of urban dwellers increased from roughly 7.5 million to 20 million. The number of flats in the cities increased from 3,590,000 in 1960 to 5,770,000 at the end of 1978.

Substantial economic transformations have also taken place in the Polish countryside, which in the prewar period was in the grip of a chronic agrarian crisis. The land reform and the settling of the country's western and northern lands, its industrialization, and the development of social production paved the way for the reconstruction of agriculture and a steady increase in output, and so to a marked improvement in the social status and living conditions of the rural population.

The current decade, in which the Polish people have worked to realize the decisions of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the PUWP and transition to the tasks of building a developed socialist society, is an especially important stage in the country's socialist development. In the 70s, we made marked advances in many areas of life and rose to a higher level of socio-economic development. Thanks to the dedicated efforts of the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia, hundreds of modern production and social installations have been erected, the modernization of agriculture accelerated, and housing construction advanced. We began producing many new types of consumer goods, and have extended the facilities for rest and recreation. The consistent realization of the social policy of the party and the state has yielded noticeable results in public health, education, pension security and conditions promoting the development and strengthening of the family. From 1970 to 1977, cash incomes and payments from social funds went up by 132.8 per cent, and real incomes by 88.3 per cent. Average wages in the socialized sector of

the economy went up by 86 per cent in nominal terms, and by 50.5 per cent in real terms. The cash incomes of individual farmers increased, respectively, by 106.3 per cent and 40 per cent.

The party attaches much importance to measures aimed to enhance social equality: services available to manual workers from social funds have been extended, the system of free public health services has been made available to the peasants, pensions are being paid to individual farmers, and greater concern is being shown to improving the living conditions of war and labor veterans. We have improved the health protection of citizens, and are reforming the education system. Science is increasingly involved in the processes of socialist development. The achievements here, like those in education and culture, have raised our country to the level of the leading European countries.

For all the outstanding problems, and we are well aware of their existence, we can still claim that there has been a steady improvement in the people's living conditions because of the rising standards of their labor.

When our party put its program of dynamic development to the people on the eve of the 70s, it said frankly that this was a crucial and difficult program which entailed the solution of various problems. We openly warned that with the great scope of our plans we could prevent tautness in some fields from arising, but we were sure that rapid development, even if it involved difficulties, would do the country more good and satisfy the people's requirements better than slow development, for which the price would subsequently be the emergence of a host of intricate problems and backwardness. At the May Day rally in Warsaw this year, Edward Gierek said: 'A people which has achieved a great deal and which has gone through the inferno of two wars and has built its life anew cannot slow down its pace.'

Over the past several years, the internal and external conditions of our development have been unfavorable. The protracted recession and inflation in the capitalist world have created difficulties for our foreign trade. Our agricultural production plans have not been fulfilled for a number of years because of the unfavorable weather. The rapid growth of production requirements tends to create tension in transport and the power industry. There are also subjective shortcomings, which have an effect above all on the efficiency of economic management.

In order to adapt our economy to the changing conditions, the party has proposed an in-depth socio-economic maneuver, and the adopted measures have already yielded results. Investment activity has been largely set in order and somewhat cut back. Our resources have been regrouped, so that preference is now given to the development of agriculture and the food industry, saturation of the domestic market, housing construction, and the development of the fuel and power base and transport. The cattle population is being replenished.

We have gradually managed to improve the balance of trade with the capitalist countries. We have taken the path of structural changes in industry, more rapidly developing the manufacture of products for the domestic market and export.

Let me emphasize that despite the difficulties we have not abandoned the basic social goals of the party's program. Last year, the cash incomes of the population continued to grow. The level of minimum wages has been raised, old-age pensions and allowances for the birth of children have been increased, and the payment of pensions to peasants has been started. A record number of flats has been commissioned.

We have consistently advanced along the way we have mapped out. We have not abandoned our goals, despite the fact that last winter these difficulties were compounded by the harsh weather and floods which hit many parts of the country. Our chief task is to fulfill this year's plan rhythmically and in a well organized manner. It is aimed above all to improve working standards, promote the efficiency of economic management, achieve greater results with smaller investments, make fuller use of available manpower resources, and economize on fuel and power, raw and other materials, while markedly raising the quality of goods and services.

Efficiency of management has become a key factor in re-establishing correct proportions in the economy and easing tensions and difficulties. Higher standards of work are the main condition for the better use of manpower, resources and reserves on the scale of the whole country, of each enterprise and of the grass-roots production units, down to the individual work-place and the peasant farm. This equally applies to the activity of all the organs of power and administrative units, public organizations, schools and scientific institutions.

That is why our party attaches special importance to fostering among an ever growing number of men and women of initiative, discipline and a sense of responsibility, an understanding of the close connection between the citizen's rights and duties, thrift and good management. At the 13th Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, Edward Gierek said: "All of us together, the whole nation are responsible for Poland's place in the world, her security and for her present and future. On the country's well-being, on its economic strength, on the state of its political and social ties depends the well-being of each Polish family, of each man and woman. This common responsibility for the motherland is expressed in concrete everyday responsibility for one's job, one's duties, one's attitude to social affairs and stand in daily life."

In our country, socialism has created values unknown to earlier generations, among them the patriotic cohesion of the Polish people around the PUWP, which has been established in consistent struggle. Our party's purposeful policy has made it possible to involve in active socialist construction

even those for whom the way to the new reality was not an easy one for various reasons.

The old Poland was torn by the accumulated class and national contradictions. Acute socio-economic problems, for whose solution the Polish Workers' Party and the left-wing forces worked, bred antagonisms in society. All the more important, therefore, is the fact that despite these contradictions, in September 1939 the whole people rose to fight the invaders. One must recall the stand taken by the communists, who had been imprisoned by the 1926-1939 government but who rose in defense of the country, and the unprecedented readiness of society to donate to the national defense fund; the heroic struggle of the volunteer workers' teams, in Warsaw, the red *kosynierzy*³ in Gdynia and the *harcerze* in Katowice.

The efforts of the Polish Workers' Party and the left-wing forces in welding the Polish people's patriotic unity were of crucial importance in face of the threat of annihilation. The resistance to the German invaders involved many thousands of soldiers of fighting Poland: the *Gwardia Ludowa* and the *Armia Ludowa*, the peasant battalions, the *Armia Krajowa*, and other political and military organizations. Despite the resistance of the London-based bourgeois government and its agents in the country, despite the stubborn resistance of the reactionary forces, the forces of various organizations were united in the process which led to the establishment of underground local people's councils, and in the partisan battles. The purposes and acts of the Polish Workers' Party, its programmatic and organizational political activity played the key role in consolidating the left-wing and all the other democratic forces around the program of struggle for a People's Poland.

The publication of the July manifesto and the establishment of popular power created the conditions for solving vital national and social problems through deep-going revolutionary transformations. These were put through in sharp class struggles against the reactionary underground and the political opposition. Thousands of party members and supporters of the people's power gave their lives in that struggle.

As time went on, the personal and collective experience of the people came to be of ever greater importance in the shaping of their moral and political unity. The successful realization of our party's Marxist-Leninist policy testifies to the fact that the program and policy of the PUWP have no alternative.

Our party has matured in struggle and labor, in the service of socialist Poland and the internationalist ideals of our movement. Today, it is a three-million strong vanguard organization of the working class and of the whole people, the leading force of Poland's socialist development. While implementing Lenin's principles of democratic centralism, the party sees to the qualitative growth and purity of its ranks, uniting the various generations of communists and creating the conditions for their

exercise of the leading role in every sphere of life. Acting on the principle 'More discussion before taking a decision, more discipline and activity in implementing it,' we have been working to strengthen the party's cohesion and fighting strength, making its work ever more vigorous and strengthening our ties with the masses.

The party is the leading force in the process of enhancing the people's moral and political unity, a unity which is well served by the fruitful cooperation of the PUWP with the allied political parties (the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party) and also the activity of the People's Unity Front, on whose platform all Polish patriots cooperate.

Differences in ideology do not prevent the development of cooperation. This is truth well borne out by the tremendous successes scored over the past 35 years, through the labor efforts of all Poles, regardless of their attitude to religion. The criterion for assessing everyone's activity is the contribution made to building a better future for our nation on the basis of the joint program worked out under the leadership of the PUWP. Our party, which inspires men and women with different philosophical views to fruitful cooperation with each other, works toward this end, openly declaring its ideological principles, strengthening its ideological unity, and seeking broadly to disseminate the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of socialist morality.

The strengthening and development of the family is having an essential impact on the people's internal integration. We regard it as the chief unit which has important social and educational functions to perform, and which helps to prepare the rising generation for life. Over the past ten years, the popular power has markedly intensified its care of the family.

Our common responsibility for Poland's successful development is expressed in the extension of socialist democracy, and active participation by working people in decision-making, management and administration of the economy. The content and forms of socialist democracy in People's Poland have been steadily enriched. The amendments to Poland's Constitution in 1976 have significantly extended the rights and liberties of citizens, especially in the economy, culture and social relations. This process is also reflected in the activity of the PUWP and the allied political parties, the Sejm and the people's councils, the people's Unity Front, the trade union and the public organizations, and in the development of people's control and the system of consultations which we have been steadily improving.

All of the PUWP's initiatives are an expression of the party's drive to unite all the creative forces of society in the service of socialist Poland. Edward Gierek says: 'The building of a socialist motherland is the common cause of all the working people, of all the members of our party and of the allied political parties, non-party people, believers and non-believers. In this important matter there is no other division except the division into champions and

adversaries, into friends and foes of People's Poland.'

The 35th anniversary of Poland's revival has given an impetus to the broad development of our people's labor and social activity. By their daily labor effort and public activity, millions of men and women seek not only to mark this cherished date but also to create the best conditions for the work of the PUWP's Eighth Congress, which is to be held next year. This highest forum of the party will adopt a program for the whole people for the 80s, another stage on Poland's way to developed socialism, a

program for strengthening our country as an integral element of the socialist community of states, which are in the van of the struggle for national freedom and social progress, for peace and socialism.

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

2. *Nowe drogi*, No. 1, 1979, pp. 14-15.

3. Volunteer detachments which defended Poland's coastal area, the Pomorze, in September 1939. Named after the *kosynierzy*, the Polish peasants armed with scythes who took part in uprisings in the 18th and 19th centuries. — Ed.

Our action program

Armand Magnin

General Secretary, Swiss Party of Labor

The national elections next October will be taking place in a situation very different from that obtaining in the country four years ago.

The point is that since 1975, after 30 years of continuous economic growth, our country has also been affected by the general political, economic, social and spiritual crisis shaking the capitalist world system. The various economic sectors and regions each feel its consequences differently. The crisis is reflected most acutely in the watch-making, textile and footwear industries, construction and some branches of the engineering industry. But it has not affected the large metallurgical trusts, the chemical and food industries, and the leading banks and insurance companies. The banking sector, for instance, is prospering.

The effects of this situation and structural crisis are numerous, diverse and long-term. Today they are seen, in particular, in the disappearance of a certain number of small and medium enterprises, which are either closing down or are being taken over by larger competitors, and in the abolition of about 350,000 work places or 11 per cent of the total. The number of unemployed has not risen in the same proportion as the number of work places abolished for the simple reason that 250,000 immigrant workers have been sent back to their countries, and many married women, invalids and elderly people, none of whom figure in unemployment statistics, have been discharged. Young people, workers by hand and by brain who are only beginning their careers, are having difficulty finding work conforming to their abilities and aspirations. A new threat to employment is that multinational corporations are moving part of their production apparatus to countries where labor is cheap. Wage labor is, of course, the first to be hit by these operations, but they are also affecting other social groups.

Big capital and the authorities are using every means to shift the burden of the crisis to the work-

ing people and pensioners. Today efforts are being made to deprive them of part of what had to be conceded to them during the boom years: encroachments are made on wages, social gains are being questioned, and labor is being intensified.

On the pretext that the Swiss Confederation is experiencing financial difficulties, which, it must be noted, spring from the tax policy protecting big capital, the authorities are enforcing an austerity policy by reducing allocations for social insurance and expenditures on national needs, despite the fact that the military budget is growing. They are seeking to impose a large tax increase on consumption and set a lower tax level for high incomes, large fortunes, banks and the big companies. No serious steps are being taken against tax evasion, the sums involved running into tens of billions. Every scope is given for currency speculation, which creates hindrances for our export trade, causes the nation losses amounting to billions and unprecedented increases in the profits of the banks.

The crisis situation is used by the manipulators of big capital (chiefly finance magnates, who are playing an increasingly important role) also to secure a further acceleration of concentration in all sectors, turning our economy into an 'economy of services,' and reinforcing their control of the nation's entire economic and political life.

In order to enforce this policy, which runs counter to the interests of the country and the people, the authorities do not shrink from infringing upon freedoms and democratic rights. The number of job prohibitions is growing. Exercise of the right of legislative initiative and the organization of referendums is obstructed by the need for a larger number of signatures under the relevant documents. This right is sometimes simply trampled under various pretexts. The democratic rights of immigrant workers continue to be restricted. The authorities are increasingly taking over and monopolizing mass media, for instance, radio and

television, in order to use them to safeguard their policies. During the past ten years the government and parliament have tried, despite the nation's federal structure and the relevant provisions of the Constitution, to create a so-called national security police force with repression as its sole function.

Implementation of this reactionary policy is perhaps not as pronounced as in neighboring countries, but this does not make it any less real.

In recent years the Swiss Party of Labor has endeavored to unite the working people and all other progressives for the defense of the population's living conditions, freedoms and democratic rights. It has scored some successes, although this entailed the surmounting of many difficulties. For example, most of the population has still not felt how serious the crisis is, and does not see its causes and consequences. Powerful influence is exercised by the social democrats, who dominate the trade unions, which, like the Socialist Party of Switzerland,* have for 40 years been pursuing a clear-cut policy of class collaboration. This has generated innumerable illusions and does not help, even today, to mobilize the working people.

Nonetheless, for the first time in many years reaction's offensive is encountering stiffening resistance, and there have been strikes involving the occupation of factories in defense of employment, chiefly in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. One of the results of this resistance is that the plan to increase indirect taxes has been frustrated. But the progressive forces scored their greatest success in safeguarding democracy last year: the people rejected the plan for setting up a 'federal security police force,' which was opposed in parliament solely by the Swiss Party of Labor.

Our party spares no effort to unite all the popular and progressive forces of the nation and promote consistent cooperation with the organizations representing these forces, while respecting their independence and identity. Precisely in this spirit and on the basis of the decisions of its 11th Congress in Geneva (May 1978) the party cooperates with the Autonomous Socialist Party and with the Progressive Organizations of Switzerland. Both adhere to Marxist positions, and their policy and strategy are very close to those of the Swiss Party of Labor. An expression of their cooperation was the recent joint statement and the unification of lists of candidates for the coming national election, and also the commencement of a nationwide campaign in defense of employment. In some districts we are cooperating and taking joint action on the canton level with SPS sections and the trade union movement. Moreover, our party is cooperating successfully with women's organizations that recently launched a nationwide mother-and-child protection campaign, with organizations of tenants and elderly people, with environmentalist organizations, and so on.

In connection with the national elections, the

Swiss Party of Labor has mapped out a political action program headed 'Find a Way out of the Crisis in Order to Live Better and Differently.' In brief, the basic provisions of this document are:

- the SPL demands broader and more solidly guaranteed democratic rights: the right to work, vocational training, and housing, the right of the people to control and participate in the management of their enterprise, the right of women to complete and effective equality in all spheres;

- the party considers that state investments should be planned; that effective measures should be taken to invest capital in production; that currency operations should be controlled and steps taken against the dismantling of the production apparatus and its transfer abroad; that a long-term credit and trade policy should be pursued with non-capitalist states; that controlled assistance should be extended to economic regions and industries hardest hit by the crisis; that assistance should be extended to developing branches of the economy, specifically small and medium enterprises;

- the party rejects the austerity policy at the expense of social allocations and to the detriment of the development of the infrastructure. It demands a democratic tax policy, progressive taxation on large economic associations and on large incomes and fortunes, and the adoption of measures to prevent the drain of capital and make tax evasion impossible. The SPL takes a resolute stand against any increase of indirect taxes on mass consumer goods;

- the party advocates an active wages policy to protect and raise the purchasing power of the working people. It wants the establishment of a single labor market in order to end the division of working people into categories with different rights. The SPL demands a shorter working day, longer paid leaves, and a lower pension age;

- the party is seeking to ensure that the basic rights of all young people in Switzerland are guaranteed — the right to work, social insurance, education, democratic vocational training, culture, rest and leisure, and genuine democracy. In particular, it demands the adoption of measures ensuring vocational training for every school-leaver and opposes the employment of teenagers as cheap labor;

- the party is pressing for the all-sided development and renewal of artistic creativity, for broader access to culture, for the critical and creative commitment of the masses, and against the use of culture for speculative or purely prestige purposes;

- the party's priority aims are, among others, to secure an improvement of the quality of life and protect the environment;

- the party demands the nationalization of the entire process of producing, importing and utilizing energy. It advocates a global approach to energy problems, including the planned utilization of available and new sources of energy. Prior conditions for the building and operation of nuclear power plants are existing requirements, guarantees of safety and the possibility of removing radioactive

*This is the name by which the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland is known in the French-speaking part of the country. — Ed.

waste. Citizens most directly interested in this problem must have the guaranteed right of adopting decisions;

— the party seeks to safeguard our neutral country against any attack. The nation's protection must be exclusively defensive, independent of military blocs, and differ fundamentally from the present costly system;

— the Swiss Party of Labor stands for a vigorous foreign policy serving the interests of peace and détente, for the promotion of relations with all countries, for Switzerland's membership of the United Nations, for cooperation with neutral and non-aligned countries and for the abolition of existing military blocs;

— the SPL stresses the need for Switzerland's participation in extending assistance to developing countries without any discrimination, with respect for their economic, social and political sovereignty. It stands for control of the economic relations of private firms with these countries in keeping with the above-mentioned principles.

Since the end of the last war the world has experienced periods of relaxation and tension, hope and anxiety. Alarm is perhaps the predominant feeling today. Peaceful coexistence, which, it seemed to us, had been consolidated as a result of the Helsinki Conference, is now being covertly attacked. The world is periodically shaken by armed conflicts in the Middle East, Asia and Africa. These conflicts, rooted in survivals of colonialism and the intrigues of the imperialists, are directed against the aspirations of peoples for freedom and independence and harbor a threat to world peace. The arms race is escalating, and lethal types of weapons such as the neutron bomb are being developed. The nuclear arsenal has reached gigantic dimensions. Despite the fact that half of mankind is starving, \$350 billion was spent in the world on armaments in 1977. Switzerland, too, is not lagging behind in this lethal race. More than 3 billion francs are spent annually on 'national defense,' and recently the Federal Council proposed increasing the military budget for 1979 by 1.8 billion.

Our party holds that the struggle for peace, peace-

ful coexistence, and disarmament should acquire the strength it had at the time the Stockholm Appeal against the nuclear bomb was signed. The Swiss people should pressure the government so that in all cases Switzerland would contribute to international détente and the peace policy pursued by the socialist countries, so that Switzerland would set an example in disarmament instead of following the futile road of building up armaments.

The economic and political situation obtaining in our country is causing certain tension in the relations between the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party of Switzerland, particularly over questions concerning the 'national security police force,' democratic control of nuclear energy and financial policy. But this tension, which is due also to the imminent elections, does not in any way prevent the SPS from taking part in the government despite the fact that there is a large body of opinion in that party in favor of a more militant policy that would be more in keeping with the interests of the working people. Precisely this opinion has compelled the Socialist Party to maintain a certain distance from the policy of the bourgeoisie in the questions we have mentioned.

It is quite possible that despite the deteriorating economic situation and its political after-effects the national elections will hardly change the present alignment of forces under which the Radical-Democratic, the Demochristian, and the Socialist parties share three-quarters of the seats almost equally. This alignment has in effect remained unchanged during the past 50 years. An insignificant advance by the Socialist Party is the most that can happen.

The Swiss Party of Labor, which has limited resources, is resolutely going forward with the campaign based on its political action program and is cooperating — depending on the canton — with the Autonomous Socialist Party, the Progressive Organizations of Switzerland, and with sections of the SPS. The economic and political situation and the defense of the seriously threatened interests of the working class are making it imperative for the Swiss Party of Labor to have a larger representation in the nation's Federal Assembly.

Key factor of economic progress

Josef Kempny

Presidium Member, Secretary of CPCz Central Committee

A distinctive feature of our country's economic development during the building of a developed socialist society is that there has been a switch to emphasis on efficiency of social production and a gradual transition to all-round intensive reproduction. Economic development at this stage increasingly relies on new and powerful motive forces: the scientific and technological revolution, the international socialist division of labor and socialist economic integration, the social and cultural development of people, and their mounting labor and political activity.

In order to ensure the intensification of social production in our country it is of fundamental importance to achieve a further improvement of economic management. This involves working out forms of organizing social production, methods and instruments of management, norms of legal regulation, and forms of economic links in the economy in keeping with our present economic development level and making it possible to use all the factors of economic growth for the attainment of set goals. We regard the attainment of these goals as the principal means ensuring the dynamic and balanced development of our national economy.

In working on the accompanying problems, our point of departure is that the management of socialist society's development is now growing increasingly more composite.

Back in 1921, when the work of organizing the new, socialist economy and the system of managing it had only commenced, Lenin said at the Third All-Russia Food Conference: 'The conscientious food supply worker ... cannot go on being only a food supply worker. He must be an economist appraising every step in the light of the work of all the economic People's Commissariats, and of all the results achieved by that work' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 448). Our experience bears out the unfading significance of these words, whose meaning is that the national and, consequently political result of economic activity must be taken into account and that the resolution of any major economic problem should be approached from the angle of its socio-class effects.

Under the qualitatively new conditions marking the stage of the building of developed socialism an improvement of economic management implies, in our view, an improvement of the economic mechanism proper and of the entire political system through which economic processes and society's social structure are consciously influenced. 'A

developed socialist society, the building of which is the content of the present stage.' Gustav Husak said at the 15th Congress of the CPCz, 'is characterized chiefly by the combination of scientific and technological progress with the new social relations, by a comprehensive solution of political, socio-economic, cultural, ideological and educational tasks. This allows satisfying the steadily growing requirements of the people.' In other words, our party regards a combined economic and socio-political approach to economic management as indispensable to our country's successful development.

In taking steps to improve economic management our motivation is that under socialism this becomes really effective only when it is oriented not on achieving economic growth at any cost but on achieving the basic aims set production by the humanist character of socialist society, i.e., on harmonizing the interests of all its classes and sections, on satisfying the people's material and cultural requirements, and on the development of the individual. For that reason a comprehensive approach to the formulation of economic tasks requires the corresponding socio-class criteria for assessing economic development.

When Marx pondered the basic, determining features of a communist society and of its first phase, socialism, he came to the conclusion that under communism the people would manage production rationally 'with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions favorable to, and worthy of, their human nature.'^{*} The cumulative experience of the socialist countries demonstrates that the predominant trend of the new society's development is covered by this Marxist proposition. An increasingly fuller and more exact knowledge of the objective laws of socialism and the gradual formation of the mechanism that can apply them are an important hallmark of progress under socialism. This is seen in bold relief under mature socialism, when full scope is given to the operation of the laws of the first phase of the communist formation.

What underlies the scientific administration of social development under socialism, including the conscious, planned management of its economy? Does it completely exclude spontaneous processes? These are by no means academic questions. They concern one of socialism's principal advantages over capitalism.

^{*}Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, p. 800.

The objective conditions for applying economic laws for the conscious centralized management of the economy partially take shape under capitalism. However, the bourgeois states and the monopolies can only partially and one-sidedly adapt capitalism's organizational and economic relations, i.e., its economic mechanism, to the development level achieved by the productive forces, but they cannot settle the conflict between labor and capital. The efforts of individual producers are scattered, with the result that it is impossible to predict the results of their economic activity and, consequently, plan and consciously manage the economy on a national scale.

The socialist revolution gives the process of socialization of production its only possible adequate socio-economic form, namely, the form of public property. Public property in the means of production opens the way to the purposeful and coordinated development of the social division of labor, to its integration in an unbroken system of labor cooperation on a national scale by means of a single economic development plan and the state budget. The socialist state is the main instrument of this integration at all stages of the building of the new society.

Bourgeois ideologues draw a dividing line between state and public property on the contention that under socialism the state allegedly alienates the direct producer from the fruits of his labor, removes him from participation in the decision of vital issues, and so forth. We reject these assertions as being unfounded. The experience of Czechoslovakia, like that of other fraternal countries, leads us to the indisputable conclusion that up to the time communism is built the socialist state will retain key positions in the management of the economy. It performs economic functions by the will and in the interests of the people. In order to function effectively, the modern socialist economy requires, by its very nature, leadership from a single center in accordance with a single economic development plan. The main content of the socialist state's economic activity is that of coordinating the work of economically independent enterprises and branches of production, ensuring the dynamic and balanced development of the economy, and harmonizing the economic interests of the different classes. It is able to fulfill these functions thanks to the fact that it controls the predominant share of investment in industry, funds for the development of science and culture, and the social consumption funds. This concentration and centralized distribution by the socialist state of vast material resources (in our country the accumulation fund amounted in 1977 to 23.9 per cent of the used national income) are one of the key aspects of the economic realization of socialist property at the first phase of the communist formation.

The socialist state controls the surplus product, but this does not alienate the product from the direct producers for the simple reason that, first, in a socialist society there are no antagonistic classes or relations of exploitation and competition, second,

the working masses participate directly in the administration of society and the state at all levels and in all spheres, and, third, the surplus product is returned to the working people in various forms. We believe that as time goes on there can only be a question of improving the economic and organizational functions of the socialist state and its main instrument — planning. There can be no question of its weakening or abolition.

Thus, in our country planned economic management has resulted in rapid and steady economic advancement. Over the past 30 years of socialist construction Czechoslovakia's national income has increased 5.5-fold, the total volume of capital investments has grown almost 12-fold, and the machine and equipment intensity of production has risen 5.2-fold. In 1977 the volume of industrial output was 11.1 times larger than in 1937, in other words, our industry is now producing the equal of the annual prewar output in one month and three days. Czechoslovakia accounts for nearly 1.6 per cent of the world's industrial product, while in terms of per capita industrial output its index is four times higher than the world average. Farm produce in terms of per hectare has grown by more than 60 per cent during the past 30 years despite the fact that the number of people engaged in agriculture has diminished by two-thirds.

In the 1970s the annual increment in Czechoslovakia's industrial output averaged between 5 and 6 per cent; more than 90 per cent of this increment was due to higher labor productivity. The national income grew between 4 and 5 per cent annually and this provided the basis for a steady and tangible rise of the living standard and cultural level of all citizens. During that period the state substantially increased its economic assistance to mothers and to large families. We have continued increasing pensions, retaining to elderly people the right to continue working at their discretion.

These successes are convincing testimony of the enormous potentials inherent in the socialist economy. We achieved these successes despite the fact that in recent years we were affected by the rise of fuel and energy prices in the world market. Our party is doing its utmost to prevent the deteriorating situation in the world market from affecting the people's living standard. We are seeking to surmount the negative effects of this situation chiefly by enhancing the efficiency of social production.

However, despite the fact that the socialist economy is governed by the law of planned and proportionate development, we sometimes encounter unforeseen processes and phenomena in the national economy and undesirable deviations from the plan. What causes this? Our experience, and that of other socialist countries, indicates that these individual spontaneous processes are due not to the nature of society, as under capitalism, but to other factors.

What does planned economic management depend upon? First, on knowledge of the economic laws of socialism and on the resultant ability to foresee the course of economic processes. Second,

on the efficiency of the economic mechanism through which economic laws are applied. In turn, this influences the processes in the economy itself (the scale of the national economy, the depth of the social division of labor, the complexity of the links between branches, production units, and so forth, the character of the reproductive processes, the impact of external economic factors on the national economy and so on), the extent to which economic phenomena are analyzed, the level of the methodology of planning, and also the efficiency of the technical means of management at society's disposal.

At the present stage of our economic development we observe processes that, on the one hand, facilitate planned centralized management and, to a large extent, help to exclude elements of fortuity from economic practice. Indeed, the concentration of production, the building of large production complexes that in definite sectors of the national economy control the entire course of reproduction, the wide use of computers in management, the improvement of the methods of planning, and so on accentuate the planned character of management and administration. However, on the other hand, the growth of the volume of production, the increasing social division of labor, specialization and cooperation, and the ever broader inclusion of national production in the international division of labor pose the management of the socialist economy with new, complicated tasks.

We feel that the main condition for the efficient management of the socialist economy is that there should be a close study of the entire system of relations between individual branches of the economy, the factors promoting its growth, and the elements of its organizational structure. Moreover, we believe that a fuller account should be taken of the relationship between all phases of the reproduction process: production, distribution, circulation and consumption. Scientific management of the modern economy requires further research into key economic categories such as prices, wages, and so forth, which are the instruments of economic management. In economic practice more attention should be given to ensuring harmony between the financial and material aspects of social production: for instance, the material basis of capital investments, the maintenance of a balance between demand and supply, the amount of money in circulation, the quantity of goods meeting this amount, and so on. Many of the elements of spontaneity and empiricism in economic practice are due, in our opinion, chiefly to shortcomings in these aspects, and they are today the object of special attention by the CPCz in its work on the problem of improving the management of the economy.

In order to understand the processes of management and administration in a socialist society it is also important to bear in mind that both the profundity of economic knowledge and the use of this knowledge in practice are mediated by economic interests and by the economic policy charted under their influence. A distinctive feature of socialist

society is its inner wealth of interests and the high degree to which these interests are differentiated. The interests of various economic subjects come clearly to light when, for example, plans are drawn up and the results of their implementation are assessed. Since the existing contradictions are not antagonistic, it is objectively possible to settle them and achieve a higher level of unity in society on the basis of its further development under the socialist system. The extent management and administration can be planned depends largely on the extent the socialist state is able to harmonize different interests, in particular, ensure harmony of state, collective and personal interests.

That is why the CPCz attaches paramount significance to perfecting not only the actual economic mechanism of management but also the socio-political factors that influence it one way or another. This work is accomplished in different ways: explanation of the party's economic policy and mobilization of the people for the implementation of this policy; economic education of the people; utilization of juridical forms of regulating economic relations; promotion of various forms of socialist emulation and movements of production innovators and inventors; involvement of the people in the management of production.

The active participation of the people in the management of production is ensured by drawing ever larger numbers of them into the charting of socio-economic development plans at various levels (from factory to the scale of the entire state) and into verification of the fulfillment of these plans, and also, by giving greater personal incentives for their fulfillment. We have every reason to regard this as a substantial advantage of socialism. However, in order to make full use of this advantage it is necessary to keep improving the economic, organizational and political forms of involving the people in management.

One of the basic ways of resolving this task is to heighten the people's actual sense of responsibility for the results not only of individual but also of collective work. Here, as we see it, the main thing is to perfect the system of remuneration according to work and provide larger material incentives in a manner that would give every person an economically more tangible link between his income and the efficiency of the management at his place of work. In other words, the aim is to give the people larger incentives for improving the work of their enterprise, removing elements of mismanagement and waste, speeding up the application of scientific and technological achievements, and upgrading the quality of the output.

The scientific and technological revolution poses the socialist economy with compelling tasks. We have to select the optimal pattern for our national economy and, by agreement with our partners in socialist economic integration, restructure the economy on the basis of priority development of new and promising industries and fold up obsolete industries. The rate of scientific and technological progress acquires immense significance as one of

the cardinal factors of the economic competition between the two opposing social systems. In this context our attention is increasingly focussed on enhancing the efficacy of managing the 'research-development-production-consumption' cycle.

The demands that we are today making of the economic mechanism are undergoing a dramatic change, and new criteria for assessing that mechanism's efficiency are arising. We are increasingly having recourse to special-purpose programming that takes the long-term trends of scientific and technological development into account, rationally dividing labor between individual units of economic management and evolving a new system of stimulating scientific and technological progress.

We feel that the conversion of production-economic associations into the basic unit of production management is a major step in that direction. These are large economic complexes that can handle the entire reproduction cycle from research and development to the production and marketing of specific types of output, pursue a uniform policy in technological development and capital investments, and bear the entire responsibility for the moulding of effective methods of management.

In our national economy we feel the need for a marked improvement of the system of stimulating the efficiency and quality of production. But from experience we know that the use of new economic instruments yields the desired effect only if they are organically built into the existing system of management and serve as means of achieving the targets of the state plan. For that reason we hold that new elements of management can be introduced only after the practical effects of this step are weighed carefully. In connection with the drawing up of our seventh five-year plan we have begun experimentally testing some new elements of the economic mechanism well in advance. Since 1977 many industrial enterprises have been conducting a composite experiment in controlling efficiency and quality with the use of a system of indicators, criteria and incentives designed to facilitate a more rational organization of production, the concentration of labor and resources in key sectors, and the simplification of links between the supplier and the consumer. We strive to make more purposeful use of planned management in order to ascertain all the potentials of our national economy, potentials that have by no means been exhausted.

The main aims of the experiment spring from the decisions of the 15th Congress of the CPCz, which underscored the need for placing our planning on a longer-term basis and making the five-year plan the main instrument of our economic management at all levels. The composite experiment in controlling efficiency and quality is fully consonant with the character of socialist relations of production and represents the coordination of the plan with the economic levers of management in accordance with the principle of balanced economic development under socialism. This experiment has nothing in

common with the so-called market mechanism, signs of which some Western 'experts' on the socialist economy try to find in it.

