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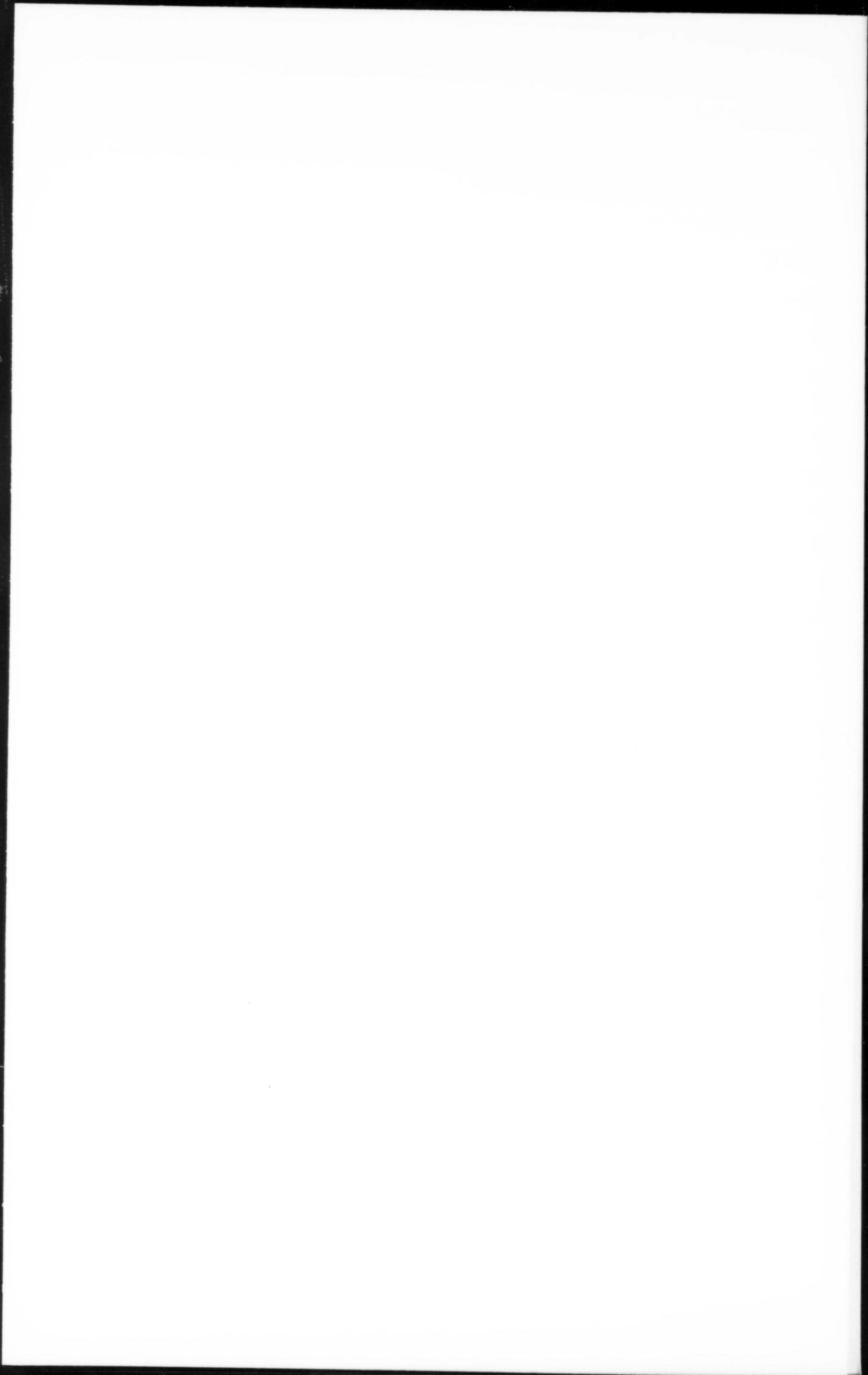
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Theoretical and information
journal of Communist and
Workers' Parties

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Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe

A conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe took place in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, on June 29 and 30, 1976. Its subject was: 'For peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe.' The conference was opened by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, who warmly greeted the delegations of the fraternal parties.

On the first day of the conference delegates of the following Communist and Workers' parties took the floor:

Communist Party of Finland — Aarne Saarinen, Communist Party of Austria — Franz Muhri, Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus — Christos Petas, Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin — Erich Ziegler, Communist Party of the Soviet Union — Leonid Brezhnev, Communist Party of Denmark — Knud Jespersen, Rumanian Communist Party — Nicolae Ceausescu, Polish United Workers' Party — Edward Gierek, Communist Party of Spain — Santiago Carrillo, Communist Party of Ireland — Michael O'Riordan, Bulgarian Communist Party — Todor Zhivkov, Communist Party of Great Britain — Gordon McLennan, Communist Party of Turkey — Ismail Bilen, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — Gustav Husak, Communist Party of the Netherlands — Henk Hoekstra, German Communist Party — Herbert Mies, Communist Party of Belgium — Jean Terfve, Swiss Party of Labor — Jakob Lechleiter, and Communist Party of Greece — Harilaos Florakis.

The first five sittings of the first conference day were chaired by Jean Terfve, Todor Zhivkov, Knud Jespersen, Herbert Mies and Aarne Saarinen.

On the second day of the conference, delegates of the following Communist and Workers' parties took the floor:

League of Communists of Yugoslavia — Josip Broz Tito, Left Party — Communists of Sweden — Lars Werner, Socialist Unity Party of Germany — Erich Honecker, Italian Communist Party — Enrico Berlinguer, Communist Party of Luxembourg, Dominique Urbany, Portuguese Communist Party — Alvaro Cunhal, French

Communist Party — Georges Marchais, Communist Party of Norway — Martin Gunnar Knutsen, San Marino Communist Party — Ermenegildo Gasperoni, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party — Janos Kadar.

The sittings were chaired by Georges Marchais, Harilaos Florakis, Gordon McLennan, and Michael O'Riordan.

In conclusion of its deliberations, the conference adopted a final document, 'For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe,' and decided to publish it.

The conference proceeded in a businesslike, comradely atmosphere.

The delegates of the Communist and Workers' parties participating in the conference expressed the conviction that achieving the goals formulated by it would meet the interests of all peoples and contribute in important measure to peace, national independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

FOR PEACE, SECURITY, COOPERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN EUROPE

A Conference of 29 Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe took place in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, on 29 and 30 June 1976. Delegations from the following Parties took part in the Conference:

Communist Party of Belgium, headed by Comrade Jean Terfve, Vice-Chairman of the Party;

Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Denmark, headed by Comrade Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Party;

German Communist Party, headed by Comrade Herbert Mies, Chairman of the Party;

Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by Comrade Erich Hon-ecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Finland, headed by Comrade Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Party;

French Communist Party, headed by Comrade Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the Party;

Communist Party of Greece, headed by Comrade Harilaos Florakis, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Great Britain, headed by Comrade Gordon McLennan, General Secretary of the Party;

Communist Party of Ireland, headed by Comrade *Michael O'Riordan*, General Secretary of the Party;

Italian Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Enrico Berlinguer*, General Secretary of the Party;

League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by Comrade *Josip Broz Tito*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of Luxembourg, headed by Comrade *Dominique Urbany*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of the Netherlands, headed by Comrade *Henk Hoekstra*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of Norway, headed by Comrade *Martin Gunnar Knutsen*, Chairman of the Party;

Communist Party of Austria, headed by Comrade *Franz Muhri*, Chairman of the Party;

Polish United Workers' Party, headed by Comrade *Edward Gierek*, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Portuguese Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Alvaro Cunhal*, General Secretary of the Party;

Rumanian Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Nicolae Ceausescu*, General Secretary of the Party;

San Marino Communist Party, headed by Comrade *Ermenegildo Gasperoni*, Chairman of the Party;

Left Party — Communists of Sweden, headed by Comrade *Lars Werner*, Chairman of the Party;

Swiss Party of Labor, headed by Comrade *Jakob Lechleiter*, Member of the Politbureau and Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade *Leonid I. Brezhnev*, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Spain, headed by Comrade *Santiago Carrillo*, General Secretary of the Party;

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, headed by Comrade *Gustav Husak*, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Communist Party of Turkey, headed by Comrade *Ismail Bilen*, General Secretary of the Central Committee;

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Comrade *Janos Kadar*, First Secretary of the Central Committee;

Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, headed by Comrade *Erich Ziegler*, Deputy Chairman of the Party;

Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), headed by Comrade *Christos Petas*, Member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee.

The representatives of these Parties exchanged their views on a limited range of questions relating to the struggle for peace, security,

cooperation and social progress in Europe. Each of the participating Parties is willing to help achieve these aims.

The participants in the Conference emphasize that their Parties, on the basis of a political line worked out and adopted by every Party in complete independence in accordance with the socio-economic and political conditions and the specific national features prevailing in the country concerned, are firmly resolved to continue waging a consistent struggle in order to achieve the objectives of peace, democracy and social progress, which is in line with the general interests of the working class, the democratic forces and the mass of the people in all countries.

They state with all clarity that the policy of peaceful coexistence, active cooperation between states irrespective of their social systems, and international détente correspond both to the interests of each people as well as to the cause of progress for the whole of mankind and in no way mean the maintenance of the political and social status quo in the various countries, but on the contrary create optimum conditions for the development of the struggle of the working class and all democratic forces as well as for the implementation of the inalienable right of each and every people freely to choose and follow its own course of development for the struggle against the rule of monopolies, and for socialism.

The participants in the Conference note that essential positive changes have taken place in the international situation which are the result of the shift in the balance of forces in favor of the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation, independence and socialism, and the result of the intensified struggle by the mass of the people and broad political and social forces. This has led to the process of transition from a policy of tension and confrontation to the implementation of the course toward détente and the normalization and all-round development of new relations and cooperation between states and peoples.

On this basis a new situation has also emerged in Europe. Important problems which poisoned the international atmosphere, including some outstanding since World War II, have been resolved through negotiations; numerous treaties, agreements, declarations and other accords have been concluded between states in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. All this has created conditions for the development of new relations and cooperation between states, for overcoming the division of the continent into opposing military blocs, and for disarmament.

The very fact that the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was held reflects with maximum clarity the changes

that have taken place on our continent since the peoples won victory in the war against fascism and had shown their determination to live under conditions of peace and security and to cooperate with one another and to build their future in accordance with their legitimate aspirations. The Conference, which is of historic importance, worked out and fixed the principles of friendly relations and cooperation between states: sovereign equality; respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; refraining from the threat or use of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief; equal rights and self-determination of peoples; cooperation among states; fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe confirmed the possibility for and concrete benefits of dealing with, and solving, the most complex of international problems through the participation of all interested countries on the basis of their full equality. It has opened up new prospects for the further consolidation of peace and security, for the fruitful development of relations and of cooperation between all European countries. This will have positive consequences for all peoples of the world.

The effectiveness of the agreements reached in Helsinki depends, to a decisive extent, on how consistently and strictly all participating states observe the ten principles which they agreed upon, and implement all provisions of the Final Act, which form a coherent whole. It will become greater the more consistently the participating states continue in their efforts to build up European security and to develop their cooperation on an equal footing in the spirit of the agreements concluded at the Conference. These are indispensable prerequisites for détente to become a continuous process which is always increasing in vitality and scope. As experience up to now has shown, this requires new active efforts by the Communist and Workers' Parties, by all democratic and peace-loving forces, by public opinion at large and by the mass of the people on our continent.

The democratic and anti-fascist struggle of the working class and of the mass of the people has reached a new level in Western Europe today. The fascist regime in Portugal has been overthrown. A struggle for far-reaching democratic and social changes is taking place in that country. In Greece, the fascist dictatorship has collapsed. In Spain the monarchy, heir to the last bastion of fascism in Europe, is trying to continue Francoism against mounting and unified opposition from all anti-fascist and democratic forces. All over the capitalist-dominated part of Europe the movement of the working people and progressive

forces seeking to bring about democratic changes in all fields of economic, social and political life has increased in scope.

The participants in the Conference welcome the historic victory of the Vietnamese people and the victories of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia over the imperialist aggressors and domestic reaction. These victories are of worldwide significance; they prove that there are no forces capable of breaking the determination of peoples to fight for freedom and independence.

The ending of the Portuguese colonial war and the achievement of national independence by the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome, the Cape Verde Islands and Angola, which brings nearer the overthrow of the racist regimes in southern Africa, and also the struggle of all the other liberation movements for the complete liquidation of colonialism represent a major contribution to the cause of peace and security.

The failure of the imperialist blockade against Cuba, the international recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the normalization of relations with the GDR by a large number of countries have gone a long way toward strengthening international security and reinforcing socialism's position.

All this is the result of decades of struggle by all anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces.

Because of their development, their continuous economic growth resulting from the nature of socialist society, which serves the interests of the mass of working people, and because of their foreign policy which is directed toward gaining acceptance for the principles of peaceful coexistence and is exerting an ever greater influence on international relations, the socialist countries are playing an outstanding role in preventing a new world war, in strengthening international security and in continuing the process of détente.

The peoples who have achieved freedom and independence have become an influential international force. The movement of non-aligned countries, which includes the majority of developing countries, is now one of the most important factors in world politics. It renders an active contribution to the fight for peace, security, détente and equal cooperation, for the establishment of a just system of international political and economic relations, and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of domination and exploitation.

In the capitalist countries, there is a growth in the activities of the working class and other broad social and political forces which advocate peace and cooperation among peoples and which constitute an important factor in the struggle for strengthening détente.

In these countries, the struggle of the working class — the main

force in social development and which represents the interests of the whole mass of working people, the interests of social progress and overall national interests — and the struggles of the other democratic and anti-monopolist forces are developing with increasing strength. These struggles are directed against the foundations of rule by monopoly capital. Ever broader sections of society are realizing the historical necessity of replacing capitalist society by socialist society, which will be built up in accordance with the desires of each people.

In the neutral states there are growing efforts by the mass of the people to make more effective use of the opportunities provided by the status of neutrality so as to serve the interests of peace and the strengthening of security on our continent.

The struggle of all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and progressive forces has helped and helps to improve the political climate in the world and in Europe.

All these factors are of decisive importance for the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and for the development of active cooperation between all countries as the sole alternative to nuclear world war.

All this opens up new prospects for the successful struggle of the peoples for the further transformation of international relations in Europe in the spirit of détente, and for democracy and progress. All this helps to give socialist ideas a greater impact on social development.

The participants in the Conference appreciate the advances which have been made in the sphere of détente. At the same time, they stress that world peace is by no means guaranteed as yet, that détente has not yet been stabilized and that serious obstacles still have to be surmounted on the road leading toward lasting security and cooperation.

The concentration on the European continent of extraordinarily strong military forces with the most dangerous destructive capacities at their disposal, the intensified continuation of the arms race, the build-up of ever larger stockpiles of weapons, including weapons of mass destruction, the maintenance of foreign military bases and foreign armed forces on the territory of other states, and imperialist pressure and interference in internal affairs represent a direct source of danger for peace, security and cooperation between states and are obstacles in the way of the realization of the aspirations of the European peoples to achieve independence and progress.

The policies of imperialism and neo-colonialism and all forms of oppression and exploitation remain the main danger to peace and to the independence and equality of the peoples. At the same time, unequal economic development and inequitable economic and politi-

cal relations represent a source of tension and conflict, and a serious obstacle in the way of independence and social progress.

The position of imperialism, which has not changed its nature, has been weakened as a consequence of the changes in the balance of forces. This finds its expression in the fact that it is neither capable of reversing the historic achievements of socialism nor of halting the advance of the progressive forces and of the movement for the liberation and independence of the peoples.

The difficulties imperialism is going through are the result of the further aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system which affects all spheres of capitalist society — economic, social, moral and political — and manifests itself in various forms and dimensions in different countries. Such characteristic features of the current serious crisis as chronic inflation, the crisis of the monetary system, the fact that productive capacities are increasingly underused, and the unemployment of millions of working people are making themselves felt with particular intensity. Everywhere the crisis entails serious consequences for the working and living conditions of the working class, peasants and farmers, and the middle strata, hitting young people, women and foreign workers especially severely. It is accompanied by manifestations of moral decay and by upheavals which testify to its political nature.

The crisis leads to profound contradictions in international political and economic relations. It is also manifest in serious trade conflicts, in merciless competition between the monopoly groups of various countries, including those of the EEC countries, and in the contradictions between the capitalist monopolies and the developing countries.

All this proves that the economic and social structure of capitalist society is becoming more and more inconsistent with the needs of the working and popular masses and with the requirements of social progress and of democratic political development.

The working class and all working people in the capitalist-dominated part of Europe are struggling for a democratic way out of the crisis which would correspond to the interests of the broad mass of the people and open up the way for a socialist transformation of society.

The reactionary quarters of big business are attempting to find a way out of the present situation by curtailing the democratic and social rights of the mass of the people and by shifting the burden of the crisis onto them. Furthermore, these forces are striving to obstruct the policy of détente and active cooperation, to undermine the results of the Helsinki Conference and to re-create an atmosphere of tension and confrontation in relations between states. There are still certain forces who are bent on a return to cold-war politics, which led

to the division of the continent into opposing blocs. Communist Parties and other democratic and peace-loving forces have fought against and continue to fight against these policies.

The arms race must be ended and a process of reducing armaments and armed forces must be initiated. The growing arms expenditure bears down more and more heavily on the working people and the mass of the people. If these huge resources were spent on raising the living standards of the peoples, on overcoming economic backwardness, on aid and support for the developing countries and on environmental protection, this would immensely benefit the advance of all mankind.

The socialist, the non-aligned and other peace-loving countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties, the progressive and democratic forces of Europe are all fighting for these aims. It is of urgent and vital concern to all peoples on our continent to overcome the resistance of reactionary quarters in the NATO countries and of other conservative forces which oppose these aims.

As the Parties participating in the Conference stand for the overcoming of the division of Europe into blocs and for a policy of disarmament, they speak out against any steps inconsistent with this objective.

There is a close interrelationship between the struggle for peace, détente, security and the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for strengthening mutual trust between the peoples and states, and the struggle for new economic and political achievements for the working people and for social progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference consider that these objectives can be achieved all the more rapidly the more effective the efforts become to thwart any and every tendency of a reactionary and authoritarian nature, to end the arms race, to bring about disarmament and to curb and overcome the power of the monopolies in the lives of individual countries and on the international scene.

They consider the fight for détente to be an important contribution to the creation of international conditions favoring social progress. They are of the opinion that the ever more comprehensive implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, especially — concerning Europe — of the principles contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, creates favorable conditions for the full independence and the self-determined development of countries and promotes the struggle of the peoples for economic and social progress. It creates more favorable conditions of struggle for the movements for democratic and socialist transformation in the capitalist countries. It creates more favorable conditions for carrying out the programs for

the economic, social and political development of the socialist countries and the ever more comprehensive realization of the potentialities of socialism.

The aspiration of the peoples for justice and peace is growing as a result of all these factors. At the same time, the ideals of socialism are gaining an ever greater place in the consciousness of ever broader masses.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the European countries, together with the other democratic and peace-loving forces, have played a decisive role in the political actions which made possible a turn toward détente and the strengthening of security and toward cooperation in Europe. The Parties participating in the Conference will continue to work actively for a Europe of peace, cooperation and social progress.

In this spirit, they will develop their internationalist, comradely and voluntary cooperation and solidarity on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each Party, non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature and for socialism. The struggle of each Party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility toward the working class and the people of that country are bound up with mutual solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are aware that a Europe of peace and progress can only be the result of many-sided efforts, and the outcome of rapprochement, understanding and cooperation among the broadest political and social forces.

They consider dialogue and cooperation between Communists and all other democratic and peace-loving forces as necessary. In this, they base themselves on what they all have in common and stand for the removal of mistrust and prejudices which may hamper their cooperation.

They consider it their duty to direct the attention of all popular forces to the damage done by aggressive anti-communism to the development of the movement for peace and progress. The Communist Parties do not consider all those who are not in agreement with their policies or who hold a critical attitude toward their activity as being anti-communist. Anti-communism is and remains an instrument which imperialist and reactionary forces use not only against Communists but also against other democrats and against the Communist Parties, the socialist countries, beginning with the Soviet

Union, against the forces of socialism and progress, campaigns which aim to discredit the policy and the ideals of Communists among the mass of the people and to prevent unity within the working-class movement and cooperation among the democratic and popular forces. It is in the interests of the aspiration of the popular forces for progress and for democratic development to isolate and overcome anti-communism. The Communist and Workers' Parties will act in such a way that their policies and the ideals of justice and progress, whose champions they are, become ever more a force promoting the broadest unity of the working people and of the mass of the people.

The participants in the Conference welcome the successes achieved in a number of countries and at international levels in developing cooperation between Communist and socialist or social-democratic parties. They consider that the basic interests of the working class and of all working people require the overcoming of the obstacles which stand in the way of cooperation and which complicate the struggle of the mass of working people against monopoly capital and against the reactionary and conservative forces.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference reaffirm their rejection of any policy or ideology which in essence means the subjection of the working class to the system of capitalism. They underline their determination to work consistently for the strengthening of their Parties and for the extension of their ties with the working class and all working people. At the same time, they stress once again their readiness to contribute toward cooperation, on the basis of equality, with all democratic forces and in particular with the socialist and social-democratic parties in the struggle for peace, democracy and progress for society.

The fight waged by the Communist Parties and other democratic forces in the capitalist countries on our continent for the removal of all vestiges of fascist regimes, for the development of democracy, for peace, and against the ever growing threat which the operations of the international monopolies and the multinational corporations pose to the sovereignty and independence of each and every country, is of great importance for the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace and progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference stress that the working people have common interests and that united action by them plays a decisive role in the effective defense of their rights. They therefore consider it important that all working people, irrespective of their political and religious beliefs, unite their efforts in the struggle for their vital interests.

The influence of the working class is growing through the unification of efforts by its trade union organizations both at national and

international levels. Communists will continue in every respect to support the drive for unity which is growing in the trade union organizations and their independent activities.

Ever broader Catholic forces, members of other Christian communities and adherents to other faiths play an important role in the struggle for the rights of the working people and for democracy and peace. The Communist and Workers' Parties recognize the necessity of dialogue and joint action with these forces, which is an inseparable part of the struggle for the development of Europe in a spirit of democracy and in the direction of social progress.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference address themselves to women, whose role in professional life, in everyday social and political struggles is growing, calling upon them to increase their contribution to the common cause of all forces of peace and social progress as a necessary prerequisite for the achievement of genuine equality and liberation for women.

The participants in the Conference support the efforts of young people, in whose hands lies the future of our continent, to take part with growing strength in the struggle for a Europe of peace, progress and freedom which marches forward to a socialist future.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference turn to manual and clerical workers, to peasants and farmers, the middle strata, to members of scientific and technological professions and cultural workers, to all political parties, mass organizations and associations, to all people interested in progress and a peaceful future for Europe and call upon them to work actively for the following objectives:

*1. For strengthening the process of détente
by taking effective measures toward disarmament
and toward strengthening security in Europe*

The participants in the Conference call for the strict observance and full implementation of the principles and accords which are contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of all treaties and agreements serving the cause of peace and security.

So as to guarantee the durability of détente and to strengthen and extend it further, the decisions adopted in Helsinki must be supported and sustained by the struggle of the mass of the people to implement them fully and completely, to curb and push back the reactionary forces, who reject the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and who seek to thwart the course toward détente and security for the peoples.

The participants in the Conference advocate active campaigning by

the mass of the people and all peace-loving forces, inter alia through demonstrations of solidarity, in order resolutely to repel all attempts at interference in the internal affairs of any country and to challenge any act encroaching upon the inalienable right of each and every people to determine its own future freely and in sovereignty.

In order to strengthen and deepen détente, it is imperative to take concrete measures for disarmament and for ensuring effective security in Europe through efforts by all countries with a view to overcoming the division of the continent into military blocs. Europe can and must become an example of practical implementation of measures for military détente.

Mass action by the working class, the working people and by all peoples on our continent are of decisive importance for the achievement of these goals.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe emphatically call for energetic efforts to achieve:

- an end to the arms race in all forms, particularly nuclear armament;

- the speeding up of negotiations on questions of disarmament in the framework of the United Nations and the implementation of effective measures designed to achieve general and complete disarmament under strict international control;

- the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops and armaments from foreign territory and the disbandment of these troops;

- a systematic reduction of the military budgets of all states, primarily of those which possess nuclear weapons and of other states with a large military potential.

It is urgently necessary to remove the danger of nuclear war, the unleashing of which would be the greatest crime against humanity.

This requires:

- the undertaking by all states to renounce the use of, or the threat to use, nuclear weapons and, more generally, to renounce the use or threat of force in international relations under any circumstances whatsoever;

- ending the nuclear arms race including means of delivery of nuclear weapons, and banning all nuclear weapon tests in all media;

- taking effective measures for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the territory of other states and preventing the proliferation of such weapons; and establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones as steps toward general and complete disarmament;

- reducing nuclear weapons and their means of delivery, prohibiting and ending the production of all kinds of nuclear weapons and destroying them.

It is necessary that all states which so desire be given the opportunity to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, on the basis of equality and without any discrimination.

It is necessary to continue to press for:

- the ratification by all states of the convention on the prohibition and destruction of bacteriological weapons;

- the conclusion at the earliest possible date of a treaty on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and other means of mass annihilation, as well as of a convention on the prohibition of the use of environmental and climatic modification techniques for military purposes;

- the prohibition of the development and production of new kinds of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons;

- measures designed to prevent an accidental occurrence of armed incidents and their escalation into international crises;

- the renunciation of any show of strength directed against any other state or people.

The participants in the Conference advocate the holding of inter-governmental meetings and conferences on problems of disarmament, with provision being made for the equal participation of all states in such conferences or meetings. They hold it desirable to make more comprehensive use of the opportunities provided by the United Nations for these aims.

They advocate the transformation of various regions in Europe and the world into zones of peace and cooperation without foreign troops and military bases.

Considering the close interrelationship between all-European security and the safeguarding of security in the Mediterranean area, the Parties participating in the Conference speak out against the further stockpiling of weapons in this area, for the withdrawal of nuclear-armed vessels from the Mediterranean, for the dismantling of all foreign military bases and, in the process of overcoming the division of Europe into military blocs, for the withdrawal of all foreign naval fleets and troops, which will serve to transform the Mediterranean into a sea of peace.

They call for:

- the strict observance of all treaties and agreements which are designed to limit and end the arms race;

- the reduction of armed forces and armaments, chiefly in regions in which military confrontation is particularly dangerous, but also in other areas of the continent, by concluding such agreements, involving all the states interested, as do not prejudice the security of any of the countries;

— the prevention of the creation of new military blocs or military groupings.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe will come out resolutely against any action directed at intensifying the arms race and stepping up military confrontation.

In the solution of problems of disarmament and security, which are of vital interest to all states and peoples of the world, the security interests of all countries and the equal participation of all states must be guaranteed.

Convinced that overcoming the division of Europe into blocs constitutes an essential contribution to the attainment of lasting security and peace on our continent and in the whole of the world, the participants in the Conference advocate the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization and, as a first step, of their military organizations. They stand for concrete measures leading to this goal.

The participants in the Conference consider it urgently necessary that propaganda for wars of aggression or for the use or threat of force in any form should be ended and prohibited.

Moreover, it is necessary to inform the public at large and all peoples extensively and regularly about the course of negotiations and about measures undertaken toward ending the arms race and toward disarmament.

2. For extirpating fascism, defending democracy and national independence

A new situation has come about in Spain. A powerful and united struggle which is developing more and more openly in the country heralds the imminent end of the last fascist regime existing in Europe.

The monarchy at present ruling Spain continues with Francoism, refuses to grant amnesty to political prisoners and to recognize trade union and political rights and takes repressive measures against those forces which ever more energetically express their determination to bring about a complete and genuine democratization of their country. The participants in the Conference call for an immediate end to repression as well as for an amnesty for all political prisoners and all emigres.

They reject any attempt at continuing the policy of Francoism in whatever form and call on the democratic and progressive forces in Europe to step up their active and concrete solidarity with all anti-fascist forces in Spain in their struggle for democracy and freedom. A democratic Spain, freed once and for all from all vestiges of fascism, is a vital necessity for security and progress in Europe.