Further, we consider that in the process of testing new elements of the economic mechanism in practice a large effort should be made to achieve a further improvement of the economic levers helping to promote specialization and cooperation of production with other socialist states and to deepen the integration process.

The practice of developing the socialist economy has made it unquestionable that efforts should be concentrated on key areas of the scientific and technological revolution such as nuclear energy, cybernetics, computer technology and chemistry. In recent years science and technology have made dramatic advances in new important areas: micro-electronics, information and communication systems, automats and robots, and high-accuracy instruments and equipment. These breakthroughs are making it possible to introduce fundamentally new intensive processes in production. Progress in biology and, especially, in microbiology and genetics are opening up the possibility of regulating biological processes. This is of tremendous interest for many branches of the national economy, above all for agriculture and the food and microbiological industries.

Life is giving us ample evidence that in order to use scientific and technological achievements effectively it is necessary to expand scientific, technological, and economic cooperation among the CMEA countries, create the conditions for the promotion of production specialization and cooperation, lay greater emphasis on serial production, and use highly productive machinery.

The CMEA Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration and the coordinated planning based on that program have helped to concentrate scientific cooperation in selected promising areas and effect a closer organic link between scientific-technological and economic integration. Our party has consistently favored Czechoslovakia's active participation in this process. Throughout the postwar period economic cooperation with CMEA countries, chiefly with the USSR, has been of immense significance also for the development rate of the pattern of social production in our country. To this day this cooperation is a major factor enhancing economic efficiency. At the 15th Congress of the CPCz Gustav Husak declared that 'one of the mainsprings of the successes that have been achieved is our membership in the socialist community. We are jointly working on many tasks and problems, sharing know-how, and thereby reinforcing our strength.'

In the immediate future cooperation among the CMEA countries will be founded on longer-term special-purpose programs aimed at satisfying requirements in fuel, primary materials, food and consumer goods, and also at helping to modernize the engineering industry, transport and communications. These programs will make it possible to pool our efforts to resolve key economic problems

of the socialist economy and carry out large projects that no country can cope with singlehandedly. For example, the development of nuclear power engineering in the CMEA countries provides for combining the scientific and industrial potentials of these countries. Czechoslovakia will take part in this program, producing and supplying serial-manufactured equipment for nuclear power stations. It would be expedient to concentrate our efforts and resources in the same way on the speedy and effective application of the latest achievements of microelectronics, biology, and other sciences in

the national economy. Concerted efforts in these areas would allow the economies of all the CMEA countries to keep in step with the times technically and save considerable energy and resources.

The central place in the system of administering a developed socialist society is held by the Communist Party. Unity of all the people around its program is a vital condition for utilizing the gigantic creative energy of the nation for our common welfare. In this lies the source of our past achievements and the guarantee of further triumphs in the building of a developed socialist society.

Collective strength of the communists of the world

Of all the political movements of our time, the communist movement is the only one equipped with a scientific theory of social development. By creatively elaborating the fundamental ideas and competently applying the methodology of scientific socialism, founded by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the communists identify the main, deep-lying trends of the historical process. They bring to light factors decisive at a given stage, distinguishing them in the complex intertwining of the wide spectrum of political and economic phenomena and forces.

The communists draw upon their knowledge of objective laws to exercise a growing influence on the course of events. They generalize the requirements, aspirations and sentiments of the working class and the masses, and this gives them the possibility of ascertaining the outlook for advance at national and international levels with scientific objectivity multiplied by proletarian class firmness of principle. They have repeatedly demonstrated their ability to work out action programs meeting the objective requirements of social development and therefore possessing a great political potential.

It would be appropriate to recall this now in connection with the tenth anniversary of the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. The CPSU has always regarded that meeting as a milestone of the revolutionary movement of our day. At the meeting communists summed up and generalized what had been achieved in the struggle against imperialism and comprehensively analyzed the real alignment of forces in world politics on the threshold of the 1970s, the likely course of events, and what had to be done for these events to develop in the interest of peace, democracy, national independence and the freedom of peoples.

In their main aspects, the estimations and forecasts collectively worked out by the communists ten years ago have been borne out. The Marxist-Leninist analysis and the prognostications based on it have reasserted their unfading significance.

Let us recall the situation in the late 1960s. The

difficulties encountered by the revolutionary process in some countries and the break in unity in individual links of the liberation movement, as well as the advances made by capitalism in certain economic spheres confused some democrats, on the one hand, and gave rise to a wave of illusions, on the other. Bourgeois ideologues were programming radiant prospects for capitalism for the last third of the century, claiming that revolutionary changes in the 'non-communist' world were neither necessary, nor possible, that they were a thing of the past.

The International Communist Meeting made an entirely different estimation. It stressed that a powerful liberation process was unfolding in the world and that the possibilities were accumulating for a further advance of the revolutionary and progressive forces.

Whose forecast has proved correct? The answer is obvious. The Soviet communists note with satisfaction that since then the great worldwide movement of the forces of progress has been marked by impressive gains. The countries of the socialist community have registered further successes in economic and social construction. Fraternal cooperation among them has grown stronger on the solid foundation of a common social system, common basic interests, and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The socialist community owes it largely to this that today it is the most dynamic economic force and the leading factor in world politics. Every socialist country and the community as a whole benefit more and more from constant exchanges of experience and what is in the full sense of the word a thoughtful and well-meaning approach to one another's specifics and needs. 'Without taking these peculiarities into account,' Leonid Brezhnev stressed during a recent visit to Hungary, 'it is impossible to develop sound cooperation to solve this or that problem to our mutual satisfaction.' In the past decade, the communist parties of the fraternal socialist countries have learned still better to take into account and use both the general laws govern-

ing the construction of the new society and the peculiarities of each country.

The just cause of the heroic people of Vietnam has triumphed in the struggle against aggression. The family of fraternal socialist states has been enlarged with the formation of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic.

The dark spots representing the fascist regimes in Portugal, Greece and Spain have been removed from the political map of Europe. The working-class movement in the European capitalist countries has continued to grow numerically and qualitatively. It is asserting itself as a force that is really at the center of political life in this, the oldest citadel of the bourgeois system.

In the struggle of the Asian and African peoples against old and new colonialism there have emerged many more progressive anti-imperialist regimes, which are successfully resisting the pressure of counter-revolution and foreign aggression.

In Latin America history witnessed a sharp turn that was tragic for the people of Chile. But the forces of reaction failed to accomplish anything else of the kind on that continent. On the contrary, not only in Chile but also in Uruguay and other countries the pro-fascist regimes are in the grip of crisis. Recent years have seen a new upsurge in the revolutionary movement in South and Central America, with the forces of progress and democracy becoming much more active.

Life has shown the complete correctness of the Marxist-Leninist approach of the Communist Meeting to assessing the correlation of the strong and weak points of contemporary capitalism. This has fully confirmed the words spoken by Leonid Brezhnev at the meeting: 'The farther imperialism goes in its attempts to adapt itself to the situation, the deeper become its inner social and economic antagonisms.'²

Drawing upon the foundations of the teaching on state-monopoly capitalism laid by Lenin, the communists came to the conclusion that the economic regulation used by capitalism cannot bridle the spontaneous market forces, and that under monopoly domination the scientific and technological revolution, by speeding the socialization of the productive forces, leads to the reproduction of the earlier contradictions of capitalism and breeds new ones. Having revealed the inner dialectics of state-monopoly capitalism's adjustment to new conditions, the communists were able to predict the powerful wave of crisis processes that swept capitalism in the early 1970s. The past decade has witnessed an interlocking of different significant crisis processes of a cyclical and chronic, transient and structural and internal and international nature. Instead of capitalism becoming stronger there is a deep crisis of its entire economic basis, of its economic policy and its very strategy of adaptation. For the working class and the masses, this has meant a rising cost of living, insecurity and growing unemployment, whose scale has never been so great since the war. A further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism has generated a new

upsurge in the worldwide liberation movement.

Furthermore, the course of events has borne out the meeting's warning against underrating the strength of contemporary capitalism and its capacity for maneuver.

The organization of an arms race more intensive and ruinous than ever before, the certain coordination of economic policy through integration processes, the neo-colonial expansion, particularly with the aid of the multinational corporations, and the widespread use of the mass media for the manipulation of public opinion and in implementing an anti-communist and anti-socialist strategy have all confirmed the meeting's conclusion that imperialism is still a serious and dangerous adversary.

The 1969 meeting put it on record that in the 1970s the confrontation between socialism and capitalism would remain the pivot of all world development. The struggle between the two different social systems determines world politics to this day, holding the central place in the intellectual life of mankind. The results of the 1970s show very clearly that existing socialism is the main and most powerful locomotive of contemporary history. Its experience opens the way to the solution of mankind's cardinal problems. The socialist community is making the decisive contribution to preventing a world military catastrophe, to ensuring conditions under which all peoples can fight successfully for freedom and a better future.

Special emphasis should be put on the fact that ten years ago the communist movement, as well as accurately defining the main lines along which the social and political situation in the world would develop, adopted a *practical action program* that made a great positive contribution to international development.

Let us turn to this program, unanimously approved by the participants in the 1969 meeting. The primary goal, it stated, was to extend all possible support for the heroic people of Vietnam. The provision of the meeting's Main Document saying that the final victory of Vietnam's patriots was of fundamental importance to strengthening the positions of peoples in the struggle against the imperialist policy of diktat and arbitrary action carries particular weight today. We can now draw a further conclusion, namely, that Vietnam's victory over the aggressors was a convincing demonstration of the tremendous potentialities which the forces of liberation and progress command when they act in solidarity and purposefully.

The 1969 meeting stressed that the struggle against the war danger, against the threat of a global nuclear shambles, the struggle for world peace, is still the main factor of united anti-imperialist action. Indeed, this thesis is as valid today as it was ten years ago. Imperialism continues to escalate the arms race. The threat of war persists.

Does this mean, however, that the ten years' struggle for peace and disarmament has been futile? That is the conclusion the adversaries of détente, the apologists of the cold war would like the masses

to accept. But this is not only a vicious conclusion from the standpoint of the vital interests of all the nations; it cuts across the historical truth.

Indeed, we are still a long way off from the proclaimed goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. Nuclear weapons have not yet been banned, their production and all tests have not been halted, and the policy of the threat or use of force has not been universally abandoned.

But there is this other side to present-day reality. The positive results in the struggle of the peace forces in advancing toward the goals proclaimed by the 1969 meeting are very considerable. Mankind has gone through yet another decade without a world war. There is fresh and convincing evidence that such a war can be averted if the efforts of those who oppose war — the socialist countries, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, and all the peace-loving states and social movements — are tirelessly brought together.

In the past decade, the principles of peaceful coexistence have won broad recognition, including recognition in the international-law documents determining the principles of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and between many other socialist and capitalist countries.

The meeting came out firmly and resolutely for détente and stressed that it was one of the most pressing and vital demands of the peoples. This is now a fact. In the swing away from dangerous confrontation, away from the cold war toward détente, the communists of the whole world, and of course, the communists of the socialist countries above all, have played a truly prime role.

A major shift toward real security on the European continent has taken place. The Conference of 35 states and the adoption of the noted Helsinki Final Act, which has become the charter of détente, were an event of historical importance. The immutability of the existing borders in Europe has been recognized. The German Democratic Republic has been recognized in international law. Mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technical cooperation among the European states has been developing as an important factor of peaceful coexistence.

Some steps have also been taken in limiting the arms race. Among them are the coming into force of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Weapons Systems, and the first interim agreement on limitation of their strategic offensive arms. A convention on banning bacteriological weapons has been concluded.

All of this still falls far short of checking the arms race. But these measures show not only that political détente is possible and fruitful, but that military détente is also achievable in practice.

This problem is now especially urgent in the light of the new Soviet-American strategic arms limitation agreement. The peace forces regard SALT-2 as a noteworthy milestone on the way to further and more effective measures for halting the arms race.

That is why the aggressive forces and those who wittingly or unwittingly act as their spokesmen would like to wreck the agreement. On the outcome of the struggle over the ratification of SALT-2 now largely depends whether the world will move to a revival of sharp international tensions, to another military-political confrontation, to more balancing on the brink of war, or whether a broad and stable launching pad will be created for deepening détente and for effective measures to end the arms race. In this situation, it is worth recalling the communists' principled and unchangeable line, which was so eloquently stated in their joint 1969 document: the need for pooling the efforts of the communist, socialist and all the other democratic parties, national and international progressive organizations, and of all the realistically-minded political leaders in the capitalist countries, with the efforts of the socialist states for the purpose of consolidating and developing détente, for world peace.

The joint document of the CPSU and the HSWP signed last June by Leonid Brezhnev and Janos Kadar says: 'The role and influence of the contemporary communist movement as an international force have been growing. Major problems like the prevention of thermonuclear war, an end to the arms race and disarmament, the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states regardless of their social system, resistance to hegemonism, the extirpation of colonialism and racism, and other problems have become central to world politics, above all, through the initiatives and joint efforts of the Communist and Workers' parties both in the socialist and the capitalist countries.'³

Whichever sphere of social life and international relations one considers, the words and deeds of the communists have a tremendous role to play everywhere. In connection with the tenth anniversary of their historic forum, it is especially worth emphasizing the importance of the communist parties' collective thinking and joint action. Each fraternal party is an entirely independent entity. Each of them analyzes the situation independently and in a sovereign manner, works out its program of action, takes decisions and translates them into life. But the fruits of this independent activity in the specific conditions of the various countries enrich the common political experience of the world communist movement, which is the most influential and most international movement of our day.

Alongside this form of accumulating and implementing the experience of the communists of the world, the immediate collective forums of their work also retain their significance.

Over the past decade, many regional conferences and meetings of communist parties have been held, among them the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, which, it is generally recognized, made a considerable contribution to the elaboration of problems of the relationship between the struggle for peace and social progress. Constructive discussion of current problems at

meetings of CC Secretaries of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries on the most diverse issues has become a tradition. There have been many conferences of the communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, the Arab countries, and Western Europe. Bilateral meetings of representatives of communist parties have assumed the broadest scope. In the Soviet communists' view discussion of the most important theoretical problems at international scientific conferences, including those sponsored by fraternal parties jointly with *World Marxist Review*, are of unquestioned value.

Exchange of views and experience, and collective analysis of emerging problems are a most important means for promoting internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity among the communist parties on the basis of the great teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

As the unanimously adopted Address of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties 'Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich

Lenin' said: 'Communists regard it as their task firmly to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the struggle against all enemies, steadfastly to make them a living reality, constantly to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and enrich it on the basis of present experience of waging the class struggle and building a socialist society.'⁴

This conclusion of the 1969 meeting remains, we believe, valid in the common struggle of the communists for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Igor Sokolov
Staff member, International
Department, CC CPSU

1. *Pravda*, June 1, 1979.
2. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1969, p. 142.
3. *Pravda*, June 3, 1979.
4. *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*. p. 41.



Revolution and democracy

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

An international scientific conference 'Revolution and Democracy,' co-sponsored by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and *World Marxist Review*, was held in Tihany (Hungary) from April 25 to 27, 1979, and was attended by scientists and representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties of 39 countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, FRG, GDR, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, India, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mongolia, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay, USA, USSR and Vietnam. Members of the *WMR* Editorial Board also took part.

The Conference was opened at a plenary session by Miklos Ovari, Political Bureau member and Secretary of the Central Committee, HSWP (the opening speech by Comrade Ovari follows).

The work of the Conference proceeded in two sections: 'Correlation of the Struggle for Democracy and the Struggle for Socialism' and 'Democracy and International Factors of the Revolutionary Process.'

The participants had presented their papers in advance. Due account was taken of the propositions stated in the papers and the discussion proceeded in a free, comradely atmosphere.

The closing plenary session was addressed by the chairmen of the two sections: Sandor Lakos, HSWP CC member and Director of the Central Committee's Institute of Social Sciences, and Ib Norlund, Executive Committee and Secretariat member, CC, CP Denmark, and by Ivan Frolov, *WMR* Executive Editor and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

On behalf of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, Andras Gyenes, Secretary of the HSWP CC, wished the *WMR* Editorial Board and Editorial Council further success in their work.

A review of the proceedings will be published in coming issues of this journal.

FOR CREATIVE QUEST

Miklos Ovari

Political Bureau Member and Secretary, HSWP CC

It is a great honor for the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to welcome representatives of fraternal parties. Our party was happy to play host to the

conference, because we are sure that in our movement the exchange of experience and discussion of important theoretical questions in an open and comradely creative atmosphere enables us to draw useful conclusions and is of invaluable assistance in solving the complicated problems in socialist construction and in our international activity for peace.

The HSWP attaches much importance to this and other similar meetings. The successes of the world revolutionary process as a whole, and the development of the international communist movement have enhanced the independence of the fraternal parties. Today our movement has no organizational center: each party works out its policy on its own. But this has not changed the international character of our movement, or the community of vital interests and chief goals of the workers of all countries. Nor has there been a change in the objective fact, which — with the expansion of the international monopolies — has become of even greater importance, that in the struggle for the victory of socialism we also have a common enemy on a world scale: international imperialism. What also unites us is that in the struggle for socialism we have common ideological principles, the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which have been tested in practice. It follows from the international nature of our movement that the independence of the parties does not rule out the development of ties and cooperation. The need for mutual acquaintance with the experience gained within the national framework, and for a joint analysis of the political and theoretical questions which are important and meaningful for the whole movement has been growing in the fraternal parties in a natural, one could even say law-governed, way.

These purposes, and therefore, the national and international interests of the fraternal parties, are successfully served by the major meetings of the representatives of Communist and Worker's parties, like the 1976 meeting of fraternal parties of Europe in Berlin. Bilateral official meetings between the parties are also necessary and useful. Alongside such important meetings, which are primarily political, there is also a need for meetings, in a broad or narrow circle, at which theoretical questions of the international communist and working-class movement that are of common interest are freely discussed. Its collective experience and collective wisdom are, we are sure, one of the most important sources for the further development of our scientific theory in the present epoch.

Since its origination, the theory of scientific socialism has been developing in close connection with revolutionary practice. This is also true of our own day. That is why analysis and summing-up of the experience of the socialist countries and the international communist, working-class and national-liberation movements are a necessary element of our ideological activity and theoretical research. In solving the problems before us, we Hungarian communists regard as especially valuable the experience in socialist construction in the

Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, and also in other socialist countries travelling the same way with us, and working on the solution of identical problems. At the same time, we have been studying with close attention the experience in the struggle of the fraternal parties in the developed capitalist and developing countries. This is necessitated not only by proletarian solidarity but also by an awareness of the fact that the results of the struggle of the international communist and working-class movement and of the fraternal parties create the most favorable international conditions for socialist construction in Hungary, and that the successes or failures in our own work also have an influence on the whole of our movement. That is why we have always declared that our party has a sense of responsibility not only to its own working class and people, but also to the international working class. This sense of responsibility, together with solidarity with its brothers by class, who are fighting against capital, is what guides us in the exchange of experience and in its theoretical generalization.

Individual contingents of the international revolutionary working-class movement carry on their struggle within the national framework; the common goals of the working class are also being attained within the national framework. The various countries have differing conditions and possibilities for attaining the goals, the tasks on the agenda before the fraternal parties are different, the allies one can expect to have in the class struggle within the national framework are not the same. The international balance of forces, the political situation in the world also have a different influence on the concrete conditions of struggle by the fraternal parties. All of this adds more and more facets to our revolutionary movement, but it also causes some difficulties, discussions and, now and again, even differences in evaluating some concrete issues. That is something we also have to take into account as we develop our ties and cooperation. Theoretical conferences also have a part to play in overcoming these difficulties and finding answers to controversial questions, something that would advance our common cause.

On the agenda of our conference is a theoretical problem which has always been a key one in the struggle of the working class. That the question of revolution and democracy is meaningful does not need proof. It is of great importance not only from the standpoint of theoretical discussion but also for formulating practical political decisions.

Concerning Hungary, I should merely like to note that we have effected what Marx and Engels wrote in their *Communist Manifesto*: 'The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy.' In Hungary, the requisite for the winning of even the most elementary democratic rights was a revolutionary struggle led by the working class. The success of this struggle and the victory of the socialist revolution made it possible to win democracy in the true sense of the word, as

our Constitution formulates it: in the Hungarian People's Republic all power belongs to the working people.

I must also say that our way to democracy was not an easy one. There again, our development is not without shortcomings: there have been grave errors and setbacks. But our party and the working class had the strength to overcome the obstacles, right the mistakes and create the political and social conditions for unfolding socialist democracy. We do not deny that we have not yet reached the goal and that a great deal remains to be done for the full realization of socialist democracy.

Our ideological adversaries, seeking to intimidate the peoples, frequently charge that the victory of the socialist revolution leads to dictatorship. The victory of the socialist revolution in Hungary, first in 1919, and then a second and final time in 1948, gave power to an overwhelming majority: workers, peasants, all working people. The proletarian dictatorship has served to ensure democracy for the overwhelming majority, to overthrow the political and economic power of the ruling classes, to expropriate the expropriators and to prevent any counter-revolutionary attempts.

In 1919, in a situation of acute class struggle, Lenin wrote in a message of greetings to the Hungarian workers that 'the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organization and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard: of their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build socialism, abolish the division of society into classes, make all members of society working people, and remove the basis for all exploitation of man by man' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 29 p. 388). In Hungary, the victory of the socialist revolution and the elimination of the exploiters as a class made it possible gradually to push into the background that function of the people's power which consists in suppression, and ever more fully to unfold socialist democracy.

In the developed capitalist countries, the communist parties have to carry on a struggle in political and social conditions which differ from ours. In some of these countries, the working-class movement has won important democratic gains, which are sure to provide more favorable conditions for the struggle to build a socialist society. We Hungarian communists sincerely hope and wish with all our hearts that the fraternal parties in these countries will succeed in making use of these improved potentialities and that they will not have to travel the hard road which our people has had to travel.

Thanks to the consistent and tireless activity of the chief revolutionary forces of our day and of all the peace-loving forces, activity which runs in the same direction, the process of détente has become the dominant tendency in international life, despite some difficulties and obstacles. The international working class has scored fresh and major successes in the course of its organized struggle to fulfill its historical mission. In the socialist countries, peaceful construction is being carried on successfully,

the material and technical basis of socialism is being developed, and the living standards of the peoples are being raised. The fulfillment of the program of socialist construction strengthens the inner unity of society, the unity of the nation, which is being built on socialist principles. The influence of the socialist world system on international political affairs has been growing. In the developed capitalist countries, the working class and the other working masses, led by the fraternal parties, have intensified their struggle against the power of monopoly capital and the policy of the bourgeois governments. The fraternal parties have been successfully fighting to maintain and further extend the economic and social gains and the democratic rights they have won in the class struggle, in the light of their socialist goal, and for the socialist transformation of society, over the longer term. Over the past few years, the national-liberation movements have scored further important successes in their struggle. A number of countries have risen to political independence, while others, relying on the great power of international solidarity, have successfully defended the independence they won earlier, their territorial integrity, beating back joint drives by imperialism and internal and foreign reaction allied with it. Revolutionary changes have taken place in some young states, and the number of developing countries opting for the socialist orientation has increased.

The international communist movement is on the upswing, albeit in the various regions this characteristic tendency differs in scope. The advance of the world revolutionary process, the upsurge of the communist movement and the change in the world alignment of forces in favor of socialism, social progress and peace have had a twofold impact on the international ideological situation.

On the one hand, international imperialism, fearful of the advance of the progressive and peace-loving forces and the spread of socialist ideas, has launched an unprecedentedly concentrated, diversified and well-coordinated ideological offensive against the main revolutionary streams. Imperialism uses its ideological arsenal to check détente, obstruct the rallying of progressive forces, and break the unity of the international communist and working-class movement. In our party's opinion, the stand of the Chinese leadership on questions of principle, and its actual political moves serve the same purpose. Its nationalistic and hegemonistic policy, its aggression against socialist Vietnam have evoked angry protests from the Hungarian communists, from all our people.

We have always stressed that peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems does not and cannot mean a rapprochement and reconciliation of the two diametrically opposite ideologies — the socialist and the bourgeois. Under peaceful coexistence, the significance of ideological work increases, making still more urgent the search for answers to unresolved theoretical problems. For us, the solution of this problem is not only

a matter of principle; it is also of great practical importance. A creative quest for answers to new questions is an indispensable condition for the revolutionary forces attaining fresh successes and repelling imperialism's ideological onslaught. We are convinced that the solution of these problems is in the interest of all the fraternal parties, since imperialism's ideological offensive is directed not only against socialist countries but also and immediately threatens the forces fighting for socialism, social progress and peace.

On the other hand, we see that in the international communist movement discussions of the main issues have become more frequent. It has often been the case in the history of the working-class movement that debates grew more lively when the movement was on the upswing. The objective reason for this, in our view, is that the fraternal parties operating in different conditions search for concrete political measures best meeting the historical mission of the working class and, proceeding from the given situation, arrive at different conclusions as to ways of solving concrete problems confronting their parties and the international movement as a whole. This is even truer of the present situation when the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and the growth of the international working-class movement have given rise to many new pressing problems. We think it is

natural that the socialist countries' experience, however rich, is not enough to find solutions to these problems. But this experience cannot be ignored. The history of the working-class movement and the socialist countries' considerable achievements have shown that we are not looking for 'a way out of an historical impasse,' but that we are planning our further advance and are doing this on firm ground.

The discussions now going on in the communist and working-class movement will result in a still broader spread of ideas and will enrich the practice of socialism, and they will produce correct answers to the new questions raised by reality and promote a creative development of our scientific theory only if we remain faithful to the ideological legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, if we never lose sight of the common interests and goals of the international working class, and if we always verify our theoretical propositions in practice. Besides, we should work tirelessly to provide the subjective conditions for creative and principled discussions. Proceeding from the experience of its work, our party declares that the discussions conducted in a creative spirit, on a principled basis and in a comradely atmosphere, help us to find answers to new questions, thoroughly analyze the factors determining the position of the communist movement, and ensure the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Lenin's doctrine of dialectics and our day

Professor Bonifatiy Kedrov
Member, USSR Academy of Sciences

The year was 1921. Our country was at a sharp turning point in its development, on the threshold of the New Economic Policy. After the victory of the October 1917 Revolution, and the heavy battles against the well-armed domestic counter-revolutionaries and foreign interventionists, the young Soviet Republic, led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, was getting down to tackling the most complicated economic tasks. There was a sharp need to reorient the state and party leadership upon solving what appeared to be prosaic problems, like learning to trade. But unless such problems were solved it was impossible to advance toward building a new society.

The role of the trade unions became a pivotal issue in this reorientation of the country's life. In 1921, I was a very young communist, although I had already met Lenin on more than one occasion,* and

I well remember the heated controversy then going on in the party on the question. What leapt to the eyes was that Lenin's opponents in this controversy started from some kind of abstract schemes and constructs, which were irrelevant to real life, hollow and lacking in content. It was then, in 1921, that Lenin produced his famous work, *Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin*. In it he dealt at length with what appears to be a purely scientific question: what is dialectical logic, and how does it differ from formal logic? Why did he do that? It was because at sharp turning points in history, when the contradictions of the historical movement are exacerbated, there is a need rapidly and precisely to find the correct solution to sudden problems and the correct way out of the most intricate and involved situations. The dialectical approach alone can help the party, forewarn it against incorrect decisions and acts, and give it the thread of Ariadne, which guides one in the labyrinth of events.

It is, of course, hard to show every aspect of the

* As a child, B. Kedrov knew Lenin, because his father, M. Kedrov was then an emigré together with Lenin in Switzerland. B. Kedrov has been a member of the CPSU since 1918. — Ed.

importance of dialectics for the theory and practice of the communist and working-class movement, and so I shall deal here only with some of its especially important principles.

Marxist-Leninist dialectics is profoundly concrete. It does not recognize any standards, schemes, patterns, 'models' or stereotypes fit for every occasion, for every period of time and for every country. Lenin criticized the dead and meaningless eclecticism and dogmatism of the opponents of Marxism, and showed that they failed to understand the very substance of dialectics, and so also of Marxism: 'Dialectical logic holds that "truth is always concrete, never abstract"' (Coll. Works, Vol. 32, p. 94). That is why Lenin insisted: 'The very gist, the living soul, of Marxism (is) a concrete analysis of a concrete situation' (ibid., Vol. 31, p. 166). On the eve of the February 1917 revolution in Russia, Lenin wrote that in that period there was immense abuse of 'general' discourse, and a 'lack of concreteness and historical perspective,' while the whole point was that 'in each individual case everything hinges on the historically concrete situation' (ibid., Vol. 23, p. 271, 272).

It is not dialectics to try to bring together diverse phenomena under some general proposition, just as it is not dialectics to engage in all manner of slippery historical parallels and dubious analogies.

Indeed, the abstract, anti-dialectical approach consists precisely in taking some general proposition and applying it mechanically to this or that individual case, without first making an in-depth and all-round concrete analysis. At the very start of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in 1917, Lenin recalled in his *Letters on Tactics* that Marx and Engels had always ridiculed 'the mere memorizing and repetition of "formulas," that at best are capable only of marking out general tasks, which are necessarily modifiable by the concrete economic and political conditions of each particular period of the historical process' (ibid., Vol. 24, p. 43). He stressed that the concrete approach did not mean any neglect of historical experience, and that Bolshevik slogans and ideas had on the whole been confirmed by history, but that concretely things had worked out differently; they had been more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected.

It goes without saying that the general, the fundamental, the most important must always be taken into account, but not in its abstract, naked form. It must be taken into account concretely, in dialectical unity with the particular, in which it exists, and through which alone it is manifested.

Lenin fully agreed with Marx that (in the light of dialectics) practice is more important than a dozen programs. In his *Philosophical Notebooks*, he wrote: 'Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality, but also of immediate actuality' (ibid., Vol. 38, p. 213).

I have quoted Lenin in order to give a reminder of the essential feature of Leninism, which is its intolerance of any ossification of theory.

Today, the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies against capital clearly brings out the dialectics of the universal (of the general laws of society's historical movement) and the specific, the individual in the peculiar conditions of development of individual countries. Materialist dialectics overcomes the one-sidedness both of the general alone which is taken without a consideration of the individual and specific and of the individual and specific alone, without a consideration of the general. This feature of dialectics was described by Lenin as follows: 'The individual exists only in the connection that leads to the universal. The universal exists only in the individual and through the individual. . . . Every individual enters incompletely into the universal, etc., etc.' (ibid., Vol. 38, p. 361). Consideration of the one without the other leads to serious theoretical mistakes.

One of the most important tasks of revolutionary strategy, which is permeated with the spirit of dialectical logic, is to find and define the correct correlation between the general and the specific in the development of individual countries of the world. That is why we are convinced that revolutionaries must necessarily take into account both the fundamental tasks in the struggle against the enemy 'and the concrete features which this struggle assumes and must inevitably assume in each country, in conformity with the specific character of its economics, politics, culture and national composition. . . . To seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive in the concrete manner in which each country should tackle a single international task' (ibid., Vol. 31, p. 91).

I recall that in the early years after the October 1917 Revolution, many assumed that transition from capitalism to socialism and on to communism could and should take place only in the form of Soviet power, something that was allegedly suggested by the experience of Russia. It was not accidental that the revolutions in Western Europe in 1919 (Hungary and Bavaria) also assumed the form of Soviets. But was it compulsory to repeat with such exactitude the experience of the revolution in Russia with respect to that part of it in other European countries as well? Developments since the Second World War show that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe which overthrew capitalism began to move along the socialist road in their own specific way, without mechanically copying the Soviet experience.

When speaking of the international significance of the socialist revolution in Russia in the narrow sense of the word, that is, taking this to mean the historical inevitability of a repetition on an international scale of that which had taken place in Russia, Lenin recognized that only some basic features of that revolution had such a significance.

Take the fundamental issue of our day: transition from capitalism to socialism, to communism. The communists of each country, on the basis of an in-depth Marxist analysis of the character of the

whole of their country's earlier development, the alignment of the class forces in it, its international position, etc., define the concrete ways and means of struggle ensuring real (instead of verbal or illusory) transition from capitalism to socialism.

Assertions about the general principles of Marxism-Leninism allegedly operating similarly everywhere inevitably make one forget the need to run them through the prism of the peculiar concrete conditions. Conversely, assertions that these general principles are inessential, and that only a country's national specifics are important, just as inevitably lead to the other extreme: to a diversification of the coherent theory, to its fragmentation into a multiplicity of 'national Marxisms' (something that has been clearly illustrated by the Maoists' 'sinicized Marxism,' which has in practice developed into wild expansionism and chauvinism, without the slightest trace of Marxism left to it). That is also the origin of the notorious concept of 'polyvariant' Marxism.

Without bringing out and conceptualizing the substance of phenomena, i.e., the general, the recurrent, the law-governed within these, cognition is forced to slide along the surface, follow the outward twists and turns, and is doomed to trivial empiricism. Lenin emphasized: 'Anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems, will inevitably and at every step "come up against" those general problems without himself realizing it. To come up against them blindly in every individual case means to doom one's policy to the worst vacillation and lack of principle' (ibid., Vol. 12, p. 489). In other words, any particular question can be examined scientifically only when the analysis starts from general principles: the uniformities brought out by theory.

Every such principle is a truth, a relative truth, of course. But every relative truth contains within itself the elements of absolute truth. That is why it is naive to imagine that there can be freedom from coherent and well-thought-out theory. In practice, such 'freedom' means eclecticism and lack of principle. Continuity in elaborating the theory of scientific socialism on the basis of a summing-up of new historical experience is the only way for creatively developing that theory which is possible from the standpoint of dialectics.