The Communist and Workers' Parties express their solidarity with

the Spanish Communists and welcome the process of growing unity of the democratic opposition and of the anti-fascist and democratic movement in Spain. Unity and joint action of these forces represent the basic precondition for the struggles of the mass of the people to lead to the establishment of a free and democratic Spain in the near future.

The participants in the Conference welcome the progressive development taking place in the new Portugal, which was liberated from fascism on 25 April 1974. They support every step toward unity in action among the Communists, the Socialists, the Armed Forces Movement, indeed all democratic forces, who have set themselves the aim of building up a democratic, independent and socialist-oriented Portugal as it is now enshrined in the Constitution. They express their solidarity with the Communists and all democrats in Portugal who are defending freedom and progress in the teeth of the danger emanating from the reactionaries and fascists, and they come out strongly against any foreign interference in the affairs of the Portuguese people.

The participants in the Conference express their solidarity with the people of Cyprus. They call for the implementation, without further delay, of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus which provide for the respect of the independence and sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, the immediate return of all refugees to their homes under conditions of safety and for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem by meaningful and constructive negotiations between the two Cypriot communities under the auspices of the United Nations, to be conducted freely on an equal footing for a settlement, serving the interests of the two communities of Cyprus, Greeks and Turks.

The participants in the Conference express their solidarity with the struggle waged by the Communists and all democratic forces of Greece since the overthrow of the dictatorship for the consistent democratic development and regeneration of the country and for the defense of its national independence.

The participants in the Conference express their solidarity with the just struggle of the democratic forces of Northern Ireland for guaranteeing and implementing civil and democratic rights.

The participants in the Conference emphatically demand the legalization of the Communist Party of Turkey and express their solidarity with the democratic forces of that country.

The participants in the Conference are opposed to any discrimination against and persecution of Communists and other progressive forces, and to anti-democratic legislation barring Communists and

other democrats from certain types of employment in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For democracy and social progress, for the maintenance of peace and international relations of mutual trust and friendly cooperation it is necessary to eradicate fascism, prevent its rebirth, either in open or disguised forms, and fight against the formation and activities of fascist and neo-fascist terror organizations and groups as well as racist propaganda and activities which have the object of dividing the working class and other progressive forces. With this in mind, any attempt at applying pressure from without and at interference, no matter where and in whatever form, must be repulsed. Today it is more necessary than ever to step up the struggle for the defense and development of democratic rights in order to halt the increasing tendency of monopoly capital to resort to repressive and authoritarian methods of rule which are a danger to the achievements of the European peoples and their advance on the road of peace and social progress.

The participants in the Conference call for the stepping up of mass campaigns in support of the struggle of the peoples for democracy, national independence and social progress.

3. For the development of mutually beneficial cooperation, for better understanding among peoples

The participants in the Conference consider that the development of cooperation involving the most diverse fields of human endeavor serves to strengthen peace and security of the peoples, and to enrich the human personality in the spirit of the ideals of peace, democracy and humanism. A prerequisite and indispensable condition for this is respect for the right of the people of each country to choose and develop its political, economic, social and legal system independently and without outside interference, and to protect and multiply its historical and cultural heritage.

The participants in the Conference call especially on the working class, on peasants and farmers, on intellectuals and professional people, on all working people to make this cooperation more democratic in content and to see that their organizations play an active and energetic part in this cooperation.

The participants in the Conference therefore call for action:

— to develop and expand cooperation among states on an all-European basis in keeping with the principles and accords contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference;

— to develop economic cooperation between all European states, irrespective of their economic and social systems, on the basis of equality, respect for the national sovereignty of each and every state

and mutual benefit, which presupposes application of the principle of most-favored-nation treatment and an end to discriminatory practices and restrictions standing in the way of the development of all-European trade. This would be fully in conformity with the interests of the working people's struggle against the consequences of the crisis as well as the interests of the economic development of the countries of Europe;

- to develop cooperation in the spheres of culture, science and technology, education, information and of human contacts among all peoples for the purpose of better mutual acquaintanceship, the strengthening of trust, further rapprochement of the European countries and peoples as well as the spiritual enrichment of human life while fully respecting the equality of rights of each people and every individual, and while observing the sovereignty of each country and the principle of non-interference in its internal affairs;

- to secure the ratification and strict observance by all European states of the international covenants on human rights elaborated by the United Nations. This is in the interests of the struggle of the working class and all working people for genuine social and political rights, such as the right to work, to an education, to housing, to the requisite social services, to adequate support when old, ill or disabled, for the accomplishment of equality for women and for the genuine participation of working people in social and public decision-making;

- to guarantee for migrant workers the same working conditions and wage levels as the workers of the host country enjoy. The social, cultural and political rights of migrant workers and those of their families should be based on principles of equality with the citizens of the country of employment. Maintenance of their civic rights in their home countries should be guaranteed;

- to ensure the strict and full implementation by all states of the principles relating to national minorities in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference;

- to intensify, and extend solidarity and support to, the struggle against the policies of multinational monopolies, which have a negative effect on the working and living conditions of the working people and flagrantly violate the national interests of peoples and the sovereignty of states;

- to promote town-twinning, contacts between factory and office staffs and between scientific and cultural institutions, to extend the exchange of educational visits by delegations of various organizations and associations, and to encourage tourism;

- to ensure that mass media everywhere will, on the basis of objective information, be placed in the service of mutual ac-

quaintanceship, the dissemination of ideas for a better understanding and the strengthening of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation among peoples;

— to expand the exchange of cultural property and art treasures, which serves the realization of the ideals of justice, freedom, fraternity and friendship among the peoples. The participants in the Conference call upon scientific and cultural workers and artists to broaden cooperation in this field.

*4. For peace, security, cooperation,
national independence and social progress
in the whole of the world*

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference are convinced that the struggle for a Europe of peace, cooperation and social progress is an important contribution to the solution of the political, economic and social problems facing the world at large, which calls for the participation of all countries on equal terms. The positive changes on this continent are providing favorable conditions for peoples' liberation struggles, the struggle against the danger of war, for détente in other parts of the world, and for the struggle of the peoples against neo-colonialism and against all forms of national oppression. The Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe underline the great importance of the obligation undertaken by the countries which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to develop their relations with all countries in the spirit of the principles agreed upon in Helsinki.

At the same time the struggle waged by the peoples of newly independent countries against imperialism and any forms of domination and exploitation, and for the establishment of a new international economic order meeting the interests of the peoples is of great importance for the transformation of the world along progressive lines and a powerful support in the struggle of the European peoples for peace, security, cooperation and social progress.

The participants in the Conference stand for:

— the elimination of the hotbeds of war through negotiation and the strict fulfillment of agreements reached, especially for a just overall settlement of the Middle East conflict guaranteeing the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territory occupied since 1967 and the national independence, security and territorial integrity of all states in this area and ensuring the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to their own national state; they are opposed to any outside interference in the affairs of the peoples in the Middle East;

— continued support for the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their endeavors to repair the damage suffered by them in

the war of aggression, and in their struggle for the peaceful and democratic development of their countries;

- support for the government and people of the People's Republic of Angola and their efforts aimed at the consolidation of their national independence and at their development along the road of progress;

- the release of all Chilean patriots and democrats imprisoned by the fascist junta, for greater international campaigns of solidarity in support of the Chilean people's struggle for the restoration of human rights and democratic freedoms in Chile; an immediate end to the acts of terror and reprisal being perpetuated against Communists and other democrats in Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala and a number of other Latin American countries;

- all-round support for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle for the peaceful and democratic unification of the country without any outside interference;

- support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples, the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, for all those who are fighting against colonialism and racism and who are victims of aggression;

- strict compliance with the trade embargoes imposed on racist regimes under UN resolutions, severance of relations with the government of the Republic of South Africa by all states, and, most important, a complete stop to all arms supplies to that government.

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

Broad international cooperation becomes ever more necessary for safeguarding peace, achieving a just settlement of international conflicts, strengthening security and implementing practical steps toward disarmament. This cooperation is necessary to further the establishment of new and equitable international economic relations. Such cooperation would also contribute to solving such complicated and fundamental problems as hunger in the world, illiteracy, environmental protection, pollution of the atmosphere and the seas, and those involved in developing and utilizing new sources of energy, averting natural calamities, and preventing and curing the most harmful diseases.

This calls for the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism; the establishment of a new international economic order; the ensuring

of conditions for the social and economic development of all countries, primarily the least developed countries; the organization of broad international cooperation which should assist the peoples in the developing countries in their own efforts to remove the gap between these and the developed countries; the unrestricted exercise by each people of the right to sovereign control over its national resources; access by all countries to the achievements of modern science and technology; the establishment of a just relationship between prices for raw materials and agricultural products and prices for manufactured goods; and a broad development of trade relations without any artificial barriers and discriminatory practices. The European countries have a very significant contribution to make to these objectives.

The socialist countries, the movement of non-aligned countries, the revolutionary and progressive forces in the developing countries and the working-class and democratic movements are fighting for the establishment of new international political and economic relations on the basis of justice and equality. Ever wider political and economic circles in the capitalist countries are also contributing to the realization of this demand of our time. Such relations serve the cause of peace, détente and social progress throughout the world and meet fully the interests of the working class and the mass of the people in Europe.

The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Conference attach great importance to the role played by the United Nations in settling international problems with equal participation by all states, in developing cooperation and understanding between states, in strengthening security and in guaranteeing lasting peace all over the world.

The participants in the Conference call on the working people and all democratic and peace-loving forces in Europe to make renewed efforts and organize new campaigns for strengthening solidarity with all peoples of the world in the struggle for their freedom and independence. This is becoming the most important factor for the strengthening of their social and national equality and is at the same time an important contribution to the cause of peace, security and social progress the world over.

The participants in the Conference are of the opinion that the attainment of the aims advocated by them would constitute an important advance along the road leading to the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace, security, cooperation and social progress. They underline their determination to turn to account the possibilities brought about by détente for achieving tangible results which meet the class interests of the working people as well as the

national interests of each and every people and the interests of progress for all humanity.

The Communist and Workers' Parties represented at the Conference advocate constructive dialogue with all other democratic forces, each of these forces fully retaining its identity and independence, so as to arrive at fruitful cooperation in the struggle for peace, security and social progress. They call on the working class, on peasants and farmers, on the middle strata, on the representatives of science and culture, on women, on young people, on all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces and parties, and on the democratic mass organizations to step up their efforts in the interests of a peaceful future and the flourishing of all nations and peoples on our continent.

More than three decades have passed since the great victory over fascism. By transforming Europe into a continent of lasting peace we shall pay the highest tribute to all those who fought and laid down their lives for this victory. The Communist and Workers' Parties participating in the Berlin Conference are convinced that the attainment of the great objectives defined at their meeting is in the best interests of all peoples and will be a major contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism all over the world.

New frontiers in building socialism

Yumzhagiin Tsedenbal
First Secretary, Mongolian
People's Revolutionary Party,
Presidium Chairman of
the Grand People's Khural

It is now 55 years since the days when the finest sons of the Mongolian people, led by that sterling revolutionary Sühe Baator, set the country on the road of social progress. Our momentous achievements since then show that the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) chose the right road, and testify to the triumph of the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party blazed the trail to socialism by-passing capitalism, and we regard our work in the interests of the Mongolian people as our modest contribution to the world fund of revolutionary experience in reconstructing society. And

it is in this primarily that we Mongolian Communists see the international implications of our 17th Party Congress, held on June 14-18, 1976.

Our people's dedicated labor effort over the past five years enabled Mongolia to take another long step toward its programmatic goal of building the material and technical basis of socialism. The Central Committee directives on economic and cultural development under the sixth five-year plan (1976-80) were submitted to nationwide discussion prior to the Congress and met with unanimous approval. The active and businesslike debating of this historic document, the socialist competition campaign, and the popular movement for fulfillment of the new five-year plan, are symbolic of the heightened political activity and labor effort engendered by the Party Congress. The working class cooperative farmers, intellectuals, all our people regard the plans approved by the Congress as their own vital cause, as a program that is in their fundamental interests.

The 17th Congress of our Party, which is an inalienable part and firm link of the world revolutionary movement, was imbued with a spirit of proletarian internationalism, that tested weapon of the world workers' and Communist movement. All our achievements over the past years should be seen in context with the Party's foreign policy line and our consistent policy of closer fraternal ties with the Soviet Union and broader cooperation with other socialist countries. Now as always, we are working to strengthen unity of all the revolutionary forces and promote peace and friendship among the peoples. Ours has always been a Party of staunch internationalists.

The Congress was attended by representatives of 60 Communist and Workers' parties and revolutionary-democratic movements — more than at any previous Congress. Such wide representation is convincing proof of the Party's enhanced international prestige and positions and recognition of the value of its experience. The Congress speeches of our foreign friends and their encounters with Party members and the general public gave many Mongolians a deeper understanding of the multiformity of the revolutionary movement in different parts of the world, and afforded them an opportunity to express their solidarity with their class brothers and comrades in the common struggle.

I

With successful fulfillment of the principal social and political tasks of the fifth five-year plan, Mongolia has reached new frontiers in socialist construction. That is the main result of our Party's effort in bringing to reality the slogan 'The economy is the main front of Party work.'

The economic-growth targets set by the 16th Congress have been surpassed. In 1971-75 the gross national product increased 44.5 per cent and national income 38 per cent, as against 23 per cent in the preceding five-year period. The 25 per cent rise in productivity accounted for about three-quarters of the increase in national income. High growth rates have been accompanied by a definite improvement of quality in the main branches of the economy.

In the past 15 years, financial and technical assistance by the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries enabled us to invest heavily in industry. The results are gratifying: gross industrial output rose by 55.2 per cent over the past five years and farm output by 26.7 per cent. In fact, industry now contributes about 40 per cent of GNP and about 52 per cent of net output of agriculture and industry. These figures are a gauge of our progress in industrialization.

The past five years have seen impressive progress also in agriculture: cattle herds increased by 1.8 million, fodder production doubled, average annual grain yields showed a 47 per cent and vegetables a 40 per cent increase. Cooperative and state farms are now better organized and more efficient. Cash incomes of cooperative farms increased 1.5-fold, and production facilities of state and cooperative farms 1.6-fold.

The sixth five-year plan will take us a long way toward our overall goal of making Mongolia an industrial-agrarian country in the near future. GNP will rise by 40-44 per cent, growth of national income and gross output will be substantially higher than in the 1971-75 period and industry will play a still bigger role as the leading branch of the economy.

Of special importance in this context is securing full capacity operation of the new enterprises being built with assistance from fraternal countries. They will account for more than one-third of gross industrial output. Higher quality standards is a central problem of the present five-year plan. Its solution depends largely on improving the supply of raw materials and technical equipment and making more rational use of our expanding labor force, organizing an effective system of training workers, especially vocational training for the younger generation. The following figures will show how important a problem this is. Over the past five years the labor force increased by 16 per cent, and if we include family members, it increased 10-fold between 1941 and 1976, with the result that its share of the population has risen from 11 to 58 per cent.

The economic and cultural development plan for 1976-80 is based on closer bilateral and multilateral coordination with members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Our plan is therefore closely tied to further economic cooperation and integration with

fraternal countries. Such cooperation is, in turn, based on the Comprehensive Program of socialist economic integration, which envisages special assistance for Mongolia by the more industrialized CMEA countries.

The Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries grant us easy-term credits, set incentive prices for our exports, help us explore, develop and process our mineral and other raw material resources, facilitate scientific and technological progress and the training of research personnel. This has accelerated the growth of Mongolia's economic potential and is gradually evening out its development level with that of other socialist countries.

Fraternal assistance by the Soviet Union creates exceptionally favorable conditions for our economic development. In 1971-75, about 150 industrial units were built and put into operation with Soviet economic and technical assistance, and the volume of such assistance will double in the coming five-year period, enabling us to build new industries, raise the efficiency of crop and cattle farming, bring new land under the plough and build more cultural and welfare facilities.

A splendid example of how the Comprehensive Program is being carried out, and an indication, also, of the goals Mongolia has set itself, is the construction of the Mongolian-Soviet ore concentration combine at Erdenet, one of the 10 biggest of its kind in the world. When completed, it will produce copper and molybdenum, significantly increase our industrial potential and exports and will open vistas for developing other natural resources and thus create an integrated regional economic complex.

The Erdenet project is not only of economic, but also of social and political significance. For it will give the country a new contingent of high-skilled workers as part of an internationalist collective. Our Soviet friends — 6,000 workers and engineers from all the Union republics — are not only building the new plant and the new city, but are also teaching our young men and women, erstwhile cattleherders, to operate sophisticated machinery. The Soviet specialists bring with them a firm class outlook, internationalism, discipline, diligence and the other moral and political traits of the working-class character. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Erdenet area, a barren wasteland some two years ago, is now a huge building site, with a modern city, a 170 km. railway, 160 kms. of automobile roads, a 400 km. high-tension power line, water mains, residential complexes, schools and kindergartens completed or on the way to completion.

Erdenet has figured prominently in the press, radio and television. That is as it should be, for concentrated in that name are the thoughts and efforts of the Party and people. It symbolizes our determination

to industrialize Mongolia using the latest achievements of science and technology, and the Party's resolve to train a new type of worker, the new man of socialist society. Erdenet has become synonymous also of our policy of all-round close relations with the Soviet Union and continued economic internationalization of the socialist community.

It was highly symbolic that three days before the opening of the Congress, an explosion in its honor on Mount Erdenet heralded the beginning of a project that will open up Mongolia's rich deposits of copper and molybdenum. This peaceful explosion, its site and timing, underscored the very essence of the stage Mongolia is now passing through.

II

The central task of the Party's economic policy, the aim of all our plans of social and economic development, has always been, and remains, satisfaction of the people's rising and varied requirements.

The Mongolian People's Republic now holds a top place in Asia in material and cultural standards. The far-reaching measures taken in the last five-year period to raise living standards have increased per capita income by 17 per cent, with retail prices and service charges remaining stable, and in some cases even lowered. Annual consumption of meat and meat products now stands at 104.4 kgs., milk and dairy products at 168 kgs., and flour and bakery products at 118.8 kgs. Retail trade is up 32 per cent on the previous five-year period, with steady increases in sales of fabrics, clothing, shoes and consumer durables — radio sets, refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, motorcycles, etc.

There are now 2,511 students, including 94 in higher educational establishments and 186 in specialized secondary and vocational schools, and 20 doctors and 98 hospital beds per 10,000 of the population.

The new five-year plan provides for a system of measures to further raise prosperity standards. They include higher wages for low-pay categories, income-tax exemptions for more population groups, and pensions for cooperative farmers. Other major targets are substantial improvement of living conditions by an 80-90 per cent increase in housing construction, more service facilities, and hostels for 60 per cent of rural school children.

In a socialist society, concern for the people's welfare cannot be confined to satisfaction of material requirements. Our Party has never been guided by a consumerist approach on matters relating to living standards and way of life.

Assertion of the socialist way of life was singled out by the 17th Congress as one of the central tasks at the present stage of socialist

construction. And that is understandable, for in a socialist society the concept 'socialist way of life' permeates every aspect of activity. It is the highest and constantly developing form of human conduct and intercourse. Its promotion is all the more important for Mongolia which, having made the transition from feudalism direct to socialism, still has to contend with survivals of the past in the economy and in the habits and psychology of the people. Cultivation of the new way of life is based on what we have achieved in expanding the productive forces and consolidating the socialist mode of production, and directly follows from the need to further improve socialist production relations and educate the new type of man.

The socialist way of life includes the following main features: dedicated labor for the good of society; active participation in social and political life; conscientious public and labor discipline, with everyone feeling responsible to his collective and to society for the development of our socialist homeland; fidelity to proletarian internationalism, friendship and brotherhood with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology and opportunism of every variety; high moral standards and observance of the socialist code of conduct; genuine collectivism and comradely mutual assistance; an irreconcilable attitude to all manner of anti-social phenomena.

Society's concern for its members, systematic improvement of living and cultural standards — such is the material foundation of the socialist way of life. Its ideological foundation is close unity of political, professional and moral training, with consideration to the specific requirements of different groups of working people.

The 17th Congress demanded of Party and state organizations, the trade unions, the Revolutionary Youth League and other public organizations that they should concentrate their organizational and educational work on asserting the socialist way of life as the norm for all members of our society, as the practical realization of the principle 'work, study and live in the socialist way.'

The production team is becoming the main force in achieving this objective. And we can say with deep satisfaction — and our Party Congress confirmed this — that the production teams, their dedication and initiative, are playing a bigger part. The importance of this process for our country cannot be overrated. The working people are devoting their energies to accomplishment of the noble and difficult task of building the new society.

In the course of the nationwide drive to encourage socialist competition more and more production teams have set personal and collective targets in excess of the state plan, and have concluded competition agreements with other teams. The movements for winning the

various high-productivity titles are forging ahead. Master craftsmen contests are being organized among the sheep-shearers and tractor-drivers.

All this is of historic importance for us because it not only ensures plan fulfillment, but — and this is the main thing — it is exceptionally effective in shaping the new production team, educating the new person of socialist society.

III

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party came to its 17th Congress thoroughly united, inseparably linked with the people and enjoying their permanent support. Since the previous congress the total Party membership has increased by 15.3 per cent. Its social composition is as follows: 31.3 per cent workers, 19 per cent members of agricultural associations, and 49.7 per cent professional and office workers and intellectuals. Of the new intake 80 per cent were workers, members of agricultural associations and specialists. Women account for 24.2 per cent of the whole membership and about one-third of the new intake, of which more than 60 per cent are young people under thirty.

The Party is profoundly interested in swelling its ranks with new members from among the best representatives of Mongolia's most numerous contingent of the builders of socialism — our young people. It is quite logical that the Congress should have endorsed the Central Committee's proposal on lowering the age limit for joining the Party from 20 to 18 and recorded this change in the Party Rules, and that it recognized the need to promote capable young Party workers with a background of political and organizational activity to positions of leadership and achieve a marked improvement in the work of Party organizations, the Revolutionary Youth League and other public and state organizations concerned with educating the growing generation.

At the 11th plenum of the MPRP Central Committee in 1976 a decision was passed on cultivating new virgin lands. In view of numerous letters from youth organizations, schools and military bodies the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Youth League put in a request to the Party Central Committee that this initiative should be made a priority task. The Communists gave whole-hearted backing to the proposal for they are fully aware that present and future successes in building socialism depend to a great extent on the initiative of the young people and their devotion to communist ideals.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has sufficient experience in directing socialist construction. While it is confident of its strength and the correctness of its political line, our Party remains deeply aware of the complexity of these problems and its responsibil-

ity for solving them. The style of work at the Congress was one of high principle and businesslike determination, sober assessment of successes and self-critical analysis of shortcomings and wasted chances, a communist insistence on high standards in everything, including leadership, and responsibility for the work to which one is assigned. This is the Leninist style of work that has been tested in life, hard struggle and experience of creative work. Guided by it, our Congress charted measures for the further organizational consolidation of the Party ranks and called on members to be even more conscientious in upholding the title of Communist, to raise the efficiency of the Party organizations, raise the level and perfect the methods of directing the economy and culture, and improve organizational and political work among the masses.

The Party devotes close attention to the further development of socialist democracy, stimulating the activity of the Communists and all the working people, and ensuring that they take a real part in management and administration. In view of the socialist state's enhanced role in economic organization and cultural and educational work, the Mongolian Communists set a high priority on extending the rights of the local working people's khurals (councils) and perfecting the legal principles on which the activity of the people's deputies is founded. Their attention must be focused on the problems of improving the work of various institutions, particularly in the service and cultural fields, and raising the efficiency of the state administrative apparatus.

The further extension and deepening of democracy presupposes the strengthening of socialist legality. The new legal codes on labor and the family, the legislation on the use of land and hunting, and on the forests and water resources, are specially designed to achieve this. They reflect the social-class nature of our state.

The Party sees an important reserve for the development of socialist democracy in enhancing the role of the Mongolian trade unions, the Revolutionary Youth League, the women's and other public organizations, in encouraging the working people to take a still bigger part in socialist construction and administration, in providing for their growing intellectual and general cultural needs, and in satisfying and protecting their rights and interests.

The atmosphere of political enthusiasm that reigns in our country, the people's urge to do good work, the complete approval and support for the Party's political course by all sections of society also reflect the Party's ideological work. Nevertheless, the present situation makes new demands in this sphere. The 17th Congress noted the particular importance of radically improving the ideological support for the country's program of socio-economic development.

The priority tasks in this field are to raise the quality and theoretical level of political education designed to stimulate creative study of Marxist-Leninist theory; to achieve a decisive improvement in the economic training of our cadres; to perfect all the mass educational work directed at moulding the new man, the builder, the patriot and the internationalist; and to further enhance the role of literature and art in the work of socialist construction and the communist education of the working people.

The purpose of ideological support for our socio-economic plans is to weld together the ideas of the Party and the people and make the noble mission of building the new society the deeply felt need of every citizen. The Communists of Mongolia regard this as their cherished goal.

IV

The period since the 16th MPRP Congress has been marked by major positive changes in the world, the relaxation of international tension and assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with different social systems. The 17th Congress stressed the fact that in the development and deepening of the process of détente, in reducing danger of a new world war, the leading role belongs to the great Soviet Union, which is the main bastion of socialism and the anti-imperialist struggle. The united, coordinated actions of the fraternal socialist countries and their joint efforts to put into effect the Peace Program proposed by the 24th Congress of the CPSU have exerted and continue to exert a powerful influence in solving the urgent problems of the present day.

The 25th CPSU Congress was a most vivid demonstration of the victorious march of socialism. The realistic, scientifically founded conclusions concerning the current problems of international life and the world Communist movement contained in the report of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, have aroused a warm response in all parts of the world and provide an unfailing source of inspiration for all those fighting for peace and social progress. The results of the Soviet Communists' Congress, the decisions which it passed, have a direct bearing on the vital interests and future of all nations. The Mongolian People's Republic, like the other fraternal socialist countries, looks upon the CPSU's Program of Further Struggle for Peace, International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples as a foreign-policy platform of socialism that we can all share.

In present conditions the friendship and cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the fraternal ties linking the MPRP with the great Party of

Lenin and the Marxist-Leninist parties of the other socialist countries have entered a qualitatively new phase, the phase of general convergence.

The leading country of the socialist world system, the USSR, is engaged in the all-out building of communism while the European countries belonging to the CMEA are building developed socialist society and thus approaching the stage of creating the material and technical basis of the highest phase of the communist formation. The reaching of this stage will evidently signify the development of the countries of the socialist world system toward creating in the future what Lenin predicted would be a 'single world ... regulated according to a common plan ...' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 41, p. 147).

It stands to reason that in order to set up this international economy, to create a world communist community, the socialist countries will have to pass through the transitional stages, the stages during which socialism grows into communism. The process of internationalization and convergence should in the first place embrace the field of material production and lead gradually to the setting up and consolidation of international economic complexes (joint industrial and agricultural enterprises, power and transport systems, cultural and research organizations, etc.) that will provide the material preparation for the formation of the integrated world communist economy of the future.

The basic method of internationalization of production is co-operation between the socialist countries in the sphere of planning. One of the main targets of joint planning will be to build up the objectively necessary international economic complexes and develop joint ownership by the socialist countries.

The new stage in the internationalization of the economic life of the socialist countries — socialist economic integration — reveals itself today in the preparation of its material base, the international socialist division of labor, mainly in the form of inter-state specialization and cooperation of production.

The further all-out development of the higher forms of international socialist division of labor are destined to play a tremendous role in the gradual formation of the future world communist economy. It is an important accelerator of growth of the productive forces and makes for economy and increased effectiveness in the use of social labor, the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure in the development of individual branches of the economy, higher rates of construction, and so on. The development of the international socialist division of labor ensures the most rational and effective use of the natural, economic and labor resources of the socialist countries both in the national interests of each country and in the interests of the socialist commun-

ity as a whole along with a gradual evening out of the development of the productive forces.

The current aims and prospects of our country's development make it imperative to intensify the process of convergence and consolidation of the Mongolian People's Republic in the economic, political, cultural and ideological spheres with the fraternal socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. These aims will be achieved on the basis of all-round economic integration, the general growth of common elements in all spheres of social life, deeper ideological coordination, cultural exchange and mutual enrichment, and the perfecting of existing and introduction of new progressive forms of cooperation between our countries.

The Mongolian People's Republic is exerting every effort to further the successes of the socialist countries in all spheres. We attach particular importance to spreading the détente achieved in Europe to other parts of the world, including the huge continent of Asia, whose population numbers more than half the human race.

Our country takes an active part in seeking ways to strengthen peace and security in Asia, to eliminate the existing seats of tension, to find political solutions to controversial international problems, the renunciation forever of the use or threat of force in international relations, and to establish good-neighbor relations between the Asian countries and develop mutually advantageous cooperation between them. We shall continue to cooperate actively with countries that aim at contributing to the collective efforts designed to preserve and strengthen peace and security in Asia.

Our Party's truly internationalist policy aims demand resolute opposition to all manifestations of opportunism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Acquiescence or neutralism in regard to such phenomena are incompatible with Communist internationalism. It is this principled position of unshakable loyalty to proletarian internationalism, to the people's true national interests and the cause of socialism that form the bedrock of our policy toward the People's Republic of China.

As a force openly hostile to socialism, the national-liberation movement, peace and national security, the Maoists line up openly with racist, fascist cliques, diehard reaction and aggressive imperialist circles in order to wreck détente, sow enmity among states, and provoke a global thermonuclear disaster. Maoism is thus becoming the reserve and direct accomplice of imperialism and the struggle against it is an inseparable part of the peoples' struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

Our Party has been and always will be selflessly devoted to the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proleta-

rian internationalism. It will continue to uphold the line of solidarity and closer relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of close interaction and solidarity with the fraternal parties, with all the genuinely revolutionary forces of our times. The basis of this solidarity is unity of world view, unity of aims and unity of will. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party considers it expedient to call a new international meeting of the world's Communist and Workers' parties to make a collective analysis of the present international situation and work out a general line in the struggle against imperialist reaction.

The ideas and conclusions of the 17th Party Congress and the decisions it has passed inspire our people to go forward to new achievements. The Party's specific program, the united will and determination of the Communists and working people to carry it out, their unsparing labors, will enable our country to take another big step forward in building socialism.

Leninist style in CPSU activity

Konstantin Chernenko
Secretary of CC, CPSU

Soviet Communists are now concentrating on the home and foreign-policy tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress. The tasks are multiform and complex and have far-reaching implications. Their fulfillment calls for mobilization of all the country's reserves and resources. And this means that we must take a long hard look at the level, quality and style of the work of the Party itself, the political leader of our developed socialist society.

Addressing the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade Brezhnev said: 'The *Leninist style of work* is an important condition for success in the Party's leadership. The Leninist style is a creative and scientific approach to all social processes, one which eschews subjectivism. It implies a high degree of exactingness with respect to oneself and to others, rules out any self-complacency, and is opposed to any manifestations of red tape and formalism.'

The Leninist style of work is one of the Party's greatest assets. Its origin and development rest on the unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, on profound knowledge of the laws of social develop-

ment, the ability to harmonize revolutionary scope and daring with Communist efficiency.

The Leninist style has absorbed the enthusiasm and optimism of the victorious working class, the experience, sagacity and energy of a Party that has set itself, and is successfully accomplishing, the task of refashioning the social pattern of the world.

Embodied in the Leninist style are the great principles of humanism that inspire Communists, for whom there is no more noble aim than serving the laboring people and the great ideals of communism. Deep respect for people, concern for their needs, and justice — these traits of Lenin have become a law for our Party, a code of conduct for the Soviet people.

The building of socialism and communism in the USSR has confirmed the vitality and effectiveness of the forms and style of Party work initiated by Lenin. In this respect, the period since the 23rd Party Congress has been especially fruitful in putting into practice Lenin's ideas and principles of Party life and leadership. Delegations from fraternal parties visiting the USSR in recent years have displayed a heightened interest in our experience in this sphere. Their assessments and judgments are indicative of the closer attention now paid to the style of Party leadership.

Socialism differs from all preceding formations in that its development is not spontaneous, but is based on the scientific understanding and conscious application of the objective laws of society. Socialism rose, exists and develops as scientific Marxist-Leninist theory translated into practice. This determines the exceptional importance of a scientific approach to all the problems, big and small, of building socialism and communism. It also determines the importance of science as a cardinal and indispensable factor in the Leninist style of Party work and leadership.

The science of Leninism guided our Party on the road to the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Science played a dominant part in charting the strategy and practice of building the new society. Lenin's scientific and theoretical heritage was the foundation of the immense creative effort which turned the USSR into an economically powerful state, a socialist country in which all the laboring classes and social groups, all the nations and nationalities, live in indestructible unity.

In conditions of developed socialism the direction of society becomes more complicated and entails more responsibility. The frontiers our Party and people have reached, the tasks at the present stage of communist construction and the international problems the Party has to solve, imperatively require constant heightening of the level of Party direction of the economy, culture, education and mass work.

To meet these requirements, the 25th Congress emphasized, one must take a Leninist approach to all matters of Party policy and leadership, i.e., regarding leadership as a science that has to be constantly and comprehensively studied and thoroughly mastered.

Lenin introduced and employed new, effective methods of Party work. He set a great example of a substantiated and comprehensive approach to the problems involved in leadership of the Party and the society. The concept of scientific approach to Party work, a dominant feature of the Leninist style, should be seen in all its profound implications and multiformity.

First, there is the need to base the Party's strategy, policy, decisions and actions on an accurate theoretical knowledge of the fundamental laws and regularities of social development, and on ability creatively to apply Marxist-Leninist theory in analyzing concrete reality. This enables us to see events in their historical perspective and map out the direction of socio-economic and political development for many years to come. It also enables us to assess realistically the ways and means of attaining our long-range goals. This applies also to world affairs, an area in which a scientific approach enriches our skill in making events serve the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Second, a scientific approach to political and organizational work implies following definite methodological principles. These include careful analysis of the situation, the specifics of time and place, the correlation of diverse factors, collection of the necessary information to bring out the most essential, typical and reliably verified factors; evaluation of the situation and formulation of tasks, taking into account the views of a sufficiently wide range of specialists; choice of the means to solve the problem, singling out the main elements of a solution.

Lenin was always guided by these principles. This is evidenced, for instance, by the way he dealt with problems as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Documents and records of its meetings reveal a consistent scientific approach to all matters concerning direction of the Soviet state. That experience has been mastered by our Party, which constantly strives to develop it in present-day conditions and in accordance with Lenin's injunction that in social management it is most important to 'have a thought-out system of work.'

Third, and last, scientific approach, as an indispensable feature of Party activity in a socialist society, has another very important aspect: it not only draws on science, but also enriches science. To cite one example: analysis of new phenomena and trends in our country and the world is a necessary prerequisite for scientific substantiation of Party policy, but at the same time it provides a basis for theoretical

generalizations. One such contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism, the theory of scientific socialism and communism, was made by the 25th CPSU Congress. It has become set practice for the Party to analyze the experience of Party committees and organizations and systematize and conceptualize everything of value in that experience.

A scientifically substantiated and scientifically organized approach to Party leadership is characteristic of all leading Party bodies. For instance, we devoted special attention to preparing the materials for examination by the 25th Congress. All central and local Party organs were brought into this work. The initiative of Communists in research institutions, combined with organizational measures by the CPSU Central Committee, enabled the Academy of Sciences, dozens of its institutes, and many other research centers to take an active part in this work.

The intensive and very fruitful work of the CPSU Central Committee, the Political Bureau and Secretariat is likewise organized along scientific lines. The Central Committee held 11 plenary sessions between the 24th and 25th congresses. Their decisions, based on scientific analysis of internal problems and the world situation, made it possible to concentrate the efforts of the Party and the people on key sectors of the economic and cultural front and to work out the necessary guidelines for the Party's international activity. Within the framework of this activity, much was done to further strengthen unity of the world Communist movement. And today we share with Communists of other countries a feeling of deep satisfaction at the successful conduct of the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Central Committee regularly dealt with economic development, improvement of the political and economic administration, implementation of measures to raise living standards, and fundamental problems of Party and ideological work. The work of the Political Bureau and the CC Secretariat had a direct bearing on changes in world politics and progress in deepening détente, strengthening socialism's international positions and promoting world peace and security.

Guided by the standards set by Lenin, the CPSU is striving for all important practical measures, at all Party levels, to be preceded by all-round study of the problems involved through in-depth analysis using modern scientific methods. The Party requires that every decision shall be taken only after all the factors are carefully weighed and the decision properly substantiated. In this, too, we are following Lenin, who, in instructing Party cadres, often repeated the old saying: measure your cloth seven times before cutting it. Needless to say, this

has nothing in common with timidity, still less with condoning bureaucracy. And we learn from Lenin how to combat such phenomena, for Lenin knew how to make and support timely, firm and bold decisions.

In its practical political work, the CPSU takes ever fuller account of the fact that, in such a complex, highly developed and dynamically growing social organism as our society, the choice of optimal decisions often necessitates examination of different variants, each of which has its good and bad points. The preparation and careful analysis of such variants plays an increasingly important role in the functioning of our Party apparatus. And when this preparatory work is crowned by the adoption of practical measures and decisions, the Party implements them, fully confident that they are in maximum accordance with objective conditions, because they are based on science and a wealth of practical experience.

The use of scientific methods, an organic part of the Leninist style of work, creates reliable barriers against all manifestations of subjectivism. It hamstring all manner of voluntarist ventures and prevents the mistakes they are bound to produce.

In short, the achievements of the Soviet people, of which the 25th Congress provided a concentrated picture, would have been impossible without science permeating every aspect of the activity of the CPSU, the political vanguard and leader of our society. The Soviet Communists' confidence in the future, in the realization of the plans adopted by the Congress, resides in the knowledge that the Party's guidance of communist construction rests on a firm scientific foundation.

Organization and efficiency, both cardinal features of the Leninist style of work, have many aspects. They include such qualities of the Party apparatus and Party officials as combining practicability with broad political vision, and fulfillment of assignments, efficiency and discipline with initiative.

We constantly strive for all Party work to combine scientific methods with what Lenin defined as 'ability to do the job.' For the more correct decision and the best thought-out plan will remain on paper if they are not backed by the efficient organizational work necessary for their implementation.

Looking back on the decades of mankind's revolutionary history, we have every reason to say that the organizational factor was of outstanding importance in raising socialism from a theory to reality. The October Revolution in Russia and the establishment of working-class power would have been impossible without the political and organizational genius of Lenin, who founded the Bolshevik Party and forged its combat capacity. The building of socialism in the USSR

would have been impossible without the indefatigable organizational work of the CPSU, based on its Marxist-Leninist general line, and its concrete and unremitting concern for the all-round progress of our society. That is why the questions of organization, efficiency, exactingness are not partial or secondary questions when we are dealing with the ideas and plans of revolutionary transformations, of building socialism and communism. The CPSU has always been guided by the thought expressed by Lenin in the early days of the Soviet state: 'Precisely for fulfilling our revolutionary tasks, precisely in order that these tasks should not remain a utopia or a naive aspiration but actually become a reality — and be achieved immediately — precisely for the sake of this aim we must now put practical ability and businesslike methods in organizational work as our primary, immediate and chief task' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 214).

Communist efficiency has nothing in common with narrow practicalism or routine, which prevent one from seeing beyond the immediate tasks of the day. Fidelity to principle, creative inspiration, working capacity, flexibility and mobility, unity of word and deed — they are all essential features of efficiency in its Leninist understanding. The Party prizes the ability of its members to see things in perspective, to concentrate their efforts on the main goals, save time — one's own and that of others — break out of the day-to-day rut and, as Lenin counselled, find the time 'calmly to reflect on the work as a whole.'

In instilling the finest traits of Communist efficiency, the Party attaches special importance to promoting criticism and self-criticism, for with the growing scale and complexity of the problems we have to solve, an objective appraisal of the work of one or another Party organization or of one or another Party official, acquires exceptional importance. A responsible attitude, exactingness, intolerance of shortcomings and those who are to blame for them — these are all vital features of the Leninist style of work, and we are making every effort to see that they are applied in practice.

The CPSU is justly proud of the great achievements of the Soviet people. But this has nothing in common with complacency, conceit or success dizziness. Our stand on this question was clearly expressed by the 25th Congress. Critical and self-critical judgments and conclusions largely defined its businesslike and constructive character. And in summing up the comprehensive discussion of the Central Committee report, L.I. Brezhnev emphasized, in full accordance with the Party's political spirit and traditions: 'We shall be quite right, we shall act as befits Leninists if, in acknowledging what has been achieved, we concentrate our attention on the shortcomings which we still have and on tasks still to be carried out.'

Everyone knows that ferreting out defects and shortcomings in our

work and clamoring about the difficulties and imperfections of existing socialism is a favorite pastime of bourgeois ideologists and anti-Soviet and anti-communist experts. But they seem to be ignorant of the fact that we know our shortcomings and defects much better than these 'critics.' And not only do we see and frankly discuss them, but we dig down to their roots and find the most effective ways of eliminating them.

It should also be emphasized that in our Leninist Party there is no place for complacency that would prevent us heeding the businesslike advice of friends, or drawing on the experience of fraternal socialist countries and parties.

Control, checking on how Party and government decisions and directives are carried out is an important means, a powerful lever, the very 'hub,' as Lenin once remarked, of raising the standard of organizational work.

In explaining the substance and stressing the importance of control of decision fulfillment. Lenin proceeded from the principles of democracy, popular rule, the leading role of the Party, law observance and discipline in all administrative bodies. 'If we are sincerely to teach the workers and peasants discipline,' he emphasized, 'we should begin by teaching ourselves.'

Experience has fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin's conclusion that control is a social concept. For the essence of control, its purpose, the composition of control personnel, their organization and methods, are determined by the socio-economic system, the class nature of the state. In present-day conditions the social essence and political function of control are vividly revealed in its growing effectiveness in implementing economic development plans, and, at the same time, as a means of extending and perfecting socialist democracy.

Today Party control itself and Party-organized supervision by state and public organizations are acquiring new features. Development is proceeding in the following basic directions:

- the narrow, specialized activity of inspection, checking and auditing is gradually acquiring a wider meaning, such as the rendering of practical assistance, organizing on-the-spot solutions to problems, generalizing and spreading know-how and effective methods of work. In other words, the process of control often involves direct organizational work on a given project;

- the development of technology and higher standard of theoretical and professional qualification make it possible to exercise control and gather up-to-the-minute information on task-fulfillment by means of various automated electronic devices; such control systems have been developed and are being used to good effect in a number of

ministries, departments, production complexes and large enterprises; — more and more of the general public are being drawn into control work; millions of industrial workers and collective farmers, specialists and office personnel sit on committees for supervising management, play their part in the ramified network of public control centers and posts, participate in the activities of headquarter groups at big enterprises, and also in the various public inspections conducted by the Soviets, the trade unions and other organizations; the voluntary correspondents of the central and local press play a big part in the exercise of public control.

All this with the active support of the Party bodies increases the effectiveness of control, improves performance, and fosters among the broad public a sense of being involved in the processes of government.

The unfailing source of the effectiveness of the Leninist style of Party work, of Party leadership, is its profoundly democratic nature.

The building of the Party on the principles of democratic centralism and the subordination of its life and activity to these principles ensure a situation in which the strictest discipline and demands 'from above' do not run counter to the interests or will of millions of Communists and working people but, on the contrary, are supported by popular initiative and are an essential element in generalizing and organizing the independent socio-political creativity of the masses.

In the Central Committee's report and the speeches made at the 25th CPSU Congress the idea was consistently expressed that adhering to the Leninist style meant constantly endeavoring to develop the two principles of democratic centralism. This task involves both inner Party life and the broader sphere, the direction of all aspects of society's material and spiritual progress. On the one hand, one must strengthen centralism, which provides the organizational basis for maintenance of the Party's general line and expression of the most general interests of the people, of the whole country, while curbing any narrow departmental and local trends that might arise. On the other hand, one must deepen and perfect inner-Party democracy, make all Party members more active, stimulate and provide scope for the initiative of the primary organizations and combine all Party work with the creative activity of the masses.

The democratic nature of the Leninist style of work adopted by the Party is vividly expressed in the constant observance and development of collective leadership and the perfecting of its forms. The activity of the Central Committee, its Political Bureau and Secretariat, provides an inspiring example. Their decisions are invariably taken on the basis of thorough collective discussions. When we say

that resolutions passed by the leading bodies of the CPSU provide guidelines for the whole activity of the Party we are not referring only to the content of these resolutions. Of the greatest importance is the fact that the method of collective work practised by the Central Committee, the Politbureau and the Secretariat, provides a model that all Party branches and organizations confidently seek to emulate.

The broadening of the collective principle and the deepening of the democratic principle are organically interconnected. The very concept of collectivity presupposes the fullest possible consideration of various opinions and proposals that may be of help in carrying out this or that project. In practice this means that one must rely not only on the knowledge and experience of those taking part in a given Party committee conference, and not only on experts; one must also consult the working people and their representatives who have an interest in the project. When one is dealing with fundamental questions of socio-economic and political development, the interested and, in a sense, competent persons are, of course, the whole people.

Literally since the day our Party came to power bourgeois ideologists have been saying that in socialist society the Party machine is opposed to the people and 'imposes' its will on them. They distort the picture still further with the calculations to show how small the number of Party workers is in comparison with the whole population and hasten to conclude that this is a case of 'coercion by a tiny minority.' Such is the reasoning of the enemies of socialism. But this does not correspond with reality, with the logic of life and the logic of science. The CPSU has 16 million members and there are 250 million people in the Soviet Union. The modest proportion of full-time Party workers would indeed render the Party apparatus helpless and incapable of fulfilling its responsible functions if its activity had any purpose other than the expression of the people's interests. The following idea of Lenin's exactly defines the basis of effective work by the Party and its apparatus and the fundamental reason for their prestige: 'In the sea of people we are after all but a drop in the ocean and we can administer only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of' (Vol. 33, p. 304).

Our Party guides society but it does not govern it, does not govern the state directly, administratively, so to speak. For this reason two aspects of Party leadership are exceptionally important for improving its effectiveness. One aspect is the ideological direction that the Party sets in all spheres of its activity by its scientific approach, its organization, its developing and perfecting of inner-Party democracy. The other aspect lies in the constant extension and improvement of the intricate mechanism of informal, living contacts with the people. It is essential to know the mood and aspirations of the masses, to have a

clear picture of what the people's current mandate is. This is an inviolable norm of the Leninist style of Party leadership.

When drawing up its most important decisions, our Party considers it particularly necessary to organize an exchange of opinions in the press and put its draft proposals up for public discussion. A case in point was the pre-Congress discussion of the Central Committee's guidelines of economic development for 1976-80 in the Party organizations, at meetings in factories and offices and in the newspapers.

At the same time it is impossible to overestimate the importance of other methods and sectors of Party work that ensure the effective taking into account of popular initiative and a rapid and businesslike response to the requests and proposals coming from the working people.

Lenin often pointed out that one form of this kind of living contact between Party organizations and the people is response to their letters. The way he personally reacted to letters from workers, peasants and soldiers, and to the oral messages of the village delegates remains to this day a splendid example for all Communist leaders and Party workers. Letters from working people were for Lenin an invaluable source of information about current events, the moods and needs of the people, information that should be generalized and transformed into political decisions. It may be recalled that his historic report to the 10th Congress on the substitution of the tax in kind for food requisitioning contained a digest of letters received from peasants during the winter of 1920-21.

Today there is not a single question or event in the life of the Party or the people, not a single world phenomenon that is not in some way reflected in the letters and telegrams received by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the local Party bodies. The Soviet people's high level of political awareness and the vitality of socialist democracy were once again demonstrated during the preparations for the 25th Congress and the Congress itself. A total of more than 600,000 letters and telegrams was received by the Congress and the Central Committee, the figure for some days being as high as 25,000. This people's mail is now being digested and prepared for publication in book form.

In every sphere letters provide a stimulus and initial material for decisions not only by local Party organizations but also by the Central Committee. On the basis of proposals made in letters from working people the Central Committee in 1975 and this year approved a number of measures on questions of Party organization, ideological, and mass political work, economic organizations, and the foreign policy activity of the CPSU. It is no accident that one of the first general Party documents approved since the 25th Congress has been a decision on improving the handling of correspondence from the work-

ing people. The question of dealing with letters has lately been subjected to thorough scrutiny at the plenary meetings of a number of territory and regional Party committees.

Leonid Brezhnev devotes much attention to this matter. He is always interested in the way letters are being dealt with by the Central Committee apparatus and sends in regular requests for information drawn from them; he himself reads many letters and offers practical advice to Party workers on how to improve this side of their work.

Developing the Leninist traditions of constantly strengthening ties with the masses, our Party treats this remarkable phenomenon very seriously and sensitively. We are firmly convinced that this is an important form of mass participation by the working people in governing the country, a true manifestation of socialist democracy. There are, of course, many other forms of development of Soviet democracy, of contact between the Party and the people.

True to the behests of its founder and leader, ever mindful of his maxim that 'victory will belong only to those who have faith in the people, those who are immersed in the life-giving spring of popular creativity' (Vol. 26, p. 292), the CPSU has always seen the main source of its strength, the guarantee of all its victories in its unbreakable ties with the people, in its ability to inspire and organize the masses in the struggle for communism.

The democratic approach, insistence on high standards, competence and other features of the Leninist style of work have become obligatory qualities for Party leaders at all levels. At the 25th Congress it was clearly stated that in present-day conditions the Leninist style of work can be achieved only by leaders who are able to combine the Party spirit with a profound knowledge of the matter in hand, good discipline with a creative approach to problems, the demand for high standards with concern for one's fellow men. We have formed the firm conviction that the key to effective Party work, particularly in the field of political education, is the leader's personal example.

In its efforts to instill the Leninist style in all spheres of administration and management the CPSU follows a consistent cadre policy.

Take, for example, the problem of keeping up the scientific standard of political leadership and management. Clearly, the first essential is a high degree of scientific qualifications and a wide background of scientific knowledge. We understand this question in all its numerous aspects. The scientific training as a Party leader, as we see it, presupposes an all-round mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and profound specialized knowledge in the field to which he is assigned. Sound philosophical and political positions and devotion to the communist cause are demands that the Party makes on every Communist,

particularly on those assigned to positions of leadership. The Marxist-Leninist training of cadres gives a big boost to any Party member's creative social activity, and it is a fact that in our society a Communist is no passive observer or critic on the sidelines, but a dedicated fighter for the Party cause.

However, as Lenin emphasized, a Party leader's political qualities, without which he is in general inconceivable as a Party worker, are not everything. No ideological conviction or political prestige can possibly yield success if he lacks the knowledge to go to the root of the problems that arise in his field of work. In this connection it is hard to overrate the following behest that Lenin left us and that our Party has firmly mastered: '... management necessarily implies competency... a knowledge of all the conditions of production down to the last detail and of the latest technology of your branch of production ... you must have had a certain scientific training' (Vol. 30, p. 428).

Our Party has always been mindful of this Leninist maxim. but it took time and concentrated effort on the part of the Central Committee for us to reach our present gratifying state of having practically the whole leading contingent of the Party with a higher education. Today about 99.3 per cent of the first secretaries of Party committees — from district committees to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics (4,421 persons in all) — hold a diploma in one or another profession.

This is obviously an achievement. But the Party is far from assuming that it now has no need to worry about training and retraining its cadres, about ensuring theoretical and scientific growth. In recent years the CPSU has taken steps toward setting up an exceptionally wide instructional system for Party and Soviet workers in the form of permanently operating schools, courses and seminars. In the period between the 24th and 25th congresses about 40,000 people passed out of Party educational establishments. More than 230,000 Party and Soviet workers took refresher courses. Hundreds of thousands of Party leaders and activists are studying in the Party education system. A massive contribution to this generally fruitful work is made by the Institute of National Economic Management, where leading industrial cadres up to and including ministers refresh and perfect their knowledge. All this helps to improve the quality of Party and managerial work, to eradicate elements of thoughtless dogmatism and superficiality.

Lenin taught that the practical realization of the Party's policy in administration and management must be achieved through the proper positioning and distribution of cadres. At the same time he was an

implacable opponent of 'organizational fussiness,' the administrative itch that leads to the senseless shifting about of Party cadres.

At its 23rd Congress the CPSU stressed the great relevance of these Leninist demands, the importance of observing them without fail. The Party has put an end to all unjustified shifting about of personnel, to this artificial 'fluidity' of cadres. The moving of a Party leader to a new sector is a question that is considered as thoroughly, one might even say, scientifically, as other important problems of the organizational or political aspects of Party life. Obviously this provides conditions for calm, concentrated work, and the valuable experience accumulated by each branch of the Party apparatus is multiplied instead of being frittered away.

Today the Party's policy of looking after its older cadres and making maximum use of their know-how and knowledge while promoting young and promising Party workers is being successfully carried out. This is an essential condition of continuity in the Party's political course, in its revolutionary traditions.

Such is one aspect of the CPSU's characteristically Leninist, considerate attitude to Party cadres. Another is that it has become a law of life in the CPSU to place profound trust in its cadres, to allow them freedom of action in their great and responsible task of translating the Party's principles and plans into reality.

No one should get the impression, however, that this implies limitless tolerance. Lenin's ideas and our experience of life teach us that the broadening of the democratic approach and perfecting of its forms must go hand in hand with development of a sense of responsibility and conscious discipline. For example, in the system of Party leadership consistent realization of the principle of collectivity becomes possible only when this is combined with fulfillment of Lenin's demand that cadres should be personally responsible for the task entrusted to them.

As the popular saying goes, much is expected of those who enjoy great trust. This is our position in relation to Party cadres who are vested with the trust of their organizations and work teams. Every blunder, every failure to strike the right note by a leader who is always in the public eye is bound to do more harm to a correct Party line than the mistakes of a rank-and-file worker. The CPSU imposes strict penalties on those who have not acquired the qualities essential to the Leninist style, such as efficiency, a high standard of personal discipline, the ability to combine adherence to Party principle with good business sense, the ability to handle people sensitively and considerately and bring out all their talents.

The CPSU sees mastery of the Leninist style in work with cadres as a guarantee that the best forces, knowledge and talents of Soviet

Communists will continue to be concentrated in the Party leadership of our rapidly developing society.

We have every reason to regard the 25th Congress, its conclusions and assessments as one of the important achievements of the CPSU and the Soviet people in the struggle for the creative development of the ideas of the October Revolution, for concrete realization of the theory of scientific socialism and communism. The Congress was a vivid expression of the creative power of the Leninist norms of Party life. From the rostrum of the Congress Leonid Brezhnev said that 'consistent development of inner-Party democracy, and the growing demands being made on every member of the Party — these Leninist principles are not a thing of the past. This is the basis for the development of the Party in our day as well.' All the work of the CPSU, organized and carried out in the Leninist style, is built on this reliable foundation.



The masses, the Party and the national front

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The idea of a united national front runs right through the postwar history of the national-liberation movement of the Iraqi peoples.* At every fresh stage of its realization this idea has increased its militant class content, been enriched by valuable revolutionary experience and become more widely accepted by the people. The process of welding together the national patriotic forces has been a difficult and complex one, but the front's central task has always been to draw the broadest sections into the united political army of the national-democratic revolution, which wages a decisive struggle against reaction and imperialism, and for democracy and progress.

By what methods and means has this task be accomplished?

In the period (1946-58), when the national-democratic revolution was building up against the mercenary anti-popular and pro-imperialist regime, the Communist Party and revolutionary democratic organizations made extensive use of legal and illegal methods, combining underground struggle with open activity among the masses and guiding the popular movement toward a revolutionary change of government. What were the movement's demands? Complete political independence for Iraq, liberation from imperialist rule and the dominance of the capitalist monopolies, ridding Iraq of foreign military bases, abrogation of the aggressive Baghdad pact, and a resolute attack on the positions of the reactionary classes — the landowners and the big (compradore) bourgeoisie, who had discredited themselves by throwing in their lot with the imperialists.

These strategic and tactical principles yielded positive results. The 1954 election campaign saw the emergence of a united National Front of patriotic parties and democratic organizations that won seats in the country's legislative body. The victory of the revolution of July 14, 1958, was the direct result of joint action by the masses, by the Front of National Unity comprising the Communist Party, the Baath Social-

*For a more detailed study of this question see Adel Haba, 'Promising First Steps.' *WMR*, June 1974. — *Ed.*

ist Party, the National-Democratic Party, the Independence Party and the patriotic section of the army.