A fresh consideration of Lenin's legacy shows once again how important dialectics, the living soul of Marxism, is for the practical activity of the working-class party. In the complicated situation of the world's social development today, it alone is capable of providing the effective means of finding theoretical solutions of new and unique problems facing revolutionary and liberation movements.

While urging the vital need to use materialist dialectics it is important at the same time to have a clear understanding of what now and again hampers this, and what kind of basic obstacles and hindrances theoretical thinking has to come up against today.

Among them, I think, one should identify above all that which could be designated as 'inert think-

ing.' When we bring out its theoretico-cognitive sources, we find that it appears to rely on the available theoretical and practical experience, seeking to include, to squeeze the new into the system of connections and concepts which was typical in the past, while failing to notice that this interconnection has ceased to be characteristic of our day. The inert thinking shuns the historical approach, the perception of our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism as living history, in the course of which there is not only an emergence of new facts and phenomena that accord with existing theoretical generalizations, but also ceaseless change in the connection between phenomena, producing qualitatively new essential interrelations between them which we have yet to comprehend. That approach, which leads to dogmatism in theory, involves the neglect of the demand for concreteness, and a claim that this or that solution is absolute.

Solutions produced by 'inert thinking' are not merely impotent. When taken as reference points in practical activity, they are now and again fraught with great danger. The 'revolution or peaceful co-existence?' formula has, for instance, now become fashionable among ideologists expressing the views both of the 'ultra-leftists' and the rightists in the working-class movement. What are the grounds for contrasting revolution and peace, and peace and revolution? There is no doubt that many revolutions were in one way or another connected with the First and the Second World Wars. Although the main causes of revolution did, of course, lie within the contradictions of the development of this or that country, war, as a powerful 'stage-manager' accelerated the pace of world history and engendered worldwide crises of unprecedented force.

The advocates of socialist revolution have always stood for peace against the imperialist policy of aggression and wars. This anti-war orientation of revolution needs to be specifically emphasized because from the antithesis of revolution and war ideologists, who use ultra-revolutionary catchwords, draw the monstrous conclusion that war is desirable. Here we have not just the results of thoughtlessness or lack of faith in the possibility of defeating imperialism in the conditions of peaceful coexistence, but also the results of scorn for the destinies of billions of men and women, a political approach dictated by calculations which have nothing in common either with revolution or socialism.

The rightists use the 'revolution or peaceful co-existence?' formula to censure revolutionary processes as a factor allegedly hampering détente and peace. They regard peaceful coexistence as entrenchment of the social status quo, as a damping down of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and in the international arena, as the 'convergence' of the opposite social systems — socialism and capitalism — and the antagonistic classes of capitalist society.

However, these are false alternatives. The whole course of development of modern civilization has closely and indissolubly interconnected the prob-

lems of revolutionary renewal of social life and establishment of lasting peace. The successes of the world revolutionary process consolidate the foundation on which war can be excluded from the life of mankind and a universal and just peace established. For its part, peaceful coexistence, the positive advances in international détente create favorable conditions for the further progress of socialism and for revolutionary change. We find that theoretical inertness prevents the understanding either of the nature of the relations and connections between war and revolution in the past, or the nature of the connections between revolution and peace in the new historical conditions. Where inert thinking poses the 'either-or' alternative, dialectics, reflecting the real processes of our day, insists on 'and' without in any way neglecting the contradictions in the interconnections between revolution and peaceful coexistence, the complex nature of the latter, which in the present situation rules out neither the danger of global conflict nor the possibility of local wars, nor yet again the need for resolute rebuffs to every act of aggression.

I would describe another impediment to the use of the method of materialist dialectics as "dazzlement by novelty," which results in a loss of theoretical reference points, in errings which, wittingly or unwittingly, lead away from science, from Marxism.

Indicative in this respect, I think, are some aspects of the recent discussion about the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is actually at issue? Now and again one is left with the impression that the whole thing boils down to the term 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'

Of course, even in terminological matters one must know how to remain true to dialectics. The social consciousness of the masses and their mentality are concrete phenomena, and there is nothing unusual about the fact that in certain situations some terms of scientific socialism cease to 'function,' causing erroneous notions and false associations among persons who have an inadequate knowledge of our theory. That is why the question of using this or that scientific term in a document largely depends on whether it is politically appropriate. The main thing, however, is that terminology should not hamper either theory or policy in developing along the right lines. (Let me note in parenthesis that only then are debates about the aptness of this or that term justified.)

The dictatorship-of-the-proletariat concept and its content are quite another matter. These can, of course, be expressed in other terms or words, so that the concept can be maintained even when the term itself is not used. I think that in scientific discussions a clear distinction should be drawn between the term and the concept in order to avoid ambiguous situations. The concept reflects the concretely universal nature, the substance of a definite range of phenomena, summing up the aggregate knowledge about the subject-matter (object) of analysis, this knowledge not being ossified but lending itself to change and transformation.

Let us recall that the substance of the proletarian-dictatorship concept is that it expresses the sum-total of the research into the general political conditions of transition from capitalism to socialism, asserting the need for a revolutionary power exercised by the working class relying on broad class alliances with other working people. It is quite natural that in the transition to socialism every country is faced with the problem of how to find and express in this concept (I have in mind the theoretical aspect of the matter) not only the universal but also the nationally specific, the concrete circumstances of transition, thereby enriching and developing the concept itself. It would, of course, be wrong to seek to solve this problem through mere logical elaboration of this concept. The requirement of dialectics is that the concrete situation has to be analyzed in the light of the general principles and relying on these, but without substituting them for the conclusions of the analysis drawn in the light of the specifics of that situation. But just as unjustified is the other approach, when an attempt is made to reduce the concept to the national and concrete specifics of individual countries, recognizing, for instance, the historical importance of the proletarian dictatorship in the past, while denying the need for it in the present. In methodological terms, with such an approach there is a failure to take into account the fact that the content of this concept expresses the general conditions of the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism, which are determined by class and not by national factors. It will be easily seen that national specifics do very little to determine, for instance, the class character of power in the transition to socialism, as they do the class character of power under capitalism.

However, the following argument is brought forward in the dictatorship-of-the-proletariat discussion: 'new historical conditions.' By the latter are meant, in particular, the political regimes of parliamentary democracy in some West European countries, and the possibilities for further democratizing them. The problem is posed of going on, in the present international situation, from these regimes to socialism, as they are democratized. It is discussed in the terms of 'peacefully or violently,' 'majority or minority,' 'in accordance with the law or not.' Let me note that the latter part of these antitheses is now and again identified with the proletarian dictatorship, and that cannot, of course, be accepted, because the proletarian-dictatorship concept shows the class character of a revolutionary power, its content and not its form.

I have come to the question of the dialectics of form and content as a unity of opposites. The relation between form and content is profoundly contradictory in the dialectical sense, and under no circumstances can the one be reduced to the other or substituted for it. Their relations are complex and multifaceted, and depend entirely on the concrete historical conditions. Let me recall that as an element of dialectics Lenin identified 'the struggle of content with form and conversely. The throwing off

of the form, the transformation of the content' (ibid., Vol. 38, p. 222).

It has been found in the history of society that the same content may assume the most diverse forms, depending on the concrete circumstances. Thus, in his *The State and Revolution* (1917), Lenin emphasized: 'Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie' (ibid., Vol. 25, p. 413).

Lenin, a Marxist revolutionary, concentrated on a concrete analysis of the content of the period which separates capitalism and socialism, of its internal and external contradictions, and the ways, forms and modes of transition from one social system (capitalism) to another (socialism). Lenin showed that that is the kind of analysis that Marxist dialectics requires. He wrote: 'The reason why the present position seems peculiar to many of those who would like to be regarded as socialists is that they have been accustomed to contrasting capitalism with socialism abstractly, and that with an air of profundity they put between the two the word "leap". . . . The majority of these so-called socialists who have "read in books" about socialism, but who have never seriously thought over the matter, are unable to consider that by "leap" the teachers of socialism meant turning-point on a world-historical scale, and that leaps of this kind extend over decades and even longer periods' (ibid., Vol. 27, p. 273).

Consequently, Marxist dialectics, which Lenin elaborated comprehensively and in depth, requires that one should make a concrete study of the whole process of the given 'leap,' also analyzing, in particular, how the correlation of form and content of the entire historical process being studied is unfolded and resolved.

That is why one cannot agree, too, with the anti-thesis of the content of the proletarian-dictatorship concept and the methods and modes of attaining power, for this obscures the question of transforming its class character. No one will apparently deny that a working-class party may succeed 'peacefully,' 'in accordance with the will of the majority,' and 'in accordance with the law' — in securing participation in a government and even in forming it. But it is one thing to form a government under a political regime ensuring the class domination of the bourgeoisie, and quite another, to transform the class nature of that regime, and achieve a revolutionary transition to socialism.

This major question of our day shows the importance in any analysis of the clear-cut methodological reference points provided by materialist dialectics, so that when analyzing the new, one will not fall captive to the traditional concepts which return us to problems that have long since been solved and clarified.

Finally, let me note yet another impediment to the use of the dialectical method, namely 'speculativeness' in the assessment of phenomena from some abstract notion of an ideal way to socialism.

This approach is expressed in the suggestion of a 'socialist model' which rejects the experience of existing socialism, the only experience up to now of real emancipation of hundreds of millions of people from capitalism. I find the starting premise of such an approach itself to be untenable, for it seeks to lay down a line of development in abstraction from the facts that characterize it.

In general, I think, the 'socialist model' concept, if it starts, as it does in this case, from speculative constructs of 'what ought to be' and 'what is desirable,' is unproductive. Indeed, is it right to consider that it may be possible to carve out a revolution and a new society in accordance with some kind of pattern? Of course not, because revolutions result from the creative efforts of the broadest masses of people.

The experience of revolutions and socialist construction does not yield patterns but, to use Lenin's words, 'reveals to all countries something — and something highly significant — of their . . . inevitable future' (ibid., Vol. 31, p. 22), i.e., the fundamental features and uniformities which have the property of recurrence, for all the unusual diversity and specifics of these processes in the various countries. This approach to the problem of the general and the individual impels us to make a constant study of the available experience, a careful consideration of all that is positive at the disposal of others, of what part of this experience is or is not suitable. It requires of us an ability to make creative use of experience. Now and again one hears the assertion that the 'borrowing' of experience is the cause of reverses. But what is the actual point here? If it implies a mechanical copying, then that is an anti-dialectical attitude toward experience. And the fault obviously does not lie with experience but with those who take that kind of attitude to it.

Speculative constructs of 'what ought to be' and 'what is desirable' ignore the concrete reality embodied in the available experience of revolutions and socialist construction. In other words, they suggest that one should contrast one's ideas with the experience of others. But this must necessarily lead to a situation in which their advocates, while rejecting and trying to discredit the existing experience of socialist transformations and construction, sow the seeds of doubt about the advisability of building socialism in different conditions, be that socialism presented in the most ideal terms as compared with existing socialism. Consequently, this approach may do harm above all to those who adopt it.

The points dealt with above naturally require a more detailed examination. Of necessity, in consequence of my intention of showing the vital need to apply dialectics to an analysis of some of the meaningful problems whose solution is now being sought by the collective thinking of Marxists, I have given more attention to the methodological aspect of the matter. I thought I was right in doing so, because I believe that the quest for answers to existing problems can be productive only if the requirements of the dialectical method are taken into account. Otherwise there is no forward movement.

Human values in Marxism and Christianity

Professor Howard L. Parsons, USA

Attempts to justify reactionary policies dangerous to mankind by referring to Christian dogma are made frequently enough today. Everyone can see how President Carter hypocritically attacks the Soviet Union on 'human rights,' invoking piety. I will not go into the issue of human rights. But one thing is clear: the continuing arms race endangers man's very right to life. As for President Carter, he authorized the manufacture of a deadly weapon, the neutron bomb, at the height of his 'human rights' campaign.

How does President Carter's practice square with his Christian profession to do good when the lives of so many people and mankind's future itself are in balance? In contrast we can cite many Christian leaders, including such authoritative ones as Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI, who have used their influence to advance world peace. Does this difference in attitude imply that President Carter regards the Christian faith as an ideal unsuitable for a political leader? No, it does not. I pick President Carter as an example of a Christian statesman because he, a man holding a high post, presents his policy as truly Christian and hence moral.¹ Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, shares his evangelical and messianic zeal for America and 'a deep suspicion of communism.' One Washington official has said that 'Zbig's Catholicism is just a more sophisticated version of Jimmy's Southern Baptism.'² Most government leaders of states in Western Europe, America and even southern Africa are nominal Christians. And their 'Christianity,' too, serves to cover up reactionary policies.

Operating on the premise that American capitalism has the God-given right to rule the world (though many capitalists are crass atheists) and that anything against this (socialist states, liberation movements, progressive reform regimes) is contrary to Christianity and hence 'sinful,' ideologues of U.S. imperialism try to weaken its religious opponents. But state-monopoly capitalism, multinational corporate capitalism, cannot use 16th-century Calvinism as its ideology. Using demagogic, secular terms, they talk about the 'sins' of their adversaries. The new failures of U.S. imperial-

ism and the successes of anti-imperialist forces have compelled it to forsake the postwar ideology of 'the American Century,' while the loss of 'atomic monopoly' has forced it into desisting from the confrontational belligerency of 'roll-back' and 'brink of war' and 'liberation' tactics. The new propaganda tactic of capitalism (with the old strategy) is the slogan of 'human rights' — to distract Americans from their domestic woes, foment subversion in socialist states and 'erode' the socialist system.

However, Christian tenets are occasionally cited in support of progressive political positions. Numerous Christians are involved in the struggle for peace and social progress and seek cooperation with progressive forces — socialist, and anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, national-liberation, pro-peace movements.

There is no discounting the fact that Christianity is an ideological force influencing social processes in today's world. This is one of the reasons why Christian-Marxist dialogue and cooperation has become a practical necessity of our time.

I would like, therefore, to look into the motivations of Christians holding progressive views and to investigate the various aspects of Christianity and new phenomena in Christian thinking.

To begin with, there are Christian ideas which took shape in the initial period of Christianity and were long ignored by the Church. Early Christianity was undoubtedly in spiritual opposition to the ruling class of Roman society; some Church historians even describe it as an active revolutionary movement.³ Regardless of whether this is true or not, the ideology of early Christianity was inherently opposed to all inequality since 'announcing good news to the poor' was the social antithesis of 'announcing good news to the rich.' For more than two centuries, the Christian community was persecuted by the Roman emperors for being in opposition. But the exploiting feudal classes and then the bourgeoisie assimilated and institutionalized Christianity. They turned it into a conservative ideology integrated into the class order. In that period Christianity put the emphasis on humility and submission to the existing order. It suited the ruling classes well that Christians limited their social protest to the spiritual sphere, never venturing into the sphere of real social relations. But in spite of the conservatism of much institutionalized Christianity, the revolutionary theme of early Christianity has recurrently surfaced throughout history, and linked up in periods of revolutionary upheaval with the

Continuing our series on dialogue and cooperation between communists and believers. The author, a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, lecturer at the University of Bridgeport, discusses universal values as seen by Marxists and Christians, and states his own view on this important problem.

slogans of mass movements and struggles of the oppressed.⁴

Marxism and Christianity differ in many important respects. So do they on the ultimate origin, nature, destiny and significance of human life, on human values and ideals. It would be wrong to ignore, minimize or gloss over these differences. However, it is important to ascertain how they affect opportunities for joint action by Marxists and Christians to solve current problems of mankind.

It is argued, first of all, that the problem of values is 'alien' to Marxism. But this is not true. A theory aimed at solving human problems of vital importance, Marxism offers a rationalist definition of human ideals. 'All social life is essential practical,' Marx wrote. 'All mysteries which lead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice' (Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 8). Marxism combines affirmation of human ideals with radical criticism of capitalist society and with organizing the masses in the struggle against that society. Man is not a thing, a commodity, whose labor power is to be bought and sold in the capitalist marketplace. His emancipation, both individualized and socialized, reveals his real value, which derives from his creativity. That creativity which, combined with nature as the universal object of labor, is the source of all human values and ought to be broken free from the oppressive fetters of capital.

By 'value' we mean any objective phenomenon that fulfills or helps to fulfill a human need and so to maintain and develop human life, both individual and social. Values are present in all human relations. And since man is a social being and his essence, 'the ensemble of the social relations,' as Marx has shown (*ibid.*, p. 7), all human values are social in origin, content and consequence.

Needless to say, Marxism is conscious of the evils in history. Their roots lie in class antagonisms, and the only possibility of overcoming evil with good is through social practice in history, through a revolutionary class struggle advancing mankind to freedom and to new forms of self-organization.

Another widespread argument is that Marxism as a theory appeals to the masses and not to individuals and takes into account the interests of classes, not the ideals or values of man. It is alleged that for Marxism the unit of value is not the individual but the species. This argument is likewise untenable since the problem of the individual, of his emancipation and the provision of conditions for his harmonious development, is central to Marxism. The socio-historical development of the individual is connected with progress in social relations; today this progress is toward communism under which the development of all human powers is the end in itself in history, according to Marx. But building this society is not merely the result of a chain of natural historical developments. The advance toward it has meaning and significance when men cooperate to create this new worldwide community.

Attempts to misrepresent the attitude of Marxism to the values of the natural environment are equally futile. From the Marxist point of view, man depends on the natural environment for his very life, and all value that exists comes from nature directly, or from man's working over of materials and processes already given by nature. The development of human nature is always a development of man's dialectical relations with his environment: the potentialities of non-human nature are to be realized along with those of human nature.⁵ Capital drives toward the universal appropriation of natural resources but in doing so it destroys nature, incapacitates it as a source of new values, ultimately undermining its own natural prerequisites. Marxism calls for a reversal of both the strategy and forms of treating nature. This call is realized in the socio-historical practices of the socialist countries.

Lastly, the materialism and atheism of Marxism are alleged to be stumbling blocks for Christians. These arguments identify Christian faith with a metaphysical or theological doctrine that is the antithesis of Marxism, such as the doctrines of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas or Luther. The point at issue, however, is whether believers reject or accept the human values upheld by Marxism in accordance with the materialist premises of its worldview. As for atheism, even believers hold that the test of the good man is not whether he gives intellectual assent to the existence of God but whether his practice helps people to live and to realize values. In this case, activity may also mean struggle to transform society. It follows that the Marxist rationale of human ideals is no obstacle to joint Marxist-Christian action. The human values of Marxism are an expression of universal values that appeal to and are understood by all progressives.

Many ideologues maintain that today the Christian rationale of adhering to progressive positions and human ideals can serve as a form of expressing the views of religious working people in the struggle against exploitation and alienation, against curbs on democracy and the intensification of totalitarian trends in modern capitalist society. In this context Christianity may also be investigated as a socio-historical movement of individuals and communities looking forward to an ideal human society.

I will now look into some of the motivations.

Many believers see the individual as a unique and precious creature who can be very useful to others and society; they affirm the psychic values of autonomy and creativity, and the inter-personal and social values of trust and cooperation. In the face of the dehumanization of antagonistic class society, these ideas can become a source of personal motivations in the struggle for man's dignity and equality.

Christianity sees man's 'sinfulness' as the cause of evil in people and history. But today numerous believers regard the exploitation of man by man as an evil; they do not justify it as in the past. Christianity preaches a transformation from the morality of man's 'lower nature' (fornication, impurity, indecency, idolatry, enmity, quarrels, envy, dissen-

sions, hatred, murder and other negative symbols used by Christianity) to the morality of the 'spirit' (love, joy, peace, goodness, patience, gentleness, etc.). I think, however, that these values can be concrete manifestations of the ethical principle of early Christianity, 'Let us work for the good of all.'

However, many believers today appreciate the importance of mass struggle, of vast social movements, and join in them. They do not reject the ideals of collective struggle because a growing number of them consider that Christianity itself, by affirming the value of the human ego as the main ethical principle, subordinates the ego to the commune, or community. They consider that mass action today can rescue the individual person from poverty and anonymity in the same way as the mutually supportive practice of the early Christian community did.

The contemporary Christian view of nature is ambiguous. On the one hand, even now Christians emphasize man's role as a special creation possessing transcendent power and charged with control over the 'works of God's hands,' that is, nature. At the same time the whole creation of nature is taken to have value that in some sense is continuous with the value of man.⁶ Thus a responsible stewardship over and care for nature are recognized not to be inconsistent with the Christian world-view.⁷ Indeed, many a believer today considers that indifference, let alone destructive disdain of the values of non-human nature is more contrary to certain traditional religious dogmas and that capitalism enters into a spiritual and ethical conflict with Christianity also by destroying nature.

These are, in my view, some aspects of the Marxist and Christian approach to values. Marxists and many believers, who follow different paths, arrive at recognizing universal human ideals and the need to protect them as a *sine qua non* of a future fit for man. On the basis of these ideals Marxists and Christians can enter into a cooperative struggle to solve problems concerning the whole of mankind. These problems offer wide scope for joint action.

A prime fact of our planetary life today is the disarmament problem, which must be solved without delay, for the arms race and the production of weapons of mass destruction escalate, increasing the danger of nuclear disaster. The arms race also gives rise to acute social problems or blocks their solution. Military spending in no way helps employment although this is a common argument. If \$25 billion were transferred from military-industrial to civilian investment, 1.1 million new jobs would be created; for military production is very capital-intensive and expensive.⁸

While taking realistic stock of the war danger, I consider that as the progressive peace forces working for détente, disarmament and peace grow and cooperate the probabilities of staving off this catastrophe increase.

Problems born of the crisis in economy and ecology are an important sphere of Marxist-Christian cooperation. They include hunger, dis-

ease and discrepancies in consumption. This monstrous spread of hunger and disease is derived from the imperialist and neo-colonial system, which keeps poor countries poor through economic exploitation and wastes manpower and natural resources by spending them for military purposes and the attempted expansion of the power of that system.

Imperialism's multinational corporations (MNCs) and military machine work hand in hand to establish profitable economic and political control over large sectors of the globe, especially underdeveloped areas, and to secure that control through military power. To this end the U.S. has escalated arms exports to countries whose regimes suit the MNCs (from almost \$7 billion in 1968 to some \$10 billion now),⁹ and has increased military 'aid' to them. Besides, arms manufacture is the largest source of profit. In the 1978-79 fiscal year the U.S. plans to spend over \$130 billion for armaments, or more than any other country.

The acuteness and magnitude of the problems listed above call for immediate joint action by Marxists and Christians.

Reality has shown that differences in the road to human ideals followed by Marxists and Christians are no obstacle to their joint struggle for peace and social progress. There are numerous precedents for cooperation between them: their united front against fascism during the 1930s and 1940s; the growing cooperation between Communist and Christian parties now in a number of West European countries.¹⁰ The emergence of the 'theology of liberation'¹¹ is evidence of new developments in the social attitude of Christians in Latin America, where Christian-Marxist contacts are growing stronger, with numerous priests joining in the revolutionary struggle. Many Christians in West European countries have cooperated with communists in the peace movement of our present times — e.g. in the campaign against the neutron bomb. The Christian Peace Conference, founded in Prague 20 years ago, has been active in the struggle for peace. The World Conference of Religious Workers for a Lasting Peace, Disarmament and Just Relations Among Nations, meeting in Moscow from June 6 to 10, 1977, included representatives from seven faiths and 107 countries.

There are more and more dialogues between Marxists and Christians. Since 1965, Marxists have held a series of discussions with the Internationale Paulus Gesellschaft, led by Dr. Erich Kellner, a noted theologian. The International Institute for Peace and the Vienna University Institute für Friedensforschung have recently promoted a series of dialogues with the North American Institute for International Understanding and Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe. Such dialogue and cooperation in the last two decades are in part the consequence of the initiative from both Marxists and Christians, in part the result of the shift in the

balance of power in favor of the socialist countries and the non-aligned world.

All Christians, all people of good will should join in this necessary and sublime task concerning the whole of mankind. To this end we must not only mobilize our will but express it politically through joint action.

1. On the political messianism of America, see J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power* (New York, 1967).

2. *The New York Times Magazine*, July 30, 1978, p. 18.

3. S.G.F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots*. New York, 1967.

4. Among its exponents were the millennialist Brethren of the Free Spirit (see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 1957), the Cathari and Waldenses, the apocalyptics who followed Joachim of Floris, the Lelards, John Ball, the peasant revolts of Europe, the Hus-

sites and Taborites, Munzer and the Anabaptists, Winstanley and the Diggers.

5. Howard L. Parsons, *Marx and Engels on Ecology*. Westport, Conn., 1977.

6. *Society and Environment: the Coming Collision*. Boston, 1972.

7. *Ecology and Religion in History*. New York, 1974, pp. 60-65.

8. M. Anderson, *The Empty Pork Barrel*. Lansing, Mich., 1975.

9. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Vol. 32, No. 9 (November 1976), pp. 11-18.

10. Enrico Berlinguer, 'Communists and Catholics: Clarity of Principles and Bases for an Understanding,' in *The Italian Communists*. Foreign Bulletin of the PCI, No. 4, October, December 1977. This bulletin contains Bishop Bettazzi's letter to Berlinguer.

11. Gustavo Gutierrez. *A Theology of Liberation*. New York, 1973.



Policy of alliances and the bourgeoisie

Antonio Maidana
First Secretary, CC, Paraguayan CP

Historical experience shows that an effective policy of alliance pursued by the working class is a crucial factor in the successful development of revolutionary processes. Lenin said that the working class could fulfill its historical mission only by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skillful use of any, even the smallest, opportunity for winning a mass ally (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 70). This also applies to Latin America, where the proletariat is a tremendous social force with long-standing traditions of struggle. That is why the arrangement of contacts and cooperation by the proletariat and its vanguard with other forces and organizations involved in the struggle for democracy and social progress, and against imperialism, together with the discovery of appropriate forms of relations with them require that Latin American communists should skillfully combine a principled class stand with flexible tactics.

This journal has considered the problem of the working-class policy of alliances on many occasions,¹ with special emphasis on the attitudes of the classes and groups which, in virtue of their economic condition, can become allies of the working class at the present stage of struggle: the peasantry, the urban middle strata, the intelligentsia and salaried employees.

Here I should like to consider the problem which, I think, has not yet been adequately examined on the pages of this journal, but which is of paramount

importance for the struggle waged by the proletariat and all the other democratic forces for Latin America's national liberation, namely, the question of the place of the bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle, meaning the bourgeoisie's commitment to democratizing the political system, eliminating tyrannical and military-fascist regimes, protecting the nation's natural resources, averting war and establishing lasting peace.

But before looking into the question of whether the Latin American bourgeoisie is capable of taking part in the struggle against the domination of imperialism and its local henchmen, I want to take a short look at history.

At the beginning and in the middle of the 19th century, the bourgeoisie was the leading force of the Latin American peoples in their fight for national independence and for the setting up and strengthening of their own states. The winning of political independence and the establishment of national states were the key prerequisites for Latin America's development along the capitalist road. In the late 19th century, the local bourgeoisie, which began to take shape in the colonial period, gained in strength, but the relative narrowness of the national markets and the presence of heavy pre-capitalist survivals in agriculture and in the political structure made the bourgeoisie in Latin America somewhat weaker than it was in Europe and the United States.

That is why, when world capitalism entered upon the monopoly stage of its development at the turn of the century, foreign monopolies began their financial exploitation of most Latin American countries. The imperialist powers, the United States in the first place, even tried to deprive many Latin American countries of their state independence, and to convert them into colonies like Puerto Rico.

In response to the external expansion, a broad anti-imperialist movement led by the proletariat got under way in Latin America. Its revolutionary tenor will be seen from the powerful strikes staged by workers in the Chilean saltpeper mines in 1907, by the Mexican miners in 1906 and 1907, and many others. The middle strata, including the intelligentsia, took an active part in the anti-imperialist movement. It was then that stratification first began within the local bourgeoisie. Its top stratum and the landowners allied themselves with the foreign monopolies against their own people, and took an anti-national stand. Meanwhile, patriotic-minded leaders of the local bourgeoisie sought to stand up for their country's interests (President Jose Manuel Balmaceda in Chile, President Jose Santos Zelaya in Nicaragua, and President Francisco J. Madero in Mexico).

Under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the national-liberation movement in Latin America rose to a new stage. The Anti-Imperialist League of America, set up on the initiative of the Communist International, united the most diverse strata of Latin American society in struggle against the external enemy, and gave moral and material support to the patriots of Nicaragua, led by Cesar Augusto Sandino, and to the Dominican, Haitian and Panamanian freedom-fighters.

As a result, U.S. imperialism was forced to make some concessions and to pull out its occupation troops from Nicaragua, Haiti and the Dominican Republic (leaving its satraps in charge) formally to abandon the 'Platt Amendment'² and to adopt the principle of 'good-neighborliness' in place of the 'big stick' policy. While making these concessions, U.S. ruling circles aimed to split the ranks of the anti-imperialist resistance movement on our continent. To some extent, they managed to do so. Intimidated by the 'red threat' myth, which was spread by reactionary ideologists, some bourgeois circles rose to the imperialist bait and agreed to a compromise with them.

The changes in U.S. imperialist tactics with respect to the Latin American bourgeoisie were also dictated by objective factors, including the development of the Latin American markets, which became much larger and so more attractive to the U.S. monopolies. This was connected with the technical re-equipment of the light industry and the emergence of some sectors of the modern heavy industry. Besides, the United States had to reckon with the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions in the region on the eve of the Second World War.

But the chief reason which induced U.S. imperialism to make concessions was the growing

self-awareness of the Latin American nations under the impact of the rising anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle all over the world. The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern to some extent helped to establish national fronts in some Latin American countries with a pronounced anti-imperialist edge. This enabled the revolutionary working class and the forward-looking contingents of the peasantry to re-establish the disrupted political and social alliances and compromises not only with the urban middle strata but also with the circles of the local bourgeoisie which wanted to maintain civil liberties, opposed the fascist danger, urged an agrarian reform and campaigned for protection of natural resources and of the still fledgling local industry from foreign competition. Such a bloc of forces with the participation of the working class took shape in Chile, where it led to the victory of the Popular Front; in Mexico under the Cardenas government, in Colombia under the Lopez government, and in Bolivia and Costa Rica for short periods in the 30s and 40s.

At the height of the cold war, U.S. ruling circles managed to win over a stratum of the Latin American bourgeoisie not only by playing up the 'red threat' myth, but also by holding out promises of profitable deals, deliveries of raw materials and foodstuffs to war-ruined Europe, and the prospect of making fortunes on the bloodshed of another world war. That was the origin of the military-political bloc between U.S. imperialism and the ruling classes of Latin American countries within the Organization of American States and its military institutions and bilateral military posts.

Meanwhile, the coalescence of foreign monopolies and the local oligarchic elite (bankers, latifundists and military and civilian bureaucrats) went on apace, giving rise to a great many so-called mixed companies expressing the state-monopoly tendency. But in contrast with the developed capitalist countries, this tendency was expressed in a coalescence of U.S. monopolies and local governmental and semi-governmental (so-called autonomous and decentralized) establishments. This process produced a whole stratum of local managers and senior governmental military and civilian bureaucrats closely collaborating with the foreign monopolies. Institutes were set up to train such bureaucrats and formulate 'development strategies' for the benefit of imperialism and local oligarchy.

The formation of local monopolies and monopoly groups operating as junior partners of U.S. West German, British, Japanese, Swedish and other monopolies (the Matarasso group, Banco Real, Banco Simonsen, and others in Brazil; the Edwards and Matte Larrain groups in Chile; Follmer-Sulohaga in Venezuela, and similar groups in Mexico and Colombia) was accelerated. The declaration issued by the Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, June 1975), says: 'The economic process under way in Latin American countries has produced a situation in which the top stratum of the local bourgeoisie finds itself so tightly tied to imperialism and so

dependent on it for its own growth and strengthening, that it has, in effect, become a component part of the mechanism of imperialist domination in its own countries . . . This denationalized bourgeoisie defends dependence and acts against the anti-imperialist process.' These are the groupings, closely allied with the military-industrial complex of imperialism, that inspired and staged the military coups in the 60s and 70s as a result of which military-fascist regimes were set up in some Latin American countries. Elsewhere, they helped gradually to implant fascism, as they did in Paraguay, where the old Stroessner tyranny has become a fascist dictatorship catering to the imperialist monopolies, mainly U.S. and Brazilian capital, and the local bourgeois-landowner oligarchy.

Now and again, differences arise between some circles of the local pro-imperialist oligarchy and this or that imperialist power over the division of the spoils, or over a discrepancy between the methods of government used by this or that regime with the global strategy of imperialism. But these are differences within the framework of one and the same class or classes which are akin to each other, and these are settled on the basis of their common anti-communist line. It is against this bloc of imperialism and the local oligarchy that the edge of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement is directed.

Under the impact of the changing balance of forces in the international arena in favor of socialism, and the heroic Cuban people's victory, a fresh upswing in the anti-imperialist struggle and a spread of revolutionary anti-monopoly processes are in evidence in Latin America. At the head of these processes is the working class, which makes up almost 45 per cent of the economically active population in Latin America. Its most important allies are the peasantry (23-25 per cent), and the urban middle sections (27-30 per cent).

Within the bourgeoisie there are also some circles whose interests clash with those of imperialism and its local allies. Accordingly, they tend to take up positions which are close to those of the anti-imperialist sections of the population, display readiness to join in the common struggle for economic independence and for stronger national sovereignty of the Latin American countries. These circles constitute the national bourgeoisie, i.e., that stratum of the local bourgeoisie which is connected mainly with the domestic market, where it stands up for its positions in face of intervention from the multinationals, most of which are U.S. corporations.

What is the communists' attitude to this stratum of the bourgeoisie? Can this bourgeoisie be a participant in the anti-imperialist front? The declaration of the Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean says that 'these bourgeois strata can take part in joint democratic and anti-imperialist action alongside the popular forces.'