The overthrow of the reactionary monarchist regime in 1958 and the setting up of a government committed to patriotic anti-imperialist policies dictated important changes in the forms of the mass struggle, the methods of agitation and propaganda adopted by the political parties. This was natural enough in view of the new national goals that had been posed. Now that the monarchy had been overthrown, the next task was to consolidate the regime, which was opposed to reaction and imperialism. For a time the above-mentioned parties cooperated within the framework of this regime and carried on legal activities. By undertaking joint responsibility for the establishment of democratic government they were able to pursue a number of important goals proclaimed in their party programs.

The national-democratic forces accomplished a great deal in this field. Their biggest achievement was the setting up of mass, primarily trade union, associations that rapidly gained considerable influence among the workers, peasants, women, students, young working people, and certain sections of the intelligentsia.

The July revolution of 1958 was the victorious culmination of the joint efforts of the diverse patriotic forces, including the political parties. At the same time it marked the beginning of an intense struggle between the latter. The parties tackled the new problems from different class, political and ideological positions, the main point at issue being the question of how consistently the national-democratic revolution was carrying out the tasks of the first, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage, of whether it would go on to deepen and fill out its social and class content. The Communists realize that in this period there was bound to be a clash of class interests. The struggle assumed such intense forms, however, that the hostility aroused between the allies in the National Front became insuperable. The Front collapsed. This did tremendous harm to the common cause of the revolution because it allowed imperialism and reaction, by fostering enmity and playing on disagreements, to put a brake on the advance of the national-democratic revolution for the next 10 years.

The major revolutionary changes of July 1968, which led to the setting up of a consistently patriotic, progressive regime, put a stop to this criminal game played by the internal and external enemies of the Iraqi people. It offered the patriotic parties favorable circumstances for their activity and the achievement of their goals and factors arose that led to a renovation of the forms and methods of joint action by these parties. What were those factors?

First, implementation of progressive political, social and economic measures and consolidation of the anti-imperialist and anti-

reactionary policy of the new government; initiative by this government to set up an alliance with the world revolutionary movement, and particularly the socialist community.

Second, leadership of the government by one of the patriotic parties — Baath.

Third, creation and development of a real basis for a united national front.

In these conditions it was possible to arrive at a positive solution to the question of the ICP's participation in the government. In May 1972 two Communists took up ministerial posts, and on July 17, 1973, the Progressive National-Patriotic Front (PNPF) was established comprising Baath, the ICP, independent democrats and the progressive nationalists.*

The revolutionary changes in the power structures and the radical revision of the main trends in government policy were accompanied by qualitative changes in the attitude of the country's leadership toward the programmatic demands of the patriotic progressive parties and public organizations and toward their practical activities. As we know, previous governments did not merely reject the people's basic demands; they forcibly suppressed any efforts that were made in this direction. Today the central government and local government bodies have quite a different attitude to the people's demands. Their positions accord with the needs and interests of the masses, which may be reflected in the plans and measures launched by the authorities themselves, in the programs of the patriotic parties, the trade union and public organizations, or may be registered as a result of direct popular initiative. At the current stage, moreover, mass actions, no matter in what form, are aimed at supporting the progressive and democratic line in all spheres and at helping to carry through the five-year development plans. The working people also act to see that the national income is distributed in the interests of Iraq's progress, for the good of the overwhelming majority of the population.

The lessons of the revolutionary movement in our country teach us how important it is to ensure that the broad masses of the working people take part in curbing the minority's attempts to exploit the gains of the revolution, to live parasitically on its achievements, how essential it is to stimulate revolutionary processes in the direction of socialism.

The main goals and objectives of the present stage of the revolution are formulated in the PNPF's Charter of National Action. The following basic conditions for their realization and also for the transition to the subsequent stages of development have been laid down: (a)

*The Democratic Party of Kurdistan (DPK) is now also participating in the PNPF. — *Ed.*

consolidation of the structures of the Front, which controls fulfillment of the objectives set in the Charter; (b) dovetailing of the Front's activities with government programs and the work of its apparatus; (c) coordination of all Front activities and also government programs with the work of raising the level of consciousness of the masses and with efforts to get them further mobilized.

These conditions are at present the focal point of the discussions and studies that are being conducted within the PNPF framework with a view to improving its work.

The progressive, patriotic character of the state power, its socio-economic measures and, above all, its ensuring of steady growth and consolidation of the state sector while at the same time preventing any broad-scale development of capitalism in Iraq, have put the Iraqi Communists in the position of having to find a correct combination for dealing with two groups of objectives.

Our group comprises the methods and means of defending the interests of the working people, the satisfaction of their essential needs or, to put it briefly, raising the people's standard of living. There are people, particularly among the reactionary forces, who would like to sow disorganization and confusion among the ranks of the Communists and other progressive forces over this question. For example, the false allegation is being circulated that the Communists confine their struggle to demands for increased wages and improving the working people's standard of life while underrating the importance of the tasks of economic growth, of raising social production. But the fact that the Communists have simultaneously put forward as a vital and independent group of objectives support for progressive measures and efforts to ensure their success, particularly in the sphere of national economic development, shows that this allegation is unfounded.

The PNPF opens up new opportunities for successful work inasmuch as its support for the working people's demands is in the nature of an official decision. The front is called upon to play an effective part in leading the struggle of the masses; it must encourage its growth and thus bring nearer the realization of the objectives proclaimed in the Charter and development plans. Hence the need to set up new PNPF committees and expand its existing local committees, to go on building up their contacts with the people, to be in constant touch with their problems and difficulties, and to stimulate their activity.

The patriotic parties have done a great deal to mobilize the working people and stiffen their morale in the period since the first steps toward nationalizing the oil industry were taken in June 1972. An important role was played by the PNPF committees in Kurdistan during the suppression of the rightist revolt there. Working under

very difficult conditions, they were able to solve the highly complex problems connected with the condition of the Kurdish population, particularly that of providing them with essentials. At present the PNPf committees are able to work constructively to implement the economic and social program of the Charter.

In the context of unity of the national-patriotic circles, the trade unions, the peasants' associations, the student and working youth leagues and the women's organizations become particularly important for stimulating mass activity. The programs, structures and activities of these organizations are to be built on the basis of the principles of national unity. These organizations, like the Front itself, should be open at all levels for the affiliation of progressive forces and elements.

The Communists do not, as some people maintain, advocate the replacement of the present leadership of mass organizations. They merely point out the need to constantly improve its activity and make it more effective. They see the way to achieve this in the further development and strengthening of the principles of democracy within these organizations themselves, and in increasing the rank-and-file member's confidence in the leadership. In our view, this can be done by resolutely combating any symptoms of a revival of bureaucratic methods, including the attempts of some administrators to break away from the masses. At the same time the participation of Communists along with the representatives of other patriotic parties in administration and in the activities of the trade unions and other public organizations creates a climate of healthy competition and tends to strengthen the class alliance that is needed for accelerating the revolutionary process and defending the working people's interests.

Consolidation of the unity of the patriotic forces in the above-mentioned organizations will also help to overcome many of the negative aspects of their activity. In some trade unions at present, for example, one observes a narrowing of the popular basis and restrictions on participation of rank-and-file workers in the execution of decisions. This situation could undermine the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses on which the further development of the revolution toward social progress depends.

The experience of joint work by the parties belonging to the PNPf in the leading bodies of the trade unions and the associations of engineering and technical personnel, journalists, economists, teachers, stage performers, and lawyers, confirms the correctness of the method of building up the trade unions on the basis of a broad national alliance. It should be noted, however, that voices have been raised in favor of revising this method. They propose, for example,

that the election of trade union leaders should take into account the representation of each party in the PNPf, or that each party should present separate, competing lists of candidates. Such demands and proposals cannot, in our opinion, consolidate the national alliance and ensure wide support among the people. Any departure by the mass organizations from the principle of national unity must in practice lead to the isolation of some progressive forces, to their removal from the leadership and activities of these organizations.

Practice confirms that the solidarity of PNPf parties within the public organizations, which is fully in line with the aspirations of their rank-and-file members, helps to draw the broad, non-party masses into active political life. And conversely, the loss of this solidarity due to the artificial stirring up of discord and unhealthy competition between parties puts obstacles in the path of the revolutionary process.

Although the joint activities of PNPf parties are of growing importance, independent work among the masses by each individual party plays its own, by no means unimportant, part when this work conforms with the PNPf program and contributes to its realization. Such work includes the establishing of direct contacts with the broad sections of the population; finding out with the help of Party groups and individual members what exactly the demands and needs of the working people are in each particular district or enterprise, each town and village, and the elucidation and discussion of specific up-to-the-minute problems in the party press; and the conducting of the propaganda and mobilizing campaigns in connection with the most important events in the life of the nation and in the international sphere. Quite often proposals worked out by Communists are reflected in the resolutions of the peasant associations and workers' trade unions.

The whole activity of the Communists who hold government posts is based on the principles of national unity and joint responsibility. The problems raised by the working people are solved by the constant maintaining of contact with government leaders, with the various government bodies and ministries. The Communist ministers go out on tours of inspection in the provinces, organize mass meetings, and then put forward specific proposals for improving the life of the population and satisfying its needs. Another important aspect of their activities is the discussion of economic problems, of ways of consolidating the public sector, development of cooperation with the socialist countries, and also participation in the drafting of progressive legislation.

The Party press plays a major role in educating the working people, in fostering a responsible attitude to the achievements of the goals of the national, patriotic and class struggle and satisfying the needs of the revolutionary process. A characteristic feature of the analysis

of the country's problems conducted by our press is its careful noting of the requests and proposals received from factory workers, urban dwellers, peasants, students and other sections of the population. Correspondents' posts have been set up in all provinces. The Party daily *Tarik Al-Shaab* has special departments that run regular pages dealing with the conditions of the workers, peasants, youth, students and women, discuss educational problems and the position of teachers and other categories of intellectual workers, and so on. All these pages have their own readership, which is sometimes very large.

Besides discussing the essential day-to-day problems of the people's life the Party press has special study groups for analyzing the most important issues that arise in the course of economic, social and cultural development and gives its backing to all the progressive projects launched by the authorities. It exposes the activities of the reactionary and rightist forces that try to block these projects.

The three years of cooperation within the framework of the PNPF has yielded positive results. Mutual understanding between the ICP and Baath has improved and acquired greater depth.

Working together in the Front has strengthened our ties with the state apparatus, with responsible statesmen and cabinet colleagues representing other parties and forces. In their turn they have been able to gain a closer knowledge of ICP positions. In the Communist Party itself an apparatus has been set up that specializes in the study of economic and agrarian problems, planning, and oil policy. These specialists along with Party representatives in the government and in the self-governing legislative and executive bodies of Kurdistan ensure that the Party plays a mature role in solving political and economic problems.

These promising results indicate the need for consolidating the power structure that has come into being thanks to the PNPF and enhancing the role of the progressive parties belonging to it so that they can take an even more effective part in working out national policy and government programs, in accelerating the growth of representative democratic institutions and, above all, in strengthening the role of the Council of Ministers as the organ of the executive power and coalition government, and in the creation of a representative National Assembly. The active participation of the patriotic parties in state policy-making and decision-making widens the social basis of government and strengthens its ties with the people and mutual confidence.

Thus with the expanding activity of the PNPF the opportunities for the progressive parties to work for the people's fundamental aims have increased. Moreover the methods and forms of party activity have changed and some have been superseded by new ones. These

new methods include a direct approach to the people through the PNPf, participation by its members in joint demonstrations and the organization of mass meetings and conferences at which several parties are represented. All this is reviving on a new basis of creative tasks the most important militant methods used by the patriotic parties during the period of struggle for the overthrow of the monarchist regime.

Experience indicates that there are considerable difficulties still to be overcome in organizing and developing a united mass movement. If one asks what is the main thing, however, the answer is clear. The main thing is that the revolutionary movement in our country has taken a notable step forward, particularly in uniting its ranks and overcoming the failures of communication left over from the period of discord. It is essential that the forces of the PNPf should continue to educate their members in a spirit of firm alliance and solidarity, in the best revolutionary traditions of joint action by the patriotic parties for the attainment of the highest goals of our glorious Iraqi revolution.

The basis of political and ideological struggle

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PARTY THEORETICAL WORK

The experience in theoretical work of the Communist Party of the United States of America since its founding in September 1919 is incorporated in its structure and style of work, and is helping it to formulate and implement its strategy and tactics on a firm Marxist-Leninist foundation.

But realities of the present stage of capitalism's general crisis, the developing scientific and technological revolution, and the struggle of the two opposed systems necessitate ever-increasing attention to theoretical studies and to their realization in practice. This, as we see it, is most compelling for Communist parties in countries of state-monopoly capitalism. With the increasing role of the bourgeois state, as the collective capitalist expressing the ideas and will of the financial oligarchy in its attempts to stabilize the economy and socio-economic conditions in the interest of the top monopolies, and to counter the growing radicalization and prevent revolutionary activity of the work-

ing people, new elements are being introduced into the objective and subjective factors, enhancing the role of the subjective factor. In view of this the 21st National Convention of the CPUSA, June 1975, called for standards of Party work that include 'constant attention to the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, the basic theory and its application in life, in relations with the masses and specifically with the working class.'

The contradictions propelling revolutionary social change are most profound in the heartland of imperialism, the biggest of the developed capitalist countries. The CPUSA must take into account the distinctive U.S. characteristics and their interaction with the general laws of social development. Communists unceasingly reveal the class significance and the interaction of manifold activities of social groups and individuals among a huge multi-racial and multinational population formed from most of the countries on our planet, and the interaction of cultures and regional characteristics in a vast territory.

The CPUSA accepts a special responsibility for combating the racist, jingoist and great power chauvinist concepts used to justify U.S. imperialism's aggressions and exploitation of peoples of Indochina, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries, and countries of the Middle East and Africa. Of most importance is the Party's need, in conformity with its international principles, to explain the theory of scientific communism, and to combat the mounting flood of distortions and slanders of existing socialism which are a seed-bed of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

U.S. imperialism possesses a gigantic, lavishly financed and technologically up-to-date apparatus for implanting its concepts among the peoples. Its apologists' new rationale for and coverup of policies of exploitation and aggression, elaborated in a multiplicity of varied notions and theories, are disseminated throughout the USA and the world. As the vanguard of the U.S. working class which has the historic mission of radically reconstructing the country's social relations, our Party is called upon to contend against all these subjective obstacles to the recognition and fulfillment of its mission by the working class.

There are also problems of inner-Party life which call for much greater efforts by the Party in theoretical work. The present period is one of Party growth and the recruitment of new members steeped in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. Moreover, there are attempts by persons claiming to be Marxist-Leninists to replace Marxism-Leninism with eclectic and metaphysical theories. We cannot but take these circumstances into account in our fight for a stronger Party, for the purity of our teaching.

Four-year plans of work

How the principles of Marxism-Leninism are applied by the CPUSA may be seen from its theoretical and practical activities. The four-year plans of work which were authorized by the 21st National Convention can serve as an example.

In preparing these plans, U.S. Communists are studying and analyzing the 'facts of life.' These are conspicuous in the battles of the working people against escalating prices and extortionate taxes, unemployment and the ever-mounting burden of debt, the fattening of the Pentagon and the starving of the cities, the growing violations of individual rights by governmental police agencies, and against the super-exploitation and continued denial of equal conditions and opportunities to racial and national minorities, and to women and youth. They are evident in the growing mass moods of disillusionment and outrage, of militant protest and a willingness to fight back.

These facts are the raw data for an analysis of the present historical moment and of the interaction of capitalism's general crisis and the specific new features of the cyclical crisis. They are data of the crisis of bourgeois democracy and the crisis in other spheres of society. Assessing the meaning of these data, we note the harbingers of coming storms, the barometric readings that forecast mounting class conflicts and a period of political and social turbulence in all areas of struggle. And this assessment, of course, poses a number of questions: How can the working class and its allies win these battles? What must they do to defend their livelihood and liberties, and to influence the country's future course?

U.S. Communists find the answers to these questions in generalizations of the data and assessments as they are mediated by the tenets of Marxism-Leninism. We see that the 'eye' of the storm, of the mass socio-economic, political and ideological struggles against the biggest financial and industrial monopolies, is the antagonism between labor and capital. State-monopoly capitalism, by enormously socializing production and centralizing its management, greatly intensifies this antagonism and propels the great masses of the working class and all working people, including the middle strata of the cities and the bulk of the intellectuals, into struggle against the financial-industrial oligarchs and their socio-political system of domination.

This concept brings into focus the developing anti-monopoly unity of the U.S. masses, and the primacy of the working class. Unitedly, they possess both the necessity and the possibility of radically reconstructing U.S. social relations. These focal points become the pivots of the plans of the Party as a whole and of each of its units. From them we derive the necessity and the feasibility of helping the

masses to build an anti-monopoly coalition based on and led by the working class, and to build a people's alternative to the twin parties of monopoly. We give priority to work among industrial workers in the shops and in the working-class neighborhoods. 'Industrial concentration,' as we call it, becomes the cornerstone and centerpiece of the CPUSA's strategy and tactics.

Marxism-Leninism teaches, however, that the answer to the question, 'who will win?' is not predetermined. True, 'history is on our side,' as we say, and the objective laws of social change create the possibility for victory. But there is nothing automatic about the translation of possibility into reality. The outcome depends above all on the struggle between classes, parties, social groups and individuals, that is, on the subjective factor. The Party is an active, organizing, mobilizing and educating force among the working class and the masses. Hence the necessity for building the Party, strengthening its ties with and influence among the masses, and helping the masses to recognize and accept the validity and relevance of Marxism-Leninism in the solution of their problems.

In providing for the translation of these truths into practice, the four-year Party plans formulate concrete measures for building the Party and the Party press, for ever more concentration of work among industrial workers, in the democratic and progressive organizations. It means the projection of concrete measures for combating racism, for struggles to realize equality of the sexes and to overcome obstacles that deny youth their right to live, learn, work and love.

The national plan sets a goal of tripling the Party membership by 1979, among other things by considerably increasing the percentage of women members, of establishing 120 shop clubs in basic industry plants, of extending the Party organization to new areas, and of strengthening and enlarging the cadre for Party and mass leadership.

The plans also give special attention to concrete measures for achieving the Party's full legalization and participation in the national electoral struggles in 1976, 1978 and 1980.

Planning is a task of all Party organizations. Intermediary check-up and control points are set during the four-year period, and the national plan and plans of the districts, sections, commissions and primary organizations are correlated accordingly.

It is clear that both the formulation of the plans and the struggle to implement them involve continuous work in theory and ideology. Not a single step can be taken toward enabling the working people to accept the tenets of our science of social change without clearing the way through the thickets of capitalist and reformist ideology. The number and variety of pitfalls and detours in these thickets are multiple, but in present-day conditions several predominate.

Exposing bourgeois concepts

There is, for instance, a traditional bourgeois objectivist approach to interpreting social phenomena and development according to which class antagonism and the class struggle are irrelevant for understanding social reality. From this it is only a step to the view that classes have ceased to exist in contemporary industrial societies.

In these days when even the monopoly media daily report facts of the intensifying struggles of the working people to defend their rights and liberties, it would seem that this concept should have been discredited once and for all. Yet it remains a fetish of bourgeois historiography, sociology and mass information media. It is drilled into the consciousness of every U.S. schoolchild. It is a major ingredient of the so-called 'conventional wisdom' which is cited by many capitalist ideologists as the premise for their theoretical conclusions. And it is assiduously peddled by most trade union officials and the top bureaucracy and right-wing Social Democratic advisors of the AFL-CIO, and by many liberals in leadership of people's organizations.

Communists explain to the people the distortions of reality and errors of policy resulting from theories stemming from this concept. It is a concept made to order for ruling class attempts to manipulate the masses. Its claim that features of society are 'above' class, non-partisan, and represent the entire nation, is a cover for the financial oligarchy's domination of society. It disregards the inherent contradictions which motivate change and is consequently unable to disclose the essence of phenomena and their causes and effects. It views the capitalist status quo as something inevitable and fixed. Thus, it leads to a reliance on spontaneity and the depreciation of the conscious factor in effecting social change. It is the theoretical foundation of class collaborationist and other opportunist trends that obstruct the unity and the revolutionary activity of the working class and its leadership of the masses. By counterposing the interests of U.S. workers to the interests of workers in other countries, it is the arch foe of proletarian internationalism and a major premise of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

An especially harmful variant of this approach, combined with subjectivist ideas, is the doctrine of 'American exceptionalism.' Theories expounding this doctrine deny or belittle the applicability of the objective laws of social development to U.S. conditions, and exaggerate the role and influence of U.S. national peculiarities in determining the course of development. They have been and still are important components of U.S. ruling class great power chauvinism, jingoism and racism, and global hegemonic claims.

Struggles against 'American exceptionalist' ideas began during the earliest years of Marxism in the USA, and attracted the attention of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Karl Marx thought it necessary to take issue with Hermann Kriege, who argued that U.S. capitalism was basically different from capitalism elsewhere, that U.S. workers need not pursue a strategy of revolutionary struggle, since their problems could be solved through reforms. Frederick Engels commented that U.S. workers, owing to their higher living standards, the priority given to things 'of predominantly material nature,' and the pervasive influence of bourgeois ideology, were deluded into thinking 'that the traditional bourgeois regime (they) inherited is something progressive and superior by nature and for all time' (*Frederick Engels — A Biography*. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974. pp. 446-447). Lenin unfailingly considered the correlation of the general laws of social change and the national peculiarities of each country. He observed that the law of uneven development of capitalism was manifest in the comparative slowness of the revolutionary process in the USA. Lenin stressed the significance of the behests of the founders of Marxism for the American workers (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 12, p. 372).

Summarizing the influence of Lenin's thought on the theoretical work of U.S. Communists, William Z. Foster, the late CPUSA and working-class leader, wrote in 1952: 'Manifestly, Marxism-Leninism applied completely to the United States, but not as a blueprint. For this country is no "exception"; it is flesh and blood of the world capitalist system and is subject to that system's laws of growth and decline. But to adapt this tremendous body of scientific Marxist-Leninist principles to the specific conditions prevailing in the United States — that is, for the strengthening of every phase of the American workers' struggle for a better life — was a task of very large proportions. And as the sequel showed, many mistakes were to be made in this adaptation . . . To build a mature Communist Party in any capitalist land is a very difficult political task, but most of all, in the United States, the stronghold of world capitalism' (*History of the Communist Party of the United States*. New York, International Publishers, 1952. p. 156).

In fact, the most dangerous consequences of 'American exceptionalism' developed during the formation and unification of the CPUSA as a party based on Marxism-Leninism. In the 20s a divisive factional struggle around this theory hampered the Party's growth, ending with expulsion of the Lovestone clique of right opportunists. Exceptionalist ideas again came to the fore in the 1935-45 conditions of the Rooseveltian New Deal. At that time, they were a major source of the gross distortions of global and U.S. realities and of the class col-

laborationist and liquidationist policies of Browder's revisionism. Although repudiated and purged from the Party in 1945 by its Marxist-Leninist core, they tend, as Foster said, 'to reappear in new forms and under new conditions' (*ibid.*, p. 33).

In preparing the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of the four-year plans, the Party also deals with other sources of deviation from a scientific analysis of social phenomena. One trend especially widespread in the USA originates in the concept that the criterion of an idea's truth is its usefulness as an instrument for serving the aims and intentions of people (pragmatism). According to this concept, which denies the objectivity of truth, the end justifies the means. For Hitler and Mussolini, fascist ideology was true because it served their aims. Racist ideology was true because it served the aims of the slave-owners, and is true today because it enables the monopolies to extract super-profits from oppressed racial minorities and to keep the working people divided. The same subjectivist illogic is used to justify all sorts of apologetic doctrines of the U.S. ruling class. And it is evident that this concept underlies the demagoguery and program of ultra-right forces in the USA today.

Also widespread in the USA is the metaphysical concept of the exclusively evolutionary nature of social change. Capitalism's evolutionary development toward the fullest satisfaction of human needs and wants is considered inevitable. Neither the necessity nor the desirability of revolutionary struggle for a radical reconstruction of social relations is acknowledged. Communists point out that, like bourgeois objectivism, this concept is the theoretical basis for right social-democratic and other class collaborationist theories, a rationale for policies of gradualness and passivity in the working people's movements.

Subjectivist currents also predominate in theories of the ultra-'left' and in petty-bourgeois radicalism, and these theories also belittle the role of the working class, its Communist vanguard and its Marxist-Leninist ideology. Common to Trotskyism, Maoism and anarchism, profoundly fatalistic and pessimistic despite their revolutionary phrase-mongering, is reliance on actions derived from arbitrary decisions in disregard of objective laws. Communists stress this regularity: all these ultra-'left' theories have failed to pass the test of practice — wherever they obtain a following, they lead to adventurist disasters.

Communists concentrate special efforts on struggle against bourgeois ideological currents in their present-day form. We must make it clear to the masses the fraud of the concept of a 'new American Revolution,' the 'second American Revolution,' which the entire U.S. ideological apparatus is being organized to popularize in connec-

tion with the observances of the U.S. bicentenary. Spawned in a Rockefeller think tank, this concept asserts the necessity of universalizing the humanistic and moral values of the ideals and promises of the 18th-century American Revolution. This will be possible, according to its authors, in the course of a 'second American Revolution' that will control economic and technological processes and peacefully evolve into a 'socialist-capitalism' with full satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of all. This mixture of fantasy and wishful thinking represents the U.S. financial oligarchy's attempt to counteract deep social pessimism and adapt to the new conditions of state-monopoly capitalism's multi-faceted crisis.*

We take issue with theories of so-called 'technological determinism,' which assert that an inevitable universal development of the scientific and technological revolution, without altering capitalist relations of production, will solve all social problems and lead to the convergence of the two social systems and the disappearance of opposing ideologies.

We polemicize against the view that manifestations of the decay and decline of U.S. imperialism are symptoms of a 'crisis of modern civilization,' enveloping all industrial societies irrespective of social systems, and should be attributed to 'human weaknesses' and the errors of all peoples.

We concentrate on dispelling the ever-recurring Marcusean and Galbraithian myths concerning the working class, which reduce it to impotence in the economic and political arenas, and declare it has been 'integrated' in the state-monopoly system of exploitation.

Nor can U.S. Communists be indifferent to the ideology of the estimated 132 million church-goers (as of 1972-73) who regularly imbibe, together with various and sundry varieties of religious teachings, sizable doses of idealism and anti-communism. To these should be added more millions who mind the nostrums and panaceas of the hordes of mystics, seers, mountebanks, charlatans and swindlers of all types who enjoy the freedom and license under capitalist democracy to prey on the masses, and to infect them with racist, anti-scientific and anti-communist humbuggery.

Thus, the U.S. working people and masses are subjected to virtually every kind of ideological barrage, from traditional concepts grounded in subjective idealist, metaphysical and bourgeois objectivist theoretical systems to notions derived from pseudo-scientific absurdities. In present-day conditions, all are aggressively and virulently anti-communist.

*Data and analyses exposing the illusory character of this concept are presented in the series of 'Letters from America' in *World Marxist Review*, July and December 1975, February 1976, and in the article by Gus Hall, April 1976.

Disclosure of the traps, detours and blind alleys for the working people in these ideas and theories, which are interconnected and assume mixed forms as a rule, and persistent effort to make clear the Marxist-Leninist path, are essential for translating the CPUSA's plans into reality.

Renewed emphasis on collectivity

The immensity of our ideological tasks and the greatly accelerated tempo of social change impose the necessity for uninterrupted, continuous work in theory by collective effort. Although theoretical work by individual researchers, historians, economists and philosophers, has produced and is still producing positive contributions to the theoretical work of the Party, the emphasis has now been placed on collectivity.

To ensure continuity as well as collectivity in theoretical work, we have introduced innovations in the Party's structure and style of work. Comrade Gus Hall has set forth the reasons for these innovations as follows: 'Testing the validity of theories must not be an annual inventory. The testing cannot be separated from its daily application. The struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism must not be left only to some special conference, to a special cadre, or to special books. It must not be separated from the revolutionary practice. It is an everyday task for all of the revolutionary cadre' (*WMR*, June 1974, pp. 13-14).

Theoretical work is given high priority in the activities of the 21 national commissions set up by the Central Committee. The commissions formulate the Party's position on the major issues of the people's struggle. Responsible to the Central Committee for working out policy and elaborating tactics and plans of implementing them, the commissions are composed of Party functionaries, activists and specialists in the areas of international affairs, peace and détente, labor, Party history, education, propaganda and agitation, elections and legislation, health, cultural affairs, the economy, agriculture, defense of the victims of political and racial repression, struggles for women's equality, struggles against anti-Semitism, and struggles for ending the special oppression and exploitation of national minorities. Much credit for the increased emphasis on theory was given by the 21st National Convention to the examples of the CPUSA's leading officers, its national chairman and general secretary.

Theory is receiving increased emphasis in educational materials for primary organizations, in new members' classes, district full-time and part-time schools, regional schools, national cadre training schools, Marxist centers, study groups and public forums. The projected three-month campaign for 'ideological rearmament' of the Party is

designed to refresh the understanding and stimulate more intensive study of theory.

Party literature and the Party press increasingly require continuity and collectivity in study, research, and the selection and preparation of their ideological content. The daily or weekly editorial conferences in Party publications are basically concerned with problems of presenting and substantiating Marxist-Leninist theory in the ideological arena. Of course, all basic Party documents embody collectively approved theory.

If continuity and collectivity of study and research have been helpful in the CPUSA's theoretical work for the fulfillment of its national tasks, they are more necessary for the elaboration of theory on international questions. In an article entitled 'Collective Responsibility for the Development of Theory,' Comrade Gus Hall wrote: 'In the full sense theory grows only through a collective process. Without this theoretical development limps. Attempts to develop theory in isolation can only lead to one-sidedness' (*WMR*, August 1974.). This view is especially applicable in today's conditions, when there are 89 Communist and Workers' parties with an approximate total membership of more than 60 million, and when the content and structure of international relations are undergoing a radical transformation in consequence of the determining role of the growing alliance of socialist and developing countries. The CPUSA cannot develop its own theory in isolation, without studying the experience of other Communist and Workers' parties. It cannot explain scientific socialism without studying existing socialism and the interaction of the three currents of the revolutionary process.

The great change in Greece

Hamid Safari (Iran)

Alexander Didusenko (Soviet Union)

It was late evening when we flew into Athens. It was raining and the wet road surface reflected endless rows of street lamps, colored neon signs and the dipped headlights of the oncoming cars. Though different in shape and size, they were nearly all taxis and they flowed toward us out of town in an unbroken stream. We were in a similar stream going into the city. Blinking and beeping, it broke up at crossroads and flowed away down streets and side streets. Half of

Athens seemed to be driving taxis with the other half as the passengers.

'Oh no,' said Panagos Kotoulas, editor of the Greek edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, who had come to meet us. 'Athenians don't normally ride in taxis. But today the bus drivers are on strike.'

What was the strike for?

For a 45-hour instead of a 54-hour week, a 35 per cent pay rise, and for normal wages during the slack periods of the national holidays. Though the demands were purely economic, the strike was politically important. The reactionary trade union leadership and the government, both eager to wreck it, had launched a campaign to persuade busless Athenians that the strikers' 'excessive' demands were preventing a solution to the city's transport problems. The Communists, on the other hand, were championing the strikers, calling for solidarity and arguing that the way to beat all Greece's present problems (not just that of transport) was for the working people to get together and stay together in the fight for a better life, for democratic and social changes.

Such was our first glimpse of Greece, its militant working people, and the Greek Communists who have been leading their struggle through thick and thin.

We had come on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party, knowing that it had been legal only since the fall of the junta, that by then it had experienced several decades of work in the underground, jails, concentration camps and emigration. We knew that the Communists were overcoming their difficulties and rousing the masses to fight for the new life and leading their struggle. But contact with the reality brought these notions to life, filled them out with details and gave them the vital substance of people in action.

Clarity of aims

The Central Committee comrades told us that in less than two years the Party had restored or rather built anew its whole internal structure. A network of Party organizations and committees had been set up in towns and villages, at big enterprises, offices and colleges. The Communists now have their own publishing house and bookshop, central and local newspapers. They rent premises for their committees in and out of town. The communist youth movement is forging ahead. Last year alone its membership increased fivefold. The Party is increasing its influence in the trade unions, the mass democratic organizations and in local government. In 1974, at the first elections after the fall of the junta, it won five parliamentary seats. At the municipal elections in the spring of 1975 the Communists polled

majorities in four out of the six boroughs of Athens and did just as well in other urban and rural districts.

How had this Party that had undergone such relentless persecution managed to find its feet so quickly in legal conditions? How had it won such prestige among the masses and established its positions in public life?

Dionisis Georgatos, secretary of the Piraeus City Committee of the CPG, gave us the following answer to these questions.

'People knew that even in the worst days the Communists did not betray their revolutionary ideals and kept fighting for the workers' cause. Those who had upheld the true ideas and principles of our organization formed its backbone. In the new conditions that backbone is acquiring more muscle.'

The conversation took place in Piraeus, a port and industrial center adjoining Athens. The Communists at the City Committee told us about the city's revolutionary traditions, the protest actions by dockers, shipbuilders, chemical and metal workers, about the strong seamen's organization and the campaigns for solidarity with the patriots of Chile, and about the fight against the U.S. military base. Outside in the harbor ships were heaving gently on water that gleamed dully in the evening light.

Dionisis Georgatos went over to the window. 'You see,' he said, 'there's not a single American warship left in our harbor. It was one of the best days in my life when they moved out.'

The best day in the life of a Communist. The day when he managed to make one more step toward his life's goal, when years of struggle were crowned with tangible results.

'And what was your best day, comrade?' We put the question in turn to other Communists who were present.

'The day when our paper *Rizospastis* was published legally for the first time, after the fall of the junta,' a sailor, Dimitrios Mitropoulos, responded. 'It was the signal for everyone who was returning from prison or emigration — *Rizospastis* was appearing. That meant the Party was alive and fighting and they must get in touch with their comrades.'

'For me, I think, the best day was when we held the first congress of the Communist Youth of Greece,' Dimos Sanios, a young worker, joined in. 'It was a great event for us all. We invited young people to a meeting to mark the end of the congress and saw what a fine response there was. First there were tens, then hundreds, then thousands wanting to come to the stadium. We had to lay on transport, keep order and guard against provocations. In all, 50,000 people attended our meeting! That showed everyone what a force we are.'

'And then there was the celebration of our Party's 57th anniver-

sary,' said Anastasio Angelos, another worker. 'Can you imagine it? After three decades of terror, when most people hardly dared to utter the word "communist," people came out openly into the streets, with banners and slogans to mark the Communist Party's birthday. That's not the kind of thing you forget.'

'I remember the first legal Party conference, of our organization,' Dimitrios Koliarakis, a sailor, added, 'I was asked to speak on behalf of the older members of the Party. My whole life came back to me on that rostrum — the Resistance, the civil war, the underground, 16 years in prison, two death sentences, the comrades who had fallen ...'

We had expected rather different, more personal answers and our faces must have expressed our surprise. Dimitrios Mordzikis, a Piraeus union leader, explained.

'You have to remember that all this was our personal life. The first number of *Rizospastis*, the first placard with a hammer and sickle on it, the first congress of the Communist Youth of Greece, and our first Party conference, when the Party veterans passed on the torch of struggle to the young people and wept, and the young people who took it wept as well, and the first strike we won, and the withdrawal of the U.S. warships. They were all historic events, but they were also facts of our own personal biographies.'

The comrades recalled how as soon as the junta fell the representatives of all the leading Greek political parties declared themselves in favor of genuine democracy, a policy of national independence, Greece's withdrawal from NATO, a just solution to the Cyprus problem, scrapping of the American military bases, revision of the system of military agreements, and punishment of the junta criminals. The present ruling party, Karamanlis' 'New Democracy' and various leftist groupings exploited such declarations for winning political credit. But their bombast was paralleled by events which showed that the bourgeoisie had no intention of keeping its promises. An anti-democratic constitution was passed. U.S. military maneuvers were held on Greek territory. Anti-communism was stepped up and the pro-junta and neo-fascist organizations raised their heads.

Faced with this situation, the CPG formulated goals and demands in accordance with the interests of the working people.

'In our program we proceed from the fact,' Harilaos Florakis, First Secretary of the Party, told us, 'that the Greek working class and all the working people can rid themselves of the local and foreign monopolies, of exploitation and imperialist dependence, and win prosperity and freedom only by overthrowing capitalism and building socialism. From our Party's own experience and analyzing the causes of the victories and defeats of other contingents of the international

communist movement we know that to win through and hold its own the revolution must establish the power of the working people led by the working class, a power that the founders of Marxism-Leninism called the dictatorship of the proletariat. We believe that Greece will achieve socialism in a single revolutionary process embracing two stages of change, the democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist stage and the socialist stage. The first stage will involve such democratic objectives as throwing off foreign overlordship and consolidating sovereignty, restriction of local and foreign monopolies by abolishing their privileges and partial nationalization, and making the country's political and public life more democratic. The achieving of these objectives will be a body blow to the exploiters and will clear the road for the second, socialist stage.'

Olive branch

The mayor of the Athens borough of Kesariani, Panajiotis Makris, a veteran Communist, invited us to dinner. A man of middle height but well built, Makris had been an air force pilot and had fought the nazis first in the Athens sky and later as an ELAS fighter. Then came 20 years of prison and detention camp under the rapidly changing regimes.

He led us through the narrow streets, where poverty was thinly veiled by a neat cleanliness. He would stop to shake hands, exchange a few words with the driver of a parked truck, with a housewife waving to us from an open window, or with children on the way home from school.

We had dinner at a tavern at the edge of the town, and like the rest of the town it was spotlessly clean, tidy and poor. A long table took up most of the room. The roughly plastered walls were adorned with children's drawings. They were of tiny tots huddled in a corner watching soldiers kill their father, of soldiers firing on a demonstration, of houses on fire. But it was typical children's art. The sky was always a deep blue, the grass a bright green, the soldiers' cheeks a very red red, the sun a blazing golden, the smoke jet black, and the blood a deep crimson — a child's tragic introduction to the world he would live in.

'Why do our children portray war and violence?' the mayor asked, and answering his own question, said: 'Well, first because for over 30 years now successive Greek governments, allied first with the British and then with the U.S. imperialists, have been waging an undeclared war on their own people. As long as the government goes on spending 40 billion drachmas out of the budget and another 10 billion out of our foreign exchange reserves for military purposes, the children will be drawing soldiers and not schools, and the town will have to go

without water mains and always be short of doctors. But the people are beginning to realize that a better life and freedom will come only in a Greece not involved in military blocs, in a Greece without NATO and U.S. bases. That is why so many of our townspeople took part in the march to the U.S. Embassy.'

We were told more about that march in Athens. Groups of teenagers, workers and intellectuals gathered at the Polytechnical Institute and on Omonia Square. They were joined by more people on the march to the U.S. Embassy to demand the dismantling of U.S. bases and an end to CIA interference in Greek affairs.

'Red Flags on Athens Streets' was how American newspapers headlined their reports of this clearly pro-socialist and anti-militarist demonstration.

'By campaigning against the U.S. bases,' Party Regional Committee secretary Attiki Christos Logaras emphasized, 'we are upholding the national interests of all Greeks. It is not only a matter of crippling military expenditure! America's air and naval bases and the nuclear base on Crete imperil the very existence of the Greek nation. Nor do we forget that the bases are spearheaded against the USSR, the socialist community and progressive Arab countries. In demanding closure of the bases we are discharging our internationalist duty and proclaiming our solidarity with the world revolutionary movement and our friendship for the USSR and other members of the socialist community.'

In Elefsis, a big industrial center, the entire population demonstrated against allowing the U.S. Navy port facilities. The campaign was led by the municipal and trade union councils, both of which have a Communist majority. The resolutions and letters to the government adopted at the mass rallies and demonstrations demanded the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. naval vessels. The government retaliated by calling out the riot police, and in Parliament deputies of the ruling party demanded the dismissal of the Communist mayor, Michalis Laveris, for — of all things — interfering in government policy. The Communist press kept the public informed of the events in Elefsis and helped muster the support of all the anti-imperialist forces. In the end, the U.S. fleet had to raise anchor and leave Elefsis.

At the Athens Acropolis we were shown an olive tree, which, so the legend runs, was planted three thousand years ago by an unknown Crete gardener. From Crete the olive tree spread to the entire Mediterranean. Saplings and branches were carried on merchant vessels, and the tree was so respected for its fruit that no one dared attack these peaceful ships, which carried neither arms nor armed men. Ever since then the olive branch has been the symbol of peace.

We were often told that the people wanted Greece to be such a

ship, carrying the olive branch of peace. Détente and the Soviet Peace Program, our Greek comrades said, can make this wish a reality. The Communist Party's dedicated struggle for a peaceful and independent Greece, its open and principled attitude toward the USSR and other socialist countries has won it a stronger position and wider influence. We could convince ourselves of this in Elefsis, where the Party organization has increased its membership 12-fold since coming out of clandestinity, and in Piraeus, where a Communist was elected to Parliament.

For a better life now

For a better life for the people now!

Restrict monopoly domination now!

Give every Greek more political and civil rights now!

These slogans figure prominently in the Party's New Democracy Program. It contains concrete proposals on how to democratize the political system, raise wages, reduce the work week, safeguard the interests of the peasants, artisans, intellectuals, women and the youth; it outlines measures to assure the people better conditions now and give them a firm confidence in the future.

In its nationwide campaign in support of these demands, the Party makes the point that success in the present-day struggle to realize democratic change can be secured only by the consolidation of all the progressive forces and by firmly choosing the road of social progress, the road to socialism. The winning of partial demands in the process of this struggle brings home to the people the need for fundamental change and gives them a deeper understanding of the Party's ideas.

We were to learn more about how the Communists are waging this struggle on different sectors of the front. Many interesting examples were cited.

This is one of them. There are not enough schools in the Kesariani borough, Athens, and for a long time the government refused to appropriate funds to put up new schools, on the pretext that no land was available and buying it from private owners was much too expensive. But Kesariana has an old proving range where during the war the Gestapo executed more than a thousand Communists and other anti-fascists. The bourgeois government presented the range to a rifle club, so that the rich could practice sharpshooting — incidentally, from the same positions from which the Gestapo shot its victims. Of course, there was a public outcry.

When the Communists won a majority on the Kesariani borough council they asked the government to close down the shooting range and build a school in its place, a fitting memorial to the Resistance fighters. The government refused. The council thereupon held a

meeting and it was decided to lobby parliament and the Council of Ministers. It worked — a school is being built on the range.

This, we were told, was a tremendous boost for the Communist-dominated borough council and for the Communist Party as a whole.

In much the same way the Communists were able to procure a site for a cultural center. And now, in conjunction with three other Communist-dominated borough councils of Athens, they are campaigning for the new university campus to be built at Kesariani, for removal of the barracks of the riot police, and for permission to establish friendly ties with cities in other countries.

'By upholding the rights of local government,' Party Borough Committee secretary Kostas Nikolakopoulos remarked, 'we can solve local problems and win more democratic rights and freedoms for the people. This is important in another way, too: it helps the working people realize that bourgeois democracy has no answer to their problems and will never grant them full rights. They have to be won by the working people themselves, by taking over power.'

The Communists are also politicalizing the struggle in the factories. For instance, in Piraeus, during a strike at the Pitsios plants, which are closely linked with West German and U.S. monopolies, a leader of the 'Communist Party (Internal),' Kirkos by name, appeared at a meeting of strikers. He urged them not to inject politics into the strike, because this could endanger democracy, and might even bring back the junta. He was answered by Communist Mordzikis:

'We are being asked to choose between the junta and Karamanlis, between a big truncheon and a small one, between a big tank and a small one. Our answer is No, we want no truncheons and no tanks, big or small! We want milk for our kids, work for ourselves and a government that will guarantee both, not truncheons or tanks.'

Kirkos had to beat a hasty retreat. The 50-day strike was keenly followed by the entire country, and ended in victory for the workers.

The Communist Party, we were told, wants all its members and supporters to bring its policy and decisions to every factory, every shop and every worker and peasant home, in short, to all the people. The Party Program must become the banner under which the working class and all working people will fight and win the battle for a better life, for progress, democracy, peace and socialism. Clearly, the Communists have the perseverance, dedication and resourcefulness to achieve this.

Tabouri means 'barricade'

The old district of Plaka used to be the most Americanized, in the worst sense, part of Athens. Frequented by personnel from the military base, it was a hotbed of drug-taking, hooliganism and prostitu-

tion. Some of the working people, especially youths, were also attracted to the lights of Plaka.

So, about 18 months ago, the Communist Party opened a night club called Tabouri in one of Plaka's busy streets. No liquor or drugs are to be had at the club. It has an art group of young Communists who perform revolutionary songs and its name is a reminder of class battles. In fact, it has itself become something of a barricade that keeps young and old away from the hot spots of Plaka.

We went to one of the Tabouri concerts.

The house was full. There were portraits of Lenin, Belogiannis and Che Guevara above the stage. The art group — four singers and four musicians dressed like any of the young people you see in the working-class suburbs — came out. Matina Moskovi, a singer, took the mike.

'Songs of revolution, guerrilla songs, Resistance songs are the gems of international and Greek culture,' she said. The audience broke into applause.

And then the concert began. The first item was, as usual, a song about Nikos Belogiannis. It was followed by Soviet and Bulgarian revolutionary songs, songs of the Greek guerrillas and German Communist anti-fascists, and the Italians' famous 'Bandiera Rossa.' The audience clapped and joined in with fists raised in salute. The young men and women who had been serving coffee and orange juice before the concert started, now went round offering Communist newspapers and journals, including *World Marxist Review*.

The art group has only one professional musician among its eight members; the rest have other jobs or study. They give several concerts a day. Hostile elements have repeatedly tried to make trouble but have been curbed by the audience itself. Attempts have also been made to lure away group members, in particular by promising them well-paid TV jobs, but nothing has come of it.

'We're all Communists or members of the KNE (Communist Youth of Greece),' Georgios Kabanos, the group's conductor, told us. 'Our performances are our Party work and we treat them as such.'

But it is not easy to be a Communist and carry on Party work even in the Greece of today.

'As far as the Communist Party and progressive trade unions are concerned, legality is still a very relative thing,' said Grigoris Pharakos, director of *Rizospastis* and a member of the Party's Political Bureau. 'Our Party organizations cannot to this day operate openly in many factories and even in some provincial towns.'

We were given facts. In 1975, taking the country as a whole, some 1,300 workers were dismissed on various pretexts, the actual reason being their political convictions and activity. Last February alone as

many as 165 lost their jobs. Contrary to the law, trade union chairmen and secretaries were victimized. Party committee representatives and Communist journalists are not admitted to factories. In some cases, Party activists are attacked and committee premises raided. The Communists are undeterred by these difficulties.

'Where we can't go as Communists we go as workers,' Nadina Labrini from the town of Jianina told us. 'The marble factory is our town's main enterprise. Work there is back-breaking. The workers are unorganized and the management does not have to obey any rules. Most of the workers are women because where else in Jianina could a woman find employment? There are no other factories in the town and so everybody was afraid of losing his job at the marble factory. The Party sent me there to convince the workers that they must fight, to inspire them with a sense of dignity and confidence in their strength and help them form a union. Workers trust us Communists when they see that we are people like them, have the same worries and problems and are searching with them for a way out.'

Setting an example of determination and militancy on the people's behalf, the Communists call on all left-wing forces, all who are opposed to the current trend of official policy, to unite in a broad democratic front that will pave the way to the solution of urgent economic problems and for power to be taken over by those who champion a consistently anti-imperialist and democratic policy, as a decision adopted by the Party's Central Committee late in 1975 puts it.

Reinforcements

We met young Communists at mass rallies sponsored by the Party, in Party organizations and committees, everywhere. Comrades from the Athens City Party Committee told us proudly that almost two-thirds of the capital's Communists are under forty and that their Party organization has grown 10-fold, due chiefly to the influx of youth, since it emerged from illegality.

It is very important, they told us, that the Party is getting younger, that it is being reinforced by young people who, though young, have had schooling in underground work and in struggles against the dictatorship and have matured politically in those struggles and proved their loyalty to communist ideals in action.

What are these young men and women like? What prompted them to join the Party?

'This is our little Joan of Arc,' Kotoulas said, introducing Ioanna Karistiani to us at the Polytechnic. 'During the Polytechnic rising in

November 1973,* she called on the people by radio to resist. Ask her about it.'

But Ioanna did not feel like talking about herself. Well, yes, she had transmitted some appeals, but did that really matter so much? The important thing was that the students' action had been backed by the workers, that for three days 5,000 students and workers who had barricaded the Polytechnic had resisted the colonels' regime and shown how weak it was even though it crushed the rising. Of course, the regime could and did resist, torture and banish people, but it was powerless to stem the revolutionary tide. The Polytechnic rising made this plain to the whole country.

We agreed with Ioanna. Yes, the important thing was the event itself and its place in history. But then historical events were made up of particular events, they constituted the sum total of the behavior and actions of individuals. And this meant that there was no eliminating from history the three days spent by Ioanna on the Polytechnic campus surrounded by tanks, behind a home-made radio transmitter, those three days when all working people of Greece, held down by the regime, eagerly listened to the girl's voice calling for solidarity with the insurgents, for the formation of new resistance centers, for struggle. Those who heard Ioanna at the time still recognize her voice.

'Yes, they do.' Ioanna sighed. 'And that makes things difficult because you can't live in the past. You can only draw lessons from it for the future.'

What lessons had she drawn?

'They are many,' she smiled. 'But the main lesson is that we mustn't be afraid of our enemy and must always go with the working class.'

Most participants in the Polytechnic events in November 1973 remember that lesson, Ioanna told us. They remember it because the working class, or the building workers of Athens to be precise, was the first to respond to the call for solidarity. Worker Communists brought organization and discipline, established contact with the city, organized defense and catering, judged the balance of forces and organized the withdrawal of many insurgents to save them for their future class battles.

'Without the workers, we wouldn't have held out those three days,' Ioanna reminisced. 'And because we had them with us, we didn't feel defeated even after the rising was put down. We saw new possibilities of struggle and found life more interesting and worthwhile, more useful.'

*In November 1973, students at the Athens Polytechnic barricaded the campus and called for a revolt against the fascist regime. Their action was brutally suppressed by the military police.

Ioanna came out of prison when the junta fell. She is a law student now and is active in the student movement, the KNE and wherever else the Party needs her effort.

'She does a good job,' Dimitrios Antrolanis said. In 1973 he was one of those who led the rising and now he is a Party worker.

From the Polytechnic we went to the city museum. There were tables in the open outside it. The waiter, a boy of 12, brought us black coffee in small cups and iced water.

'The law prohibits it and yet there are 250,000 working teenagers,' Ioanna informed us. 'The rate of accidents is very high among them. You've been in many socialist countries. What legislation on child labor do they have? And on children and family generally?'

We told her about Soviet and Czechoslovak laws, and those of other countries of the socialist community.

'We are going to make laws like those,' Ioanna said, 'when the working class wins power.'

Young people who join the Party are convinced, like Ioanna, that the workers and other working people will win. They do not join the Party to wait and see but to fight for victory.

We left Greece at dawn. Athens was still asleep and only its heavy buses were on their way to pick up early passengers. The bus drivers' strike had won them a 45-hour week, paid national holidays and higher wages.

The bus drivers of Athens have won their battle, we thought. But the working people of Greece still have many a battle to win if they are to achieve genuine freedom and happiness, if they are to build socialism. The Communists along with all democratic forces of the country are working for those future victories.

Athens — Prague



A year after Helsinki

A year has passed since leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It has seen the peace forces make new gains and transform détente into a palpable reality through tremendous, unrelenting effort. New agreements have been signed that restrain the arms race and extend economic, cultural and scientific cooperation. The principles of peaceful coexistence are increasingly becoming the standard of international relations. The conference of Communist and Workers' parties of Europe, held in Berlin in late June, opened to the European peoples new horizons for peace, security, cooperation and social progress. *WMR* has asked prominent public figures of various countries to comment on the significance of the Helsinki Conference and on the progress made and difficulties encountered in carrying out its agreements.

THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO DETENTE

Josef Cyrankiewicz

Chairman, Polish Peace Committee

In the past year, the process of materializing détente has been going on at a faster pace in the wake of the Helsinki agreements. Economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation has been given a fresh impetus. The CMEA and EEC are at the threshold of a dialogue. As a result, the effort to promote exchanges is becoming an everyday task, a quest for new points of agreement, an effort to gain useful experience. These facts alone show that the process of détente is making headway, becoming in a sense part of the social consciousness of the population at large. Being the only correct way to promote international relations, détente holds out the prospect of freeing people from a feeling that they are defenseless in the face of the thermonuclear menace and can do nothing against the recklessness of bellicose imperialist elements. It offers them hope that war and aggression can be removed from the international scene.

The world balance is changing in favor of the forces of social progress, strengthening the movement for peace and détente in spite of the efforts of the cold warriors.

This mounting protest movement is powered by objective political and economic factors and the growing awareness of the dangers inherent in the unrelenting nuclear race that may lead to a world catastrophe.

The threat of a devastating nuclear war and changes in the peoples' thinking have their effect on statesmen and politicians, who realize the dangers of the situation. In spite of differences in world outlook, they have long been engaged in a realistic and constructive dialogue initiated by the socialist countries. The purpose of the dialogue is to set up a system of treaties that could avert a nuclear confrontation and assert the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union, the United States and other countries have already concluded a number of such treaties.

The crowning event of the dialogue between European states belonging to different social systems, with the U.S. and Canada participating, was the Helsinki Conference, whose Final Act was described by Edward Gierak as a 'great peace charter.'

Helsinki was a result of objective developments and of steadfast and meaningful activity by the forces of peace and progress. It marked the definite recognition of the postwar territorial status quo in Europe — its existing frontiers and states — by all European countries, the U.S. and Canada. It provided a solid basis for normalizing international relations and promoting political, cultural, scientific and economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries of the continent. The Final Act was a result of unanimous agreement. This lent it special moral and political value.

The socialist countries do not merely express readiness to respect the provisions of the Final Act but put them into practice. In the year that has elapsed since the Conference, countries with different social systems have had many bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations.

The coming into force of the treaties between Poland and West Germany broke the deadlock in their relations. The ratification of these treaties was a victory for the realistic-minded forces and a notable achievement for the advocates of détente in the FRG. Cooperation between Poland and France has likewise expanded since Helsinki.

Generally speaking in this one year much has been done to apply the principles of cooperation to the advantage of the countries concerned, thereby stimulating détente.

However, détente is not an automatic process and the path to

durable conditions for peaceful coexistence is by no means strewn with roses. There are those who would like to start a new version of the cold war even in this situation. They have become more active in connection with the U.S. presidential campaign for example. They are entrenched at the NATO headquarters, where plans for stepping up the arms race are in the making. In West Germany, too, their irresponsible attitude was evident during the debate on the treaties signed with our country.

The Maoist leadership of the CPC is a close ally of these forces. It did its best to torpedo the Helsinki Conference and when nothing came of its effort, it tried to prevent its successful completion. It now backs reactionary political forces and sometimes even chides them if it feels that their anti-Sovietism is not outspoken enough.

Reactionaries and militarists still have substantial possibilities of exerting pressure on capitalist governments. This prompts the peace movement, a year after the Conference, to continue its effort to relax tension and ensure that political détente is complemented by military détente, since an uncontrolled arms race may well nullify all that has been achieved and hold up economic and social progress.

This is why the second Stockholm Appeal to all nations (1975) calls, among other things, for an end to the arms race.

The very complexity of the international situation makes it necessary to impart a multilateral and global character to efforts aimed at safeguarding peace and security. The problems of removing tensions, ending local conflicts, setting up regional security systems, preventing the designing and manufacture of new weapons of mass destruction and limiting armaments are closely interlinked and call for a broad and comprehensive approach.

As we see it, the peace movement is faced with the urgent task of rousing world public opinion to work for these objectives. The major forums for peace in the coming months will be the World Conference on an End to the Arms Race and on Disarmament and Détente (Helsinki, September 1976), the World Forum of Peace Forces (Moscow, December 1976) and the World Peace Congress (Warsaw, 1977).

The world is entering an important period of its history. Indeed, it is a question of whether we will be able to perpetuate conditions in which mankind can exist. And this means that there is no alternative to détente. The task is not only to eliminate the threat of nuclear catastrophe but to build international relations in such a way as to make it possible, through cooperation on an equal footing, to end hunger, poverty and economic backwardness in the developing countries and assure that all peoples live in a climate of social progress, security, peace and freedom.

This is the reason why we think the implementation of the Program

for Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples put forward by the 25th CPSU Congress and supported by all members of the socialist community meets the aspirations of peace-loving mankind.

THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE IS IMPROVING

William Kashtan

General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe bears Canada's signature, which symbolizes the desire of our people to contribute to a healthier atmosphere in both the Western Hemisphere and the rest of the world.

In the course of the Conference, whose three stages took about two years, the peoples of various countries and diverse classes and social groups came to realize that détente is an effective and, indeed, the only, way to strengthen peace. This did not come overnight, as we have seen. At the first stage of the Conference, it was chiefly the socialist countries that upheld the idea of détente and its role in international relations. At the third, closing stage, however, every single leader participating in the meeting took a favorable stand on détente and this was recorded in the Final Act.

Shortly before the 25th CPSU Congress, the capitalist press alleged that the Congress would reject the policy of peaceful coexistence and détente.¹ Leonid Brezhnev's excellent report disproves this. It shows that the Soviet Union intends to maintain the principles of peaceful coexistence and détente still more energetically and consistently and will do all in its power to contribute to lasting peace, international security and disarmament.

The 25th CPSU Congress and the recent congresses of the Communist parties of other socialist countries demonstrated the resolve of the fraternal socialist countries to follow a class policy for peace meeting the interests of all mankind.

The calm, steady voice of real socialism can be heard all over the planet despite attempts by reactionary imperialist propaganda to drown it and to stop or slow down the thaw in international relations.

Contrary to the fears of some, détente has neither stopped nor slackened the struggle against imperialism and reaction. In fact, it has enabled the anti-imperialist and democratic forces to score new gains. It is only natural, therefore, that imperialist reaction does its utmost to prevent a further change in the balance of forces in favor of peace, democracy and socialism.

But reactionary maneuvers and intrigues cannot undo the favorable changes that have come about in the public mood in capitalist coun-

tries and found reflection in the position of many politicians. During the U.S. election campaign, the question arose whether the term 'détente' should be used at all. The Canadian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Allan MacEachen, who was there at the time, told newsmen that the Canadian policy of détente and better relations with the Soviet Union would remain unchanged.² The policy of détente was also backed by members of the governments of the FRG, France and Britain, the Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden, who conferred in Stockholm recently, and by others. Lastly, a poll held in the U.S. in mid-April revealed that 59 per cent of America's voters favor détente and only 23 per cent are against it.

Two weeks after Helsinki, a delegation of Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) leaders visited the Soviet Union for the first time. The CLC and the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions declared in Moscow that their ideological differences notwithstanding, they welcome the success of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They expressed confidence that détente and the growing cooperation of all countries of Europe and the world would succeed and become irreversible and that mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Canada would make further progress. The desire for détente voiced by the Canadian labor leaders is indicative of the state of mind of large numbers of working people.

Most Canadians today firmly declare for détente. They see it as an effective means of developing relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. These relations have made progress in the past year. They cover the sphere of politics, economy, science, technology and culture. Canada has particularly promising opportunities for cooperation with the Soviet Union. Canadians were deeply interested to know that in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev had said that relations between the Soviet Union and Canada were becoming increasingly meaningful and that the outlook for them was 'good.'

Not all in Canada favor friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Reactionaries persist in attempts to turn Canadian policy back to the cold war by fomenting anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. This paves the way for an unwarranted increase in military spending whereas social service expenditure is being cut. There is a growing movement in Canada for an end to the arms race and for disarmament. The Canadian Peace Congress has set out to collect one million signatures in support of the second Stockholm Appeal. More and more people are questioning Canada's membership in NATO and NORAD.³

In marking the first anniversary of the Helsinki Conference, Canadians realize that the Conference agreements are largely projected into the future and that it will take years fully to implement the Final Act. Political realism, however, makes it necessary not to shelve the solution of burning international problems, nor to interpret the Final Act in such a way as to secure unilateral advantages or nullify those historic agreements.

Canada's participation in the Helsinki Conference coincided with a growing desire in our country for greater independence and more resolute defense of the national interest. Until very recently, the main line of Canadian foreign policy was to keep in with the U.S., the Commonwealth and NATO member countries. Increasing dependence in foreign policy on our southern neighbor drew protests from large segments of the population and caused concern even among the Canadian bourgeoisie. To counter-balance this one-sided policy, the idea was put forward of 'diversifying' it in favor of fostering extensive and mutually beneficial relations with all countries, first of all with socialist countries.

As for the Communist Party, it is pressing for the adoption of a new policy to strengthen Canada's independence and enable the country to play a more effective and significant role in world affairs. Canadian Communists have always attached prime importance to greater co-operation between Canada and the Soviet Union and to stronger friendship between our two peoples, a friendship whose foundations were laid in the common struggle against fascism during World War II. The Helsinki Conference gave new incentives to relations between Canada and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe on the principle of détente.

These incentives also have their effect on the policy which the Canadian government pursues in the Western Hemisphere. Evidence of this was Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's visit to Cuba early this year and his talks with Fidel Castro.

The Canadian people want to live in peace with all peoples. This is what our Party, too, is fighting for. In common with the Marxist-Leninist parties of other countries, Canada's Communists will fight steadfastly for peace, détente, social progress, democracy and socialism, in keeping with their principles.

A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION

Gordon Schaffer

Chairman, British Committee for European Security and Cooperation

Ever since the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference was signed, we have been doing our best to publicize it. However, it has been no easy

task. The fact is that the full text of the Final Act was published by the British government in only a few thousand copies. To a request by the British Committee for European Security and Cooperation for wider distribution, the official reply was that the text was given the same treatment as a treaty. A suggestion that an official summary be issued was met with the reply that this would not be practicable.⁴

This attitude was in striking contrast to the action of the socialist countries in publishing the Final Act in millions of copies as pamphlets or supplements to the newspapers and magazines.

I prepared a summary for the British Committee and this has brought the terms of the Final Act to the notice of activists in the peace movement and in the trade unions. The London Cooperative Society reprinted it for wider distribution.⁵

Most of the trade union conferences this year will record the demand for implementation of the Helsinki agreements, but more needs to be done to show that success in the next stage — matching political détente with measures of disarmament — is essential if Britain is to recover in any degree from its economic crisis. It is also necessary to demonstrate the value to all the people of the proposals for creative coexistence based on trade, cooperation in science, technology and other fields.

The visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to London in March indicated that progress is being made. There have been equally valuable contacts with other socialist countries. Many businessmen are aware (though their political allies try to hide the truth) that the socialist countries are not suffering from economic crisis and offer fruitful prospects for trade. Despite all the propaganda, trade links are being forged.

The task facing the British Committee is to ensure that the Final Act is put into practice. Our Committee is sponsored by leaders of trade unions with a total of several million members (a number of them on the General Council of the TUC), by members of the Labour Party Executive, the Executive of the Communist Party and representatives of cultural, religious and other sections.⁶

MPs linked with our Committee maintain pressure by asking about progress in the Vienna talks, in the discussion in the UN Economic Commission for Europe and in UNESCO, to which many of the Helsinki decisions are referred, and so on.

On the other hand, most Conservative MPs, including their leader, Mrs. Thatcher, as well as some right-wing Labour MPs are openly and violently hostile.

These circles equate demands for social change anywhere in the world with 'Soviet aggression.' They actually assert that the progress

of the Communist parties in Italy and France is a 'breach of the spirit of Helsinki.'

The last debate on East-West relations in the House of Commons hardly touched on the constructive proposals of Helsinki but speaker after speaker talked as though the movements for liberation in Africa were all due to Moscow — and this from spokesmen who uttered no word of protest when the Portuguese colonialists were massacring the African people with NATO arms, and with NATO political and diplomatic support.

The mass media virtually ignore the Helsinki agreements. It was significant, however, that the York forum on disarmament last spring secured support from a broader section of the people and from many prominent personalities than any previous peace conference.

We do not minimize the difficulties and the dangers ahead. These will continue until the barriers dividing Europe are replaced by a determination to ensure that all countries live together in a spirit of cooperation. The example of Helsinki is a source of inspiration to us. The battle to secure the convening of the Helsinki Conference was long and bitter, and it was an immense achievement that, after so many months, agreement was reached.

TIME TO ACT

Canon Raymond Goor (Belgium)

Member of the Secretariat, International
Committee for European Security and Cooperation

The signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was undoubtedly an outstanding event in European history and the result of persevering effort to extend the dialogue and cooperation between countries with different social systems and bring into these processes social forces seeking mutual understanding and concord. Events of the past year have shown that there is no alternative to the policy of détente, which is being pursued in Europe and which offers the only realistic way of establishing the principles of peaceful coexistence, peace and progress on other continents.

The past year has seen a series of events that are promising in many respects. Greater security and cooperation have found expression in such facts as the expansion of bilateral and multilateral exchanges of technological, scientific and industrial information, of trade and cultural exchanges, the settlement of the long-standing Italian-Yugoslav dispute over Trieste, fruitful talks between Poland and West Germany, including the ratification of a bilateral treaty, and

the Soviet Union's invitation of observers from neighbor countries to military maneuvers and exercises.

The International Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the various national committees are spreading the ideas of the Final Act and rallying public opinion to ensure that these ideas are put into effect. There is ample evidence to show how important and necessary this effort is. The social forces of our continent are dynamic, energetic and can successfully campaign to make the ideas and provisions of the Helsinki documents an international political, social and cultural reality.

In April 1976, the International Committee adopted a detailed statement entitled 'Political Détente Must Be Complemented by Effective Disarmament Measures' and decided on steps to bring about the implementation of the Helsinki agreements. The Committee's working groups drew up action programs for democracy and social progress, against survivals and comebacks of fascism, programs which also envisage the participation of the European public in the fight for justice, freedom, development and peace throughout the world.

Détente is still faced with considerable obstacles. Its opponents have not surrendered but continue to put up overt or covert resistance with the backing of many press organs which stubbornly ignore the significance of the results achieved at Helsinki or try to prevent their realization. The Vienna talks on a reciprocal reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe are progressing too slowly, and as for political détente, it is not yet complemented in adequate measure by military détente. This is disappointing to public opinion, which is seriously concerned about the continuing arms race.

We do not shut our eyes to the difficulty of removing the serious obstacles created by the cold war in the political sphere, and its effects on the thinking of certain elements in capitalist countries. Specifically, these elements make preposterous demands on the socialist countries over the issue of implementing the provisions of the Final Act concerning cooperation in humanitarian and other fields (contacts between people, information, cooperation and exchanges in the cultural sphere). According to their logic, the socialist countries could prove their willingness to cooperate in these fields only by renouncing the gains of socialism and agreeing, in effect, to proceed to the restoration of capitalism. All this is indicative of both the utter untenability of their stance and their complete disregard of the fundamental principles of the Final Act. It was on the principle of peaceful coexistence and out of a desire to enhance its peaceful character, which rules out the threat or use of armed force, that the conference reached its successful conclusion. The task now is to

single out the things that unite all the countries and to apply them on the basis of mutual respect, sovereignty and equality.

Peaceful coexistence requires determination to work for mutual understanding and confidence. Admittedly, some of the 'third basket' problems are very complicated because they have to do with ideology. All the more reason for discussing them on the basis of non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states. The International Committee for European Security and Cooperation sets an example of this approach. A special working group of the Committee which discussed these matters has prepared an agreed plan of action that has won public approval in both socialist and capitalist countries.

The period of drafting programs is followed by a period of actions to bring the largest possible body of public opinion into a campaign that will assure the success of the Belgrade meeting next year.

1. See, for instance, *The New York Times*, December 14, 1975.
2. Speaking of the semantic aspect of the matter, Allan MacEachen said the term 'détente' came from one of Canada's two official languages and was easily understood by its people.
3. North American air defense system comprising the United States and Canada.
4. The authorities know how to launch a powerful publicity drive when they want one. During the referendum campaign over EEC membership, they circulated pro-Common Market propaganda to every household.
5. The British Committee was gratified to learn that the summary was adopted by the World Federation of United Nations Associations and sent out in English and French to all affiliated countries.
6. Lord Chalfont, who was once supposed to be a Minister of Disarmament, has resigned from our Committee. He is now busy looking for 'red scares' and calling for more arms. But despite the revival of hostile propaganda, comparable with that of the worst cold war days, no other sponsor has followed his example.

Positive trends gaining the upper hand in India

Mohit Sen
Member of CEC,
National Council, CP of India

An enlarged meeting of the WMR Commission on the National Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa was addressed by Comrade Mohit Sen who described the situation in his country and the work of the CPI. The following is an abridged transcript of his talk and answers to questions.

June 1976 marked one year since the emergency situation had been declared in India. The Communist Party of India, as you know, supported the declaration of the emergency by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Without such measures it would have been impossible to defeat the plans of internal reaction and the neo-colonialists to take power in our country. An objective assessment of the consequences of the situation carefully weighing its negative and positive sides was made by the February 1976 plenum of the CPI National Council.

The emergency came at a time of a desperate offensive by the counter-revolutionary forces, when a section of the ruling class used the state power against political representatives of the most reactionary, anti-national and anti-communist bourgeoisie and of the feudal oligarchy. That is why, right from the outset, the Communist Party of India made it quite clear that the emergency had a distinct class character. At the same time, this step was taken amid united mass mobilization against the counter-revolution and amid increasing consolidation of the patriotic and progressive forces, especially the CPI and the Congress. Therefore, the political goals of the emergency are determined not by the fact that it would wholly coincide with the interests of the workers and other patriotic and progressive forces, but by the opportunities afforded by the new situation in the struggle against the counter-revolution, the opportunity to consolidate unity of these forces in carrying out the socio-economic transformations. When Communists stated their position in regard to the emergency, they foresaw an increase of those opportunities which afford new horizons in raising the political consciousness of millions of people.

The Communist Party was fully aware, however, of the limitations imposed by the very class essence of the regime. Our Party, all progressives, all patriots were faced with the task of having to adapt quickly to the new situation in all its complexity in order to further develop the anti-imperialist and social battles.

On the experience of recent months we can conclude that it is the positive trends that are dominant and are gaining ground, that there are greater opportunities to counter the reaction and for the progressive and patriotic forces to arrive at new successes.

Now, what are the positive factors that have emerged as a consequence of the emergency?

Firstly, that the contradictions between our nation, including the ruling class, barring the most reactionary sections thereof, and imperialism have sharpened greatly in this period. We can hardly recall a time, when the representatives of the ruling party, the Congress, especially Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, spoke in such sharp anti-imperialist words and tones, mobilizing millions upon millions against the reactionary machinations. And the sharpness of this anti-

imperialist approach and standpoint has only increased with the passage of time and this enables us to work better to unite the country's patriotic forces.

The second immensely positive factor is that the friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community have grown into a phenomenon which can be called a nationwide, a national and mass phenomenon. And, naturally, this also raised the level of consciousness of the masses and facilitates unification of the patriotic and progressive forces, which is the main need of our country, and our Party's main goal.

The third positive factor is that the unity between the Congress and the Communist Party of India has become stronger and more wide-ranging than at any time in the past. And this unity is taking the shape not only of unity on international issues, friendship with the USSR, questions of world peace and of non-aligned, anti-imperialist foreign policy, but is now extending more and more to questions of economic development and radical social and economic transformations.

The fourth very positive factor is that a contradiction is developing very visibly between the national bourgeoisie and the rural oligarchy, that is the combination of feudal and semi-feudal elements and the big farmers who are against Indira Gandhi's 20-point program.¹ There is no doubt that this program is being implemented very slowly, and we draw attention to this. The announcement of the 20-point program and the initial steps for its implementation in the villages have led to a position where the rural poor, the agricultural laborers, the poor peasants, the rural toilers, are aroused and are in motion on an unprecedented scale.

The bourgeois land-owning group is acutely aware of this. In many states, for example in Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and, needless to say, in Kerala (where power is in the hands of a left-democratic bloc with Communist participation), as well as in other places, the ruling oligarchy is finding that the state power is no longer invariably on their side. The state power is on occasion used against them and this, naturally, breeds a new and very favorable situation for us, for the democratic anti-feudal and progressive forces in the countryside.

The fifth favorable factor to which we would like to draw attention is that the economic situation in our country has improved. There has been a production increase in industry and in agriculture with production in the state sector going up in a single year by over 15 per cent. And this year alone there will be a 32 per cent increase in capital investment — more than at any other time since independence. True, this is a financial investment increase, but in conditions of price stability this also means a big increase in real investment. In other

words the economy is certainly not in the precarious state it was in two or three years ago.

And, the final positive factor to which we would like to draw your attention is the growth in the prestige, influence and organizational cohesion of the Communist Party of India. In a single year our membership has increased by something like two hundred thousand. In Bihar alone we now have a membership of approximately 135,000 and 103,000 in Andhra Pradesh. The age composition of our Party has improved. This new membership comes mainly from among the youth, from the rural toiling poor, from the working class and working sections of towns.

So we see that there have been important socio-political changes in India and the trend toward independent development has become more prominent. Progressive, democratic circles and the masses now have greater influence on the social processes. Many aspects of the new situation, and this is particularly significant, are a help to our Party in broadening its struggle.

Indian Communists do not minimize the complexity of the situation, for in the present conditions it is not possible to discount the dangers from either the right or extreme left, or the earlier negative tendencies or those that appeared when the emergency was declared.

The first negative factor is that internal reaction and neo-colonialism still maintain a powerful socio-economic base in the country and they have stepped up their underground activities. We find the right reactionary forces like the RSS — the paramilitary organization of right reaction — also the ultra-left like the Maoists engaging more and more in acts of sabotage, attempting prison breaks to free their supporters, accumulating dynamite, weapons, and the rest. Their clandestine actions, such as printing illegal bulletins, writing on walls, spreading whisper campaigns or rumor-mongering, have also increased. It is the view of the Communist Party of India that right reaction is still a powerful enemy which should not be underestimated.

The second negative factor is that in economic policy the government of India is making serious concessions to Indian and multinational monopolies in the hope of stimulating Indian big business and raising production. Concessions to Indian monopolies is the weakest link in the government's policy, and it intends to continue developing the country along the capitalist path.

Among the negative aspects of government policy during the emergency is that it is trying to deprive the working class of some important gains won in sharp class battles. This concerns bonuses, the seven-day working week,² trade union rights and democracy.

The rightest circles in the state apparatus, in the ruling party are

also becoming more active. Attempts are being made to show that supposedly the INC can do the job alone and that there is no need of a united front and that such a front benefits only the Communist Party of India. Another form is the building up of certain personalities with anti-democratic and anti-communist views. The goal here is to present an alternative not of further democratic change and transformations, but of some sort of a personal power regime.

Simultaneously, there is apparent a tendency by certain circles to implement the emergency and the Prime Minister's 20-point program not by relying on the Popular Democratic Committees³ or the masses, but in a bureaucratic manner, thereby opening up new opportunities for the bureaucracy to misuse the emergency.

While these factors make the situation highly complex, the positive aspects are predominant and should be used to overcome the negative. For this there must be two basic conditions — untiring efforts to strengthen our Party, and a correct strategy to build up the unity of the patriotic and progressive forces. I shall start with the latter.

A key issue is the formation of an alliance of these forces, particularly as concerns united action with the Congress. We have our tested tactic of unity and struggle. Unity and struggle, however, is not an end in itself. The objective of this tactic is unity on a rising scale. In this manner we are determined to build unity of all patriotic-progressive forces, above all the Congress and the CPI. And we intend that it will be an endeavor to take this unity right down to the villages of India. Such a tactic bears fruit.

We have set ourselves the task of implementing the 20-point program through mobilization of the rural masses at village level using a national form of mobilization called 'padayatra,' in English meaning 'travelling by foot.' It is a form which Mahatma Gandhi used in the national struggle. Party activists walk from village to village bringing the message of radical socio-economic transformations. And this means the Party is reaching right into the very heart of India. It is interesting to note that two weeks after our Party announced its program of 'padayatra,' the Prime Minister announced that she, too, was undertaking the 'padayatra.' The President is doing likewise and all the ministers at central and state level will be undertaking the 'padayatra.'

The CPI will not relent for a moment in its struggle to build unity on anti-imperialist issues and foreign policy. This takes the shape of a series of conferences sponsored by the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organization starting from the district, the state and the national level in which the Congress, the CPI and all patriotic and progressive forces gather together. The unity of patriotic and progressive forces that we are able to build is based on a common approach to building

friendship with the Soviet Union. And it is our experience that such unity is the most reliable.

In order to achieve the national progressive goals we are stressing the need for the working class not only to unify itself; but also to build up its alliance with the working peasantry and the agricultural laborers. The working class is more and more coming to realize that today it is essential to have allies in its economic and political battles. That is why it is so important that in many important industrial centers the trade unions are joining the 'padayatras.' Trade union delegates, workers and employees, will be going to the villages, walking many miles from village to village, convincing the peasants of the need to struggle for social and economic transformations and showing that in this struggle the working class is on their side.

All that we have attained in the struggle against reaction and imperialism and in deepening the liberation process is convincing proof of the correct line of the international communist movement which, when correctly applied to national conditions, will always ensure success. At the same time, we are witnessing the bankruptcy of the adventuristic, left-opportunist line preaching a 'national, independent communism' that the Peking Maoists tried to spread in the country after causing a split in the Communist Party of India. The Communist Party (Marxist)⁴ which emerged after the split in 1964 was far from being a weak party — 60 per cent with us and 40 per cent with them. At that time our Party had a membership of just over 100,000. The Bihar Party organization numbered only 20,000 in 1967 and there were some who had their doubts about which party would finally gain the upper hand.

But life itself has answered that question. While CPI influence has grown immeasurably throughout the country, the Party has won many supporters and increased its membership even in areas where Congress⁵ positions are exceptionally strong, the CP(M) finds itself in an unprecedented crisis. The CP(M) has been left without friends and with a dwindling membership, and for many months now it has been without a general secretary. Many of those who were disillusioned with its policy are turning toward our Party.

We can say that the Communist Party of India has never had so many members, never had so much influence, never had so many friends as we have now in our country. All this is the finest proof that we chose the correct road.

Q. What do you think the reason is for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's popularity?

The popularity of the Prime Minister is in direct correlation to the policies that she has adopted. Let us not forget that in 1967, when Indira Gandhi was already Prime Minister, her party suffered the

biggest political defeat in the elections and it was under her leadership again that the INC won spectacular victories in the elections of 1971-72. How did this come about? Well, without going into the details I can say that not long before the 1967 elections, on the bidding of the World Bank and Washington, the Indian rupee was devalued; the right-wing forces within the INC succeeded in shifting government policy in an anti-people's direction. But at the end of the 60s and the start of the 70s, Indira Gandhi nationalized the banks, signed the Indo-Soviet Treaty and helped the liberation of Bangladesh. Her popularity increased immensely.

Later, failures and erratic implementation of government reforms somewhat affected the Prime Minister's prestige. The INC was defeated in several states, Gujarat for one. After the emergency was declared and the 20-point program proclaimed, her popularity went up again and, apparently will remain at that level while the program is being carried out. So, the increase or decrease in popularity is not a question of charisma⁶ as is claimed by bourgeois sociologists. It is related to political and socio-economic policies. Popularity is a healthy feature when it manifests the Indian people's desire to move forward on the road of radical transformations and social progress.

However, there is a danger pointed out by our Party and which we are working to avoid. Undoubtedly, the system of bourgeois parliamentary democracy in India and its Westminster parliamentary model which so attracted the Indian bourgeoisie, has gone, perhaps never to return (although the parliament functions). But, what will take its place? You can have a counter-revolutionary dictatorship or else a regime of personal power, presidential rule of the Gaullist type, or something resembling the presidential system in the USA. Such a course has its supporters in circles very close to the Prime Minister. However, a large share of democratic opinion in the country and most of the Congress are opposed to it. The CPI also sharply criticized any such form of government. In a country such as India where the national composition is so complex, a regime of personal power would, first of all, be a danger to the national unity and could not hold the country together. After a period the Prime Minister publicly dissociated herself from any possible presidential system in India. But there are still certain groups in the ruling Party who are not abandoning their efforts in that direction.

The Communists would prefer to see a democratic form of rule established that would lean on the people's committees, and greater participation by the people in government affairs. That is the perspective that our Party is working for, together with other progressive forces in the country and corresponding sections in the INC.

Q. Could you please clarify claims made by the bourgeois press that the declared emergency is aimed against all parties?

Such claims are quite wrong. The emergency was aimed at the right reactionaries and counter-revolutionary parties with extremist, anti-communist and communalistic positions⁷ advocating pogroms, for example, against the Muslims. Maoist organizations were also banned. The emergency does not infringe on other parties.

Here is another example. The Communist Party publishing house that puts out newspapers in the Hindu language is functioning today. But the neighboring publishing house of the extreme reactionary Jana Sangh party is closed. Now, can this be called an anti-democratic step? From the viewpoint of bourgeois democracy — possibly. But, from the angle of the struggle of the masses for democratic advance, it is a profoundly democratic action.

The government also introduced press censorship and expelled several correspondents of imperialist publications such as *The Washington Post*, *London Times*, *Fortune* magazine, and others, for their distortions of the real situation in the country and for creating an atmosphere of destabilization. But, not a single correspondent from the socialist and anti-imperialist countries has been asked to leave. On the contrary, Indian papers now carry much more news about life in these countries. Is this good, or is it bad? We believe it is good. (True, the monopoly circles and their press know how to bypass the censors. They may not criticize Indira Gandhi but they praise Anwar Sadat and his policy in relation to the USSR.)

So, we believe that the emergency as it is being implemented in the country is profoundly democratic socially and politically. However, the emergency was not declared by the working class of India and our Party must adapt to the new conditions.

Q. Could you specify what it actually means in practice, please?

Our Party is used to carrying on agitation at very large meetings of 100 or 200 thousand. They are usually addressed by Party leaders such as Comrades Dange, Rao and others. After one such meeting you could say that 200,000 persons have been 'accounted' for, have been acquainted with Party policy. The emergency, however, makes it impossible to hold such huge meetings. And, in order to 'account' for 20,000 people it is necessary to hold 200 meetings. Now, it is impossible to invite Comrades Dange or Rao to 200 meetings. Therefore we must learn now to work closer to the masses with greater initiatives shown by the leadership, at all levels, and also from below. This forces us to change our forms and methods of work with the masses in order, in the present conditions, to make our work more effective.

Our Party is likewise concentrating its efforts on combating abuses

of power by the bureaucracy which is trying to take advantage of the emergency situation. If the administration, for instance, starts demolishing the houses of the poor people without any warning, the Party organizes mass resistance called 'satyagrah',⁸ a form of civil disobedience where the people sit on the ground and prevent the bulldozers from coming in. We raise the issue in parliament and send protest deputations to the authorities. What is important here is united action together with allies. Then success is ensured.

Q. What is the Party's position on the issue of compulsory sterilization after the first two or three children, being promoted by certain circles in India?

The CPI is for birth control. India's population should not be growing as fast as it is. But, our Party is firmly opposed to any compulsion in this matter, especially this anti-democratic method of compulsory sterilization when the poor, as happens in some parts of India, are taken in trucks to special camps where they are sterilized. This is not only a most anti-democratic measure, it is also absurd in a country with such a huge population as ours. When we learned of this compulsory sterilization, our factions in both chambers of parliament protested and Indira Gandhi has also expressed her doubts about this measure.

Q. How is it that India was able to stabilize prices while inflation is widespread in the non-capitalist world?

True, prices have not risen since the summer of 1975; they have even dropped by one or two per cent. They are still high compared with, say, five years ago, but the stability achieved is very important.

The main reason is that prices of food grains have fallen by something like 10 per cent and this immediately affected price policy. Economists have calculated that the general price level in India depends about 70 per cent on grain prices. And the present drop is mainly the result of favorable monsoons bringing last year's harvest yield to 114-116 million tons — an impressive figure. In past years adverse weather resulted in harvests of 96-97 million tons. Secondly, the government imported nearly 7 million tons of food grains, building up quite a good stock.⁹ And, lastly, prices were also undoubtedly stabilized by the government's sanctions against speculative capital, smuggling and hoarding.

You must keep in mind, however, that this is not yet a firm price stability. Possibly, in a year or so there will be a poor harvest, prices will go up and again we will have inflation. That is why it is so important to reinforce all that has been achieved in the country's economic and social spheres as a result of the emergency. This can be done only through the concerted efforts of all patriots.

If the policy of unity is correctly and consistently carried out the

alliance of the patriotic and progressive forces will produce a mighty force capable of bringing the country much closer to a national-democratic revolution. Unity in the struggle against counter-revolution, a struggle which, on an ever-increasing scale, is embracing the issue of joint efforts for social and economic transformations, development of the national economy, could be turned into unity in carrying out a national-democratic revolution. Such is the perspective we are working for.