At the same time, the Communist Parties of Latin

America, which attach much importance to the possibility of involving the national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle, are aware that the opportunities for doing so differ from country to country. The communists reckon with the fact that, first, these strata have a different clout in their countries' socio-political life, and that, second, communists cannot ignore their vacillations and inclination to make deals with imperialism and the local oligarchy.

That is why the communists have again and again to redefine their attitude to the bourgeoisie, both in theoretical and practical political terms, within the framework of the whole region and of the individual countries. The Communist Parties of Latin American countries give individual answers to this question in their program documents, and their collective answer at regional meetings. The recent collapse of the military-fascist government in Bolivia and the revolutionary process in Nicaragua have once again put this question on the agenda as a component part of the policy of alliances pursued by the Communist Parties in their fight against foreign imperialist oppression, against the fascist tyranny, and for democracy, for the Latin American nations' right to determine their own future, and for social progress.

The mounting crisis of military-fascist regimes, as an expression of the upswing in the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples under international détente is being ever more strongly felt in Paraguay as well. In our country, some headway has been made in uniting the forces opposing Stroessner's fascist dictatorship. The chief bourgeois parties of the legal opposition — the Authentic Liberal Radical Party, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party, the Christian-Democratic Party, and the MOPOCO group, which split away from the ruling Colorado Party, and which operates in the underground and in exile³ — in February 1979 signed a National Accord in order 'to pool efforts and promote the establishment of a democratic regime.' The Accord has made 14 demands, including the lifting of the state of siege on the whole territory of the Republic, release of all political and trade-union leaders from detention, passage of a broad amnesty law, and repeal of Acts 209 and 294, which wiped out civil liberties.

The Paraguayan Communist Party (PCP) gave a positive assessment of this fact and emphasized in a special statement that the establishment of the coalition was an important step toward the formation of a broad national anti-dictatorial front. It also noted that the Accord should include not only the four signatories but also the Communist Party and all the other democratic forces, because their absence from the coalition merely helps imperialism and the dictatorship. In its underground newspaper, *Adelante*, the PCP also pointed to the limited nature of the Accord platform. Although it says that 'our people are exploited and oppressed,' there is nothing in it about the economic and social demands made by the working class, the peasantry and other sections of the population, like higher wages, a lower cost of

living, transfer of land to the peasants, extension of credits to them and fair prices for farm produce, freedom of association, etc. Nor does it include the demands of the students. It says nothing about the need for elections to a free and sovereign National Constituent Assembly.

The PCP believes that the coalition platform should provide for an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and establishment of relations with all countries on the basis of non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. That is a necessary condition for protecting national sovereignty and liberating Paraguay from the domination of foreign capital. We believe that inclusion of such a plank in the platform is all the more justified because Stroessner's foreign policy, aimed against détente and dictated by the United States, has been condemned throughout the country.

Among other things, the platform proclaims 'unflinching defense of national sovereignty in face of threats on the part of camouflaged ultra-leftist and ultra-rightist imperialism.' Let us recall that the slogan of defending national sovereignty and fighting imperialist penetration which the communists put forward, has won ever greater support among various public circles. It is quite logical, therefore, that this slogan is reflected in the said platform. But the formula of 'camouflaged ultra-leftist and ultra-rightist imperialism,' apparently written into the coalition document for fear of reprisals on the part of the dictatorship, is groundless. When exploiting our countries' natural resources, imperialism does not at all resort to camouflage. One cannot seriously consider 'ultra-leftist imperialism' either, because there is only the one imperialism that exploits our nations. This refers primarily to U.S. imperialism, which supports the most hated and reactionary regimes on our continent.

In the recent period, Paraguay's democratic and progressive forces standing up in defense of national sovereignty have insistently demanded a review of the treaty for the construction of the Itaipu hydro-power plant under which the Brazilian monopolies (backed by U.S. corporations) have become the co-owners of our national asset: the vast source of energy on the Parana River; they demand the nationalization of REPSA, the U.S. octopus, and abrogation of a number of agreements with the United States which harm the country's interests. All these demands of the democratic forces must be written into the coalition program.

The communists fully approve of the chief purpose of the coalition, which is to establish an 'effective democratic republican system of government.' But, as we see it, it would be wrong to hope, for instance, that free elections could be held in accordance with 'new electoral legislation excluding vote-rigging and ensuring respect for the people's will,' while the country is ruled by Stroessner's fascist dictatorship. Long experience shows that the communists are right when they say that 'Stroessner's regular election farces will never bring about a democratic change, so that our people have only

one way of ending the political oppression and the economic crisis — by overthrowing the dictatorship in a common effort by the masses, employing all the necessary forms of struggle ...'⁴

For many years now, the PCP has been campaigning for a national anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist, and anti-latifundist front which 'from the class point of view should, above all, be a front of the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle sections of the urban population.'⁵ As the struggle by these forces grows, the front should draw the national bourgeoisie, though it does not have a clear-cut position, into the movement against the dictatorship, imperialism and latifundism. One should not overlook the fact that a part of the latifundists and big intermediary bourgeoisie are at odds with, and therefore opposed to, Stroessner's fascist camarilla.

For all the differences between our party and the parties of the bourgeois opposition, which signed the National Accord, and despite the class limitations of the opposition's platform, the communists will continue to do everything they can to enlarge the new coalition, urging it to set more radical goals. They will continue the search for more diverse forms of joint action by all forces opposed to the Stroessner dictatorship. As a first step, at least one of the tasks could be accomplished by joint effort, for every advance along this path would help solve the problems to which we attach great importance, namely, the setting up of unitary committees fighting for common economic and democratic demands. These committees are of primary importance, because the national anti-dictatorial front — whose mission is to set the stage for toppling the dictatorship and replacing it with a provisional military civilian government formed by a bloc of democratic and patriotic forces, which will get down to effecting deep-going socio-economic transformations⁶ — cannot emerge as a result of agreement among the party leaders alone. Such a front should 'result from a coordinated, organized struggle of the working class, peasants, students, teachers, employees, the technical and artistic intelligentsia, merchants, industrialists and other sections of the population.'⁷

The revolutionary energy of the masses, Lenin wrote, is the only effective transformative force. The PCP follows a policy of broad alliances. It does not allow sectarianism with regard to non-proletarian parties and realizes the potential harm of trailing behind events, as in both cases there is a real danger of the party's drifting away from the masses.

At the anti-fascist stage of struggle, joint action may become possible not only with the national bourgeoisie, but also with other sections of the local bourgeoisie opposed to the fascist methods of running the country. The events in Portugal show that these opportunities should not be underrated, considering the long-range strategy of the anti-imperialist struggle. But at the subsequent stage, during the struggle for transition to socialism, joint action could also be taken with some sections of the national bourgeoisie, provided its other sections are

neutralized. In this action, the main blow should be levelled against the monopolies, foreign or local. Attempts to skip this or that stage in the revolutionary process may push the national bourgeoisie, and even a part of the middle strata, into the arms of reaction.

Drawing the national bourgeoisie into a broad front of anti-fascist, and then anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle may tip the balance in our countries in favor of the proletariat. But this must never be done at the expense of the main alliance, the alliance of workers, peasants and the middle strata, to say nothing of doing this at the expense of the proletariat's class independence. We remember very well what Lenin once wrote on that score: 'The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in the colonial and backward countries, but should not merge with it, and should under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement even if it is in its embryonic form' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 41, p. 150). It should be borne in mind that on the whole the proportion of the Latin American bourgeoisie in the economically active population is relatively small (about 3 per cent).

The policy of alliances we have been discussing here requires a differentiated approach, with due account of national specifics, since there is a big difference between the various Latin American states. In some of them, as in Argentina, the percentage of the bourgeoisie is bigger, and in others it is much smaller. In some of the countries relatively large sections of the local bourgeoisie are openly opposed to the dominance of foreign and local monopolies; in others they are neutral in relation to the anti-imperialist movement, and in still others,

intimidated by tales about a 'communist threat,' they temporarily side with reaction. This accounts for the differences in the tactics employed by the Communist Parties in various Latin American countries with regard to the national bourgeoisie, though the principled approach, based on Marxist-Leninist theory and common political conclusions suggested by the practice of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, remains unchanged.

1. WMR, Nos. 7,9, 10, and 11 for 1975, Nos. 1 and 2 for 1976; No. 11 for 1978; and No. 5 for 1979.

2. The enslaving obligations imposed on Cuba in 1901 by the U.S. Administration.

3. These parties are characterized in editorial footnotes to the article by A. Maidana and A. Alcorto, 'Problems in setting up an anti-dictatorial front in Paraguay,' WMR, June 1978.

4. *Manifiesto del CC del PCP de junio de 1978.*

5. *Tesis Politicas aprobadas por el III Congreso del PCP.*

6. Apart from the program for deep-going revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist agrarian transformations, with socialism as the ultimate goal, the PCP has proposed a minimum program providing, in particular, for protection of the country's sovereignty, an end to the rapacious activities of foreign monopolies, ascertaining the whereabouts of the patriots reported 'missing,' release of all political prisoners, lifting of the state of siege, abrogation of repressive fascist Acts 209 and 294, full freedom for all political parties and other public organizations, meeting the vital needs of the working class, the peasants and the students, and providing better living and working conditions for the people. Many of these demands could be supported by the progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie.

7. *Manifiesto del CC del PCP de junio de 1978.*

Belgium: the working-class movement and the communists

Small territorially and in population, Belgium has one of the highest levels of economic development in the Western world. Industrialization changed its make-up as early as at the beginning of the last century, in other words, earlier than other European nations. A hundred years later Lenin spoke of Belgium's 'enormous development, possibly, the highest in the world' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 11, p. 357). Today agriculture involves less than 5 per cent of the gainfully employed population.

The economic crisis gripping the capitalist world since the mid-1970s did not bypass Belgium, where it is quite acute. For instance, unemployment has reached 8.5 per cent of the nation's work force. This gives Belgium a higher unemployment rate than most of the EEC member-states. In the 1975-78 period unemployment almost doubled, nearing half a million, and a further rise is expected.

Belgium's large and well-organized working-class movement is one of the oldest in Europe. Its pronounced successes were noted by Lenin (*Coll. Works*, Vol 5, 159). In addition, the Belgian working class has long-standing reformist traditions. The high level of militancy and organization combine with a 'stable predomination of social-democratic and demochristian reformist trends,' declares a document of the CPB Central Committee.

What are the distinctive features of the Belgian working-class movement today? Are its character and orientation changing under the impact of the most severe postwar crisis? How are the communists, who will be marking the 60th anniversary of their party in two years, working among the masses?

Last March our correspondents met with Jef Turf, Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium, and asked him to answer some ques-

tions. Below we publish this interview and also a report on the struggle that the Belgian working people are waging for their rights and on the role played by the communists in this struggle.

RESOLVING CONCRETE PROBLEMS

Jef Turf

Deputy Chairman, Communist Party of Belgium

Q. The Belgian working-class movement has a long history and a wealth of traditions. But, as in many other capitalist countries, it is divided. What are the political and other factors behind this division and what can help to unite the movement?

A. This division has deep historical roots and in order to understand the present situation we must look back to the events of the last 30 years of the 19th century. In those years the workers' socialist movement unfolded on a very large scale in our country. But it was countered by a strong bourgeois, anti-socialist, Christian-democratic movement. This meant that one section of the Belgian working class stood on its own class positions while the other acted from positions largely determined by the bourgeoisie.

The October Revolution in Russia exercised a radicalizing influence on the Belgian working-class movement. The Communist Party of Belgium, representing a significant segment of the workers, was founded in 1921. The vast majority of its members came from the ranks of the social democrats. That, in brief, is the story of the emergence of different trends in the Belgian working-class movement.

This was a long time ago, but the trends still exist today. True, they have undergone some change. For example, there has been a degree of convergence between the social-democratic and Christian trade unions. Today, they are cooperating in some ways. In Wallonia even a common trade union front has been formed. United action on problems of the day-to-day struggle is common at enterprises between the Christians on the one hand, and the left-wing forces, i.e., the social-democrats and communists, on the other.

Thus, at local levels there is a tendency toward closer unity, but where policy is concerned the situation is very different. On the whole, the social democratic trade union movement is controlled by the reformist Socialist Party, but the revolutionary segment of the left movement gravitates toward the communists. The Christian democratic trade unions align themselves with the Social-Christian Party and although this is a bourgeois party in Flanders it strongly influences the working class. Judging by its numerical strength the movement of Christian working people is the largest in Flanders and so, politically, the working class remains divided.

However, some new factors have appeared in the trade union movement. For example, tangible changes are taking place in the Christian amalgamation. Some of the Christian working people no longer recognize the Social-Christian Party (SCP),

which also includes Christian-democrats, as their political spokesman. This is a somewhat new and important phenomenon because the bourgeoisie relies heavily on the strength of the SCP, which controls a large part of the Belgian working-class movement.

Taking into account the many trends in the working-class movement, our line is, as before, to work for unity or, rather, an alliance of its segments in the actual struggle against monopoly power in our country. Under the impact of the crisis such an alliance is now being built on an increasing scale. Many unitary measures are being taken with the participation of all the progressive forces. The trade union front in Wallonia, which has drawn up its own program to counter the government program, is organizing demonstrations and other actions in the region. The Christian movement is growing increasingly active in Flanders, where it is a powerful force. Next Saturday, for example, there will be two simultaneous demonstrations, which the Communist party is helping to organize, against unemployment.

The concrete struggle against the monopoly policy of cutting back the working people's social gains shows that there are new opportunities for achieving unity in the working-class movement, at least on the local level. But we are also working for unity of the left forces on the political and parliamentary level and have achieved a certain measure of success. This today is one of the main directions of our policy.

In a bourgeois regime parliament is controlled, of course, by the right forces closely connected with big capital. However, we strive to make use of this arena also. I believe headway is being made in solving the problem of unity of all sections of the working-class movement. The struggle must allow for the various traditional trends in the working-class movement. We have no intention of eliminating the Christian and the social-democratic trends. But we would like their struggle to be increasingly spearheaded against monopoly power, which is aggravating the crisis in the country. Such is our understanding of the dialectics of unity.

Q. How do the Belgian communists see the prospect of working-class parties coming closer together? The social democrats usually charge the communists with being dogmatic and narrow-minded, of refusing to or being incapable of weighing realities, etc. What do you think is behind these charges?

A. Politically, the problem of working-class parties coming closer together is very important. At the same time, it is necessary to soberly appraise the fact that social-democracy and Christian-democracy are two varieties of a reformist approach, on the basis of which attempts are being made to change the situation in the country without affecting the monopolies. Belgian social-democracy, however, has always been closely connected with the working peoples' concrete struggle. It has invariably played an important role in the larger working-class battles. Therefore, it has its

militant traditions. There is a continuing class struggle in the social-democratic movement itself, where bourgeois influence clashes with the democratic tendencies of the lower echelons. Of course, we try to help the progressive trends in the social-democratic movement and to pressure its right wing.

We believe that a drawing together of working-class parties is possible on the basis of a concrete struggle. Today, for example, the working people are uniting in opposition to the crisis policy. I have already mentioned the common trade union front in Wallonia which will undoubtedly influence social-democratic policy, because this unitary movement includes workers who voted for its candidates. We hope that stronger unity of the working people at enterprises, and of the common front of struggle, will influence social-democratic development in such a way as to make it possible to implement politically the progressive alternatives we are offering the entire Belgian working-class movement. It is clear today that on the political scene the social democrats are cooperating with the right-wing forces. But as a consequence they are experiencing mounting difficulties in the working-class movement, and this is confirmed by the large-scale actions of our working people.

Now a few words about the social-democratic charges that the communists are dogmatic, narrow-minded, lack good will, are incapable of allowing for realities, etc. In the present situation these charges have absolutely no justification, but some of their aspects were true in the past. I must add, however, that the social-democratic charges against the communists no longer influence public opinion as they used to. Many social democrats are prepared to cooperate with the communists today and the Communist Party is a recognized militant force applying its own general conceptions to the concrete realities of the democratic movement.

Just one example. During the 1977 election campaign the social democrats proposed creating 100,000 new jobs in Belgium. But though they were in the government after the elections, unemployment did not drop; on the contrary it increased by more than 100,000. In this situation the Communist Party did more than just criticize. 'You have proposed creating 100,000 new jobs,' it said, 'we agree with you, and here is our proposal: let's work together to create those 100,000 jobs with every means at our disposal.'

Socialist working people are very impressed by this stance and it clears the road for united action. I would add that today it is only the right that accuses us of being narrow-minded dogmatists because the Belgian working people generally and the social democrats in particular have quite a different opinion of the Communist Party.

Q. What makes social-reformism predominant in the Belgian working-class movement and what are the possibilities of changing this situation. How do you envisage solving this problem?

A. Social-reformist predominance in the Belgian working-class movement is a very important ques-

tion and we, Marxists must try to ascertain the reason. First, take the economic side of the problem. Our country's economy developed rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in Flanders. By about the end of the 1950s the multinationals were already looking in our direction and the Belgian government opened the doors wide, granting them large privileges. At that time they were instrumental in creating many new jobs and the illusion that all problems were solved. There seemed to be the promise that for Belgium the 1960s would be a 'golden decade,' that there would be almost total employment among the population, something that Flanders had never experienced.

In these conditions social-democratic reformist illusions flourished. Understandably, when a country is progressing, when almost the entire able-bodied population is employed, when, due to high labor productivity, the bourgeoisie can forego part of its profits, making small handouts to the working people (the result of their struggle, of course), neither a revolutionary spirit nor revolutionary conceptions can emerge as they can at other times.

And so, the development of state-monopoly capitalism in the 1950s and 1960s provided social-democratic reformism, in all its manifestations, with a good objective basis. But all this was changed by the general crisis at the start of the 1970s, whose roots are to be found in the 'golden 1960s.' Today we say that the illusions of constantly improving living standards, of progress and employment, evaporated into thin air. Of course, this has not yet fully affected the subjective perception of the working people and the working class as a whole because this perception trails behind objective phenomena. Nevertheless, we see that there is a growing awareness today of what has happened, for more and more working people are beginning to realize that reformism can no longer effectively solve their vital problems. Consequently, there are indications of a definite evolution among part of the working people from reformism to more revolutionary ideas, which are close to our positions. I believe that any explanation of the influence of reformist views and of the social-democratic impact in our country must invariably take the realities of our national economic development into account.

Q. Bourgeois propaganda claims that in the capitalist countries today, small Communist Parties stand no chance of growing and becoming influential. What is your opinion of this and what opportunities do you think the Belgian Communist Party has for growth? What is necessary for this?

A. I must say that lately, even in our country, bourgeois circles are showing signs of nervousness not only because of the determination displayed by the communist movement in the sphere of the working people's struggle, but also because of its growing influence in the country's political life. For example the Communist Party's positions in Wallonia, especially in the industrial centers, have al-

ways been much stronger than in Flanders. But lately the position of the Communist Party in Flanders has changed. The elections, which to a certain degree can serve as an indicator of the party's influence, show that today we have reached the level there of the immediate postwar years. During the cold war period there was a drop in communist influence in Belgium and the communist movement dwindled. Today we are on the upswing.

And this is worrying the bourgeoisie. They are actively trying to interfere, to force us out of the mass media. But the situation has changed. I do not think the bourgeoisie is as certain today as it used to be that it is capable of restraining the Communist Party within narrow confines. However, there is one highly important condition here. Considering the circumstances of the struggle and the highly organized traditional working-class movement, I think the CPB can play a leading and even decisive part in social transformations without being a large, mass party such as exist in other capitalist countries.

The Communist Party is growing today and if in the near future we can win ten per cent of the vote, it will play the main role in creating a united front of the country's progressive forces and direct this movement toward a political alternative, to a political regime capable of curtailing monopoly power and preparing for socialist-oriented transformations. I think this is very important for Belgium and, possibly, for other capitalist countries with numerically small Communist Parties. We must keep in mind, however, that the bourgeoisie is also aware of such a possibility and is drawing its own conclusions.

What is needed, you ask, for the growth of the CPB? First and foremost, to convince the working class and all the working people that we are capable of offering a democratic alternative to the policy of the right forces. The Communist Party must show that it can deal with the crisis, inflation and unemployment, that it can advance realistic goals and the prospects for extending all the rights of the working class and other sections of the population that today are feeling the effects of the destructuralization of industry and the monopoly's crisis policy. Second, the Communist Party of Belgium, which is, as it has always been, a staunch contingent of the world communist movement, must show the people of our country that, notwithstanding bourgeois fabrications, it has its own, independent political line.

In conclusion I would like to offer the following observation: capitalism's general crisis which affects the situation of the working class in Belgium, where a part of the population is experiencing mounting difficulties because of the crisis, has resulted in an objective need for the Communist Party to extend its influence and to work energetically to create a front of progressive forces capable of bringing about changes and taking significant steps in the direction of socialism in our country.

REPORTS AT FIRST HAND

SPEARHEADING THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Jaakoub Garro

CC member, Syrian Communist Party

Yuri Potyomkin

WMR staff member

Belgian comrades gave us the opportunity to visit various parts of the country, study the work of some party federations, and talk to their leaders and activists working in the trade unions. This is a report of what we saw and heard, although our impressions are inevitably fragmented because one cannot, of course, go deep into the life and struggle of the working people and the activities of the communists in a few days.

Demonstration in Namur

Upon our arrival in Brussels we learned that there was to be a massive workers' demonstration in Namur on the next day, March 29. Geographically, the city is approximately in the center of Wallonia, the southern part of Belgium. We drove to the city with Marcel Levaux, member of the CPB Central Committee and MP from Liège, and Emiel Dullaert, member of the writing staff of the party's Flemish weekly *Rode Vaan*. Driving his modest Diance, Marcel related:

'In Belgium we have an intertwining of the usual social and political problems of a highly developed capitalist country with the problems of the existence and development of two cultural and linguistic groups: French-speaking in Wallonia and Dutch-speaking in Flanders. From the standpoint of the class struggle there is, of course, little to distinguish between them. The point is, however, that the language boundary is, to some extent, also an economic, social and political boundary.

"Cradle" of Belgium's industrialization, Wallonia with its coal, ferrous metals, metal-working, food and other industries was the pole of the nation's economic growth until the mid-1950s. For a number of reasons, this pole subsequently shifted to the northwest, to Flanders, closer to the coast. There the economic boom prompted Belgian and foreign capital to make large investments in the chemical, petrochemical, and some other modern and highly profitable industries.

'The crisis has induced Belgian and foreign monopolies to restructure production with the view mainly to closing enterprises whose profit rate is not high enough. It is affecting the whole of Belgian industry, but the emphasis is chiefly on what are regarded as unpromising branches using technology that has to a certain extent grown obsolete. Most of these branches are located in Wallonia. The socio-economic effects of capitalist restructuring are thus relatively more serious in Wallonia. First, the policy pursued by the monopolies calls in question the region's economic future. Second, it generates more unemployment than in Flanders.

'In Belgium today questions linked to regional-community distinctions are one of the main issues

of the struggle between progressive and conservative forces. The former, who include the Communist Party, are insisting on democratic federalism. This implies the unconditional maintenance of state unity, and the formation in Flanders, Wallonia and the Brussels region (Flemish territorially, and French-speaking linguistically) of elective regional bodies vested with real socio-economic rights and possibilities. The latter are clinging to the existing fairly rigid centralized structure of state administration that enables them to spread the political influence they enjoy in Flanders (and in parliament) to regions where this influence is practically non-existent.

'Regional-community distinctions have made their imprint on the nation's largest political organizations (the Socialist and Social-Christian parties) and on the trade unions controlled by them (the General Federation of Labor of Belgium and the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions respectively). In the recent past, they split nationwide into independent Flemish and Wallonian organizations with identical or almost identical action programs. The influence of the social-Christian and Christian trade unions is predominant in Flanders, and that of the socialists and the GFLB is predominant in Wallonia.

'Naturally, these factors are taken into account by the Communist Party, two-thirds of whose members are Walloons. While maintaining a single leadership it has three regional councils exercising a certain autonomy in implementing the line of the Central Committee. Moreover, the quest continues for ways and means of consolidating the principle of federalism in party life.

'The existence of two large trade union centers — the "socialist" and the Christian — is evidence of the Belgian working-class movement's fragmentation. But in fighting for their interests the working people need unity. It comes from the grass roots, from the worker masses. In the many strikes factory workers belonging to different unions act hand in hand. The demonstration in Namur, held by decision of the General Trade Union Front of Wallonia, had the vigorous support of the communists.'

Thursday was a work day but the city looked deserted. There were few pedestrians and little traffic. The shops, restaurants, and bistros were closed. Levaux parked his car and took his leave — he had to meet some comrades.

We asked a policeman the way to Grognon Square, where the demonstration was to assemble for a rally. Columns of working people of Namur and other Walloon industrial centers (Liège, Charleroi, Mons, Borinage and Brabant), Levaux had told us, were to march to the Square from different directions. A strike had been called for the day, but the railwaymen were working in order to transport thousands of people to Namur.

Banners of many colors fluttered in the fresh wind. Red banners of the GFLB, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party; green banners of the Christian trade unions; yellow banners of Wallonia. A band marched in front of the column. The stirring

strains of the *Internationale* filled the air beneath the low, cloudy sky. The demonstrators wore the round badges of the trade unions on their blouses and jackets. Most of the badges were of trade union affiliated to the GFLB. Overhead were transparencies, each bearing a slogan: 'End the unemployment!', 'Stop social regress!', 'Solidarity in the fight for work!', 'Tax the rich!', 'We shall reshape Wallonia!', 'For unity of the left!.'

The column moved slowly, halting now and again. Trade unionists and party activists distributed leaflets. A proclamation put out by the General Trade Union Front of Wallonia contained a series of demands: a 36-hour working week, democratic planning, the safeguarding of traditional industries, trade union approval for state intervention at factories experiencing difficulties as a consequence of actions by entrepreneurs, effective control of all measures concerning employment and of management by working people organized in trade unions, and 'genuine political regionalization' in socio-economic development, to mention a few. Unlike the past, these demands were not confined to a purely economic framework.

A leaflet of the Liège Federation of the Socialist Party contained statistics illustrating socio-economic 'discrimination' against Wallonia by the 'unitary state ruled by a Flemish majority.' This was obviously a blurred if not entirely non-class approach to the need for 'genuine, complete, and profound regionalization.'

A tall young man with a large sheaf of leaflets was handing them out to the demonstrators. They were an appeal from the Walloon Regional Council of the Communist Party. We were given one of them. It stated that the demonstration in Namur was a 'strong rebuff to the maneuvers of the entrepreneurs and right-wing forces who are using every means to undermine the resistance of the working people to the assault on social gains, employment and wages ... on the principle of democratic regionalization. To counter these maneuvers the action of March 29 can create the conditions for political renewal on the basis of the working-class and progressive forces of Wallonia.' On the back was an application form for membership in the party and the words: 'For a more independent and a more energetic working-class movement. Strengthen the Communist Party.'

There were many people — men, women, young and elderly people — in the Square at the confluence of the Meuse and Sambre Rivers. The police estimated their number as 60,000. The trade unions believed there were more. The rally had begun, but the human stream kept flowing in, crowding the embankments, the bridge across the Sambre, the nearby streets, and even the massive grey walls towering in the proximity of an old castle.

Communist MPs Louis Van Geyt (Party Chairman), George Glineur, Noella Dinan, and Marcel Levaux, and Senators Claude Renard and Robert Dussart marched with the demonstrators. The communists had done much to pave the way for the demonstration, the formation of the Walloon Trade

Union Front, and the formulation of its demands.

Leaders of the Trade Union Front addressed the demonstrators from a high mushroom-shaped rostrum. Robert D'Hondt, General Secretary of the Christian Trade Unions, declared that the Front's demands could not be met by a conservative political authority. There had to be a progressive authority and comprehensive control by representatives of the working people.

Jean Gayetot spoke on behalf of the GFLB: 'We reject every policy that shifts the burden of the crisis to the working people,' he said. 'Those who counted on a divided working class miscalculated. We are united and see our aims clearly. There must be structural reforms that would extricate us from the crisis. This implies a progressive alternative for Wallonia, in other words, a clear-cut and all-embracing program supported by the progressive majority. Nothing and nobody can stop us. This is only the first stage. Others will follow.'

The demonstration of the Trade Union Front of Wallonia was an event of nationwide significance. 'The enemies of the working class and their spokesmen,' *Le Drapeau Rouge*, organ of the CPB, wrote on the next day, 'will not find it easy to ignore the will for struggle and unity that was displayed with such force in Namur.' The unparalleled political slant of the demonstration was noted not only by the left press but also by the bourgeois media. *Soir* wrote: 'Initially confined to the trade unions, this broad movement of disaffection . . . is increasingly acquiring a more distinct political orientation.'

This mass action of the working people in defense of their class interests and against the actions of the monopolies took place precisely at a time when a political compact had been made in Brussels (with the participation of the Social-Christian and Socialist Parties of Flanders and Wallonia, and of the French-speaking parties of the capital) with the purpose of forming the next government. During our visit in Belgium we heard time and again that the SP and Walloon Social-Christian Party ministers and the leadership of these organizations will unquestionably have to reckon with the new and weighty factor represented by the General Trade Union Front of Wallonia, which has so strongly made its mark in Namur.

Another important point is that despite the calculations of the people fanning internecine hostility as a barrier to stronger unity in the Belgian working-class movement, the Namur demonstration was not anti-Flemish. More, a delegation of Flemish workers from the oil-refinery in Antwerp took part in it. This working collective's staunch and persevering stand against the refinery's owners has made it known throughout the nation. We should like to say a few words about it.

Occupation by the workers

Strike waves are rolling across Belgium in quick succession. Although they differ in time, character and scale, one increasingly sees their common orientation against the economic policy of the ruling circles, which champion the interests of the

monopolies, of big capital. In addition to strikes, which are their time-honored and tested weapon, the workers sometimes use a new weapon, new for Belgium at any rate, namely the seizure of enterprises.

In Belgium the 1960s witnessed considerable investment activity by foreign corporations, chiefly by U.S. multinationals. In that period the manufacturing industry received more than two-thirds of the direct foreign investments in fixed capital. The RBP oil-refinery, placed in operation in 1958, was later bought lock, stock and barrel by Occidental Petroleum of the USA.

Maximum profit is the overriding law and aim of capitalist business. The minute business declines and profit slows down big capital, in total disregard of the vital interests of the working people, here and there curtails or altogether folds up production in order to tide over the market inclement weather or transfer it to a location with more advantageous economic conditions. For Occidental Petroleum one of these 'here-and-there's' was the RBP refinery in Antwerp. Last August the enterprise was closed. The question of what to do next became stark reality for the refinery's 250 workers. They decided to fight. To come to this decision they were helped mainly by the communists, by the party section for the oil-refinery industry of the Antwerp Federation of the CPB.

The Federation, we were told by Ludo Loose, its political secretary and member of the Municipal Council, has nearly 700 members. Its 22 sections embrace port workers, shipbuilders, car assembly workers, oilmen, metallurgists, service industry employees and workers in other industries. Although they are numerically small, the party's organizations in many cases exercise considerable influence among the workers, particularly in critical situations such as the one that obtained at the RBP after it was closed. The working people's own experience has convinced them of the communists' determination and staunchness in upholding their demands. They respond to this with growing respect and trust.

It frequently happens that the workers elect mostly communists to represent them on factory councils and committees for hygiene and safety engineering, where their interests come into direct conflict with those of the entrepreneurs, although on the whole the trade unions that appoint their representatives to these bodies are controlled by the Social-Christian and Socialist Parties. We heard the same story in Ghent, Liège and Charleroi. Even in trade union organs proper the proportion of communist representation is far larger than their number at factories or in whole industries.

But let us return to the RBP. After the management announced that the refinery would be closed, a general meeting of workers resolved by a majority vote to occupy the enterprise, guard it, and secure satisfaction in the settlement of the conflict. The meeting elected a 15-man occupation committee (all were former trade union delegates). Its chairman was Honore Kerschaevar, one of the two com-

munists at the refinery (during the strike another member of the committee joined the party).

The refinery is situated in the port zone. Comrade Loose or Luc, as this 35-year-old bearded and stocky man in a black leather jacket is called affectionately by the workers, drove us to the refinery in a car filled with leaflets and placards. On the way he spoke of the port workers, and one could feel that he had an excellent knowledge of the life and thoughts of this largest contingent of Antwerp workers, whom he called 'very spontaneous and very militant' (the party's port workers' section is the largest in the federation). A steelmaker by profession, he has been a party functionary for the past five years. First as a member and then political secretary of the Federal committee. Three years ago he was elected a CC member.

Enormous cylinders and fancifully intertwining oil-refining installations flashed past on our right. We drove up to the refinery gates. The two workers on duty there waved a greeting to Loose and without further ado opened the gates. Over the gates there was a black and red flag tattered by wind and rain. Black symbolized that the refinery was not operating, red symbolized the struggle of the workers.

In the management and service building we were met by the chairman of the occupation committee. Slightly stooped of shoulder, a thin face, an attentive gaze, and a tired look in his eyes, Kerschaevar was only a little over 50. But the workers, most of whom were young, respectfully called him 'Father Honore.'

Kerschaevar took us round the building that was now used as a hostel; there were campbeds and mattresses in the rooms and corridors of the two upper floors.

It was clean. On the announcement board hung a cartoon of the socialist Economics Minister Willy Claes, who had promised to settle the problem of the RBP last November but had since done nothing. There was a group of workers in the recreation room next to the canteen. Many were scattered about the refinery — the guard teams or tending equipment — the strikers were keeping the refinery in technical readiness for a resumption of production. This had gone on for seven months.