1. The program foresees socio-economic measures to affect the broad masses in towns and rural areas, such as a state distribution system to ensure food grains for the population, implementation in all states of legislation on maximum land holdings and distribution of excess lands among the landless peasants. It also provides for a minimum wage level for agricultural workers, and other measures. For more details see N. Krishnan, 'A sharp turn — tasks of the Communist Party of India in the new conditions,' *WMR*, October 1975. — *Ed.*

2. The government announced its intention of introducing a seven-day work week in several branches of industry.

3. Formed in several states of representatives of the INC and CPI to carry out the 20-point program. — *Ed.*

4. See C.R. Rao, 'Left and democratic unity against the right threat.' *WMR*, August 1973. — *Ed.*

5. It was believed at one time that the Communist Party could never become strong in the northern, Hindu-speaking states. Today, however, the CPI's strongest, most militant and best organized detachment is in Bihar state.

6. Bourgeois sociologists claim that 'charisma' is a supernatural, 'God-granted' ability for leadership. — *Ed.*

7. In India 'communalism' is a policy of inciting hostility between various religious communes. — *Ed.*

8. National form of civil disobedience protest. — *Ed.*

9. These purchases together with the price increases on petroleum and certain other imported raw materials had a depressing effect on the price level, although speculative because it was paid for in foreign exchange and sold by the government inside the country for rupees. This took a lot of currency out of circulation.

Internationalism and the fight for independence

Franklin Irizarry
Deputy General Secretary,
Puerto Rican CP

The Puerto Rican people have been carrying on a heroic struggle for national freedom ever since 1868, when an armed rising proclaimed the first republic. The Spanish troops defeated the patriots but the struggle went on. In 1898 the island was invaded by U.S. Marines and to this day Puerto Rico has remained a colony of U.S. imperialism,

which yields it big economic and political dividends. Our island is a military fortress, a stronghold for aggression against Latin American countries. It was from Puerto Rico that the U.S. imperialists attacked the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Venezuela, Panama and other Latin American countries.¹

A widespread movement for independence and international campaigns of solidarity with the Puerto Rican people are compelling the colonialists to maneuver. In 1952 they proclaimed the island a 'free associated state.' The press of big business announced the advent of a 'new era' in American-Puerto Rican relations. This was a lie which only those unfamiliar with the actual state of affairs could fall for.

Puerto Rico is a dependent country. Its dependence is also expressed in the survival of the main features of 'classical' colonialism and in latent, disguised forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism. On the one hand, all power in Puerto Rico belongs to the U.S. Congress and President. The government (a colonial puppet) can only decide on questions in no way affecting the interests of monopoly capital or the inviolability of strategic installations and territories used and needed by U.S. imperialism. Puerto Rico's colonial dependence is 'classical' in precisely this sense. On the other hand, there is an ostentatious constitutional power structure which makes people in other countries believe that the island has a government of its own.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than such a notion. We can establish relations with other countries only through the U.S. authorities, which also decide with whom Puerto Rico may trade. In fact, we cannot even decide who may come to or leave our country. We lack a national currency and use the dollar instead. Nor do we have mass media of our own — television, radio, postal services are all controlled by the U.S. federal government, which also owns and controls our merchant marine. Whether they like it or not, Puerto Ricans must serve in the U.S. armed forces or risk five to seven years' imprisonment by decision of a U.S. federal court.

The point is that we have never had a government of our own, any more than, say, Canada had in the last century. A 'free associated state' is a meaningless phrase. In 1952, the U.S. imperialists took advantage of their preponderant influence in the UN to delay submitting an account of their colonial possessions. That was when Puerto Rico obtained the status of a 'free associated state,' which left the U.S. with a free hand to set about plundering the island on an unprecedented scale.

Powerful multinational companies are perfectly free to invest capital and make big profits. U.S. monopolies own over 90 per cent of our industrial enterprises, almost all sugar plantations, textile mills, insurance companies, hotels and shops. As much as 82 per cent of the

island's economy is in the hands of its 'northern neighbor,' who has already pumped out almost \$2,000m. The domestic authorities generally exempt Americans from taxes.

Having a ramified manufacturing industry whose output ranges from petrochemical to pharmaceutical products, Puerto Rico is an industrial and raw-material appendage of the U.S. economy, a profitable market for industrial output and surplus farm produce. Multi-national companies are operating in both wholesale and retail trade with the Puerto Rican bourgeoisie playing the role of junior partner.

'Owing to its real character, which is colonial, the "free associated state" cannot cope with the country's general problems and is drifting irreversibly toward economic failure,' wrote *El Pueblo*, our Party newspaper. 'In 1974 the island had an external debt equivalent to almost 90 per cent of its investments and other assets. This shows that its colonialist rulers will never be able to lead the country out of the impasse to which they have driven it.'²

Dependence is set off by a deep economic crisis (a direct consequence of the recession in the U.S.). According to some estimates, 40 per cent of the employable population were jobless as of early 1975. But even those who do have jobs are paid one-third less than '100 per cent' Americans although the cost of living is 25 per cent higher than in the U.S. Sixty per cent of Puerto Ricans subsist on niggardly relief.

It follows that the people have ample reason to seek a revision of the 1952 vote on the 'legal' status of Puerto Rico in order to make their country a genuinely free state.

The movement against the country's subjugation is gaining ground. Patriots hold rallies, demonstrations, strikes and protest marches, circulate progressive literature, set up liberation committees and groups, supply the UN with data exposing America's colonialist policies, maintain contact with foreign organizations identifying themselves with their movement.

Actions for national liberation interlock with the class struggle, producing favorable changes in the alignment of internal forces. A revolutionary trend³ is growing in the working-class movement. In the past three or four years, working people have shown greater militancy in demanding higher wages and better working conditions, and above all in protesting against mounting unemployment. Moreover, the economic struggle is assuming an increasingly political character as it turns against imperialism.

The search for ways of uniting the trade unions is made difficult in the conditions imposed by the U.S. imperialists and their domestic underlings. But the working people are becoming more and more aware of the need for unity, and the efforts made by new trade unions

in common with the long-established bear fruit. An indication of this was the demonstration held outside the capitol in October 1975. For the first time in the country's modern history, thousands of working people came together to protest against a government subservient to Wall Street.

The Communist Party is in the forefront of the struggle for independence. It is operating in difficult conditions, virtually as a semi-legal organization. Communists working quite legally are terrorized and persecuted. On May Day last year the Party called a mass rally in the community of Yabucoa. The participants were shown films portraying life in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Many of our comrades, including a trade union official who also leads the local Party branch, addressed the rally. Next day he lost his job. Other comrades who attended the rally were 'relieved' of their jobs or suspended indefinitely.

The authorities try to isolate active Communists from society and even from their own families. The FBI, its Puerto Rican branch, the police and other agencies make a point of investigating the activity of independence movements. Their agents go from home to home to ask questions about 'suspects,' 'dangerous subversive elements,' the kind of people who plant bombs and organize strikes. In other words, they try to set the urban and rural population against the Communists. This device is also used with family members of active Communists. As soon as police agents discover a rift in a family they do their best to widen it. This has been known to disrupt families.

In addition to 'psychological' repression, ample use is made of brutal methods. But none of this can frighten us into giving up our fight. Indeed, we regard terror and repression as evidence that the U.S. imperialists and colonial authorities are deeply disturbed by the growth of progressive forces, especially of our Party.

The Party does much organizing work. We have formed several new branches of the Party and of our youth organization since late 1975. We are sometimes handicapped by the Maoists' adventurist and provocative activities but in the end the Party overcomes the difficulties this creates. Many of those who had strayed into anti-communism have come back and are cooperating with the Party and our youth organization. We undoubtedly owe this to our ideological work. *El Pueblo* and other Party publications expose the policy of plundering and oppressing Puerto Rico and mobilize patriots to fight for the country's freedom.

The Party has for years been campaigning for a broad front of progressive forces fighting for national independence, irrespective of ideological differences. We have tried various forms of joint action to rally together various organizations so as to achieve common aims.

Four years ago, over 100,000 people joined in a protest march against gubernatorial rule. It was one of the first major actions of all democratic forces and a manifestation of their will for unity. However, the imperialists managed to split the movement for independence. The patriots proved unable to achieve unity.

In view of this and the municipal elections due in November 1976, our Party has resolved to launch the biggest possible nationwide campaign to unite all opponents of these bogus, colonialist elections in a patriotic front. The contest will be between parties acceptable to U.S. imperialism. But not one of these parties will be able, on coming to power, to solve the country's formidable problems nor ease the suffering of the working class, of the oppressed people.

Regrettably, two of the organizations fighting for the liberation of Puerto Rico have decided to participate in the elections. They are the Independence Party (a traditional parliamentary alignment expressing the interests of the national petty bourgeoisie) and the Socialist Party. We think they are making a big mistake. The coming elections are one of the stratagems used by imperialism against our national-liberation movement. They may prevent revision of Puerto Rico's status in the UN. This would give several years' respite to imperialism, which would be free from sustained UN pressure.

Nor is that all. In preparing for the elections, the above two parties have already demonstrated their anti-communism in one form or another. We cannot back anti-communist candidates and so we call on the workers, peasants and intellectuals, on the people as a whole, to stay away from the polls. The Party will use rallies, meetings and conferences to open the people's eyes to the real purpose of the elections.

Unity of the organizations and public leaders with whom we maintain contacts and confer on various issues will make it possible to set up a broad front against the elections. This would help decisively in promoting the fight against U.S. imperialism at this stage. Puerto Rico's Communists are certain that in spite of the difficulties facing them, they can accomplish the task they have set themselves. They know that unity is a requisite of victory and hence of the exercise of the people's inalienable right to independence.

We see an earnest of success in loyalty to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This is why we invariably declare our full support for the Marxist-Leninist policy of proletarian internationalism followed by brother parties, first of all by the CPSU. We do not understand how anyone can call for the renunciation of internationalism, which has been a powerful weapon of the world Communist movement ever since the days of Marx and Lenin. This weapon helps us in our fight for national independence.

We know that the Communists and other patriots of Puerto Rico have all opponents of imperialism and colonialism on their side. This gives us confidence that the hour is near when Puerto Rico will be free.

1. The island has been turned into a military arsenal. The Pentagon has seized over 13 per cent of Puerto Rico's fertile lands and the small islands of Vieques and Culebra and set up over a dozen large military bases, including bases for atom bombers, long-range missiles and naval units. It holds regular war games which cause much destruction and endanger the lives of Puerto Ricans. The people are against this use of their national territory as a bridgehead for aggression. This is confirmed by public opinion polls. Over 90 per cent of Puerto Ricans want the U.S. to pull out its troops and dismantle its bases. — *Ed.*

2. Quoted from *El Pueblo*, No. 12, December 1975. The newspaper reported that in 1974 Puerto Rico's foreign debt amounted to \$12,500m. while investments and other assets at the government's disposal were less than \$14,000m.

3. The Puerto Rican trade union movement has had its ups and downs. Imperialist penetration has deformed it and turned it from a patriotic movement into a variety of U.S. unionism. With the liquidation of the General Confederation of Labor in 1945, the unions suffered a telling reverse and ever since then their struggle has been isolated from the fight for national independence. Only 20 per cent of the country's workers are organized today. There are about 600 trade unions but no union center. Part of the working class is under the influence of right-wing union bosses. — *Ed.*

The junta is undermining the Andes Pact

LETTER FROM CHILE

The word most often used to describe the present state of the Andes Pact* is 'crisis.' It occurs frequently in the daily press and in statements by politicians who only a while ago were all praise for the pact's progress.

The Andes Pact is going through hard times and its future is not at all certain. The April 1976 ministerial conference in Lima examined some of the obstacles to proper functioning of the pact, in particular, the problem of a common tariff and coordinated industrialization programs. It decided to revise the common policy toward foreign capital to allow the Chilean fascist junta to sell wholly or partly state-owned enterprises to foreign interests. This has only aggravated the crisis.

However, progress toward Andean integration is being blocked not so much by specific problems, as by the U.S. monopolies' determination to control the sub-region, which they have always regarded as

*Formed in 1969, after a conference in Cartagena, Colombia, to promote economic integration of the Andes sub-region. The participating countries are Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela.

their backyard. To do that, they are urging repeal of all restrictions on foreign investments provided for under the Cartagena agreement.

The U.S. monopolies welcome regional common markets, but only if they are in command and if the markets are securely tied to international capital. U.S. subsidiaries are virtually a major industrial power on our continent. Consequently, the course integration follows depends on how the contradictions generated by imperialist control are resolved. The Andes Pact owed its initial successes to its members' determination to promote economic development free of corrupting monopoly influence. Resolutions of the pact's council that run counter to this policy are, therefore, a step back, for they help the imperialists strengthen their hold on the sub-region and jeopardize Decision 24 on the attitude to foreign capital.

Under Decision 24, foreign enterprises started after July 1, 1971, will within 15 years become wholly or partly state-owned. There is a ban on medium and long-term government credits to foreign enterprises and on government guarantees of short-term loans, if they do not involve partly or fully government-owned enterprises. Repatriated profits must not exceed 14 per cent of invested capital. Technology transferred from one plant to another cannot be counted as new investment. Foreign investment is totally banned in banking, insurance, utilities, transport, advertising and the mass media.

The U.S. monopolies have not taken kindly to this. In the 20 years prior to Decision 24 (i.e., 1950-1969) they took out of Latin America more than three and a half times what they had originally invested. In 1960-68 profits exported by U.S. subsidiaries, in proportion to capital, were 94 per cent in mining, 90 in oil and 48 in manufacturing.

The Chilean military junta is the main vehicle of U.S. monopoly policy aimed at changing the principles and orientation of the Andes Pact. The imperialists want to alter the alignment of forces within the grouping. Decision 24 was adopted after the progressive developments in Peru, Bolivia and Chile, but things changed with the coups in the latter two countries. Imperialist attempts to alter the Andes Pact were an element in the subversion against the progressive government of Peru. This is the background of the conflicts between pact members.

At first the Chilean junta tried to infringe Decision 24 by allowing privileges to foreign investors. The failure of that move should be seen in the light of Latin America's contradictory political development: though fascist regimes have been established in some countries, there is a growing struggle throughout the continent for national, particularly economic, independence, U.S. monopoly plans are encountering much stronger resistance than expected, and the Chilean junta met with a unanimous rebuff from the other pact members.

Now the junta is trying a new maneuver. The Andes Pact, it argues, must be made more 'flexible' to allow its members to follow 'differing economic policies.' That, of course, would disrupt the united front against foreign capital, which according to the Chilean press 'generates economic activity and stimulates progress and technological innovation.'

Having failed to achieve their purpose, the U.S. monopolies — again with the help of the Pinochet regime — are now out to liquidate the pact altogether. The *Que pasa* magazine, which speaks for the junta, admits that the government has sacrificed the pact to further its economic policy.

Pinochet's attitude toward the Cartagena agreement on a common tariff likewise follows imperialist plans. The United States wants Chile to 'open its economy to international markets' by introducing minimal customs duties. And Chile has complied: early this year it decided to cut customs duties by 35 per cent on more than four-fifths of all imports. The purpose, according to the Chilean Central Bank, is to 'create an open national economy and gradually make Chilean goods competitive on the world market.'

It should be perfectly clear that in most cases this will mean more imports, and more profits for the international monopolies that sell to Chile. The junta has thus again violated the Andes Pact — 800 of its 5,000 customs duties are below the minimum agreed upon by the Andes countries. This undermines the very foundations of the sub-regional common market, especially since it is under constant pressure by the international monopolies.

These maneuvers against the pact are supported by some in the sub-region itself, particularly by capitalist groups associated with the international monopolies, i.e., those who imagine that alliance with imperialism can contribute to the region's development.

But the time is past when the imperialists could have their way in Latin America. The movement for national independence is gaining momentum. The fight for economic independence, without which there can be no real sovereignty, is being intensified. The problems of the Andes Pact have implications far beyond the sub-region. Its crisis will not be overcome by concessions to imperialism, but by giving the pact a more pronounced anti-imperialist orientation.

F.H.

Santiago, June 1976.

Against repression and persecution

CALL SOUTH AFRICA'S RACISTS TO ACCOUNT

Soweto, Alexandra ... From now on, these townships near Johannesburg, South Africa, will be on the same tragic list as Sharpeville, where in March 1960 racist police killed 69 peaceful African demonstrators.

This time the first shots rang out on June 16, 1976. Over 170 killed, including women and children, and about 1,200 wounded are the official figures disclosed by the South African authorities after a week of bloody repression in the African ghetto. Firing on school children and unarmed demonstrators is one of the principal methods used by the Vorster police in the 'dialogue' with Africans.

The apartheid regime, one of the most brutal and abominable embodiments of racism, has again shown its bestial nature.

The new crime perpetrated by the Pretoria authorities is a further refutation of their lying talk about the 'new policy' that they allege will solve South Africa's explosive problems. It shows once again that the Vorster government relies solely on armed force in trying to preserve a regime of racial oppression which affords the white minority unlimited opportunities to exploit the country's indigenous population.

Responsibility for this crime must be borne by imperialist powers, primarily the United States, which render the Vorster regime ample economic and military aid enabling it to hold power in face of a mounting popular movement. Among the latest instances of this aid are the efforts of certain quarters in the U.S., France and Israel to supply South Africa with atomic plant, which is fraught with the danger of racists acquiring nuclear weapons, and the Vorster-Kissinger meeting in West Germany, held at a time when the world was shocked by the news coming from Soweto and other parts of South Africa.

The world was outraged by the Vorster regime's crimes and protested against them. The UN Security Council emphatically condemned them, stressing once again that apartheid is 'a crime against human conscience and dignity, a threat to peace and security.'

The OAU summit held in Port Louis, Mauritius, early in July denounced the massive killing of Africans in South Africa and called

for immediate and effective steps to curb the racists. It declared June 16 Soweto Massacre Day.

The socialist community and all progressive forces of the globe identify themselves with South Africa's embattled people.

Communists are in the van of this worldwide solidarity movement. They are loyal to the 1969 Meeting's appeal to all honest men in the world 'to unite their efforts in the struggle against the *man-hating ideology and practices of racism*.'

We are certain the people of South Africa will achieve freedom. The apartheid regime is bound to fail.

*WMR Commission on Problems of the
National-Liberation Movement
in Asia and Africa*

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF FIGHTERS FOR A NEW SPAIN

Santiago Alvarez, member of the CC Executive Committee and Secretariat, Communist Party of Spain, and General Secretary of the Communist Party of Galicia, has been arrested and put in prison.

WMR readers know well this prominent and authoritative leader of the fight for freedom in Spain, who has spent 12 years in Franco's jails. One of the journal's founders, Santiago Alvarez made a valuable contribution to its work in the eight years he represented the CPS on the Editorial Council. He wrote frequently for the journal and joined actively in the discussions and meetings held in the editorial offices. This year's June issues carried an account of the comments on the situation in Spain made by him at an Editorial Council meeting. His imprisonment prompts us to join our protest to that of the democratic forces of the world demanding an amnesty in Spain. There can be no freedom without amnesty, say the Communists of Spain and all Spaniards who want to do away with survivals of the hated Franco regime.

As far back as 1945, Santiago Alvarez was faced with a death sentence for entering Spain illegally to organize struggle for liberation from fascism. Worldwide protests and international solidarity saved his life and he was deported after a long term in prison. He has now been re-arrested and will be tried although he entered the country legally, with a passport issued by a Spanish consulate.

'While the King is talking in the United States about democracy without discrimination,' the Executive Committee of the CC CPS stated on June 14, 'Santiago Alvarez has been arrested and put on trial in Madrid ... It has been announced that an action will be brought against Francisco Romero Marin, member of the EC CC CPS. The prosecutor demands a prison term of 15 years for him. Simon Sanchez Montero, a prominent Communist leader, co-founder

of Democratic Coordination, is still behind bars. The prosecutor wants Sanchez to be sentenced to 18 years in prison. Another member of the EC CC CPS, Lucio Lobato, who has spent half his life in Franco's prisons, is still in detention . . . These Communist leaders were unlawfully jailed merely because they championed freedom and fought against totalitarian rule . . . A sweeping amnesty for them and for all political exiles is a task facing all democrats . . .'

To secure the release of these staunch fighters against fascism, Communists all over the world must fully mobilize their forces.

Sebastian Zapirain

CPS representative on the journal

REPRESSION CANNOT BREAK THE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

Shortly before the June session of the OAS General Assembly held in Santiago, the fascist junta took repressive measures against more patriots. It seized hundreds of people in May alone, including Victor Diaz, deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Mario Zamorano and Jorge Munoz, CP leaders. *Unidad Antifascista*, the Communists' underground newspaper, wrote in its 50th issue that by stepping up repression, Pinochet wanted to prevent popular actions during the session.

But this time too, the attempt to stave off anti-fascist protests got the junta nowhere. Delegates to the GA session were handed documents exposing the regime's crimes. Clandestine propaganda was intensified and the inmates of a Santiago prison called a hunger strike.

Events of recent months have shown that the fascists cannot silence protest through terror. Contrary to the junta's hopes, the new arrests failed to break the spirit of the Communists and other patriots.

D.A.

END THE REIGN OF TERROR

The Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran has appealed to all democratic parties and organizations and all public leaders of the world to stand up for human rights in Iran. Persecution and repression have lately been stepped up, it states in its appeal. Imprisonment, the kidnapping and destruction of people, sentences passed on innocent persons by military courts, torture, violence, assassination are gaining in scope. In a mere three weeks, 28 patriots were executed or killed in street clashes by the secret police. Tens of thousands of Iranians belonging to the most diverse classes and social strata and holding the most diverse views are in prison. Recent months have seen universities, schools and even religious centers become scenes of bloody events. Over 90 per cent of the political prisoners have

never been tried or are still being held pending the Shah's orders even though they have fully served their prison terms.

The CC PPI, emphatically condemning the persecution practised by the regime, urges all democratic and progressive forces to act in defense of human rights in Iran and help to end terror and repression.

H.S.

STOP TERROR IN NICARAGUA

Late in May 1976, secret police kidnapped Luis Sanchez Sancho, First Secretary of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, in Managua, the republic's capital. Nothing is known about the whereabouts or fate of the Communist leader. Prominent trade unionists and leaders of the Democratic Liberation Union, a broad patriotic front in which Communists play an active part, have been arrested and are being held without charge or trial. Some of the prisoners were tortured to death.

Somoza, the dictator, has imposed a state of emergency to crush the opposition by brute force and salvage his venal regime, which protects the interests of reaction and imperialist monopoly. The dictatorship's policy of massive terror and its attempts to deprive democratic organizations of leadership are evidence of its deep crisis and growing isolation and betray its dread of the people.

The lives of Luis Sanchez and other Nicaraguan patriots are in danger. Progressive world opinion demands an end to terror in Nicaragua and the immediate release of Luis Sanchez and other political prisoners.

V.G.

Revolution on the march in Africa

SOCIALISM IN THE MAKING

The two interviews on this and the following pages continue our series of statements by leaders of progressive African governments. In Guinea, the revolution was performed nearly 20 years ago, in Ethiopia — less than two years ago. Their leaders' approach to crucial problems, the role of the Party, the political structure, differ, but both subscribe to the principles of scientific socialism.

PARTY-STATE-PEOPLE

Lansana Diane

Political Bureau member and Inspector-General of the Democratic Party of Guinea, Minister

Q. What do the events in Angola mean for Africa and for the Organization of African Unity?

A. Guinea had an active diplomatic, political, even military, role in these events. We deemed it our duty to foil the imperialist plot to impose a new form of dependence on Angola, a plot engineered by imperialism's pliant servants, men like Holden Roberto. That, too, was the purpose of the intervention by the South African racist regime.

Guinea's actions during the Angola crisis were fully in line with its principles, its revolutionary ideology and commitments, and its deep loyalty to democracy and freedom, which implies recognition and respect of the will of all peoples.

The moment it became independent, the Republic of Guinea declared: our independence cannot be real and effective until the whole of Africa is liberated. And there is this clause in our constitution: Guinea is prepared to renounce its sovereignty, wholly or partly, and merge with other African nations if this will contribute to the liberation of our continent.

We have been working for African unity from the very first days of independence. Our aim has been to overcome the mutual distrust of African countries and gradually bring about their rapprochement. Together with Ghana we laid the foundations of the Casablanca group,¹ the forerunner of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Imperialism did not remain indifferent to the emergence of revolutionary regimes in several African countries. It immediately applied its so-called 'destabilization' tactics in an attempt to disorganize the progressive regimes and provoke coups d'état. But there is no turning back the tide of history. The blows dealt it by the peoples of the socialist countries, the progressive forces in capitalist countries, the popular forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America, forced imperialism to retreat. This is clearly evidenced by its defeats in the former Portuguese colonies, notably Angola, where so many attempts were made to hold back the revolutionary processes.

The events in Angola created a complicated situation. The urgent need was to organize joint action by all the African states that had recognized the MPLA, that symbol of Africa's striving for independence. We had to transmute the widespread feeling of national dignity and patriotism into a political force that would help the MPLA and Angola by providing material support and military, administrative and

technical personnel. And we were largely successful. Imperialism grossly miscalculated when it brought in the South African army: the Angolan revolutionaries called on the assistance of their true friends. The South African troops beat a hasty retreat. The imperialist position in Africa was further undermined.²

The events in Angola made it clear that the South African racist army is no match for a well-organized national-liberation army. But there is another lesson, too: the African countries must be vigilant and expose every act of imperialist subversion against the young states. The Organization of African Unity must become an anti-imperialist organization — it should be that by its very nature. So far, however, its anti-imperialist character is not always clearly discernible. We must continue to bend every effort to give the OAU a clear-cut anti-imperialist orientation. And to achieve that, we believe, it is important for the revolutionary governments to increase their influence inside the OAU and act as its progressive core, exerting more and more influence on its character and policy. For the gap between the OAU's policies and ideology and the nature of the revolutionary process in Africa was behind all the differences among its members over Angola. All the revolutionary forces must strive for African unity; otherwise our continent will be a pawn of the imperialists.

Q. What are the problems Guinea has to cope with today?

A. First of all, we have to achieve self-sufficiency in food. Our slogan is: The land of Guinea must feed the people of Guinea, and until that is achieved there can be no talk of real independence. Most of our foreign exchange, about 50-60 million dollars a year, comes from the tax on minerals exported by foreign companies, and practically all of it is used to buy rice. We want to end all rice and other food imports within the next two years. And we feel that this can be done: in 1974 we imported 60,000 tons of rice, this year the figure has been reduced to 10,000.

That will require mechanization of agriculture, land improvement and expansion of cooperative farming. We are already supplying more machinery and setting up cooperatives. These are established as more machinery becomes available, for it is hard to persuade the peasants to join a cooperative that has to depend on the primitive plough. The difficulties are, of course, formidable, but the Party is determined to continue this policy.

Another important goal is development and exploitation of our rich mineral resources. We now produce 6 million tons of bauxite a year and the short-term goal is 10 million tons. There are enormous deposits of iron ore in the southeast of the country. We are building a large dam on the Konkoure river to provide electricity for future mining operations.

Still another goal is to put public-sector industry on a paying basis. However, the priority task is agricultural development. This and all other goals can be achieved by better organized and more trained cadres.

Even before independence we were able to unite the people in a clearly defined unitary organization. The next step was to pass from the national-liberation movement, our weapon in the fight for independence, to organization of the Party to build socialism. The Guinean revolution has now entered the stage which we define as the Party-state. What is behind that formula?

Our Party is based on the concept of the people participating in the discussion and solution of all national problems. The role of the Party is to enable the masses to exercise that right. From the point of view of mentality and aspirations, the people are the Party. From the point of view of practical action, the people are the state. President Ahmed Sekou Toure, General Secretary of the Democratic Party of Guinea and supreme leader of the Guinean revolution, has put it this way: 'The Party-state implies the fusion of the state, the technical instrument of the people, and the Party, their political instrument.'³ In practice this means merging the organs of the Party and the state into single organs of revolutionary power, delegating to them political and administrative functions and gradually extending the responsibility of local authorities.⁴

The primary unit of this new structure is the Local Revolutionary Authority (LRA). It is the primary organization of both the Party and the administration. Each LRA represents, on an average, 1,500 of the population. In rural areas it could represent several villages, and in the bigger towns it represents a definite residential area. All the people served by their LRA meet every week or two weeks to discuss political, economic, social and cultural matters and adopt appropriate decisions, notably on how best to fulfill the assignments of the national plan.