Our ranks, Kerschaevar said, had thinned since then. The struggle was started by 244 workers, but it was being continued by 186. Nearly 60 had left. The workers had no grudge against them for they knew and appreciated their motivations. There were different motivations, one being that a large family could not be fed on the unemployment allowance, which was roughly half the regular wage. Matters were even worse in families where the wife had no job.

Added to this was the constant nervous strain, not only among the workers themselves but also in their families. The protracted uncertainty had brought with it nervous depression to the wives of quite a few workers. At the refinery itself there had been cases of psychological stresses and fatal infarctions.

The losses were thus quite explicable. But no struggle is free of losses. The workers quite correctly regarded the seizure of the refinery as a battle against capitalists. Of course, this entailed explanatory work, but it did not require much effort because the reality of the struggle gave the workers an understanding of its political character.

'I must say,' Kerschaevar went on, 'that we do not feel we are in isolation. We are supported morally and financially by the trade unions. An inter-trade-union solidarity committee has been set up. As a matter of fact, nine of its 12 members are communists.' On April 21 it will hold a solidarity demonstration. (Upon our return from Belgium we read that thousands of Antwerp workers and delegations from a number of factories in other cities took part in the demonstration.)

'Our specific aim is to make sure that no jobs are lost. You will ask how? By nationalizing the whole enterprise or part of it — even in the latter case there could be employment for 120 persons. Our demands thereby have a political undertone. As members of the working class we reject the government's policy, which in effect serves the interests of monopoly capital, and are suggesting a progressive alternative. The workers will remain here, at the refinery, until this issue is resolved.'

As we see it, the RBP strike reflected the following specific feature of the present socio-political situation in Belgium. The logic of the struggle for vital interests is tending to make the working class break out of the notorious reformist 'social partnership' (trade unions-entrepreneurs-the state). The practice of social relations inevitably brings the workers round to understanding the total irreconcilability of the contradictions between labor and capital, which strikingly manifest themselves in acute periods of the crisis of capitalism.

This tendency in the working-class movement is fueled by the day-to-day, persevering, and seemingly not very perceptible work of the communists. However great the educational significance of social practice may be, it alone cannot raise the working class to the level of political consciousness and organization that brings it to a qualitatively new stage of its struggle — not only against the effects but also against the very existence of capitalist exploiting relations. The Belgian communists are still few in number, the consequences of the anti-communist hysteria of the cold war days have not been entirely surmounted, and there are some inner-party difficulties. But the Communist Party is in the center of the class struggle developing in Belgium. It stands for the unity of the working people, for the politicization of the working-class movement, for an anti-reformist, revolutionary prospect in its development.

Politicization of the struggle

The communists are aware that every effort must be made to help the working class shed its reformist fetters. In a recent party document it was noted that the 'politicization of the struggle will advance the working-class and democratic movement and, at

the same time, facilitate the needed strengthening of the Communist Party, whose organizations should try to act in the same direction more effectively than in the past.'

What does politicizing the working-class struggle imply? From our talks with Belgian comrades we understood that at present the Communist Party is insisting that the stance of officials at municipal council, provincial and, particularly national level, in parliament, elected by factory and office workers should mirror the demands of the working people. It is thus a matter of ensuring the political continuation of the struggle unfolding at enterprises, at the grass-roots, in order to compel the nation's 'political class' to act in conformity with the interests of the working masses, to refrain from freezing the promises generously given during election campaigns by representatives of the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic organizations. Evidently, this can only be achieved by the working people themselves by bringing increasing pressure to bear on those they elect.

This approach of the Belgian communists to the problem of politicizing the working-class movement in keeping with the distinctive features of the country and the obtaining situation by no means signifies that they are ignoring the need for patient and persevering efforts to lead the working class gradually out of the logic of bourgeois rules of the 'game,' out of the logic of capitalism, and give its actions an anti-capitalist orientation. Of course, it would be unrealistic to attempt to tackle this task without enlisting more communists in the working-class movement, without enlarging the Communist Party. How can the existing state of affairs be changed? We found that this question worries the communists and heard different viewpoints and judgments on tactics of the struggle and on some specific problems of socio-economic life.

In the course of many decades reformist psychology has sunk deep roots in the Belgian working-class movement, roots that are politically fostered and safeguarded by the social democrats and Christian-democrats comprising the left wing of the Social-Christian Party (which pursues what is virtually an undisguised bourgeois policy and adroitly uses the long-standing Catholic traditions among the population, especially in Flanders). The trade unions, which are well-structured and powerful by themselves, have close bonds with these political forces. In a situation in which the Communist Party's presence among the working people is still not large, the locals at the factories are in many cases small, and the network of these locals inadequate. The communists are endeavoring to win greater influence among the working class and raise its struggle to a higher level not only with reliance on the party locals but also by utilizing the possibilities offered by the trade union movement. These orientations are, of course, closely interrelated.

To win prestige among the masses, 'propaganda and agitation alone are not enough. . . . For that, the masses must have their own political experience' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 93), which will

give them a clear idea of who is who from the standpoint of the struggle for their present and long-term interests. In this respect, the Belgian comrades noted, the party's work has undergone significant modifications in recent years. The substance of these modifications is that they bring the party's work closer to the nation's acute problems and enable it to put forward alternatives to the policy of the monopolies.

Dirk Vonch, political secretary of the party's Ghent Federation, told us that in Ghent, an industrial center in Flanders, 'the workers are showing increased confidence in the party. We take every opportunity to denounce the monopolies and their operations, which are aggravating the crisis and leading to a growth of unemployment. The party is employing a different strategy than, say, ten years ago. Our propaganda in those years was either pervaded with a purely syndicalist spirit or simply called for socialism, under which "things will be better." I do not believe the workers understood that language. Today the emphasis is on substantiating and propagating — on district level — specific measures whose implementation would follow the channel of the struggle against the monopolies. This is helping to broaden our contacts with workers, both socialists and Christian-democrats, who understand that what we are offering is a realistic alternative.'

We were told practically the same thing by trade union delegates of the GFLB, the communists Albert Saureck and Roger Bertrand, at one of Belgium's largest metallurgical companies, Cockerill (Liège), which has more than 14,500 workers and office employees. Ferrous metallurgy is among the industries hardest hit by the crisis. Here the restructuring of production, including the intention to effect a partial closure, is particularly pronounced. Cockerill is an excellent illustration of the social consequences of this policy. Since 1975 this company's factories have reduced their work force by 4,500, while by the mid-1980s, according to the management's plans, there will be only a little above 12,000 jobs.

A natural defensive reaction of the trade unions to the growing unemployment is their demand for a 36-hour working week without pay reductions and with the hire of an additional work force (this demand was first made as early as 1972 by the Communist Party). Naturally, the communists are likewise accentuating this demand in their political explanatory work.

The Communist Party section at Cockerill has about 130 members. This is, understandably, a small organization for such a large industrial complex. Nevertheless, precisely the communists are the politicizing catalyst, without which the militancy and efficacy of the trade unions would hardly have been very high. 'Through the Cockerill section and its locals,' Bertrand said, 'our Federation shows the workers the actual mainsprings and character of the crisis. Naturally, the preservation of the ferrous metallurgical industry conforms to national interests, and the state is extending considerable

financial assistance. But this assistance comes from funds that are the fruit of the labor of workers, and the communists are demanding the nationalization of the ferrous metallurgical and other monopolized industries. Under the capitalist system nationalization is, of course, no panacea, but all the same it is a significant step toward democracy.

'We are not having an easy time of it,' Bertrand continued. 'The day-to-day, massive and, it must be acknowledged, skillful bourgeois propaganda influences the working people. Many workers still believe that the factory operates only because it belongs to a capitalist. Without wide-ranging propaganda media, and in this respect neither our party nor even the trade unions can vie with the bourgeoisie, it is extremely difficult to reshape this way of thinking. But we are not losing our optimism.'

The historical optimism of the communists has nothing in common with futile dreaming. We shall conclude this report by relating our meeting with Robert Dussart, chief delegate of the GFLB at enterprises of the ACEC electrical engineering multinational in Charleroi, a communist senator, and member of the Political Bureau of the CPB Central Committee. Accompanied by Felicien Nieson, Political Secretary of the Charleroi Party Federation, we found him among members of the strike committee in a noisy bistro opposite the factory.

The ACEC factories had stopped work two weeks earlier. As everywhere else, the strikers were demanding a shorter working week and higher pay. 'Is there more to this?' one of us asked Gustav Marlier, a socialist and Dussart's trade union deputy. 'Yes,' he replied. 'A strike is also a struggle for a tangible change of the existing system and a means of influencing the leadership of the Socialist Party.'

Illness had affected Dussart's vocal chords. But even a whispered speech by this energetic, willful man commanded equal attention at workers' meetings, the factory council, and in the Senate. 'Our struggle against reformism,' he said, 'is still far from having been won. Today it must be conducted more intensively than ever. . . . By working in the trade unions, we strive to spread the lofty, liberative ideas of communism. Does this conflict with the interests of the working people? On the contrary. The workers who elected me chief trade union delegate at the ACEC factories and, more, a senator, are well aware of my political convictions . . . A point that must be taken into account is that in political elections here in Charleroi — this will perhaps happen in other regions of Belgium in the future — each communist candidate polls more than twice as many votes as each socialist candidate (the proportion being 22 to 10). Of course there is much we have to do to enhance the political influence of the Communist Party in real terms. But we are confident that our struggle will yield results.'

Escalation of terrorism

AGAINST PERSECUTION AND REPRESSION

The Uruguayan authorities have started another round of savage reprisals against the left-wing forces, above all against our party, the Young Communist League (YCL), the Working People's National Convent (WPNC) and the Broad Front.

This is the dictatorship's third attempt to wipe out the Communist Party over the six years since the coup. In late 1973, in an atmosphere of fierce persecution of the communists (the party was banned), the military authorities announced that they had stamped out 'Marxist subversive activity' in the country. But two years later, a movement for the satisfaction of vital demands and democracy was once again under way under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Broad Front and the WPNC.

In October 1975, the dictatorship's military machine, in concert with the repressive forces of the Southern Cone countries, began a thoroughly planned operation against the Communist Party, which developed into a hunt for its leaders, activists and workers of the communist press. In the course of a Hitler-style 'Blitzkrieg,' thousands of members of the party and the YCL were jailed and subjected to savage physical and moral torture. More than 200 persons were either killed in the torture-chambers or 'disappeared.' Among the thousands of com-

munists who were incarcerated were well-known leaders of the CP Uruguay, among them Jose L. Massera, Jaime Perez, Gerardo Cuesta, Vladimir Turiansky, Rosario Petrarola, Alberto Altesor, Rita Ibarburu, Jorde Mazzarovich and Luis Tournon.

Having committed its atrocities, the regime decided that Marxism and its party had been dealt a death blow. But life itself, the resistance of the working class and the students, reflecting the growing mass discontent with fascism, which has plunged the people into an unprecedented plight, testify again and again that the fascist generals are incapable of annihilating communism, because the communists are the heart of a powerful organism which is the people and its homeland.

In March 1979, additional hundreds of party members were jailed and subjected to monstrous tortures: in order to intimidate the population, the terroristic acts were openly committed in the streets. Once again the fascist generals announced that they had 'captured the communist apparatus' and that our party had been destroyed. But we are sure that the falsehood of this will be shown up by future events.

There is no need to pretend that the blow was not a heavy one. Prominent party members are in the torture-chambers. Among them are Leon Lev, a

bank clerk and a leader of the party and the YCL. Among them are comrades Adolfo Drescher, Omar Rodriguez, Tomas Riverto, Ruben Abrines and Juan Santini. Some of them have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The fresh tide of repressions coincided with the appointment of the extreme reactionary General Luis Queirolo as commander of the army, and he has never made a secret of his intention to mount a frontal offensive against the Communist Party and the left-wing forces. He has now surrounded himself with like-minded advisers, among them General Linares Brum. The two were the most prominent leaders of the latest 'operation.'

There is yet another political aspect which needs to be considered. In view of the crisis of the dictatorship and the growing discontent of the masses, and also of the pressure from the democratic forces, the military leadership was forced, a year ago, to announce its intention to hold 'elections' before 1981. Of course, that is nothing but an attempt to embellish the regime. The fascist leaders are aware that they will find it very hard to retreat and go back on their promise. That is why by means of repression they have been trying to prevent the truly popular forces and their vanguard from having an influence on political developments.

Without minimizing the strength of the enemy, we still say that there is a great gap between its potentialities and its urge to destroy the opposition. What is more, the Communist Party and the mass organizations are now reforming their ranks much faster than they did in October 1975, when the authorities carried out their second campaign of repression. In so saying, we have in mind the following objective facts. This year, the fiercest reprisals once again fell from mid-February to mid-

March. In that very period, a report from Montevideo said: 'Thousands of leaflets have been circulated with a demand for the release of the arrested; in some areas leaflets have appeared to mark May Day. Broad Front leaflets have also been circulated. Inscriptions have re-appeared on the walls of buildings with the date "March 1979," after the police had pasted over the old ones.'

In April, the WPNC issued a manifesto, which said in part: 'The working class of Uruguay, which is now rallied around its trade union center and its genuine trade unions, declares that the attempts to split the working people's unity will prove futile. We have demonstrated this already and will do so again and again. Let those who dream of putting down the struggle of the working class . . . see how far away they are from their goal, how each of their attempts in this direction merely intensifies the people's wrath.'

Despite the losses, the communist vanguard exists and continues its fight. The WPNC and the Broad Front have maintained their authority and are acting. There is opposition to the government in the traditional parties and the Church.

The hard period which we are now going through will be overcome. If the movement for joint action against the dictatorship is developed, if fraternal international solidarity is strengthened, the boastful predictions of those who have from time to time decreed the annihilation of the Communist Party and the democratic opposition will once again come to naught.

Today, solidarity with the anti-fascist fighters in Uruguay is more necessary than ever before.

Enrique Rodriguez
Executive Committee member,
Secretary, CP Uruguay CC

New experience

This section of *WMR* carries information on communist working methods. The experience gained by fraternal parties day after day will find reflection in our interviews, extracts from party documents and press items, readers' letters and brief reports.

OUR INTERVIEWS

BUILDING UP INFLUENCE AMONG THE WORKERS

Gaya Singh
Council member, Communist Party of India,
State of Bihar

Q. The CPI organization in the State of Bihar has lately made notable gains and become the party's strongest unit in the nation. Could you comment on how its work is structured, particularly at the factories?

A. I must say that work at the factories is not the

strongest aspect of our activities. Our party's positions have traditionally been the most solid in the countryside, among the peasants — not only in Bihar. But we realize how important it is for the party to win more influence among the workers and we are doing our best to achieve that aim in keeping with local conditions and the nature of our working class.

Of course, India has old industrial areas — Bombay, Calcutta and others — with a hereditary proletariat. But even among them, the INTUC led by the Indian National Congress, which headed the national-liberation movement and set up trade unions at the factories, is still very strong. Basically India's industry consists of small enterprises where the level of the workers' political consciousness and organization is very low indeed.

In the years of independence, big modern enterprises have also sprung up in other areas that are closer to raw materials, many in tribal regions.

Among them is the steel mill built with Soviet aid in Bokaro, where I head the steel workers' union. Most of the people employed at such plants are first-generation workers. Many came from the countryside in the agrarian reform period. Their social origin is worth noting, for quite a few are from families of landowners, rich peasants, officials and members of the liberal professions. This category generally takes jobs in the public sector, where conditions are better than in the private sector. It consists mainly of skilled workers. Unskilled work is done by one-time poor peasants and Harijans (members of the lower castes).

During working hours social, caste and religious distinctions seem to disappear — people work and eat together. But distinctions in origin make themselves felt as soon as the workers walk out of the factory gates. People from well-to-do families engage in commerce and usury. In some cases one brother works at a factory while another is a usurer or keeps a shop. All this affects the workers' political consciousness and influences their choice of trade union, and this must be taken into account by our party.

Our mill is a new one. It gets its workers from rural areas, where the party holds strong positions, as I have said, and I don't mean poor peasants and Harijans only. In Bihar the party leads a movement of school teachers. It enjoys considerable influence in vocational colleges. This is why we succeeded from the first in winning firm positions in the unions and in forming what by Indian standards is a strong party organization. The mill now employs 35,000 workers. Fifteen thousand of them belong to the union headed by us; 10,000 are unorganized because they are still inhibited by a feudal and religious mentality (3,000 of them are highly skilled workers). Five thousand belong to various unions led by the ruling Janata Party, and another 5,000 are members of unions led by the Congress party. There are 800 communists at the mill. Besides, 2,000 employees are members of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society.

We carry on our work at the mill chiefly through the unions. Often when a problem concerning everybody comes up we succeed in drawing members of other unions into the campaign for demands put forward by our workers. In November 1973, we had an eight-day strike at the mill. It was led by our union and we also conducted the main talks with the management and government representatives.

In specific issues, however, the various unions generally act on their own. But even in these cases we try to lead their struggles. In February 1978, some of the crane-operators — 300 out of 800 — went on strike at the call of the Janata Party-led union. Their fellow-workers belonging to our union, also about 300, backed the strike and found themselves heading the struggle three or four days later. When the Janata union tried to make concessions we said 'no.' Pressure was put on us and the chief minister of the state stepped in. But in the end the government had to promise to meet the workers'

demands within eight weeks. Things like this added to our influence.

We also try to unite the workers outside the mill by organizing folk festivals, which bring together members of different castes and religions.

As regards political and ideological work, we carry it on through party branches, of course, and make sure that these branches meet regularly. The mill's party organization is composed mostly of one-time Harijans and poor peasants, but there are also members of the middle strata and higher castes.

It would seem that the situation is not bad. But while the workers readily follow our unions in campaigning for specific demands, they often refuse to do so when it comes to political issues. Not infrequently, the very same workers make common cause with reactionary groups by voting for candidates of right-wing parties. This is a problem common to the whole nation and not only to our state. It makes us think harder about how to carry on our activity among the workers. We are definitely short of trained party cadres in modern industrial combines. Many of the communists assigned to political work and propaganda lack the necessary education. The fact is that the finest members of the party cadre have traditionally been active in rural areas. The industrial enclaves in tribal regions are rather isolated.

I believe we can remove shortcomings by improving our organizational work and by pursuing a policy calling for left-democratic unity, which would enable us to bring, for example, the middle strata into the struggle against the big landowners and monopolies.

REACH THE READER

Heinz Zaslowski

Manager, Globus Publishers, Austria

Otto Lange

Sales manager

Q. You publish Marxist literature and communist papers and periodicals. How do you go about circulating your publications, in particular the CPA daily, *Volksstimme*?

Zaslowski. I suppose I ought to begin by briefly describing the conditions in which our party circulates its publications. I would say that Austrians have a very peculiar and limited reading interest. Of course, there is no illiteracy in our country. We have a highly skilled working class. And there is a large intellectual community. The main thoroughfares of Vienna and other cities are dotted with bookshops. Yet very few books are sold. Not so long ago, a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education and the Arts found that the average Austrian buys less than half a book per year. And in this case 'book' also means tourist guides, detective stories and the like. I know from experience that hardly any publisher brings out a book in Austria if he doesn't expect to export 85 to 90 per cent of the edition.

Lange. I must add that the situation is much the same in the newspaper market. Most Austrians consider that they get all the information they need

from TV and one of the two rags, *Neue Kronen-Zeitung* or *Kurier*.

Zaslowski. A few words about what we are doing to change this situation. The important thing for us today is to publicize our literature. We advertise it in the press. We invite competent critics to review our books. Very few private bookshops accept our literature and those that do generally refuse to display it, so we have opened five shops of our own. In addition to the literature published by ourselves, our shops sell books from socialist countries, including publications of fraternal parties. This is apparently fortunate in the circumstances. Many people get their first glimpse of communist literature in our shops. They bring us no profit for the moment and we try to defray the expenses in other ways, for the political effect is worth it.

Lange. In the case of *Volksstimme*, its circulation is also complicated by the fact that the newsstands are run by small private proprietors. They accept in principle papers and magazines brought out by any publishing house, including ours. But they never display *Volksstimme*, and many people don't even know it's on sale.

This compels us to look for other outlets. Most of our readers get their copies of *Volksstimme* by mail. True, some resent the fact that in that way they become known as readers of a communist paper. We've therefore formed our own groups of distributors who deliver *Volksstimme* to people in Vienna and elsewhere. This isn't a bad method, we believe, although a distributor spends a lot of time doing his job but earns next to nothing. We have now succeeded in enlisting the help of students.

Also, we circulate the paper at some big factories where party activists sell it direct to workers. We think this very important because each copy is read by several people.

Our activists generally do much to help circulate the party press. On weekends, when *Volksstimme* comes out in a printing twice as large as ordinarily (40,000 copies), our activists sell it in the streets or deliver it to homes. Circulation benefits from our effort to cover the social conflicts breaking out in this or that enterprise or area. In carrying spot news, *Volksstimme* states the party's view on the conflict concerned, while party members organize sales of the increased printing in the given enterprise or area.

Lastly, we sell the paper by what may also be described as an advertising method. Every Sunday we set up a few hundred stands in our cities, with 20 to 30 copies of *Volksstimme* on each stand. There is no salesman. The paper sells well even though not all who take it pay the full price. We think this is better than posters. Even if people don't pay the full price the paper wins new readers we cannot reach in any other way.

Zaslowski. There is another method involving advertising. As a rule, we put a special coupon into newspapers and books published by the party. Anyone who buys the paper or book can mail the coupon to the publishers and will receive free copies of *Volksstimme* for a stated period. When

this period ends we mail him a subscription coupon to indicate that if he likes the paper he can subscribe to it. The results are quite good.

Lange. We certainly do our best to make the paper more attractive in content, choice of information, and layout.

It is not easy to reach the reader. Much remains to be done if the circulation of party publications is to increase.

DOCUMENTS

SOVIET UNION

Improving ideological work and political education

In the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on 'Measures to Improve Ideological Work and Political Education' it is noted that party organizations have done much to make ideological education and information work more effective. Party, Komsomol, and economic studies have been visibly invigorated and brought closer to life. Press reports and commentaries, television programs and radio broadcasts have become more informative and prompt as well as more readily comprehensible.

On the other hand, the CC CPSU has put it on record that in information work and ideological education there still are many serious shortcomings and weak points. The main shortcoming is that their quality sometimes falls short of the Soviet people's educational and cultural standards and requirements, which are higher now, and does not keep up with the dynamism of the intellectual life of present-day Soviet society and the socio-economic processes going on in it. The character of the ideological struggle in the international arena is not always heeded as much as it should although it has become much sharper.

The Central Committee pointed to the need to ensure a high scientific standard in propaganda and agitation, to make them more specific and dynamic, and link them more closely to life, to the fulfillment of economic and political tasks.

The resolution provides for specific measures to perfect the Marxist-Leninist education of communists, raise the theoretical and professional standards of propagandists, improve the work of the media and enlarge propaganda facilities. It states that party committees and organizations should have long-term and annual plans for the people's communist education, and that they should coordinate the efforts of party, government, public and economic bodies in this sphere.

The resolution stresses the importance of deeper research into current problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and ideological work. It calls on scientists to concentrate on the following problems: the ideological work of the CPSU under mature socialism, ways of raising the quality and efficiency of ideological work, the moulding of the Marxist-Leninist world-view among different groups of working people, the development of an active attitude to life as a major objective of moral education,

the educational functions of work collectives, the methodology of organizing comprehensive education, research into public opinion and the peculiarities and methods of the current ideological struggle in the world.

FRANCE

The communists and the trade union movement

The French Communist Party has published a document defining its attitude to the trade unions. Certain quarters, the document says, have lately treated the activity of the FCP and that of the trade unions as opposites, alleging that the FCP wants to bring the trade union movement under its control. The FCP and its social policy are coming under increasingly frequent attack and there have been cases of communists being removed from union bodies.

This has prompted the party to release a document reaffirming and specifying its attitude to the trade union movement. It is composed of five sections. The first section stresses the importance of the unions and the big role they have played in safeguarding labor's social gains. The trade union movement has become a 'school for democracy and internationalist solidarity of the working people;' it is one of the forces fighting for freedom and social progress.

In view of this role of the unions in the life of the working people and the country, the communists have always done their best to contribute to the formation, work and initiatives of unions, says the second section of the document, which deals with the communist attitude to trade union activity. The FCP exposes the slander that it is using the unions for its own ends. Proceeding in the spirit of unity, responsibility and respect for trade union democracy, the communists contribute to the trade union movement through their experience and their allegiance to the working people's cause.

One of the sections of the FCP document states that the trade unions must be independent of the government, employers, the church and parties. The communists abide scrupulously by the principles of union independence. The document spells out in detail the party position on the main trade union federations of France and notes that the party is willing to discuss with the unions and other organizations ways and means of launching joint actions in the interest of labor. The party sees anti-communism as the main obstacle to unity of action, an ideological pretext for class collaboration, and a means of dividing the working people.

The final section of the document is concerned with party work of factory level. It says that the FCP 'attaches the greatest importance to its active presence in the enterprises, for this has a direct bearing on the very *raison d'être* of our party.'

RUMANIA

Focus on organizational matters

The RCP Central Committee has published decisions on organizational matters.

The decision on the numerical strength, composition and organizational structure of the party points out that as of December 31, 1978, the RCP had 2,842,064 members, or 94,954 more than in late 1977. This means that the party has in its ranks over 18.5 per cent of the nation's adult population, or over 25 per cent of the economically active population. As many as 52.6 per cent of the party members are workers; 45.3 per cent work in industry, construction and transport, 24.2 in agriculture, 5 in trade, and 7.9 per cent in the health services, public education, science, the arts and culture. Women exceed 27 per cent of the membership. The national composition of the party accords with that of the population.

The RCP makes an effort to ensure that the leadership of the party and state and that of mass organizations include as many workers as possible. The CC decision on implementation of the party's personnel policy by party and government bodies and mass organizations says that in late 1978 the proportion of party activists among the workers, factory foremen, and technicians exceeded 76 per cent. The CC has decided 'to continue devoting special attention to and putting increased demands on the selection and education of cadres,' so that leading posts can be assigned to competent people having high political, professional and moral qualifications. Promotion preference will be given to workers as well as to young people and women.

Special attention is called to continue improving the political and ideological training of cadres.

The CC has decided to exchange party cards before the end of 1980. 'This measure,' its relevant decision says, 'is intended to increase the membership's sense of responsibility, strengthen its discipline, and raise its political and ideological standards, so that the leading role of the party in our society is exercised at a higher level.'

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

AKAHATA

Election results

Akahata, the CP Japan Central Committee daily, has commented on the outcome of local elections. As a result of the voting at all four stages — prefectures, cities, towns, districts and villages — the CPJ now holds 235 seats more than it did after the previous elections (1975). By contrast, the Socialist Party has lost 154 seats and the Komeito Party 54; the Liberal Democrats have lost three important seats in the cities. The number of communist deputies to local assemblies, including those re-elected without voting, totals 3,555. Thus the CPJ holds third place in the number of deputies to local government bodies (next to the Liberal-Democratic and Socialist Parties).

As a result of the latest elections, progressives now control another seven local government bodies, bringing the total to 214. The electorate gave its backing to progressive government bodies in Suita (Osaka Prefecture), Kouyagi (Nagasaki Prefec-

ture), where the CPJ is the only ruling party, and Toyoura (Niigata Prefecture), where the communist mayor was supported by an alliance of progressive forces.

However, Kaoru Ota, joint candidate of the CPJ, SPJ, and Progressive Liberal Union, who polled over 1.5 million votes, failed to win the office of governor of Tokyo. Nor was Ryoichi Kuroda, communist-backed Governor of Osaka, re-elected, although he garnered 170,000 votes more than previously.

CPJ candidates were elected in 31 cities and 132 towns and villages, where the party was not represented before. But it lost seats in seven cities and 72 towns. Altogether, the communists won more seats in 24 cities and 60 towns and villages.

Akahata stresses that the CC CPJ Presidium assesses the election results as a notable achievement of the communists and an obvious indication that the people want to defend and enlarge progressive government bodies.

The newspaper cites the following facts: a joint candidate of progressive forces, Yoshimichi Aoyama, was elected head of the Nakano urban district (these elections are known as 'mini-Tokyo gubernatorial elections'), defeating a rival backed by the Conservative-'Centrist' alliance. In the mayoral elections in Suita, known as 'mini-Osaka gubernatorial elections,' Kazuo Ebara, a candidate backed only by the CPJ, defeated a bloc composed of the LDP, Komeito and the Democratic Socialism Party. These facts, Akahata notes, are symbolic, for they show that the people want real progress and that now is the time for united action by all progressive forces.

TRYBUNA LUDU

Young people in the party

The problem of educating young communists, helping them prepare for admission to the PUWP, and working among them in the party is discussed in an article called 'Young People in the Party.' Its relevance is seen in the following figures: in 1978, the party was joined by 115,893 members of youth leagues (against 85,817 in 1977); the Socialist Youth League of Poland (SYLP) recommended 101,999 of its members (against 76,839 in 1977) for admission to the party; over 58 per cent of these are young workers, more than 12 per cent are employed in the public sector of agriculture, and over 9 per cent are individual peasants.

The extent to which young people are eligible for admission to the party, the article says, may be described as a yardstick of the efficiency of the ideological education carried on by communists. In this respect the mass campaigns in the youth organizations are very valuable. Ever since July 1978, a campaign has been going on under the motto 'Add to the wealth of our socialist country through active and creative labor.' On its basis the SYLP has been carrying on a general discussion on the role of young people in the implementation of the programs approved by the Sixth and Seventh

PUWP congresses. Under the program 'The Party Talks with Young People,' all SYLP branches have held meetings of activists attended by advanced workers, scientists, leading party members and government officials. Widespread discussion before and during these meetings generated a number of youth initiatives.

The most effective forms of preparing young people for admission to the PUWP are party science schools and study groups, universities of Marxism-Leninism and specialized clubs (clubs of party science, socio-political sciences, young politicians, etc.). More and more collectives are winning the right to recommend their members for admission to the party.

QUESTION-ANSWER

REVIVAL OF THE PARTY

Dear Comrades,

We all remember the tragic events which shook Cyprus five years ago, in July 1974, and which also had a grave effect on AKEL, its working people's party. Many comrades lost their lives and many more were subjected to repression during the putsch and the Turkish invasion. The communists had to resume their work at a time when the nation's social and economic problems had become extremely acute and the party organizations had to move to new areas of the liberated territory on Cyprus. We understand how hard it is to work in such conditions. But they did work, because now, five years later, the party is alive once again. Its influence among the masses and in the country's political life has grown to an unprecedented extent.

I should like your journal to describe how the communists of Cyprus worked to re-establish and multiply the ranks of their party, and to ensure the conditions for its normal work and fulfillment of the important tasks facing it in such a complicated situation.

Akhmad Prawiroatmodjo

Member of the Leadership, CP Indonesia

Reply by Dinos Konstantinou, Secretary, AKEL CC.

The 1974 events were the most tragic in the modern history of Cyprus. Nearly 40 per cent of its territory was occupied by invaders, thousands of people were killed or disappeared, almost 240,000 Greeks and Turks became refugees in their own country, the material losses ran to millions of pounds, and there was unemployment and poverty, suffering and uncertainty. Such was the result of the double-pronged imperialist plot against Cyprus: the July 15 fascist putsch, and the Turkish invasion which followed.

Our party, a party standing up for the working people's interests, had to play an important, in fact crucial, role in ensuring constitutional order and normalizing the situation, in overcoming disappointment and defeatist attitudes, extremism and adventurism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, among other things, by working out the

correct line and tactics in the struggle, and the people's correct orientation on the solution of the Cyprus issue and grave social problems.

However, this required, above all, the party's organizational re-establishment within the shortest possible time. The fact that all party members and activists of the Kyrenia district, nearly the whole of the Famagusta and a sizable part of the Nicosia district organizations moved to other districts, and that more than 250 party organizations disintegrated created extremely difficult problems for communist activity. There arose a situation which called for special and urgent measures to re-establish the party: a search for displaced party functionaries and members, and re-establishment of ties with them; establishment of new party organizations in refugee camps, in Turkish village and urban neighborhoods, to which the bulk of the refugees had moved; selection and appointment of cadres who would undertake to lead the new party organizations and assistance for these new functionaries; and the raising of funds to ensure the party's normal work.

The search for communists among thousands of displaced persons scattered all over Cyprus, the arrangement of ties with them, and their involvement in the work of primary organizations required a considerable effort. The problems and difficulties — which were already tremendous — grew with the movement of displaced persons from place to place.

This work went on step by step. In the first few months after the 1974 tragedy, the Famagusta district organization was re-established and began to operate from Larnaka. The Nicosia-Kyrenia organization restructured its work and began to look for hundreds of its members in the towns and unoccupied villages of the district. The Limassol, Larnaka and Paphos organizations looked for party members from the Famagusta and Nicosia districts who had taken refuge in the local towns and villages.

The party had been re-established and resumed its work virtually by December 1976, the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Cyprus, of which our AKEL is the direct successor. The whole party mechanism was restored and began to function regularly, its ties with the mass of refugee communists were re-established, and party organizations were set up in all the camps, parishes and villages inhabited by refugees.

At the same time, there arose the imperative need for the party's further numerical and qualitative growth, and extension and deepening of its work. What were the basic tasks then facing us?

Following the putsch and the Turkish invasion, the cadre problem grew especially acute. Many of our functionaries were killed, and many others were displaced and scattered in various parts of the unoccupied section of the island. In that situation, it was important to appoint new men to head the emergent party organizations. And we must say that in the years since the putsch, many capable functionaries have emerged, especially among the young people. A number of district organizations and the Central Committee have new cadres. The

cadre requirements of the grass-roots party organizations have been largely met. However, despite the successes in solving this problem, it still remains on the agenda. It is still acute because, on the one hand, as the years go by we lose more and more of our experienced, older functionaries, and on the other, the party and the progressive movement have been steadily growing, producing a constant need for cadres on whom the demands tend simultaneously to increase as well.

The party outlined measures for selecting and advancing new cadres, and the efforts of all the party organizations, notably the AKEL Central Committee, are now concentrated on realizing them.

The task of re-establishing and strengthening the mass character of the party has been and remains important. After all, even a year after we managed to establish ties with the main mass of the refugee communists, the party had 2,500 fewer members than it had at the time of the 13th Congress. We set ourselves the goal of winning hundreds of new members, especially young men and women. At the 14th Congress in May 1978, we were able to report to the delegates that AKEL's membership had surpassed the previous level. The bulk of the party members — 67 per cent — are industrial workers and employees, 20 per cent come from the peasantry and the middle sections; 24 per cent of the total membership are women, 30 per cent of the new communists are under the age of 30. In the recent period, there has been a marked increase among AKEL members of young scientists, whose number has nearly doubled since the 13th Congress. The influx of new forces is an earnest of our party's ever more vigorous activity.

The fund-raising drive to provide money for the resumption of the party's normal activity was a symbolic expression of mass support for the party. Even in the year of the putsch, a similar drive brought the party 18,000 pounds, but in 1977, the figure was already 80,200 pounds, or 30,000 pounds more than in 1973.

We have always given special attention to the ideological front: education, agitation and propaganda. Acting on the assumption that the raising of the communists' general educational and ideological level is a vital condition for the party's qualitative growth, we have re-opened party schools and got down to organizing seminars and lectures on current affairs, and the circulation of the party press. After the 1974 events, the circulation of our papers — *Haravghi* and *Demokratia* — fell to nearly 2,000 copies. The party sorted out the situation in due time and took all the necessary measures to increase the size of the printings. By the end of 1977, the party papers had printings close to the average reached before the putsch and the invasion.

As a result, we have grounds to say that AKEL is now well organized, close-knit, and capable of coping with difficulties. The goal of our organizational policy is to make the party even more massive, united and active, so as effectively to carry on its work for the economic and social progress of Cyprus, and for the benefit of the working people.



The Middle East knot: solutions real and imaginary

An Israeli and a Jordanian communist expose imperialist policy and urge support of the people's struggle in the region for a genuine and just settlement of the Middle East crisis.

A CORRECT AND PRINCIPLED STAND

Emile Touma
CC Political Bureau member, CP Israel

Events in the Middle East have taken a new and dramatic turn. The signing of the separate Israeli-Egyptian 'peace' treaty under the auspices of the United States was a step in the further escalation of tensions in the area. Far from bringing peace nearer, it removes it still farther; it does not solve the Israeli-Arab conflict, but aggravates it still more; it does not promise security to the people of Israel, but merely increases the danger of war.

That is why the Israeli communists have taken the only correct and principled stand on the 'peace' treaty, and in the Knesset voted against its conclusion, branding it as a deal suiting imperialism and as a betrayal of the interests of the peoples of the Middle East, including the people of Israel.

Our party believes that the separate deal leaves the fundamental questions of the Israeli-Arab conflict unresolved; more, it has further complicated their solution. The parties to the 'peace' treaty have, in effect, denied the Arab Palestinian people the right to existence, to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state of its own, alongside the State of Israel. The American-Egyptian-Israeli deal is designed to legitimize Israel's continued occupation for an indefinite period of the West Bank of the Jordan, including East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. The plan for 'the administrative autonomy' of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is nothing but a cover for continued Israeli occupation of the Arab territories invaded in 1967, with the exception of those which are to be returned under limited Egyptian sovereignty within a period of three years. What is more, the plan enables Israel to carry on extensive colonization of the occupied Palestinian lands. It is well known, for instance, that since the Camp David agreements and using them as a screen, the Begin government has considerably increased the number of settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan. This process was further accelerated since the signing of the Sadat-Begin treaty. At present, the Israeli occupation authorities have expropriated over 30 per cent of the lands in the area. The policy of fierce

oppression with respect to the Palestinian people on the occupied territories is now being carried on even more zealously.

The Communist Party of Israel regards the present separate deal as a part of the strategy of U.S. imperialism aimed at setting up a military bloc in the region and U.S. military bases on the territory of Israel and Egypt. It is aimed against the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries. Within the framework of this strategy, Israel and Egypt are assigned the role of gendarmes operating against movements for national liberation and social emancipation, against the progressive states in the Middle East and Africa. By such methods, imperialism now seeks to convert the Middle East into a region of its unchallenged economic domination and political influence. The imperialists have been nurturing this scheme for a long time, and it has permeated the whole of their policy since the Second World War. But the attempts to realize it have proved to be futile.

In the postwar period, the Middle East became of exceptional importance in imperialist plans, first, because of its strategic proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union and the countries of the emergent socialist community; second, because it is the richest oil region in the non-socialist world; and third, with the steady growth of the movement for national liberation and social emancipation in the Middle East countries, it is a region where international reaction and its allies have had increasingly to confront more and more revolutions. When characterizing the Middle East policy of imperialism in that period in general terms, I want to stress that, while being a part of its global strategy, it was an expression of the common purpose of all the imperialist powers, especially the United States, Britain and France, which tried jointly to resist the growing national-liberation movements in the region, to fortify reactionary regimes, and to cobble together military anti-Soviet and anti-communist aggressive pacts.

On the other hand, there were also causes for undercurrent inter-imperialist contradictions. U.S. imperialism, prodded by its monopolist appetites, used its strength gradually to ease Britain and France from their positions in the Arab and other countries of the region. Whereas the Truman Doctrine (1947), designed to arrest the revolutionary process in the Eastern Mediterranean, like the Baghdad Pact (1955), was an expression of common imperialist strategy, the Palestine War of 1948,

which followed the United Nations resolution on the partition of Palestine into two states — Arab and Jewish — was in fact a reflection of some difference of approach. The United States wanted the war to end with the emergence of a strong Israel, while Britain, though not opposed to the emergence of Israel, wanted to enhance the position of King Abdullah of Transjordan, by helping him to annex the territory designed for the Arab state. U.S. and British imperialism opposed the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. In the end, the two imperialist powers reached an understanding: the United States patronized Israel, and Britain was content to see King Abdullah annex to the Jordanian Hashimite Kingdom what remained of the territory of Palestine (after the establishment of Israel).

The Tripartite (U.S., British and French) Declaration of 1950 formulated the concerted line of the leading imperialist powers in Middle East affairs: they pledged to maintain the status quo in the region and to provide the countries involved in the Middle East conflict with arms for their defense. In fact, they usurped the UN role and became the 'guardians' of the Middle East.

Still, the liberation process gained in depth and intensity. A number of Arab countries took the road to independent, anti-imperialist development. This cancelled the plans for imperialist 'guardianship' in the Middle East, and foiled the tripartite (Israeli-British-French) aggression against Egypt in 1956. The Iraqi resolution of 1958 broke up the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO). The Eisenhower Doctrine, which was designed to fill the 'vacuum' in the Middle East after the defeat of Britain and France in their aggression against Egypt, and to carry on the fight against 'world communism,' was paralyzed.

With the changing balance of forces and the strengthening of the international positions of the socialist states and the anti-imperialist movement, the imperialist circles came increasingly to realize in the 50s that directed aggression or armed intervention in the affairs of the Middle East countries (the landing of U.S. marines in Lebanon and of British commandos in Jordan in 1958) could merely generate powerful resistance to their aggressive plans in the Middle East countries and the international arena. That being so, imperialism had a growing stake in fanning the Arab-Israeli conflict as a means of consolidating its own positions in the region, chiefly by means of Israel. Hence, the orientation, above all of the United States upon converting our country into a military citadel, into a regional gendarme. This strategic concept was most fully expressed during Israel's aggression in 1967 against Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Israel's ruling circles, which had long been integrated with imperialist global strategy enthusiastically accepted their role as regional gendarme.

However, the Israeli rulers did not obtain the desired results either from their policy of forcibly rolling back the revolution in the neighboring countries, or the policy of occupying the Arab lands, or even the temporary military successes. Against all the odds and the hard conditions of

struggle, the Palestinian national movement reassembled its ranks and gained in strength. The Palestine Liberation Organization, set up in 1964, won its people's support and the solidarity of other Arab peoples and the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. It has now been recognized by the United Nations and world public opinion as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab Palestinian people. Our party, too, has always displayed solidarity with that people's just struggle.

The Zionist ruling circles' fresh aggressive acts against the Arab countries (air raids deep into Egypt in 1970, and the military operations against Lebanon and Jordan) further compromised their policy in the eyes of world opinion. We must say quite frankly that our country's international position after the 1967 aggression was not an enviable one: on the one hand, its isolation in the Afro-Asian world sharply increased, and on the other, there was the development of unseemly ties with the most reactionary and semi-fascist regimes: the shah of Iran and the racists in South Africa.

The fourth Arab-Israeli war in October 1973 was another time of trial. It showed that Israel's military supremacy could be dented, that Arab soldiers could learn the art of modern warfare and the use of sophisticated weapons, and that the technical gap between the Arab countries and Israel was steadily narrowing, and not widening, as had been previously assumed.

In the 70s, the relaxation of tensions was marked by a very important achievement, the signing of SALT I. The successes of the socialist forces testified to the steady development and entrenchment in international life of the ideas of peace and cooperation among nations. In the light of these processes, the stand taken by the imperialist powers, above all the United States, on a Middle East settlement was increasingly vulnerable. At a foreign ministers' meeting the United States, on Soviet insistence, had to agree to include in a Soviet-American document a provision recognizing the legitimate interests of the Arab people of Palestine as a vital element for settling the Middle East crisis. The embargo on oil deliveries to the imperialist states imposed by the Arab countries during the October 1973 war alarmed the capitalist world. Subsequently, the imperialist powers' monopoly exploitation of the resources of the oil-producing countries was shaken by a series of powerful blows, like the nationalization of oil resources, and especially by the establishment by these countries of fairer and more realistic prices for crude oil.

U.S. imperialism countered with a sharp step-up of its attempts to shape some kind of strategic alliance on the basis of 'interdependence' with Saudi Arabia, the major world producer of crude oil. The Saudi monarchy was prepared for such collaboration, regarding it — and this was openly stated — as a guarantee of strengthening of capitalism and containment of the 'rise of communism.' But at the same time they wanted the United States to pressure Israel to resolve the Palestine question and the Middle East crisis, fearing that

tensions in the Arab world would fuel radical sentiments and activate the revolutionary and liberation forces. In other words, the Saudi princes accepted the concrete U.S. policy in the Middle East with some 'reservations,' clearly fearing that it could harm them in the future.

In the early 70s, U.S. ruling circles made special efforts to draw Egypt into their orbit of influence. Unfortunately, this was favored by the social situation that was taking shape in that country. After President Nasser's death, the new Egyptian leadership, headed by Sadat, first started to fold up and eradicate the progressive gains of the earlier period, and then took a patently pro-imperialist and pro-American line.¹ Sadat's regime became the standard-bearer of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism in the Middle East and Africa, acting hand in glove with imperialism during the crisis in Zaire, stepping up tensions along the border with Libya, and weaving a web of intrigue against revolutionary Ethiopia. Finally, in 1977, he came out with his ignominious 'peace' initiative: he made a 'pilgrimage' to Jerusalem and started the movement toward a separate deal with Israel under U.S. auspices. Sadat's policy has done much harm to the anti-imperialist forces of the Arab world, strengthened the reactionary Arab regimes, and made it easier for the Israeli ruling circles to intensify their aggressive acts against the Arab peoples.

I have dealt with some of the aspects of U.S. imperialist strategy with respect to specific — major and influential — countries in the Middle East. In characterizing U.S. strategy in the region as a whole, I want to note that in the 70s the following lines have been most pronounced in that policy.

First, in order to prepare and establish them as regional gendarmes, the United States flooded Iran and Israel with the most modern and sophisticated weapons. The shah's regime in Iran was groomed to carry out the duties of chief gendarme in the Persian Gulf, and everyone remembers how hard he tried to serve his imperialist patrons. Israel also was zealously carrying out its gendarme functions, as will be seen from the invasion of Southern Lebanon and other aggressive acts.

Second, the orientation was set on military regional and broader pacts to resist the revolutionary upswing in Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa. In 1976, the plan was to set up an Israel-South Africa axis, later to be extended to Iran, and then establish a Saudi-Iranian axis.

Third, the design was to pursue the subversive policy of destabilizing the Arab world, for which purpose, on the one hand, steps were taken to split the Arab front, as it had taken shape in 1973, and on the other, special action was taken to get the anti-imperialist Arab countries to abandon their chosen path.

The present stage in Middle East developments was immediately preceded by the installation of President Carter in the White House. Statements issued by the new U.S. Administration left one with the impression that it intended to give more attention to the Middle East than any previous administration,

especially in view, of course, of the tremendous importance of Arab and Iranian oil to the United States, which is in the grip of an energy crisis. Carter and his aides kept saying that they wanted to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Under pressure from world public opinion, and many countries in our region, the Carter Administration was even forced to join in issuing a Soviet-American communiqué on the Middle East (October 1977), which contained realistic elements for a just settlement of the crisis and the means to achieve it: the reconvenation of the Geneva Conference. This was welcomed by the Arab peoples, the anti-imperialist regimes and the PLO.

But since then a great gap has developed between what U.S. ruling circles have been saying and doing. The Geneva Conference on the Middle East, with the Soviet Union and the United States as co-chairmen, actually opened the way for a just resolution of the crisis, and that is precisely what the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli expansionists did not like. They saw action to bypass the Geneva Conference mechanism as much more tantalizing and profitable. Their purpose was to monopolize contacts with the parties to the conflict, above all Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, completely ignoring the existence of the PLO, the only possible partner in solving the Palestine problem, the key to the whole Middle East settlement.

Israel's ruling élite and the Sadat regime were quick to voice their support for these crafty plans. The Israeli rulers rejected the Soviet-American communiqué on the Middle East, while the Zionist lobby in the United States mounted a vocal campaign of incitement against it. Nor did the President of Egypt lose any time. In November 1977, he made his 'pilgrimage' to Jerusalem, one of those purposes was to neutralize the communiqué. This paved the way for the separate deals, beginning with the Carter-Begin-Sadat summit at Camp David, which ended with the signing on September 18, 1978, of documents on the 'establishment of peace' in the Middle East.²

I have no intention of bringing out all the diverse motives and reasons which prompted the three partners first to do a deal at Camp David and then to sign in haste, under U.S. auspices, the so-called peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. Each of the parties undoubtedly had many reasons, including personal ones. What is more important, however, is that at some point, the rulers of the United States, Israel and Egypt decided to force through a separate settlement of the Middle East crisis, a step they had not dared to take earlier. This means that they were impelled by necessity. But what was it?

We believe that the American-Israeli-Egyptian deal was a desperate attempt to defuse the socially explosive situation which now exists in our region. That it does exist will be seen, first from the large-scale upheavals in Egypt in 1977; second, from the events in Iran and the Afghan revolution; third, from the growing impact of the revolutionary events in Africa on the Middle East countries; and fourth, the unstable and potentially explosive situa-

tion in a number of Arab and African countries with reactionary regimes.³

It is hard to deny, for instance, that the success of the Iranian revolution and the overthrow of the shah's regime have forced imperialism and its Israeli and Egyptian allies to end their tactics of delaying the negotiations and actually to make haste with signing a 'peace' treaty. In other words, the deal in Washington on March 26 has become one of the key measures in fighting the spreading revolutionary movement in the region. There is good reason why the so-called peace treaty entails another sharp build-up of armaments in the Middle East countries which have signed it. The something like \$5 billion worth of military aid which the United States has agreed to give Egypt and Israel (with the lion's share — \$3 billion — naturally going to Israel) is not meant for defense but for intimidating their neighbors. U.S. imperialism intends to establish a direct military presence in Israel and Egypt. Prime Minister Begin publicly announced his readiness to give the United States the right to use the port of Haifa for its Mediterranean Sixth Fleet and also Israeli air bases in Sinai. Sadat has also engaged in saber-rattling. This is now no longer designed to promote the just liberation struggle, but is meant for gendarme functions, which he volunteered to fulfill after the collapse of the shah's regime in Iran. Egyptian army units have been sent to Oman to help the ultra-reactionary Sultan there to suppress the revolution in Dofar.

The imperialists, the Zionists and Arab reactionaries join hands to precipitate local armed conflicts in an attempt to wipe out anti-imperialist regimes and destroy the national-liberation movement, particularly the Palestinian national movement. Imperialism and its allies have once again aggravated the Lebanese crisis. For what purpose? In order to eliminate the Palestinian resistance movement and the Lebanese patriotic movement, and to draw Syria into a military confrontation with Israel. The signing of the separate Israeli-Egyptian deal has given the Israeli hawks a free hand for further escalating aggressive acts against neighboring Lebanon. Similarly, imperialism and its allies provoked the flare-up of armed operations between North and South Yemen.

More and more new facts show that the military tensions in the region after the signing of the 'peace' treaty between Egypt and Israel have not subsided but have, on the contrary, intensified.

Historical experience shows that there can be no peace between oppressor and oppressed. The American-Egyptian-Israeli deal is a tripartite conspiracy for the strategic schemes of U.S. imperialism, and the plans for territorial expansion and the Likud bloc government's hopes of establishing a far-flung 'Land of Great Israel.'

The resolution of the 15th Plenary Meeting of the CP Israel Central Committee in March 1979 emphasized: 'The implication of the conspiracy is: the widening of the circle of wars in which Israel will have to participate in order to ensure oil for Ameri-

can imperialism and in order to fight in the service of the United States against the progressive and independent states. Our sons will have to serve as cannon-fodder for the defense of the interests of American imperialism. Israel will be more isolated among the Arab people. Peace and security will be removed from us still further.' The Central Committee of the CP Israel has warned the Israeli people of the grave danger latent in the conversion of our country into a U.S. military bridgehead, Begin's acceptance of a military alliance with the United States, and the establishment of U.S. navel and air bases in Haifa, Negev and other parts of the country.

Progressives and democrats in Israel and in other countries must be aware that a 'peace' which leads to a step-up of the arms race, further military spending and even more dangerous military preparations is not peace. In connection with this 'peace,' the Begin government has already announced another unprecedented increase in the prices of all the necessities, new taxes, cuts in appropriations for public health and education, scrapping of plans for housing construction, which had already been largely cut back, etc. In short, the Israeli masses will have to pay for the arms build-up out of their own pockets. But the people of Israel have no interest either in the aggressive military pacts, in U.S. bases, or in another ruinous arms race and more wars. The only thing they want is a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. The tripartite conspiracy blocks the attainment of such a peace.

The communists of Israel are convinced that a real, just and comprehensive peace can be achieved. But it can be achieved only within the framework of international détente on the basis of Soviet-American cooperation and in accordance with the joint communiqué issued by the USSR and the United States on the Middle East on October 1, 1977. Such a peace can be based only on respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state of its own, alongside the sovereign State of Israel within the borders existing on June 4, 1967.

The experience of our region and other regions of the world shows that the U.S. imperialist plans against the independence and security of the peoples are sooner or later bound to collapse. We have no doubt that the Camp David agreement will boomerang against U.S. imperialism and its agents in Egypt and Israel. There is every possibility for foiling the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Africa. These plans will eventually boomerang against their initiators.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel calls upon all peace-loving persons and circles with a sense of national responsibility and political realism not to be misled by the fraudulent tripartite agreement which removes still further a just and comprehensive peace, and does grave harm to Israel's independence. It is the duty of the peace forces to unite in the struggle for such a peace as the

only guarantee that wars will truly be ended and our peoples led to safe shores.

1. See N. Kamel. 'Scenario of capitulation,' WMR, March 1979, p. 135 — Ed.

2. For details, see the commentary by E. Habibi and N. Ashhab, 'Plot against peace in the Middle East,' WMR, December 1978, p. 31. — Ed.

3. For details, see N. Chaoui, 'The strategy of imperialism and the Middle East problem,' WMR, June 1979, p. 3. — Ed.

PROGRAM FOR NATIONAL PALESTINIAN UNITY

Naim Ashhab

Political Bureau member, CC Jordanian Communist Party

The latest moves by U.S. imperialism, Zionism and Egyptian reaction, which culminated in the signing of the separate Egyptian-Israeli 'peace' treaty, have shown yet again that these forces will not stop short of the foulest schemes with respect to the Arab people of Palestine, whose future and national destiny is now at stake. The Israeli-Egyptian treaty and the documents annexed to it, says Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, 'legalize the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and doom the Arab Palestinian people to eternal exile.'

The Palestine problem has been and continues to be the cardinal issue in any Middle East settlement, and it mirrors the various shades and characteristic features of the struggle going forward in our region. It is the starting point of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The lands of the Palestinian Arabs were the first to come under Zionist expansion and, as in the past, the Israeli rulers continue to pivot their anti-people's plans on the trampling of the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people. Recent events once again reaffirm these intentions, which are now served by the U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian deal aimed against a real and lasting settlement in the region.

Broad recognition in the Arab countries and all over the world that the Palestinian problem is pivotal to the Middle East crisis shows why so much attention was given in the various countries to the National Palestinian Council meeting in Damascus in mid-January. Before analyzing its results, it is worthwhile to describe the general conditions in which the Palestinian national movement now has to fight.

In the past several years, the Palestinian people have had to act in a more complicated situation than before. This situation is characterized by the mounting moves on the part of Arab reaction in an effort to wrest the initiative from the Arab revolutionary and national-liberation forces. The withdrawal of Egypt, with its weight and potential, from the front of resistance to the imperialist-Zionist alliance has had the most dangerous consequences for the destiny of the peoples of our region. The Sadat regime is now an active participant in this alliance.

The conditions of the Palestinians' struggle against the Israeli occupation have also changed for the worse and become more complicated: since the 1967 aggression and the events of Black September in 1970¹ in Jordan, a kind of security belt has been created around Israel's territory and the Arab lands it is occupying, with the addition of the south of Lebanon in the mid-70s. Having provoked the crisis in that country, imperialism, Zionism and Lebanese reaction have involved the Palestinian resistance movement in yet another bitter fight which is designed to divert its attention from the struggle against the Israeli aggression. In this situation, changes have taken place in the structure and military organization of the Palestinian resistance movement: the lightly armed and mobile units have been partially changed into combat units similar to those of other classic armies. These changes were imperative, because the Palestinian fighters had to defend themselves against incessant raids by the Israeli aggressors on the positions of the resistance movement on the territory of Lebanon and to join the Lebanese patriotic movement in resisting the right-wing forces, which teamed up with the Israelis in order to wipe out any presence of the Palestinian movement, whether on the territory of Lebanon or elsewhere.

While carrying out this restructuring, the Palestinian national movement, led by the PLO, sought simultaneously to defend its legitimate and natural right to take independent political decisions. In the period under review, some Arab regimes and circles repeatedly made attempts on this right, including the use of their influence in some Palestinian organizations and frequently resorting to the use of brute force.

The Palestinian national movement justly recognizes the role and importance of the assistance coming to it from the fraternal Arab states. This assistance is highly important also because the Palestinians' struggle is closely tied in and interlaced with the struggle of the other Arab peoples and countries, above all those which are in direct confrontation with the Israeli aggression. Together with other forward contingents of the Arab liberation movement, the Palestinian contingents are holding forward positions in the anti-imperialist struggle, and Palestinian fighters have been fighting the Zionist aggressors in the front lines for decades. So when the traitor Sadat claims that Egypt and its people sacrifice themselves for a solution of the Palestinian problem he misleads public opinion. Up to now, it is the Palestinians who have suffered the greatest losses in the battle against the enemy. The progressive and democratic Arab circles supporting the Palestinian liberation movement regard their support of it as a fraternal duty and obligation to the Arab Palestinian people and its liberation contingents.

However, it is totally inadmissible for anyone to try, in 'return' for such assistance, to meddle in the internal affairs of the Palestinian movement, to try to establish tutelage over it, or to take steps designed to deprive the movement of its right to take

independent political decisions bearing on the Palestinians' national destiny. Let us recall that whenever anyone has interfered in the Palestinian movement's internal affairs, its struggle has suffered heavy defeats. That is what happened in 1936, when the Arab monarchs managed to end the Palestinian people's historic political strike, and frustrated its revolutionary action against the British mandatory power and its Zionist partners.² The entry of the Arab monarchies' armies into Palestine in 1948, under the pretext of liberating the whole of Palestine, was also an attempt to solve the Palestinian problem behind the backs of this people. As the result of a deal between the Israeli rulers and the Arab reactionaries, a part of the territory of Palestine on which an Arab state was to have been set up was partitioned between Israel and Jordan (the Gaza strip was put under Egyptian administrative control). In this way, the Palestinian people were prevented from establishing their independent state in accordance with UN resolutions. If there is now a fundamentally different situation in the Middle East, as compared with that which had existed after the 1948 disaster, when the United States, Britain and France, in league with the Zionist rulers of Israel and detachments of the ruling Arab reaction, managed to turn things in the region to their own advantage, the Palestinians' selfless struggle constitutes a main factor in this change.

Since the Israeli aggression of 1967, the imperialist-Zionist alliance has failed despite every effort to neutralize the influence on the situation in the region of the two fundamental factors: the role of the Palestinian movement, and that of the Soviet Union. That is quite natural. Concerning the Palestinian factor, its growing importance is determined by the decades of persistent battles by the Palestinian masses for their inalienable national rights: return to their homeland, the right to self-determination, and the establishment of an independent national state. The role of the Soviet factor springs from the internationalist nature of the USSR's foreign policy, which rests on the sound basis of fraternal solidarity with the Arab peoples which have fallen victim to imperialist-Israeli aggression, with the Arab Palestinian people in the first place. It is only natural that, as a country directly neighboring on the region, the USSR should be gravely concerned and vigilant over the existence in the area of a chronic hotbed of tension, and of permanent bloody conflict resulting from the imperialist Israeli conspiracy against the Arab liberation movement. This great country truly wants to see a just peace in the Middle East re-established, for the benefit of all its peoples, all the consequences of the aggression eliminated, and the Palestinians' legitimate national rights secured.

Life has reaffirmed that imperialism and its Israeli ally see 'peace' in the Middle East as an enslaving and humiliating 'peace,' whose fruits are devoted to their selfish interests. The way to it was paved by Sadat's betrayal, while the Carter Administration's pressures and promises enabled him to take the first steps along this way: his trip to

Jerusalem, then Camp David, and finally, the present Egyptian-Israeli separate 'peace' treaty. Shortly before its signing, similar tactics or pressures and promises were used with respect to the Palestinian national movement in an effort to influence the whole course of its struggle, including the outcome of the January meeting of the National Palestinian Council. Before and during it, the imperialist-Zionist alliance carried on intense subversive activity in an effort to spread confusion in the ranks of the Palestinians, to produce illusions among them, and to sharpen the differences.

Saudi Arabia was used as a mouthpiece to spread rumors about Washington's alleged readiness (especially in the light of the events in Iran) to reappraise the whole of its foreign policy in the region, and that the architects of the present U.S. policy do not rule out the possibility of U.S. recognition of the PLO. The price for this would be removal of representatives of the left-wing forces from all the key posts. These imperialist promises were addressed above all to the right-wing elements on the PLO National Council.

A statement by the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, was designed to add plausibility to the rumours about a possible U.S. recognition of the PLO. Young deliberately extolled the merits of the PLO representatives at the United Nations, and said that these delegates would assume leadership of the PLO, rather than other PLO figures who have favored terrorism and the destruction of Israel. In the light of these demagogic statements by U.S. spokesmen on the Palestinian issue, it was no accident either that Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan declared that while the PLO was 'not a state, we (the Israeli rulers — N.A.) cannot deny their position or their value.' He added that the PLO 'is not just the terrorists or the terrorist organization, it is also the civilian part of it — that is to say, the Palestinian refugees.'

Behind these statements lurks a common and probably concerted policy. Both Young and Dayan used the so-called differentiated approach to the PLO, whose purpose is to oppose different Palestinian contingents to each other, to pit the military against the civilians, the 'terrorists' against the 'moderates,' the 'sober-minded' against the 'implacables.' While seeking to split the Palestinian organizations and to divide the PLO's contingents, the imperialist-Zionist circles would ultimately like to crush the whole Palestinian movement and make it incapable of fighting. That is an old vision of theirs, but it now seems to be their main and overt stake. Although the Israeli rulers try to show that their views on the Palestinian issue have undergone some fundamental changes, the Zionists' premise actually remains the same: they refuse to recognize the unity and destiny of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and in exile, and consequently, intend to continue denying its natural right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

The subversive acts of the imperialists, Zionists and Arab reaction on the eve of the January 1979

meeting of the National Palestinian Council did not produce the desired results. Despite their hopes for a split and weakening of the Palestinian movement, the Assembly approved the current political and organizational program for national Palestinian unity. Its decisions say that the revolutionary contingents and patriotic Palestinian forces 'take part in the organs of the Palestine Liberation Organization and, above all, in its National Council, the Central Council and the Executive Committee on the basis of the front's democratic principles.' Its recommendations emphasize the importance of 'maintaining a democratic dialogue, always observing its revolutionary moral rules and norms, and non-resort to force in settling any differences.'

We feel that such an approach to Palestinian unity helps to establish more advanced relations between the various patriotic and revolutionary forces within the PLO. The new organizational forms approved at the last meeting of the National Palestinian Council are an important achievement on the pan-Arab scale as well, especially now that attempts to undermine progressive national fronts in some countries of our region have been stepped up. Consistent use of these forms will give a new impetus to the struggle of the Palestinian masses and will enhance the PLO's prestige and influence in the Arab world and beyond it.

The demands for the re-establishment of the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people to return to their homeland, self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state, worked out at the Council meeting and written into its program, should be seen as an important achievement. It is true that unrealistic aims have also been written into the Preamble to that document. That is why, while endorsing the correct formulation of the Palestinians' fundamental rights, the Jordanian Communist Party believes, nevertheless, that at the present stage there must be full clarity, as never before, with respect to the Palestinian people's patriotic tasks. Such an approach would help to rally and unite it round a realistic and feasible program, preventing any division of the people's forces by prompting them to fight to attain a goal which, however just it may appear to be from the standpoint of absolute law, cannot be regarded as realistic and feasible with the present correlation of forces in the Middle East. One should also bear in mind that the Israeli aggressor makes use against the Palestinians themselves of any extremist slogan they may put forward, in an effort to denigrate their struggle and justify its annexationist and aggressive policy. These slogans allow even the capitulationists to argue that their policy is a 'realistic' one.

At the same time, one should undoubtedly take a close look at that part of the new Palestinian program which designates the 'main field of battle against the Zionist enemy.' According to the document, this is the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Arab (Eastern) part of Jerusalem. The Palestinian movement firmly intends to continue and extend its armed struggle and all kinds of political mass action, above all on that territory which

Israel occupied in 1967. Judging from the results of the people's mass meetings, which rejected the Camp David plot, and the memorandum addressed to the January meeting of the National Palestinian Council, the population in these areas and the progressive and patriotic forces operating there are fully resolved to fulfill their people's national tasks, to put an end to the occupation and the anti-Palestinian plots. The Jordanian Communist Party advocates the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan, in the Gaza Strip and in the Arab section of Jerusalem after their liberation, and works for the solution of the problem of the Palestinian refugees expelled from their homeland after 1948, for their return to their homes, as many UN decisions require.

The correct definition of the role of the occupied territories within the overall Palestinian struggle, as reflected in this program, appears to be all the more important in the light of the views of some Palestinian leaders who were inclined, after the signing of the ignominious Camp David agreements, to regard these regions as among the 'weakest elements' of the Palestinian front. It is true that the abstract theoretical formulation of this problem sounds plausible. After all, these territories are under the direct control of the invaders, who practise fierce terrorism and persecution, and endeavor to convert some traitors (one will find such people in any nation) into 'loyal' Palestinian leaders. But in life things are very much more complicated than that, and the situation there is completely different. Massive popular resistance is now truly developing on these lands. This was clearly shown by the sharply negative reaction of the Palestinian population to the Camp David agreements, and the powerful wave of protest on the West Bank and in Gaza against the projects of so-called Palestinian autonomy. The very latest events connected with the conclusion of the separate Egyptian-Israeli deal under U.S. patronage also indicate that the liberation movement and active resistance in these areas have continued to grow. They have been the scene of mass demonstrations and strikes. The Palestinians declared Monday — March 26 (the day the separate treaty was signed in Washington) — as a day of national mourning. In other words, there is no ground for considering the occupied territories a weak element of the Palestinian front.

The program of the national Palestinian movement formulates tasks in providing all-round support — political and material — to the fighting population on the occupied territories, to a patriotic Palestinian front which is to be revived there. In the past, such assistance sometimes failed to reach the right address. A part of it even went to those whose ties with the occupation authorities should have aroused suspicion. To avoid abuse of assistance designed for fighters on the occupied territories, the Palestinian members of our party on the National Palestinian Council demanded the right of full control over its distribution to be subsequently vested in the Patriotic Palestinian Front.

Palestinian-Jordanian relations, which in the past

were darkened by differences and hostility, should be specially considered. A majority of the members of the National Palestinian Council reaffirmed their responsible stand on this question and formulated a number of norms regulating any future contacts between the PLO Executive Committee and the Jordanian government. These measures are designed to prevent any neglect of the basic rights of the Palestinian people, above all of its right to set up an independent state, and the PLO's right to act as that people's only legitimate representative.³ At the same time, the new program stresses that the PLO 'confirms the existence of special ties between the two fraternal peoples: the Palestinian and the Jordanian.' In the opinion of the Jordanian Communist Party, Palestinian-Jordanian relations should be arranged in the light of the interests of the two fraternal peoples and their joint struggle against imperialism and the Israeli occupation. It is inadmissible that the important patriotic and political gains which the Palestinian people have won in the course of their hardest struggle should be sacrificed for the sake of their development.

Finally, a few words on the attitude of the National Palestinian Council which it took on some international issues at its January meeting. Its program and political report expressed the profound conviction, which is rooted in the decades of painful struggle, that the United States leads the camp of the Palestinian people's enemies, and this was reaffirmed by its engineering of the Israeli-Egyptian separate deal. At the same time, the PLO recognizes the importance of its alliance with socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, and regards its role in the Middle East as a most important factor for successful resistance to U.S.-Zionist plots.

It should also be noted that whenever the Palestinian movement's international alliances were considered in the past, the USSR and China were frequently mentioned together. However, the present Chinese leadership's subversive activity against the whole international revolutionary movement, including the Arab national-liberation movement, Peking's support of Camp David and the Sadat-Begin separate deal in Washington have finally opened the Palestinians' eyes to the Maoist elite's treacherous role. In the Palestinian movement, they are now supported only by those who use leftist slogans as a screen for joining the Camp David agreements and supporting the separate 'peace' treaty produced by the U.S.-Egyptian-Israeli alliance.

The January meeting of the National Palestinian Council undoubtedly has major achievements to its credit, as expressed in its historic decisions on political and organizational matters. It was a resounding defeat for the right-wing forces' attempts to impose their line on the PLO as a whole. However, one must note the negative fact that these forces succeeded in their attempts to block the formation of a new Executive Committee of the organization that would truly represent all the forces fighting for a just solution of the Palestine problem and for the removal of conciliatory and opportunist

elements from the PLO. In the exceptionally alarming situation produced by the separate Egyptian-Israeli deal, the central executive organ must have a composition which is up to the level of the political achievements of the session, the tasks it has set, and the challenge of combating the deal. The right-wing elements make it easier for the reactionary Arab states to effect their schemes in their efforts to disrupt the PLO mechanism, to establish their tutelage over it, to tame it, or to swallow it up altogether. The failure of the attempt to form an executive committee representing all the truly patriotic contingents may be regarded by imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction as a highly encouraging signal, and they may try to step up their subversive activity.

Special importance now attaches to the solidarity of all the forces within the PLO working to solve the Palestinian problem on a just basis, to their constructive acts aimed to correct the serious shortcomings mentioned above as soon as possible. Our comrades on the National Palestinian Council urge the need for communists to take part in the Executive Committee. At every stage of the Palestinian movement's struggle, the communists have taken an honest and open stand. Today, they have an outstanding role to play in many sectors of the struggle, above all in the occupied territories. Our party will continue to advocate that the communists and other militant Palestinian forces should have their representatives on the Executive Committee of the PLO. This will merely go to strengthen the PLO, consolidate its political independence and unite the patriotic forces.

Our party believes that since the conclusion of the Camp David agreements, and especially of the latest U.S.-Israeli-Egyptian separate deal, the need to overcome organizational and political shortcomings within the PLO's activity has become a task which brooks no delay. The main purpose of the Camp David participants now is to do away with the Palestinian national movement. That such a sinister scheme does exist will be seen very well from the recent resumption of Israel's escalation of its aggressive acts in the south of Lebanon. The attitude taken by Saudi Arabia, the Persian Gulf emirates and Sudan, which have withdrawn their military units from the inter-Arab forces in Lebanon, is also a clear sign of this intention. Nor does the danger lie in the military consequences of such an act (for the main contingent of these forces is Syrian), but above all in its political consequences, for it will undoubtedly encourage the Israeli invaders and the right-wing Lebanese separatists. As a result, Syria, being left as the only country representing the inter-Arab forces, will be subjected to fresh pressure by the imperialists and their allies, seeking to change Syria's consistent and steadfast stand and to involve it in Sadat's treacherous policy.

Unity of the contingents of the Palestinian resistance movement acquires special importance in the light of the existing situation. Unity alone will help to muster all its forces and potentialities, cut

short the moves by its enemies, who intend to provoke contradictions between Palestinian contingents, including armed clashes between them (like those which, unfortunately, occurred in the summer of last year). And if the situation itself, which is extremely complicated — in terms of extending the armed struggle against the Israeli invaders — makes these contingents give greater attention to political and even ideological struggle, the absence of unity between them becomes a motive for the suicidal extremist acts to which some Palestinian organizations resort from time to time in order to make known their existence.⁴

The Arab Palestinian people are now a force that has been seasoned in the hard battles against imperialism and Zionism. The grave trials which have fallen to their lot have helped them to develop high steadfastness and resolution to fight to the last against their enemies' plots and to frustrate their moves. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, says: 'The Palestinian people tends to be higher than its leadership.' Indeed, the Arab Palestinian people has the great mission of carrying on a sacred battle for its legitimate rights, for noble national goals. It will not be deflected from this struggle.

1. On that occasion, the Jordanian authorities resorted to bloody terrorism in order to wipe out the bases of the Palestinian resistance movement on the territory of Jordan. See, Naim Ashhab, 'To overcome crisis of Palestine Resistance Movement,' WMR, May 1971, p. 71.

2. The general strike in Palestine lasted for six months, and involved hundreds of thousands of workers, fellahen, artisans, merchants and intellectuals. The population stopped paying taxes. Street demonstrations developed into clashes with troops of the British imperialists. In October 1936, the strike was stopped on the insistence of four Arab monarchs: the kings of Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and the Emir of Transjordan. —Ed.

3. The importance of these measures will be seen from the official negotiations between the PLO and the Jordanian government, at which two draft documents were adopted: Framework of Joint Action, and Memorandum on Mutual Understanding. However, after these were discussed by the National Palestinian Council, they were rejected by an overwhelming majority because they contained highly suspicious provisions which could be used by conciliatory Arab elements to put pressure on the PLO and the Palestinians so as to induce them to accept collaborationist, pro-imperialist decisions.

4. Since 1967, the number of Palestinian organizations has nearly doubled, and not mainly as a result of new ones appearing on the scene, but of splits and divisions in some existing ones.

Peking's concept of war

Nyamyn Luvsanchultem
CC member, Mongolian People's
Revolutionary Party

Together with progressives throughout the world, the Mongolian people have emphatically denounced China's perfidious attack on socialist Vietnam.

The enemies of socialism are openly jubilant about the 'war between communists,' as they call China's undisguised aggression. But our ideological adversaries will be laboring in vain if they hope to prove that the mainsprings of this war are in the nature of the socialist system. Peoples and governments have seen for themselves that socialism spells out a policy of peace and that the larger the number of socialist states on the international scene the more durable peace becomes. As for the actions of Maoist China, they demonstrate that the expansionist ambitions of its leaders have nothing in common with socialism, while the character, aims and methods of their policy equate it to the policy of imperialism.

To cover its military gamble, Peking used specious, hypocritical verbiage about the 'need' to put an end to Vietnam's 'hegemonism' in Southeast Asia, to 'teach Vietnam a lesson.' But it is no secret that the Peking rulers wanted to 'punish' Vietnam for pursuing an independent policy, for they see free, united and socialist Vietnam as an obstacle to their own hegemony in that region. The war un-

leashed by the Maoists has shown the world that Peking's present leaders are pursuing an aggressive foreign policy.

Peking's great-power ambitions are exemplified by the territorial claims it has made on practically all neighboring and even non-neighboring states. Today China is one of the few countries in the world that does not recognize the inviolability of historically-shaped frontiers. It does not conceal its claims to the entire territory of Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand, Malaysia, Burma and Nepal, and huge chunks of territory in the USSR, India, Japan and some other countries. The arguments presented by the Peking leaders in support of their territorial claims usually boil down to the contention that these territories were once either conquered by China's feudal rulers or had once recognized their vassalage to China. True, they say nothing of the fact that China itself had been time and again conquered by non-Hans, but they lay claim to territories that had belonged or were seized by conquerors of the Heavenly Kingdom.

However, the Peking rulers are endeavoring to present a more substantial, ideological justification for their hegemonistic line. This is the purpose of their concept of war.

It is not accidental that this concept has become

the pivot of the Maoist doctrine. Maoism spells out war. An ideology and policy of war, this doctrine is the very opposite of Marxism-Leninism, which is an ideology and policy of peace among nations. Moreover, as developments have shown, Maoism has many points in common with the views of the big monopoly bourgeoisie, with the most reactionary forces of imperialism. But Peking's 'theorists' attempt to hide their rupture with scientific socialism and give the impression that their concept of war is not only consistent with the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist teaching but also represents its application under present-day conditions. They camouflage their hegemonistic ambitions with 'references' to the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and strive to give their ideas the semblance of Marxism.

The thesis that war is inevitable is the basic proposition of the Maoist concept of war.

This thesis was openly propounded at the close of the 1950s and the early 1960s, when Maoism rejected Marxism-Leninism's basic propositions that peace and peaceful coexistence were imperative.¹ More, the Maoists tried to prove that peaceful coexistence would lead to war.²

They close their eyes to the fact that fundamental changes removing the fatal inevitability of war have taken place on the international scene. It is indisputable that to this day militarism and aggression remain the hallmarks of imperialism. But today there are powerful peace forces which prevent the unchecked manifestation of these hallmarks.

As anti-Sovietism became increasingly the keynote of the Peking leadership, Mao Tse-tung and his successors reappraised their views about the causes of war. They declared that the threat of another war came no longer from imperialism's aggressive militarist policy but from the struggle between the two 'superpowers,' for world supremacy, from 'social-imperialism.' The Maoist ideologues count on these inventions deluding world opinion about their plans. These views were publicly stated by Teng Hsiao-ping at the sixth special session of the UN General Assembly in April 1974 and by the Chinese representative at the 30th UN General Assembly in September 1975. These were the first public statements to the effect that the threat of war was due chiefly to the actions of the Soviet Union. This slander is now the pivot of the Peking leadership's concept of war. More, it underlay Hua Kuo-feng's analysis of the international situation at the 11th CPC Congress (1977) and at the 1978 session of the National People's Congress.

The Maoist 'explanations' of the sources of the war danger are no more than a self-justification. The leaders of Maoist China have placed that nation in the service of imperialism and, together with it, are following a strategy alien to all nations.

Peking's talk about the invented 'hegemonism' of the Soviet Union is a ploy to divert attention from its own, hegemonistic designs. These designs cannot be concealed because they are openly proclaimed by Maoist ideology itself. Back in 1959 Mao Tse-tung spoke frankly of the aims of China's

foreign policy: "We must conquer the globe. Our target is the entire globe, where we shall create a mighty power." In Peking today they no longer speak of plans of this nature quite so candidly. The Peking leaders have even gone to the extent of inscribing in the new Constitution the provision that China "will never be a superpower." These are empty words because in fact it is no secret that the aim of their 'four modernizations' is chiefly to build up a military and economic potential.

Maoism uses the thesis that war is inevitable to justify its own preparations for war, the mobilization of all the nation's resources to enlarge the armed forces and the war industry and increase stockpiles and develop new nuclear weapons.³ The Maoist 'theorists,' moreover, use this thesis as an argument against the socialist community's policy of easing international tension and creating guarantees for international security. The proposals expressing socialism's strategy of peace on the international scene can, it is asserted slanderously in Peking, only 'lull people's vigilance and weaken their preparations for defense.'⁴

China is opposing any curb on the arms race, chiefly on strategic offensive arms. The Peking leaders allege that the settlement of this vital problem may 'fetter the non-nuclear states and also countries possessing a small quantity of nuclear weapons' (read: China). China is one of the few countries that have not signed a single international document limiting the strategic arms race.

The next most important proposition of the Maoist theory is that war is necessary, desirable, and useful.

In the 1930s-1940s, the thesis that war is useful was deduced by Maoism from the course toward an armed struggle for power. War was interpreted as the sole means of winning power (this was expressed by the slogan that 'power grows out of the barrel of a gun'). After the people's revolution triumphed, the Maoists absolutized the significance of the Chinese experience of armed struggle. But there are no 'recipes of revolution' for all occasions. The choice of the ways and means of the struggle for power is a creative process involving assessment of the actual situation in one country or another, the correlation of class and political forces, traditions and so forth.

However, the Maoists' absolutization of war as a form of liberation struggle and their insistence that the 'Chinese way' should be followed amounted to more than a claim to ideological hegemony in the world revolutionary movement. This was a camouflage for frankly expansionist plans and calculations, which came to light when the Maoists began to preach the need for 'exporting revolution' by means of military gambles. Mao Tse-tung's notions about the paths of revolution in Southeast Asia, as his own pronouncements testify, boiled down to direct military interference and ensuring numerical superiority at the expense of the Chinese. Maoism's primitive thinking reduced the content of the extremely complex socio-political processes leading to revolution to the level of simple arithmetics.

But it would be naive to think that the adventurist tactics of bringing military-political pressure to bear on imperialism were simply a manifestation of petty-bourgeois 'revolutionism.' Already in those years the Peking leaders were by no means motivated by concern for the destiny of the revolution in the Southeast Asian countries. It was no accident that Mao Tse-tung ended some of his arguments by bluntly proposing the conquest of Southeast Asia. These and similar proposals clearly showed the hegemonistic appetite of a politician who sought to capitalize on the demographic factor, namely, China's enormous population.

The thesis that a world war was necessary, useful and desirable was propounded by the Maoists at the close of the 1950s and the early 1960s. It was precisely then that they attempted to impose upon the international communist movement the idea that a world war was the only way to the worldwide triumph of socialism and, consequently, a 'progressive historical phenomenon.' However, already then it was obvious that in fact the Chinese leaders regarded war as the shortest road to China's supremacy.

When their mad plans were rejected, when the Soviet Union emphatically opposed the adventurist line of the Maoists toward starting a nuclear-missile conflict, the Chinese leaders set out to precipitate, through their military gambles, a clash between the USSR and the USA that would grow into a world war. The Peking leaders were aware of what mankind would have to pay for their road of 'struggle with imperialism.' 'Can one predict what the life toll will be in a future war? Possibly it will add up to one-third of the world's population of 2,760 million, in other words, to only 900 million. I feel that this is still little,' Mao Tse-tung said in 1957. 'If half of mankind is destroyed, the other half will remain, but then imperialism will be totally destroyed and there will be only socialism in the world.' However, in keeping with the traditions of Han diplomacy, the Maoists were always careful to see that in the event their plans were successful, China would not be actively involved in a war. They calculated that in a world bled white by another world war China would be the sole real force.

However, the Peking leaders have now decided to play the 'American card.' They hope to induce the United States and the NATO countries to start a military gamble fatal to the world. It goes without saying that in this case the Peking leadership no longer needs the slogan of a worldwide victory of socialism to cover up its hegemonistic schemes.

The 'theorists' of Maoism have also distorted the fundamental Marxist-Leninist tenets on the nature of war in the present epoch. Maoism has put forward its own scholastic ideas to counter the Marxist-Leninist class principles of designating wars as just (revolutionary, national-liberation, defensive wars against aggression by imperialist states) and unjust. These have been 'substantiated' by Mao Tse-tung, who asserted that the nature of wars is determined by the predator-victim relation: war, according to this primitive scheme, is unjust

on the part of the predator and just on the part of the victim. Extra-class criteria have allowed the Peking leaders arbitrarily to judge about the justice or injustice of wars.

There is good reason why the just-wars thesis is so important an element in Peking's foreign-policy propaganda.⁵ The Peking ideologists now refer to it in an effort to justify their policy of alignment with imperialism. They claim that in the present military-political situation, U.S. imperialism, the NATO countries and the racist and reactionary regimes are the 'victims.'

In accordance with the old formula of Han diplomacy of 'being friendly with a distant strong power against a nearby strong power,' the Maoists seek to prove that U.S. imperialism has to defend itself against 'Soviet threat.' The degeneration of the Chinese leaders' policy is also well illustrated by, among other things, the Chinese government's decision to terminate the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and China, a decision which is a logical outcome of the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist foreign policy China's ruling circles have conducted over the past two decades. The Peking leaders now no longer wish to recall the Treaty's crucial role in averting direct imperialist aggression against China during the 1950-53 Korean War. When holding forth about establishing the 'broadest front for delivering a blow at the chief enemy,' they imply that that enemy is the Soviet Union, and have expressed a readiness to support the forces of reaction and imperialism in the fight against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

China's developing military contacts with the capitalist countries of Western Europe are also being justified by references to the thesis concerning the 'just' nature of a war with the Soviet Union which the Maoists believe to be inevitable. The Maoist ideologists explain that on the part of the West European capitalist countries another world war would be a war against aggression, against enslavement, i.e., a national-liberation war.⁶ Behind a screen of such arguments, Peking has established the closest relations with NATO (since 1975), and the Chinese leaders now already regard their country as an 'Eastern NATO,' backing up their words with extended military preparations and anti-Soviet, anti-socialist policies.

What lurks behind these 'theoretical' exercises? It is the same urge to ensure favorable military-political conditions for China's hegemonistic line on the continent of Asia. In Peking's geopolitical plans, Europe has been assigned the role of a 'diversionary factor.' China has urged NATO to step up military tensions in Europe in the hope of getting a free hand in Asia and satisfying some of its territorial claims. In addition, Peking plans to modernize its armed forces and, while repeating the Maoist slogan of the superiority of men over weapons even in a modern war, has made no secret of its desire and efforts to obtain access to NATO arsenals.

The Peking ideologists' 'just-war' inventions are

also designed to vindicate China's self-seeking policy with respect to the developing countries and the non-aligned movement. Although lip service is still being paid to the justice of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism, the Maoists have long since withdrawn their support from it, and are now actually opposing it. They oppose everything that weakens the positions of the 'superpower' which they designate as the 'defending side', i.e., U.S. imperialism. It is hard to expose oneself to a greater extent: in the struggle between the forces of national liberation and imperialism, the Peking leaders have, in effect, openly sided with the latter. Peking was one of the first to give a helping hand to Pinochet's fascist regime in Chile; during the Angolan people's liberation struggle, China opposed the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and sided with the reactionary groupings, UNITA and FNLA, which are supported and financed by the CIA; it also sided with imperialism during the events in Ethiopia and Zaire; today, China is helping the Afghan reactionaries; to the very last, the Peking leaders supported the pro-American regime of the shah in Iran.

But the most crying instance of Peking's treacherous policy is its aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The Tokyo newspaper *Akahata*, for instance, has stressed that even in accordance with Peking's own logic, this war runs counter to its 'three worlds' theory. China, the paper says, asserts that it relies on the 'third world' — the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America — as the chief forces. But China launched a direct attack on Vietnam, a country it had up to then regarded as a member of the 'third world.'⁷ Having failed in their attempts to force Vietnam to its knees by means of weapons, the Peking hegemonists are trying to use the talks between the two countries started on Vietnam's initiative to put gross pressure on that country in an effort to vindicate their attack on it, and to prepare world opinion for a possible repetition of the aggression in the future. They have kept repeating their threats of 'teaching Vietnam another lesson,' unless it accepts their ultimatums.

Finally, the Peking leadership's concept of local wars provides a 'theoretical' screen for its hegemonistic line.

In the late 1950s, as the petty-bourgeois hegemonistic attitudes in the Peking leadership increased, it opted for global world war as its strategic reference point. And in the 1960s and 1970s, China's leaders worked out an approach which enables them to resort to local wars as the need arises, while maintaining world war as a more distant goal.

The Maoists present local wars, like war generally, as a normal state of international life (because, according to Maoist 'dialectics,' war is an eternal source of development in the social sphere). By contrast, they regard peace as a temporary phenomenon, as a continuation of war in other conditions, as a different form of it. China has tried to present local aggressive wars against neighboring states as 'punishment,' 'retribution,' 'punitive

acts', 'lessons,' etc., which can allegedly be resorted to within the framework of the usual state of relations between countries. Even before the shooting along the Chinese-Vietnamese border stopped, Peking openly began to concentrate its troops along the border with Laos and threatened that country with aggression.

By its tactics of local wars, China tries to establish itself as the only real force in Asia, to intimidate the countries in the region and to force them to follow in the wake of its policy. The Peking leaders have issued their wildest threats against the socialist countries of Asia in the hope of making them abandon the only true foreign-policy line, the line of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole. The Chinese leadership has also staged provocations along the border with Mongolia. In the areas immediately adjacent to the Mongolia's state borders, China has concentrated large contingents of troops, carried on construction of strategic installations, and held military exercises; it has not ceased its diverse subversive sorties against Mongolia. In face of the real danger posed by the acts of China's ruling circles, the Mongolian government has been forced to take appropriate measures to strengthen the country's defense capability and ensure its security; it has increased the numerical strength of its armed forces, which had been cut down to a minimum in the 1950s, when normal relations were maintained between Mongolia and China, and the frontier troops, fully disbanded in that period, have been re-established and reinforced. At the Mongolian government's request, Soviet troops were brought into the territory of the republic. The decision to station Soviet troops in Mongolia is a purely internal affair of the sovereign Mongolian state. It was taken for the purpose of strengthening the republic's defense capability and not in order to pose some kind of threat to China, so that it can be reviewed only when the Chinese leadership abandons its policy of annexation with respect to Mongolia. Our government has always emphasized that these acts have been forced upon it, and that the responsibility for the present unsatisfactory state of relations between Mongolia and China falls squarely on the Chinese leaders.

The peoples of the world are well aware of the danger of the Peking leadership's great-power, hegemonistic policy. Leonid Brezhnev says: 'Everyone now sees that it is this policy that now poses the gravest danger to peace all over the world.'⁸

The Peking leadership, carrying on its preparations for war, has rejected every proposal designed to reduce tensions and the danger of a military disaster. It has also come out against the proposal to set up a collective-security system in Asia and to turn the continent into a continent of peace. The Peking leaders have countered with the man-hating dogmas of their concept of war the ideas of developing economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual advantage, the principles of repudiating the

use of force in relations between states and respect for sovereignty and inviolability of frontiers, recognition of each nation's rights to decide its own destiny, and non-interference in domestic affairs, the inadmissibility of annexing the territories of others by means of aggression, and settlement of all disputes by pacific means.

The important thing to emphasize is that it is the socialist countries that have advanced the humane idea of collective security in Asia. The stand of the Mongolian communists on the establishment of a collective-security system in Asia was set forth by Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Khural, when he said: 'The political situation which has now taken shape in Asia drives home the need to ensure peace and security on the continent through joint and collective efforts by the Asian states. We want Asia to become a continent of peace.' Earlier on, in a speech at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the MPRP CC, he proposed that all Asian countries should conclude treaties, on a bilateral or regional basis, repudiating the threat or use of force, and also on non-aggression.⁹

The Peking leaders' great-power, hegemonistic policy is the main obstacle in the way of fulfilling this key task. They are now trying to knock together an aggressive 'Peking-Washington-Tokyo' alliance against the peoples, denigrate the idea of collective security in Asia, and claim that it is aimed against China and contradicts the existing norms of international life. In fact, the proposal of the socialist countries of Asia is in complete accord with the letter and spirit of the UN Charter, and is not in any way aimed against any country.

The Mongolian people believe that the idea of collective security in Asia not only paves the way for eliminating the existing conflicts but also creates the necessary prerequisites for averting new armed clashes in potentially dangerous zones of tension, and for an easing of the international climate on the continent as a whole. Despite the exist-

ing difficulties and obstacles in the way of ensuring lasting peace and security in Asia, there are now powerful forces on the continent which are capable of working to realize this noble idea.

1. In the period from the proclamation of the People's Republic of China to the mid-1950s China's leaders accepted or pretended to accept these propositions. This is illustrated by China's Constitution of those years, which stated: 'The struggle for the lofty aims of world peace and human progress is an immutable guideline of our country in international affairs' (*Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, Peking 1954, p. 6). But as early as 1960 the Chinese politicians published a volume entitled *Long Live Marxism-Leninism!* (Peking, 1960), in which they condemned the principles of peaceful coexistence.

2. This is what the journal *Hungchi*, organ of the CPC Central Committee, wrote in this connection: 'Peaceful coexistence is unquestionably wrong, anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist, for in reality it means unceasing flattery, unceasing compromises with, and unceasing concessions to imperialism. This can only result in turning peaceful coexistence into its opposite, namely war' (*Hungchi*, 1962, No. 5).

3. China's military expenditures have been growing steadily and today amount to 40 per cent of its state budget. Although it is in 103rd place in the world for per capita national income, during the past 20 years it has held a leading place for the size of its military expenditures.

4. *Jenmin jihpao*, October 7, 1975.

5. This question was dealt with, among others, by *Jenmin jihpao* in an editorial entitled 'Chairman Mao's Theory on the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism,' possibly the Peking leadership's most important foreign-policy propaganda act in the recent period (see Walery Namiotkiewicz's article in *WMR*, November 1978). This is also dealt with in an article by a group of researchers at the Institute of World History of China's Academy of Social Sciences entitled: 'On the Justice of Defense of National Independence by Second-World Countries in the Light of Lenin's Proposition on the "Defense of the Fatherland" Slogan,' in *Jenmin jihpao*, January 18, 1978.

6. See *Jenmin jihpao*, January 18, 1978.

7. *Akahata*, February 21, 1979.

8. *Pravda*, March 3, 1979.

9. *News of Mongolia*, December 14, 1973.

In defense of human rights

USSR Minister of Justice *Vladimir Terebilov* replies to questions from a *WMR* Correspondent.

Q. The bourgeois mass media are continuing their vocal campaign over human rights and seek in every way to whitewash those whom they call 'dissidents.' In this context, some of our readers ask: Do Soviet laws prohibit dissent? What are dissenters accused of? Should they be restricted at all, considering they they make up a tiny minority and cannot, in any circumstances, shake the socialist system in the USSR?

A. Some individuals among the 260 million Soviet citizens who take a view of some aspects of

state policy which differs from that of the overwhelming majority. They are, indeed, only a handful, and cannot, of course, either shake the socialist system in our country or influence the policy of the state. But on the strength of such considerations can we ignore their activity when they transgress our laws? Evidently, we cannot, because everyone is equal before the law, regardless of one's views.

Our Soviet laws do not prohibit dissent. Leonid Brezhnev says: 'In this country it is not prohibited to "think differently" from the majority, or to make a critical evaluation of various aspects of social life. We regard the comrades whose criticism is well grounded and who try to help as bona fide critics,

and we are grateful to them. We regard those whose criticism is misconceived as people laboring under delusions.'

According to our laws, citizens do not bear either criminal or any other responsibility for their views and convictions. Soviet legislation scrupulously adheres to the principle that a penalty may be applied only to a person who has committed a crime. Article 3 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics says: 'Only a person guilty of committing a crime, that is, a person who has deliberately or through carelessness committed a *socially dangerous act* qualified such by the criminal code shall be subject to criminal responsibility and punishment.'

Consequently, under Soviet legislation a person can be convicted and punished only for a concrete socially dangerous act violating socialist law and order. A person's views and thoughts, however vicious, do not constitute a crime, so long as they are not attended with concrete acts prohibited by law. Soviet people, quite naturally, condemn the views which cut across their vital interests and the political, ideological and moral norms prevailing in our society, but no one bears criminal responsibility for his views.

For instance, Shcharansky was convicted in 1978 not for having political views differing from those of the majority of citizens of the Soviet Union, but for holding conspiratorial meetings with members of some embassies for the purpose of working out practical measures to 'erode Soviet society.' In addition, he collected information on some military installations and passed on this information to a journalist working for foreign intelligence agencies. Shcharansky was also found guilty of spreading slander alleging that persons facing criminal responsibility were tortured or physically tormented, and of committing other acts.

By a judgment of the court, Orlov was found guilty of preparing and disseminating slanderous material. In particular, he passed on to representatives of a foreign embassy for publication in the press false reports alleging that some mentally healthy citizens were detained in a psychiatric institute. However, it was established at the trial that there was no record at the institute of the citizens named by Orlov. He spread reports alleging that a citizen was tried for 'dissent' but deliberately withheld the information that the citizen had been convicted for hijacking a plane. Orlov also asserted that four workers in a city in the Baltic area had been arrested for 'dissent,' but it was established at the trial that these were fictitious names, and so on and so forth.

It is characteristic that Shcharansky, Orlov and some of the other persons convicted by Soviet courts for the commission of criminal acts received money from special services or anti-Soviet agencies abroad.

Can the Soviet state fail to respond to such acts? According to Soviet law, such acts cannot be left unpunished, a view taken not only by Soviet law. The criminal codes of many other countries (United States, Italy, Belgium and others) also lay down

penalties for the concoction and deliberate dissemination of distorted facts, defamation of the nation and constitutional institutions. Under Swedish Law, citizens conducting a political struggle with money received from other states are punished in criminal proceedings.

The above-mentioned persons were not at all charged with some kind of activity in defense of the Helsinki Accords, although some of them did try to motivate their acts in this way.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights proclaims everyone's right to hold opinions without interference, but its Article 19 says that the exercise of this right 'carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but there shall be such only as are provided by law and are necessary.' Our laws lay down restrictions which are necessary for protecting the working people's interests, and provide for penalties whenever these restrictions are violated.

I think that the 'dissident' problem has been artificially created to step up anti-communism. Of course, it does have its sources. These will not be found in the Soviet legislative system, but in the imperialist centers which work out the strategy for attacks against socialism.

Q. Could you give more precise details about some of the juridical aspects of the trials of those who are called 'dissidents' in the West, and say, in particular, whether these trials were public, and how the accused exercised their defense?

A. All these trials were conducted in full conformity with the norms of criminal court procedure which are in force in our country. These cases were tried in public court sessions attended by relatives, representatives of the public, other citizens and journalists. In some instances, when the hall was filled to overflowing, not all those wishing to attend the trials could do so. Everything has its physical limits, and this does not at all signify any breach of the principle of publicity.

Shcharansky, who along with charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda was also accused of espionage, was tried in public court sessions on the first charge, and in camera, on the second. Here, the court was guided by the norms of Soviet legislation on criminal procedure, which provide for in-camera court sessions for the purpose of safeguarding state and military secrets. Both the public and the in-camera trial proceeded with the observance of all the established rules and guarantees.

As far as I am aware, the in-camera or semi-public procedure for the trial of cases in court involving protection of state secrets exists in virtually all states.

Lawyers invited by the accused themselves or their representatives were able to conduct the defense in these cases. As our law requires, these were lawyers who are members of lawyers' collegia (associations of persons engaged in law practice in the USSR), with a higher juridical education. We believe that this takes care of the interests of the accused. The law makes no provision for the appear-

ance of foreign citizens in Soviet courts as advocates. That is why the proposals made by some foreign jurists to appear as defense counsel in cases tried by Soviet courts were rejected on legal grounds.

I should like to say that the legislation of some other countries does not permit foreign citizens to appear in their courts as defense counsel either. For instance, under the laws of the State of New York, those who apply for permission to conduct cases in the courts of the state must present evidence that they are U.S. citizens. Besides, they are required to show that they believe in the form of government existing in the United States and are loyal to it. According to legislation in Italy and Austria, the defense counsel must not only be a citizen of these countries but must also present a document certifying his completion of a juridical department course at one of the national universities.

In the USSR, the right of the accused to have a defense counsel is unconditional. No one, however grievous the crimes he may be accused of, and however obvious his guilt, may be denied that right. Whenever a judgment has been passed in breach of this norm, in accordance with Soviet laws it is subject to rescission as invalid.

Q. Could you compare, even if briefly, the most important procedural guarantees of justice in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries?

A. This is a big and multifaceted question. Let me consider only two legal matters: the composition of the court and the principle of equality of all citizens before the law and the court.

First, all Soviet judges, including people's assessors, are elected. The institution of people's assessors is a well-tried form of citizens' participation in the exercise of Soviet justice. No criminal or civil case may be tried in our courts without people's assessors. Every case is tried by a bench consisting of the chairman, a professional judge and two people's assessors, the latter taking part on an equal footing with the judge in the court proceedings and in taking decisions on all matters relating to the establishment of the guilt and punishment of the accused. This alone gives our court an advantage over courts in the capitalist countries. There, only some cases, and not all, are tried by a collegial court (jury): say, about 10 per cent in the United States, and about 2 per cent in Britain. Let me add that even in the few cases that are tried collegially, the members of the jury do not decide on all matters. They are, as a rule, not empowered to decide on the actual sentence. That is why, I think, in the matter of forming the composition of the court our system is more democratic and consistent.

Second, the principle of equality of all citizens before the law and the court, and every citizen's right to judicial defense are proclaimed both in the capitalist and in the socialist countries, but this democratic principle is differently applied in practice. In bourgeois society, its application is determined by the great inequality in property holdings between people, and also by the great many legal norms and the tremendous complexity of legisla-

tion. This is sometimes metaphorically known as the 'legal jungle' in which only an experienced lawyer can find his bearings. But it is evidently not easy to hire a lawyer even for a person who is moderately well off.

In the Soviet Union, if an accused person decides to defend himself with the help of a lawyer, he can invite one for a very reasonable fee, which everyone can afford, in accordance with a fixed list of rates. That is something accused persons make extensive use of, and if the accused cannot afford to pay for the services of a lawyer, the court may exempt him from such payment.

Nor does Soviet justice have any inequality of citizens before the law and the court like release on bail, an arrangement which is also a privilege of the rich. One-time U.S. Attorney-General Ramsey Clark, who obviously knows the U.S. judicial system, admits in his book, *Crime in America*, that 'whatever its original concept bail soon came to cause great and senseless injustice. Bartering liberty for money bail, the rich have been released while the poor accused of serious crime in most American jurisdictions have awaited trials in jail. ... The rich, the mobster, the well connected — they all paid bail. Only the poor remained in jail, and as a result jobs were lost, families separated, and the best — sometimes only — chance to obtain evidence, find witnesses and prepare a defense was gone.' He also says that U.S. criminal justice is a failing system.

Those are only a few examples showing that we have succeeded in establishing a judicial system which is simpler, more reliable and more accessible to the population than that which operates under the capitalist system.

Q. In December 1948, the UN General Assembly approved the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Could you tell us how the rights and freedoms of citizens are reflected in Soviet legislation?

A. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an international document which our state treats with due respect. The Soviet Union's representatives took an active part in formulating it. Together with the representatives of other socialist countries they initiated the inclusion in the Declaration of a number of key social and economic human rights.

Let me say that there are two approaches to the question of human rights. Sometimes an effort is made to reduce this problem to the individual's political and personal rights and freedoms. We do not share such a narrow view of human rights. There is no question that political rights and freedoms are of tremendous importance, but the whole problem of human rights cannot be limited to these rights alone, while avoiding the question of social and economic rights, which bear on the material foundations of human life. I have in mind the right to work, rest and leisure, housing, education and so on. All the other human rights and freedoms can evidently be made real only on the basis of these social and economic rights.

Especially in the last few years, much has been

done in our country to perfect Soviet legislation toward a further extension of guarantees and scrupulous observance of the rights and freedoms of citizens. The All-Union and Republican legislation on labor, provision of pensions, public health, the family and marriage, education, the courts and justice, was substantially renewed and other important matters bearing on the rights of citizens regulated. A new Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was adopted in October 1977, and it has become, metaphorically speaking, the capstone of the multi-faceted work done earlier to perfect the legal regulation of Soviet society.

This has, I believe, produced a highly coherent system of legislation designed for really ensuring human rights and freedoms. An objective comparison of our Constitution and the other legal acts in force in our country with the provisions contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will show that the rights and freedoms of USSR citizens are in accord with its requirements, are even in advance of it and go beyond it.

The Soviet citizens' basic rights and freedoms, in a unity with their duties, are written into Section Two of the Constitution, which is entitled The State and the Individual. Here we find consistent implementation of the *principle of the equality of all persons before the law* without any discrimination whatsoever, a principle also proclaimed in the Declaration. The USSR Constitution establishes and guarantees the whole range of socio-economic and political and civil rights.

Q. In December 1978, the Supreme Soviet adopted a new Law on Citizenship of the USSR. To what extent does the Law take into account the basic provisions of international-law documents?

A. All the provisions of the new Law on Citizenship of the USSR are in appropriate conformity with the obligations assumed by the Soviet Union when signing international treaties and agreements.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed that 'everyone has the right to a nationality.' Article 10 of the Law on Citizenship of the USSR establishes comprehensive grounds for the acquisition of USSR citizenship, namely by birth, as a result of admission to citizenship, on grounds provided for by international treaties, and on other legitimate grounds. Thus, our law creates the conditions in which every person in the USSR has a real right to citizenship.

Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says that 'no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.' This provision of the Declaration fully accords with the text of Articles 17 and 18 of the new Law, which clearly defines the legal grounds for withdrawal from citizenship and for deprivation of citizenship. Moreover, in contrast to some capitalist countries, where matters relating to withdrawal from citizenship and deprivation of citizenship are decided by individual officials, our Law establishes that decisions on these matters are adopted collegially, by high organs of state power

like the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics.

The international Convention of the Citizenship of Married Women was adopted in 1957. In conformity with the Convention, the Law on Citizenship of the USSR says that 'acquisition or loss of citizenship by either of the spouses does not entail any change in the citizenship of the other spouse.' This is an important guarantee of the complete independence of the spouses.

This analysis could well be continued, but what I have said warrants the assertion that in drawing up its citizenship law, the Soviet Union fulfilled its obligations in international law with precision and consistency.

Q. There is no doubt that the formalization of rights and freedoms in law is of primary importance for their realization. But the guarantees ensuring real exercise of these rights are evidently just as important.

A. I fully agree with you. The existence of the appropriate juridical norms determining human rights is highly important, and creates good starting conditions, but there is also a need for real guarantees for their actual exercise.

If, for instance, we consider the *right to work*, i.e., the right by each able-bodied citizen to obtain a guaranteed job with remuneration for his labor in accordance with its quantity and quality, including the possibility of choosing a trade or profession, this right in our country is ensured by the socialist economic system, the steady growth of society's productive forces, free occupational training, the raising of skill standards and training in new special skills. Let me point out that in the Soviet Union there is no unemployment problem.

The Soviet citizen's *right to rest and leisure* and the *right to health protection*, which is closely connected with it, have also real backup. Consider, for instance, the fact that our country now has 14,000 health and holiday homes, holiday hotels and tourist facilities, where nearly 50 million working people and members of their families spend their holidays every year. Medical assistance is provided by 24,000 hospitals, with more than 3 million beds, and 35,000 polyclinics and infirmaries. Altogether, 5.5 million men and women, including 896,000 doctors, are working in the Soviet public health system. This is more per 10,000 of the population than in any non-socialist state. All of these services are provided to Soviet citizens either free of charge or at a very moderate rate.

The *right to housing* written into the new USSR Constitution (Article 44) can now be held out as a result of the tremendous scale of housing construction in the country: almost 27 million flats have been built in the past 12 years alone. In that period, more than 130 million Soviet citizens have improved their housing conditions, and this in a country in which 1,700 towns and 70,000 villages were destroyed by the fascist invaders during the last war. Add to this that our country has perhaps the lowest rent in the world — it comes to no more than

three to five per cent of family incomes — and the reality of the guarantees of this right for Soviet citizens becomes especially clear.

The right to education in the USSR is ensured by the availability of all types of education free of charge. In the Soviet Union, students do not pay for their education, and most of them (nearly 75 per cent) receive scholarship grants. In 1978, the country had 140,000 general-education schools and 5,173 higher and secondary special schools, with 94 million people now involved in all types of education.

In accordance with the people's interests and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system, Soviet citizens are *guaranteed freedom of speech and the press*. The country has nearly 8,000 newspapers appearing in 56 languages of the peoples of the USSR, with a daily printing of over 168 million copies, and about 5,000 magazines and journals. These are published not only by state and party agencies, but also by young people's, scientific, trade union and other organizations. A look at any Soviet newspaper will show that it presents a truly free discussion of the big and small problems holding the attention of Soviet people. We have no bans on criticism. On the contrary, those who are criticized in the press have to take a public stand on the criticism and to report on the measures taken in connection with it.

In the Soviet Union, there is a ban on the spread of pornography, the propaganda of war, the preaching of racial or national hostility, incitement of violence, i.e., that which has nothing to do with genuine culture and humanism and which, incidentally, also contradicts the requirements of Article 1 of the Declaration of Human Rights which enjoins people to act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Soviet citizens have the *right to own property*, both individually, and jointly with others, and they also have the right to inherit. Personal property may include earned income and savings, a dwelling house, an ancillary husbandry, a car, etc. Citizens may have the use of plots of land made available by the state or the collective farms for household farming (including the maintenance of cattle and poultry), fruit and vegetable-growing, and also for individual housing construction. But in our socialist state, the property which citizens have in personal ownership and use may not serve to derive unearned income or exploit other human beings.

Soviet citizens are *guaranteed freedom of conscience*, i.e., the right to profess any creed or engage in religious cults, or not to profess any creed and to conduct atheistic propaganda. In the USSR, church is separated from state, and school from church. This means that the state and its agencies do not interfere in the religious activity of believers and

their organizations, and religious organizations must not interfere in the affairs of the state.

Citizens who are believers have the right to form religious societies which may obtain from the state the free use of prayer houses and objects of ritual. At present, there are in the Soviet Union a total of over 20,000 Orthodox and Catholic churches, synagogues, Lutheran churches, mosques, Buddhist temples, prayer houses of Christian Baptists and so on. There are monasteries and convents, and secondary and higher seminaries. Religious centers regularly publish their literature, including religious periodicals, the Bible, the Koran, prayer-books, church calendars, etc. Religious organizations have their own production enterprises to make various objects for religious rituals, like candles, icons, church-plates, matzos and so on.

The churches operating in the USSR take part in the activity of various international religious organizations, among them the World Council of Churches and the World Baptist Union.

No special permission from the organs of power is required for holding religious processions around temples, whether in town or country, processions which are an organic part of the divine service, provided they do not disrupt normal street traffic.

The hampering of religious rituals, when these are not in breach of public order and do not involve encroachments on the rights of citizens, is regarded as a crime (Article 143, Criminal Code of the RSFSR).

The individual's personality, life, freedom and immunity are protected in the Soviet Union in every possible way. No Soviet citizen may be subjected to arrest otherwise than by a ruling of the court or sanction of the procurator. No one has the right to enter a dwelling without legal grounds, against the will of its inhabitants. Inspection of the personal correspondence of citizens is allowed only by a special decision taken by an investigator and sanctioned by the procurator, or by a ruling of the court, whenever this is required to detect a crime.

It would, of course, be wrong to say that we have no shortcomings or outstanding problems either in legislation or in its practical application, or in the work of the Soviet courts. Alongside the achievements we also see the existing shortcomings, and have worked and will continue to work to eliminate these and further to strengthen and perfect the legal principles of state and social life and the life of the individual, with his rights and freedoms. But, of course, our people, the Soviet state, will not allow anyone from abroad to meddle in the activity of the judicial organs of the USSR or to tell us how to settle this or that internal matter in our country. That is inadmissible, and no sovereign state would evidently allow this.



Looking to the future

Edward Boorstein, *Allende's Chile. An Inside View*. International Publishers, New York, 1977. 277 pp.

Much has been written about the 1970-73 Chilean revolution. Yet, some of its aspects have not been adequately studied. Research into one of them, the economic aspect, is highly important for the struggle at present and in the future. Imperialism, Chilean reaction and fascist dictatorship have been alleging in numberless publications that the economic measures enacted by the Popular Unity government had failed and thrown the country into chaos and anarchy. In this way they seek to diminish the revolutionary significance of the changes that were made to persuade people that all their attempts to alter the present situation will be of no avail. They try especially hard to convince the Chileans that the problems confronting their country cannot be solved in a revolutionary way. As the discussion on measures to be taken after the fall of the dictatorship spreads, these attempts are becoming more and more persistent. The reactionary circles in Chile want to make the people believe that no realistic alternative exists to the economic policy pursued by the reactionaries today.

This book, written by U.S. economist Edward Boorstein and based on his own experience, refutes these assertions and presents an objective picture of the economic situation in the Chile of Popular Unity, so scrupulously studied by the author.

For some time Boorstein was a representative of the Popular Unity government at international organizations in the United States, where he could see the numerous imperialist schemings against the Allende government at first hand, and then, right up to the fascist coup, he was assistant to the general manager of the Central Bank of Chile and acted as assistant to President Allende's Economic Adviser.

The author, naturally, does not confine himself to economic analysis. This analysis would have been impossible if, as the book shows, the dialectical relationship of economics and politics were ignored. The author arrives at the correct conclusion that the main economic problems of that period cannot be viewed solely in the light of 'technical' aspects, in isolation from the class struggle. This approach gave Boorstein the clue to analyzing inflationary processes, for instance. 'The problem,' he writes, 'was not mainly technical, but political. The enemy was counting on economic difficulties,

working to ensure that they would occur. Inflation was one of the difficulties counted on most to create the economic and political chaos necessary to get rid of the UP (Popular Unity. — Ed.) government. The fight over inflation was part of the struggle for power taking place in Chile' (p. 118).

Boorstein correctly assesses the revolutionary content of the program proposed by the Popular Unity government. He writes: 'The nationalizations carried out by the UP must be seen as part of the overall revolutionary process, and as such they were of enormous revolutionary significance. ... The nationalizations gave important chunks of economic power to the government. ... Yet even with all this, the government was far from controlling the economy the way a socialist economy has to be controlled. In some respects it did not even have the degree of control which most capitalist governments enjoy. The reason was simple — the UP did not have complete state power' (pp. 143, 144). Arguing against some misconceptions, which were most frequently articulated by the ultra-leftists after the main nationalizations were carried out, Boorstein writes: 'The struggle with the opposition over nationalizations was important; but it was not the ultimately decisive one. To insist that the process of nationalization must "advance" without interruption and without compromise so that the "power of the people could be extended" and the "material base of the oligarchy" destroyed, was to create confusion and strengthen the misconception that the basic problem of power could be resolved in this way' (p. 145). As regards nationalization, it was necessary to know how far the subsequent steps in that direction would influence the balance of forces in the revolution and whether it would be possible to isolate its main enemies — imperialism and reaction — which at that time were engaged in intensive preparations for a counter-offensive.

This was a profound process, highly revolutionary in content and associated with a fierce struggle for power. Precisely this key problem of any revolution, the problem of power, had to be resolved before nationalization could continue.

But despite the ferocity of the struggle, the people were able to maintain economic activity in the country at the highest level Chile had ever known. 'Despite the poor condition in which the old owners deliberately left their enterprises and the innumerable difficulties that inevitably accompany any transformation, the UP government and the Chilean working class not only were able to keep the ex-

propriated mines and factories running, but generally were able to increase output' (p. 139, 140). The data cited by the author enable the reader to compare the economic situation under the Popular Unity government and the present situation.

Thus, according to the data provided by the National Institute of Statistics, the industrial output index during Allende's presidency, in 1972, was 122.6 (1968 = 100). This means that the revolution effected profound structural transformations and simultaneously ensured production growth. In 1978, under the fascist regime, industrial output was 15 per cent below the 1972 level. It is, therefore, quite clear why the dictatorial regime wants to con-

ceal the successes the people attained under the Popular Unity leadership.

The gains of the people during the revolutionary process in Chile and the experience of those years help today's struggles. The same is true about Boorstein's book, which helps us to have a better understanding of the historic significance of the Popular Unity period. The book is especially topical today, when certain circles, aware of the revolutionary charge of those developments, would like to bury them in oblivion. 'The Chilean revolution,' writes Boorstein in conclusion, 'is part of a long historic process with both a past and a future' (pp. 262-263).

Hugo Fazio

Effective and mutually advantageous

USSR'S COOPERATION WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The Soviet Union first began to build industrial projects abroad in the 20s, when a number of enterprises were erected in Mongolia with its participation. In the 30s, it helped to build textile mills in Turkey and Afghanistan, and rice-hulling mills in Iran.

Extensive contacts

Sixty-four developing countries now have agreements on economic and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union, including 21 in Asia, 33 in Africa (6 Arab countries and 27 in Tropical Africa), and 10 in Latin America.

From 1960 to 1977, deliveries* of equipment for enterprises and projects being built with the Soviet Union's participation increased nearly nine-fold.

Table 1

Growth of Soviet economic and technical assistance to developing countries (per cent)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1977
Total	100	177.6	279.3	489.2	614.8
Asian countries ..	100	152.9	267.5	486.0	516.6
African countries	100	240.9	302.8	470.1	830.5

Over 600 projects have already been built in developing countries with the participation of Soviet organizations, and almost as many are either under construction, are being designed or are to be set up under signed inter-governmental agreements.

Main emphasis on state sector

An important aspect of the USSR's cooperation with developing countries is that it is carried on within the framework of their state sectors: in many instances, cooperation projects provide the basis for a state sector that is to have an important role in

putting through national-development programs.

By contrast, assistance from developed capitalist countries goes primarily to build up the infrastructure favoring the investment of private capital. Thus, the United States generally withholds economic aid and tariff privileges from young states which nationalize the property of multinationals with a controlling U.S. interest.

Meeting requests from developing countries, the Soviet Union has directed the bulk of its assistance into industries, above all the heavy industry — metallurgy, engineering and mining — and also the power industry. On the whole, more than 74 per cent of Soviet economic and technical assistance to developing countries goes into industry and electric power, including 37 per cent into metallurgy.

Table 2

Capacities of enterprises going up in developing countries with Soviet assistance

As of January 1, 1978

	Unit	Built, Building or Planned
Power stations		
(installed capacity) mln kw		11.92
Pig iron mln tons		17.90
Steel mln tons		19.64
Rolled stock mln tons		13.35
Iron ore mln tons		14.00
Coal (extraction) .. mln tons		21.47
Oil (extraction) ... mln tons		65.32
Oil (refining) mln tons		17.63
Large-panel house-building ... 1,000 sq. m.		3,495
housing		
Railways km		2,072
Grain elevators 1,000 tons		1,253

Industrial giants

First among the metallurgical projects is Bhilai, India's first mill and a symbol of Soviet-Indian cooperation. For nearly two decades now, it has

*Data provided by the USSR State Committee for External Economic Ties.

been India's largest and most efficient enterprise in ferrous metallurgy. Another metallurgical giant, the mill at Bokaro, was started in March 1978. In addition to these two biggest mills, there are also the mills with a full metallurgical cycle which have been or are being built with Soviet assistance in Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Algeria, Pakistan and Nigeria.

In 1977, the plants built in cooperation with the USSR turned out over 40 per cent of the pig iron and about 30 per cent of the steel output in the developing countries of Asia and Africa. For some countries, the percentages are much higher. Thus, the steel-smelting shop of the mill at El Hadjar in Algeria already accounts for 95 per cent of the country's steel output, and when enlarged, it will account for nearly 100 per cent. When the metallurgical mill in Ajaokuta in Nigeria is completed, it will meet nearly all of the country's requirements in metal and reduce metal imports to a minimum.

The Soviet Union also helps to prospect for ore and coal to supply these metallurgical mills. It has also helped to develop non-ferrous metallurgy: powerful aluminum plants have been built with its participation in India, Egypt and Turkey.

The products turned out by the heavy engineering plants at Ranchi and the mining-equipment plant at Durgapur in India are also exported. Whereas Indian enterprises accounted for only 10 per cent of equipment deliveries in the construction of the first section of the Bhilai mill, the figure went up to 65 per cent in the construction of the metallurgical giant at Bokaro through the use of equipment made at the Ranchi and Durgapur plants. Their products will also be widely used in building ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy enterprises which are being erected with the USSR's assistance in other countries.

The electrical engineering works built in Baghdad with the USSR's assistance is the only maker of electrical engineering products in Iraq. Similarly, the farm machinery works at Eskandaria, also built with the Soviet Union's assistance, is the largest in that country. Engineering works have been built with Soviet assistance in Afghanistan, Iran, Egypt and other countries.

Power projects

The Soviet Union helped Egypt to build one of the world's largest hydro-power complexes, the Aswan High Dam. In 1977, the Aswan power plant generated 7.2 billion kwh of electricity, more than one-half of the country's total output.

The Western countries have not built a single project in developing countries rivalling the Aswan project in economic terms.

The Euphrates hydro-power plant is the second largest power station built with the Soviet Union's assistance in developing countries. Not long ago, Syria faced an acute shortage of electric power, but with the Euphrates plant it now exports low-cost electric power to neighboring Arab countries. The Euphrates hydro-power complex is known in Syria as the backbone of a program for the economic and social development of the Syrian Arab Republic.

A number of large hydro- and thermal-power plants have been built in Afghanistan, and in 1977 they accounted for 63 per cent of the nation's total power output. Large-scale power construction with the USSR's assistance is under way in Iraq, Iran and other countries.

Help in developing natural resources

The large bauxite complex, including a mine, railway and ore port, built in Guinea is a striking example of cooperation in developing the mining industry.

The North Rumeila oil field in Iraq has become the basis for national oil extraction and the country's mainstay in its struggle against foreign oil monopolies.

National oil fields were started in Syria for the first time in the Middle East. Syria now not only meets all of its own oil requirements, but also exports oil.

Soviet geologists were the first to discover oil in India, and 70 per cent of India's oil now comes from oil fields built up with Soviet participation. Algeria has received considerable assistance in exploration and extraction of oil. Large oil refineries are being set up in cooperation with the Soviet Union in India, Turkey, Egypt and Ethiopia, and oil-products pipelines in Nigeria and Iraq.

Among the gas-industry projects there is, first of all, the complex for the extraction, transportation and subsequent refining of gas in Afghanistan, which includes the Shibirghan gas field, a gas pipeline, a nitrogen-fertilizer plant at Mazar-i-Sharif, which uses natural gas as raw material, and other projects. In Iran, the northern section of the trans-Iranian gas pipeline was built with Soviet participation.

Development of agriculture

The Soviet Union has been giving developing countries increasing assistance in agriculture. Large-scale hydro-technical installations and irrigation systems and state farms, enterprises for the production of fertilizers are being built, agrotechnical services organized, and national agricultural personnel trained.

Large-scale state mechanized multisector and specialized farms are being set up on land irrigated and prepared for farming in cooperation with the USSR. They demonstrate the advantages of this form of organizing agricultural enterprises in developing countries. Thus, large farms (Ghaziabad and Hadda), which constitute the basis of the state sector in the country's agriculture, were set up on the lands of the Jelalabad irrigation complex in Afghanistan.

In Guinea, experimental stock-breeding farms set up with Soviet technical assistance are important in developing highly productive stock-breeding and in training national personnel. The USSR is also helping to develop new lands for rice.

Soviet organizations have given assistance to Mali's state enterprise, Office du Niger, in develop-

ing new lands for rice. In Zambia, Soviet organizations took part in sinking water wells.

Training of national personnel

One of the burning problems facing the young states is the shortage of national personnel. Let us recall that the colonial powers trained virtually no engineers, technicians or skilled workers from among the native population. The neo-colonialists, too, regard the extensive training of national personnel as a step toward greater economic independence. That is why more and more developing countries turn for assistance in this field to the Soviet Union. About 20,000 students and post-graduates from developing countries are now enrolled at higher schools in the USSR. The Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University alone has students from 100 countries of the world. The USSR has helped or is helping young national states to build 150 schools of which about 110 are already in operation. The projects erected with the participation of Soviet specialists have become massive schools for the training of national personnel. Altogether, the USSR has trained nearly 550,000 specialists in developing countries, including 341,000 in the course of construction and operation of various projects. Soviet specialists are willing to share knowledge which is usually classified as 'production secrets,' whereas Western companies and specialists are never prepared to do so. Training at construction sites is supplemented with technical instruction at 150 enterprises in the USSR, where something like 38,000 citizens from newly liberated countries are employed, of whom 30,000 have already acquired various specialities.

USSR's credit policy

The Soviet Union's cooperation with developing

countries is increasingly based on long-term (up to 15 years) inter-governmental agreements or programs which enable organizations both in the USSR and in these countries to plan stable development in various sectors of the economy over a long term, and to stimulate increases in the output of the products involved in these countries. This is also promoted by extensive development of construction of industrial and other projects on a product-pay-back basis. This form of cooperation increases these countries' export resource and enhances their capacity to pay. The USSR's credits to developing countries are long-term and are made available at much lower interest rates than those of Western countries. Soviet credits carry an interest charge of 2.5-3 per cent a year for periods from 8 to 15 years, as compared with most capitalist loans, which carry 5-7 and more per cent. Thus, in 1975, credits from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development carried an 8.5 per cent interest, and in 1977, some as much as 18 per cent.

Repayment of Soviet credits, as a rule, starts only after all the equipment has been delivered or the project has been started. Agreements with the Soviet Union provide for the repayment of credits mainly through goods deliveries, whereas Western credits mostly have to be repaid in hard currency. When the IBRD grants credits, it insists — on the pretext of trying to improve the economy — on a freezing of wages, cuts in budget spending on social programs, restrictions on enterprises in the state sector, etc.

The great effectiveness and mutual advantages of economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and developing countries show that it is viable and that it creates a mutual interest in further development and improving it.

IN BRIEF

Great Britain

Annie Powell is the first communist in Welsh history to have been elected mayor. She said she was grateful to her voters, who had shown great confidence in her. She saw her chief task as mayor of Rhondda in combating unemployment and seeking better housing conditions and a higher standard of living for the working people.

Italy

A mass rally on the Italian women's struggle for their rights, for an active part in economic and political life, took place in Rome. Organized on the Communist Party's initiative, it drew more than 50,000 women.

Addressing the rally, ICP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer said that the communists stood for equality between men and women in work and wages, and were campaigning for mother and child protection and the allocation of further funds for the

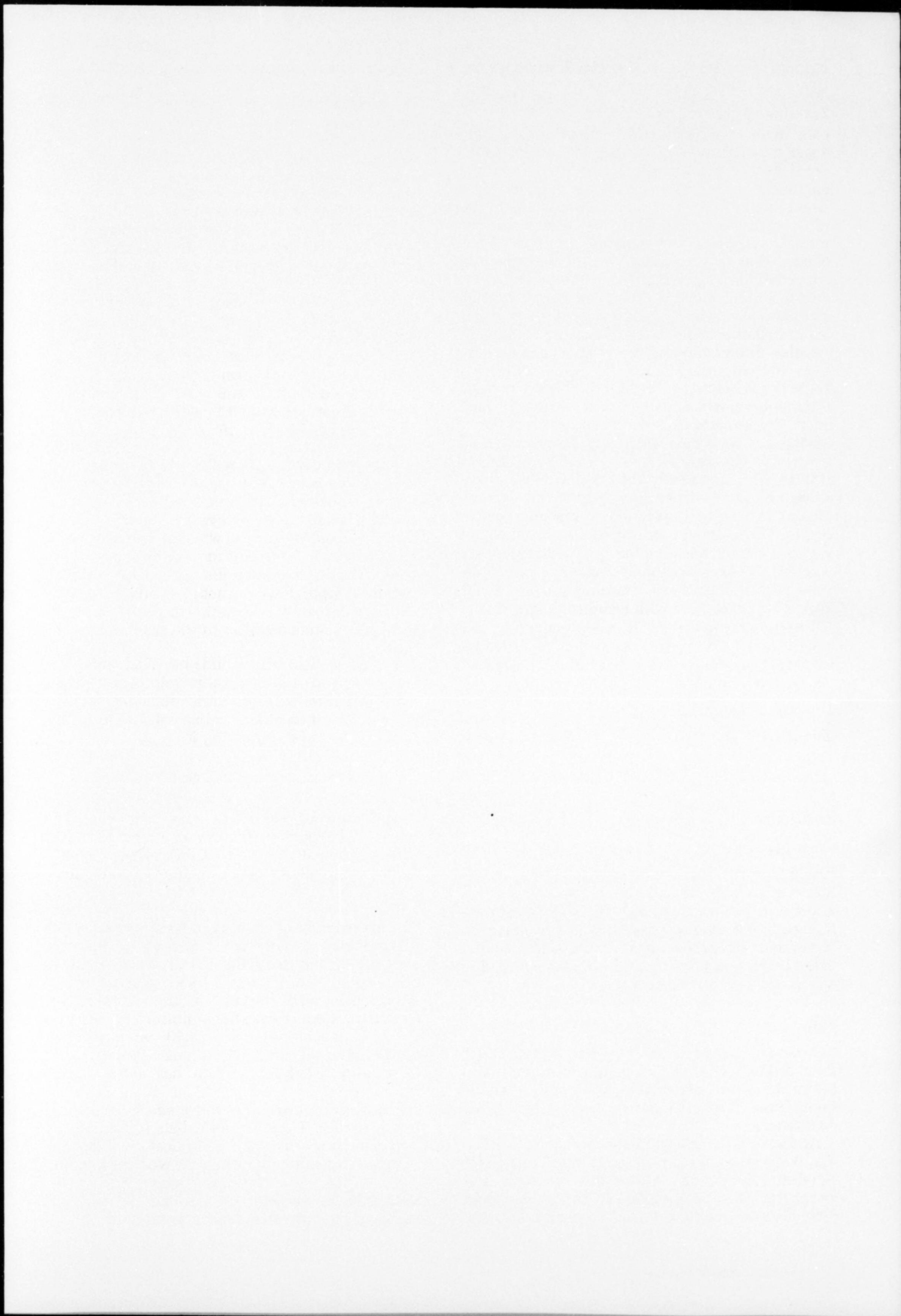
construction of children's establishments. The problem of expanding the women's movement had been prominent at the 15th ICP Congress. The ICP list for the general election included 128 women.

Peru

The overwhelming majority of workers backed the communists in the recent elections to the new executive committee of the trade union of the Oroya copper plant, one of the country's biggest industrial enterprises and center of the state-owned Centromin-Peru corporation (mining and metallurgy). The plant employs about 4,500 workers. Their union heads the list of 18 unions affiliated to the Centromin federation, which has about 15,000 members.

The election campaign was a sharp contest between parties. There were six lists of candidates. The communist victory is an indication of the party's growing influence among the working people.

Patria Roja, a Maoist organization which had controlled the unions since 1971, polled less than one-fourth of the votes cast for the communist list.



Editions of the journal

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH:

World Marxist Review

Central Books Limited,
14 The Leathermarket,
London, SE1 3ER, England
Progress Subscription Service,
71 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6, Canada
Imported Publications,
320 West Ohio Street,
Chicago, Illinois 60610, USA

New Horizon

New Horizon Publications,
14 Tamakloe/Kelani Street,
Mushin, Lagos, Nigeria

FRENCH EDITIONS:

Coopérative Ouvrière de Presse et d'Editions,
16, rue Christoph Plantin,
Luxembourg/Gasperich
Société Populaire d'Editions,
rue de la Caserne, 33-35
1000 Bruxelles, Belgique
Editions Nouvelles Frontières,
185, rue Ontario est,
Montréal, Québec H2X 1H5, Canada

ARABIC EDITIONS:

Al-Wokt, POB 6247,
Beyrouth, Liban
Al-Thakafah Al-Jadidah,
Al-Saadoon Street,
Al-Rawaaf 15/3/1, Baghdad, Iraq

BULGARIAN EDITION: Hemus,
Russki 6, Sofia, Bulgaria

CZECH EDITION: Artia,
Praha 1, Ve smeckách, 30, CSSR

DANISH EDITION: Förlaget Tiden,
Bredgade 37, 1260 Kobenhavn K, Denmark

FINNISH EDITION: Aikakauslehti Kommunisti,
Kotkankatu, 11, 00510 Helsinki 51, Finland

FLEMISH EDITION: Inatituut voor
marxistische vorming (IMAVO),
Stalingradlaan 18-20,
1000 Brussel, Belgique

GERMAN EDITIONS:

Buchexport Volkseigener Aussenhandelsbetrieb
der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,
701 Leipzig, Leninstrasse 16, DDR
Brücken-Verlag GmbH Literatur-Vertrieb,
Export-Import, 4000 Düsseldorf,
Ackerstrasse 3, FRG

GREEK EDITIONS:

Papayannis Stephanos,
Menandru 66, Athens, Greece
People's Agency
Tricouppis 53c, Nicosia, Cyprus

HEBREW EDITION: Problems of Peace
and Socialism, POB 9525, Haifa, Israel

HUNGARIAN EDITION: Kultura,
Könyv-és Hirlap, Külkereskedelmi-
Vállalat, Budapest 1, Fő u 32, Hungary

INDIAN EDITIONS:

Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055, India.
In: Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Oriya,
Punjabi and Tamil

ITALIAN EDITION: Libreria Rinascita,
Via delle Botteghe, Oscure 4,
001 86 Roma, Italia

MONGOLIAN EDITION: Ulaanbaatar Mongol,
Ulsyn Nomyn, Khudaldaany Gazar,
V.I. Lenin gudamzh 1, Mongolia

NORWEGIAN EDITION: Verden og vi,
Boks 3715, GB Oslo 1, Norway

PERSIAN EDITION: P.B. 49034,
10028 Stockholm 49, Sweden

POLISH EDITION: RSW "Prasa-
Ksiazka-Ruch", BKWZ Warszawa,
ul Towarowa 28, Poland

PORTUGUESE EDITION: Revista Internacional,
Av. Santos Dumont, 57,
30 Lisboa-1, Portugal

RUMANIAN EDITION: Ilexim,
Calea Grivitei 64-66,
POB 2001, Bucuresti, Romania

RUSSIAN EDITION: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga,
Moskva 121200, USSR

SINHALESE EDITION: 91 Cotta Road,
Colombo 8, Sri Lanka

SPANISH EDITIONS:

Ediciones Paz y Socialismo,
Apt. Aéreo 1253, Bogotá, Colombia
Revista Internacional,
Apartado 4665, San José, Costa Rica
Agencia de Distribucion de Prensa,
16 616 Praha 6, Thakurova 3, CSSR
Ediciones Cubanas,
Ministerio de la Cultura,
La Habana, Cuba

Empresa Editora e Importadora C.A.,
Villami 211 y Calderon,
Casilla 6217, Guayaquil, Ecuador
Ediciones de Cultura Popular S.A.,
Filosofia y Letras 34,
Col. Copilco Universidad,
Mexico 20, D.F., Mexico

Revista Internacional,
Calle 46, Este No. 16,
Panama, Rep. de Panama
Ideologia Y Politica,
Jr. Rufino Torrico No. 671-Of. 401,
Lima, Peru

San Pedro a San Francisquito,
Edif. Cantacaro, Caracás, Venezuela

SWEDISH EDITION: Internationell Revy,
Fack, 12206 Enskede 6, Stockholm, Sweden

TURKISH EDITION: Baris ve Sosyalizm
Sorunlart, PK: 41, Sirkeci
Istanbul, Türkiye

VIETNAMESE EDITION: S'ô xuất nhâp,
khẩu sách bào 32, Hai Bà Tru'ng,
Há-Nôi, Vietnam