These general meetings elect, by democratic procedure, the leadership of the LRA, which consists of seven members: the mayor, his deputy and department heads. They are elected for a term of two years but the general meeting can recall them if it finds that they are not properly fulfilling their functions.

Regional and district organs of revolutionary government are elected by the appropriate assemblies. The supreme authority is the Central Committee elected by the National Congress. In addition, there is the Legislative Assembly elected by popular vote on the basis of a slate drawn up by the Congress.

The Central Committee is responsible for the administration of the state. The CC General Secretary is President of the republic, and all

political bureau members and CC secretaries hold ministerial posts. CC members are ministers of the central government, minister-delegates for the 'local development regions' or district governors.

Though all government departments are headed by Party members elected by revolutionary organs of power, civil servants are appointed. District governors and regional administrators ('commanders') are appointed on the strength of their service record. The same applies to district department heads, who do not necessarily have to be elected. The reason for that is the inadequate cultural level of the population. For all these posts require serious training, and so far not all elected officials can read and write. In future, as we solve the problem of training cadres, all department heads will be elected. Consequently, there will be full identity of the Party and government structure, which so far exists only at LRA level.

Our Party includes all the inhabitants of the country, organizationally they are all Party members. That has its historical explanation: in Guinea the state emerged before the formation of the nation. It was the Party that created the state and the nation by uniting the conglomerate of tribes into a single Guinean people.

At the same time, however, ours is not a Party for all. The class struggle continues between the working people and bourgeois elements, all those whose way of life, attitudes, aspirations and actions are alien to the interests of the people. To quote President Sekou Toure: 'Today we must emphasize that the Party is part of the people, the part true to the line of the revolution, and that besides this part there is another force harboring diabolical plans to stifle the revolution and exploit the people.'⁵

Not everyone in Guinea has yet adopted the philosophy of our Party, but we are working toward that end and believe we will succeed. The most important thing is united action, which is bound to be followed by united thought. It is on this premise that the Party makes its plans, devises organizational forms and charts its strategy. We are convinced that what our country needs is a revolutionary organization that accords with African conditions and approaches all problems from the standpoint of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism.

FROM FEUDALISM TO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Berhau Bayith

Member of the Ethiopian Provisional
Military Administrative Council

Q. What are the implications of the changes in Ethiopia over the past two years?

A. Ethiopia is one of Africa's and the world's poorest countries. For centuries it was misruled by a conservative monarchy concerned only to prevent any change in the feudal system. The people lived in appalling poverty.

There had been several unsuccessful attempts to topple the monarchy and bring the country freedom and democracy. But frightened by progress in other countries, the hopelessly obsolete regime did everything it could to prevent progress in Ethiopia. It relied entirely on a brutal security service. Organizing clandestine parties was out of the question, and much the same applied to workers' unions, student and teachers' associations, etc.: they were ruthlessly suppressed the moment they advanced democratic demands. And, of course, there was no mercy for anyone involved in peasant risings.

The peasants, who make up 90 per cent of the population, worked for the feudals, largely on a share-cropping basis, giving up as much as 75 per cent of the harvest. Just before the revolution Ethiopia went through a famine that claimed many thousands of lives. The monarchy kept all this a dark secret so as not to draw attention to its gross mismanagement and corruption. But the world came to know of the famine, which precipitated a popular rising. It began in February 1974, but there was no political party capable of giving it proper leadership, or directing it along class lines. The only organized force was the army and the police and it was to them that leadership of the revolution fell.

After four months of utter confusion, an Armed Forces Coordinating Committee was set up, later reorganized into the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC). In September 1974, with the support of the masses, it overthrew the monarchy and proclaimed itself the provisional government. Its members were democratically elected by the military and police units, so that the Council is representative of every rank, from soldier to major (some of the latter were made colonels). Senior officers closely associated with the old regime have been kept out of the new government.

Its December 20, 1974, declaration outlines its plans to restructure social and economic relations and bring Ethiopia democracy. It proclaims socialism the guiding principle of the revolution, and all its reforms are socialist oriented.

First, there is the agrarian reform, providing for nationalization of all farmland, abolition of big land holdings and distribution of millions of hectares to the peasants. Capitalist farms and some of the big estates are run by the government. Administration of nationalized land has been entrusted to peasant associations. We anticipate that in time, as the associations gain in experience and efficiency, they will become agricultural cooperatives. The agrarian reform also enables

peasants to share in local government and organize their own security forces.

The main difficulty in implementing agrarian reform has been the absence of competent personnel and the conservative mentality of the peasants. To overcome this we organized a national campaign of 'development through cooperation.' No less than 60,000 students, schoolteachers and senior school pupils were sent to rural areas to give the peasants a clear understanding of our policy.

That proved extremely difficult. For one thing, some of the students came from families who had themselves been victims of the reform. Then there was the frenzied resistance of the reactionary element. Apart from everything else, the campaign — our first experiment in mass enlightenment — was organized too hastily. We will make better preparations for the next one. But for all its shortcomings, the campaign did produce some much needed results. At first, the peasants were reluctant to take over the plots offered them, but after they were told that they would keep everything they grew, their attitude changed; they began to feel that the reform was a good thing. Now they are pooling their efforts, and though this is not the cooperative farming we hope to establish, it is a significant advance over the traditional peasant mutual-assistance teams.

The famine has not been entirely overcome, especially in Ogaden Province, but things are under control. Our first concern was to prevent death from starvation, now we are working to improve rural conditions. Our overall task is to make the country self-sufficient in food.

Second, we have nationalized land holdings in the towns too; also the so-called 'superfluous' houses, and now no family can own more than one home. Committees have been set up to help the local authorities. We are promoting cooperation in the towns, opening cooperative shops to counter sabotage by trades-people and the resulting food shortage. There are also plans for cooperative associations to promote sports, culture, etc.

Third, we have nationalized all the basic means of production and distribution — banking, insurance, big industrial, transport and trading enterprises. In fact, the public sector already plays a considerable role in the economy.

Fourth, we have introduced progressive labor legislation — eight-hour day, minimum wage, free medical care, annual paid holidays, etc. — things never before known in Ethiopia.

Worker participation in management is conducted through committees on which the trade unions are fully represented. The committees are organized at factories employing more than 20 workers. Smaller enterprises in one and the same line of production have a joint

workers' committee, and there are also industry-wide committees (factory directors are appointed by the government). The purpose of all these measures is to give the workers a part in running industry and also — and this is especially important — lay the basis for improving production. Our labor legislation also provides for special protection for women, mother and child welfare, etc.

Other mass organizations, such as the women's committee, the ministry for youth and sport affairs, etc., play a big part, too. Our aim is to give all the people a part in running the country. To do that we are renewing the personnel of all administrative agencies and allowing smaller communities to elect their own administrators.

Lastly, we have accepted the principle of equality of religions (Islam and Christianity) and, more important, have separated the Church from the state.

These and other measures introduced by the Military Council show that it is effectively operating as the country's revolutionary government. It is not a military junta (as the capitalist press would like people to believe), nor is it a group of ambitious officers who carried out the coup to enjoy the privileges of power. No, the Council is a democratically elected body which, in the absence of a working-class vanguard party, has assumed responsibility for the development of the revolution.

Its orientation can be judged from the measures it has introduced. Our irreversible aim is socialism, and when we speak of socialism we mean scientific socialism based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship, which, I need hardly say, will take into account the concrete conditions of Ethiopia.

Q. What immediate problems have to be solved?

A. Our problems are many and difficult, and they are being made even more difficult by imperialist and reactionary conspiracies at home and abroad.

One of the most acute problems is that of Eritrea. The reactionaries and imperialists are trying to exploit it in an attempt to stifle the revolution. Our Council is deeply convinced that it can be solved peacefully, and the only solution is the Leninist one: recognition of the people's right to self-determination. However, ours is a country of many nationalities and we accept the right and exercise of self-determination for all our peoples, including those of Eritrea. But internal autonomy presuppose active participation by the people in the government of the various regions. The Eritrea problem will be solved as the revolution develops. We are dealing here with a question of the class struggle, and its solution will depend on the masses. We feel sure that they will realize that their interests do not conflict with those of all the other regions of Ethiopia.

Our choice of socialism presents many complex problems too. The reactionaries, of course, do not want to see Ethiopia become socialist. Hence, all the sabotage by the bureaucracy, the merchant element, the bourgeois forces in general. Armed risings in the provinces have been put down by the peasants in conjunction with our security forces. We have destroyed many centers of reactionary resistance, have removed many feudals, former governors, relatives of the former Emperor. But the monarchists, the feudals and other enemies of the revolution are organizing abroad with the active support of imperialist and other reactionary forces.

Despite all these enemy attempts, our Council is determined to take the next step along the revolutionary road. It has approved a minimum program for our anti-feudal and anti-imperialist national-democratic revolution. And we anticipate that everyone opposed to feudalism and imperialism will unite around our program, thus creating the foundation of a National Front.

The program guarantees the people's democratic rights and livelihood. No one, of course, can predict the concrete forms of our future political system. At first there will probably be three or four political parties. For instance, the peasants are not yet prepared to join a Marxist-Leninist party and will very likely form their own organization. The same applies to certain intellectual groups. But we believe that all these anti-feudal and anti-imperialist organizations will join in the National Front, which corresponds to the present stage of the national-democratic revolution.

The Front will go through a definite evolution to become a Marxist-Leninist party. The strategic aim of the Ethiopian revolution is a popular democratic republic led by the working-class party. Admittedly, the working class is still numerically small, but it has long experience of struggle and a considerable part of it is becoming conscious of its position and role in society. Besides, as Lenin taught us, proletarian consciousness has to be brought into the working-class. We believe that this can be done by intellectuals armed with the knowledge of scientific socialism, and they can stand at the head of the proletarian party.

We have set up a provisional organizational bureau of young intellectuals who have mastered Marxism-Leninism. We carefully select members of the bureau from among those who by their struggle in the student and other movements and by their participation in the revolution in Ethiopia or abroad, have proved their loyalty to socialism, its principles and ideals. We have entrusted the bureau with implementation of the minimum program.⁶

The bureau has a propaganda and agitation department whose

functions include the popularization of Marxism-Leninism, and also an ideological school and several training seminars.⁷

We know that the path we have chosen is not an easy one. But we are determined to overcome every difficulty and we expect support and assistance in this from the socialist countries.

1. Founded in 1961 with seven participating countries. — *Ed.*

2. The March 1976 Conakry summit conference of Guinea, Cuba, Angola and Guinea-Bissau emphasized the importance of proletarian internationalism, which played the main role in repelling imperialist intervention and scoring victory in Angola. The Conference expressed its deep gratitude to the socialist countries, headed by the USSR, and to all progressive nations for their militant solidarity with the struggle of the Angolan people. — *Ed.*

3. A. Sekou Toure. *Strategie et Tactique de la Revolution*. Vol. XXI, 2nd edition, Conakry 1976, p. 167.

4. President Sekou Toure has especially emphasized, in this context, the importance of an effective system of political control embracing 'the work of all organs and institutions of the Party and the state' (*Ibid.* p. 291). 'Political control must assure that decisions adopted at various levels are in line with the decisions adopted at the highest level. . . The National Congress, the Legislative Assembly and the National Council of the Revolution adopt decisions binding on all organs and institutions, and no decision by a lower authority shall contradict or be counterposed to them' (pp. 294-295). 'Political control must be supplemented by financial, administrative and technical control' (p. 295). President Sekou Toure attaches much importance to the selection and personal qualities of political controllers, or Party inspectors. They must be able to discharge their important functions (pp. 299-307). — *Ed.*

5. *Ibid.* p. 179.

6. The program was published in Addis Ababa on April 21, 1976. The statement of the provisional organizational bureau lists the priority tasks of the national-democratic revolution, emphasizing that the central aim at the present stage is to 'prepare the masses organizationally and politically to play the leading role in the revolution in the near future.' It provides, in particular, for elections to the People's Revolutionary Assembly. — *Ed.*

7. By decision of the Council, discussions on political, ideological and economic problems of the new Ethiopia are to be arranged at all factories and government offices. The government statement says the discussions will be free and democratic and will be held in groups numbering from 20 to 30 persons. Participation will be voluntary. — *Ed.*



Problems of socialist economic integration

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Integration processes are today undoubtedly a key element in international economic relations. These processes spring from the objective laws of development of the productive forces, the demands of the scientific and technological revolution that constantly press for the further internationalization of production activity. The essence, aims and forms in which integration manifests itself, the ways and means of its realization and, above all, its socio-economic consequences are, however, directly determined by the character of the social system in which they occur, and we are quite justified in maintaining that socialist and capitalist integration are qualitatively different processes. In the capitalist world integration basically serves the interests of monopoly capital. The objective possibilities arising from the development of the productive forces are usually exploited for the selfish purposes of a handful of big capitalists. Conversely, economic integration within the framework of the socialist countries helps them to cope more effectively with the tasks of building the new society and providing a better life for the working people. Consequently, analysis and evaluation of integration processes calls for a class approach.

The motive forces and basic directions of socialist economic integration were reflected in depth in the documents passed by the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. 'The ties between socialist states are becoming ever closer with the flowering of each socialist nation and the strengthening of their sovereignty,' said Leonid Brezhnev in the Central Committee report to the Congress, 'and elements of community are increasing in their policy, economy and social life. There is a gradual levelling up of their development. This process of a gradual drawing together of socialist countries is now operating quite definitely as an objective law.' He went on to stress that economic cooperation between the socialist countries is developing 'on the basis of mutual advantage and socialist internationalism.'

This, I think formulates the basic principles of cooperation between

the socialist countries, principles that have for 30 years determined our fraternal relations and kept us moving along the socialist road. At the same time these propositions of the Central Committee's report to the 25th Congress emphasize that integration processes have already stepped beyond the framework of economics in the narrow sense. Their proliferation into the main social spheres of our countries impinges deeply on people's lives and exerts a considerable effect on their way of thinking. The gradual evening out of the socio-economic development of the socialist countries has now reached a stage when the contacts not only between state institutions but also between public organizations, enterprises and production teams are rapidly multiplying and becoming closer, indeed all-pervasive.

At first sight it may appear that these processes bear only an indirect relation to the national economic goals, the community of which is such a powerful lever in bringing our countries ever closer together. By creating an integrated system of direct contacts, however, they give the millions of the working people a way of thinking, an awareness of the unity of our principles and aims that helps to strengthen the fraternal friendship between our peoples and countries and awaken a sense of inspiration from working together.

It may be said, of course, that there is nothing fundamentally new about this, because the peoples of the socialist countries have from the very outset, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, made great gains by working together under the banner of internationalism. But, as Marxists, we know that the processes giving rise to socialist integration, namely, the combining of the economies of the socialist countries in such a way as to embrace planning, research and development, and production, ultimately evoke among the masses a keener awareness of the international character and vital importance of our cooperation. And this, in its turn, has a vigorous reciprocal effect on the integration of the productive forces.

International economic ties take shape gradually. The integrating links that exist between the socialist countries today also have their own history. Elements which may now be regarded essentially as embryonic integration, although we did not so describe them at the time, existed in their relations from the very beginning and have since gradually accumulated. We cannot gain a true picture of our present, much less our future cooperation, without studying this earlier period.

First, we must consider certain peculiarities of the historical development of the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe that have taken the socialist road, peculiarities that have determined both the conditions of their advance toward socialism and the decisions adopted in economic policy. In our view the definition of economic relations given by Engels provides a useful introduction to any an-

alysis of these conditions. Economic relations, which form the determining basis of social history, comprise, according to Engels, 'the *geographical basis* on which they operate and those remains of earlier stages of economic development which have actually been transmitted and have survived — often only through tradition or by force of inertia; also of course the external environment which surrounds this form of society.'

It is mainly these two latter factors — on the one hand, the survivals of previous socio-economic formations and the external conditions — that have defined the possibilities and limits of our development targets in the initial stages of the building of socialism. As regards the first of these factors, at the beginning of socialist construction there were some substantial differences in the socio-economic and cultural development of our countries, but taken as a whole, on the historical plane, in most of them the level was much the same. They shared an anachronistic socio-economic structure, a general lack of funds for capital investment, low standards of education and training in the labor force, and lack of the organizational experience needed for advanced industry. Suffice it to say that Hungary was almost a century behind the industrially and culturally leading countries of Europe. This lag had, of course, been intensified by the damage caused by fascism during the Second World War.

To all this was added the fact that during the initial period of socialist construction our countries were faced with the task of winning over the masses to the side of the Communist-led working class. This made it essential to raise their general living standards. But we had no other ways of doing this except by rapidly increasing employment through industrialization, that is, by increasing the number of wage-earners. Consequently there had to be a rapid and organized movement of manpower from agriculture to other non-agricultural spheres of the economy. To solve this problem we also set about transforming the extremely backward demographic and production infrastructure (including services), particularly those parts of it that provide direct benefits for the population, such as the health services, education, transport and trade.

The second factor, i.e., the external environment, played a special role from the historical point of view, a role that today may be described as comprising both positive and negative elements. Capitalism responded to the socialist changes in our countries with the cold war, which in the economic sphere took the form of a policy of embargo. The aim of this policy was to crush the socialist-type economy from the outset by means of an almost total ban on exports to our countries. This ban undoubtedly had a very unfavorable effect

because it was applied to precisely those tiems that involved advanced technology.

This compelled us to experiment. Some stages in our journey to socialism were extremely costly. From the objective historical standpoint, however, we can say that the advantages of our social system, which made themselves felt at the very first stage of socialist construction, were so substantial that we were able to overcome our difficulties, the main effect being to strengthen the trend toward deeper ties between the socialist countries. One should also note the tremendously important fact that the imperialist policy of embargo designed to stifle our economy actually gave rise to a factor that helped to preserve and develop it. After all, for the young industries to develop properly they had above all to be protected from negative outside influence. In that period the world capitalist economy had practically no influence on the economy of the socialist countries. There can be no doubt that if we had not from the outset embarked on a policy of expanding and deepening cooperation between the socialist countries, the industries that today form the material basis of integration could never have been established and developed.

At the initial stage of the building of socialism a system of cooperation between the fraternal countries took shape on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism that are still effective today. Apart from anything else, they envisaged suitable advantages for the less developed members of our community and a search for additional reserves of economic growth. This system relied mainly on the fraternal assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the countries embarking on a new road of historical development and possessing little experience and even less material and technical resources. Obviously, without this fraternal internationalist aid the socialist countries could not have coped with the historic tasks of developing a socialist economy.

Soviet assistance took various forms, from the passing on of technical know-how to deliveries of raw materials, from the purchase of the output of the young industries to help in setting up entirely new branches. Of exceptional importance was the joint decision passed in 1949 on the free circulation of licences and technical documentation among the socialist countries. The fixing of obligatory lists of exports and imports and the stabilizing of prices also had a favorable effect inasmuch as these measures made it possible to plan the expansion of production capacities on a reliable basis. Special mention should be made of the deliveries of raw materials, capital goods and technology from the Soviet Union, which played an essential part in laying the foundations of socialist industry in our countries.

Although the need to defend ourselves against imperialism and its

policy of economic strangulation played a substantial role in the creation of the CMEA, it would be a profound mistake to regard the qualitatively new relations that appeared in the young world socialist system merely as a reply to the cold-war policy. Something much bigger was happening. The emergence of the new socialist system beyond the borders of one country and the conversion of socialism into a world system objectively dictated the need to set up a pattern of relations that differed qualitatively from those of the capitalist economy. The formation of the socialist world system was a body blow to the global hegemony of capitalism in the economic sphere.

Considering all these processes theoretically, we feel justified in saying that the building of socialism as a world system contained from the beginning elements of international cooperation that, having merged within the national framework, guided the development processes of the national economies of the socialist countries toward forms of association and interaction adapted to the specific features of each country. That is what socialist internationalism in action is. It helped the peoples of the socialist countries to overcome the paralyzing effect of the hostile capitalist external environment and to march forward confidently on the road of socialist construction.

Without a clear understanding of these preceding stages it is impossible to gain a theoretical grasp of the profound changes that occurred in the cooperation between our countries in the 60s. The characteristic feature of these years was the influence not only of the permanent general international factors but also — and today we can use this formulation — the influence of certain specific pre-integration elements that were steadily multiplying. Admittedly, at that time the main form of socialist international economic relations was trade. This corresponded both to the level of development achieved by the productive forces, and also the policy of rapid industrialization and its protection from negative outside influences. But also at this time the new forms of socialist international division of labor came into action.

Among the first international organizations that signalled the beginning of closer economic cooperation between the socialist countries were the Friendship Oil Pipeline, the Common Fleet of Rolling Stock, the Central Control of the Amalgamated Power System of the CMEA countries, and the organization of increased specialization and cooperation in the manufacturing industries, which marked the turn toward direct cooperation in the sphere of production.

The new forms of cooperation were recorded in a document approved in June 1962 in Moscow by a conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of the CMEA countries. Its very title was highly significant: 'Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labor.' The document lays down the principles and

methods of coordinating the current and long-term economic plans as the basic method of closer socialist international division of labor, and the lines to be taken in the specialization and cooperation of production on the scale of the key industries of each country. 'The international socialist division of labor raises the effectiveness of social production,' the document states, 'and thus contributes to the successful fulfillment of the economic and political goals set by the Communist and Workers' parties at each stage of historical development. Creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist theory for generalizing from accumulated experience, the ruling parties of the fraternal countries consistently adapted production relations to the new requirements of the productive forces.'

The 60s saw a further proliferation of integrating factors. For example, the Soviet-Hungarian agreement signed in the mid-60s on the production of aluminum may be regarded as an integrating measure, although it takes in only one branch of the economy. Hungary has considerable reserves of bauxite but lacks the power resources to work them. According to this agreement, our country processes the bauxites into aluminum oxide, from which the USSR extracts the aluminum, which then comes back to Hungary for further processing. It is mainly thanks to this that Hungary now holds a leading world position in per capita production of aluminum. Hungary has signed similar agreements with other socialist countries.

At the same time considerable progress was made in perfecting the mainspring of our economic cooperation, the coordination of national economic planning. Thanks to the further development of this method we have been able to draw up plans for integration measures in the sphere of production and research on the basis of much fuller information.

Integration processes have thus penetrated step by step into the economic cooperation between the socialist countries. Their principles were elaborated in the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration passed in 1971 at the 25th session of the CMEA. 'The further deepening and improvement of cooperation and development of the socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries,' the document states, 'will continue to be realized in accord with the principles of socialist internationalism, on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, non-interference in internal affairs, complete equality and comradely mutual assistance ...'

Socialist economic integration is entirely voluntary and does not involve the establishment of supranational agencies, nor does it affect internal planning, financial and commercial arrangements.

There is no hard and fast line between the present stage of integra-

tion and the so-called pre-integration period. Nevertheless, it should be clear that the Comprehensive Program adopted in 1971 was a landmark in economic relations between the fraternal countries. And in this context it should be emphasized that the Comprehensive Program does not set arbitrary, voluntarist directives. On the contrary, its importance and value lie primarily in the fact that it embodies the tried and tested experience of the fraternal parties and countries. It defines, with Marxist-Leninist scientific accuracy and realism, the goals that can be attained relatively quickly, and also problems that will acquire priority significance 10 or 15 years hence, when the integration process takes deeper hold. Accordingly, the Program provides guidelines for uninterrupted analysis of integration and joint generalization and evaluation of accumulated experience. It is not a rigid code of laws valid for all times, but a document that defines the main directions of our work.

Above all, it sets strategic aims which, at the same time, define the underlying principles of the integration mechanism. And central to the Program is continued improvement of living standards, increasingly fuller satisfaction of the peoples' requirements. Naturally, we understand higher prosperity standards not merely as a simple multiplication of material benefits entirely divorced from the peoples' spiritual requirements. Even less are we guided by a desire to 'achieve a level' based on manipulated, artificially created and imposed requirements. On the contrary, the problem of prosperity, of abundance of material and spiritual benefits, is considered in the context of the socialist way of life, i.e. in the light of the more general task of building a society that assures the all-round development of the personality, harmoniously combining satisfaction of requirements with man's spiritual and moral perfection. That is the underlying aim, to the achievement of which all our work in developing the productive forces and improving production relations, and the entire political and ideological superstructure, are subordinated.

The Comprehensive Program outlines the ways and means of gradually achieving these strategic goals. Furthermore, it emphasizes that the chief means are scientific and technological progress, higher effectiveness, modernization of the production structure, and reliance on such principles as mutual advantage and organic fusion of national and international interests. We can firmly say that the Comprehensive Program represents a code of measures designed to make fuller use of the advantages of socialism and fuller development of the vast potentialities latent in conscious management of society and the economy and in the scientific and technological revolution.

The integration process is carried out through such methods as systematic consultations on economic policy, more effective co-

ordination of economic plans, wider use of production specialization and cooperation, extension of currency and financial relations to facilitate our country's cooperation in the foreign-economic field, and establishment of international production organizations and amalgamations.

It is five years since adoption of the Comprehensive Program. The achievements registered in this relatively short space of time are eloquent proof of the viability of its principles, proof that it accords with the interests of our countries. Among the achievements of the past five years are successful fulfillment of the national five-year plans and an equally successful start on the new five-year programs, for 1976-80. For the first time they were compiled in full coordination on a multilateral basis, with the fraternal countries outlining plans for a much longer period.

Using appropriate methods, we are working on the common goals formulated in the coordinated plans for a large number of integration projects. This highly important new feature in our integration effort was stressed by A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at the 29th CMEA session in Budapest in June 1975. Essentially, this implies a coordinated plan of multilateral integrated measures which serve as guidelines in national economic planning, inasmuch as the clearly formulated integration measures require appropriate efforts from all the countries concerned. The scale of such integrated undertakings can be gauged by this figure: 9 billion transferable roubles, that is the total estimated cost of building and commissioning the additional production capacities specified in the plans for the current five-year period. They include such giant projects as the Ust-Ilim cellulose plant, the Kiembayev asbestos deposits, plants to produce certain types of ferroalloys, development of the Orenburg gas deposits and the building of a gas line from Orenburg to the Western Soviet frontier, and a power transmission line from Vinitsa (SSR) to Albertirsa (Hungary).

The 29th CMEA session gave a new dimension to cooperation of the socialist countries, for, on USSR initiative, it approved a list of joint projects up to 1990 aimed at resolving our countries' fuel, raw materials and energy problems and expanding cooperation in engineering, transport, agriculture and the food industry.

It will thus be seen that, acting in compliance with the aims of the Comprehensive Program, we have taken a long step in dovetailing our economic complexes at macrolevel, which plays a decisive part in assuring our common interests. Considerable headway has also been made in coordinating programs of production specialization and cooperation through inter-government negotiations. Thus, Hungary and the USSR have agreements for 1976-80 on specialization and coopera-

tion in several industries, including such a key industry as engineering.

This process reflects the fundamentally new features of socialist integration. The desire of fraternal countries to go beyond trade in finished products and implement international division of labor directly in production, by merging enterprises and whole industries, is fully in keeping with our strategic aims. If we are steadily to improve conditions for the people of our countries through higher production effectiveness and the use of scientific and technological innovations, we must resort to wider cooperation also at microlevel, that is, directly between enterprises, research organizations, etc.

We are now fully justified in speaking of a new approach to evening-out the socio-economic development levels of socialist countries, a major element in integration. In the preceding period, with its complicated international conditions and imperialist embargo, the main task, as indicated above, was to start new production capacities and build up heavy industry, including machine-building, etc. Our priority concern was to restructure the economy as a whole which, due to historical circumstances, remained backward. Naturally, since we were concentrating on developing these industries, such questions as optimal industrial structures, effective investment and profitability were somewhat relegated to the background. Generally speaking, this was not a miscalculation in our economic policy, but rather a reflection of the objective situation. For it was only in this way that we could begin to equalize the economic levels of socialist countries in a short time.

The situation is different today. Realization of the Comprehensive Program provides the requisites for the evening-out process to be paralleled by higher effectiveness and closer specialization of our economies. In fact, this is today the prime condition for equalizing economic levels. That is the purpose of our joint efforts in restructuring production, and of our joint decisions designed to intertwine progressive industries and progressive technologies. This refers, for example, to nuclear energy and computer technology, both of which are new to Hungary, the pipeline linking Soviet and Hungarian chemical plants, and Hungarian-GDR cooperation in precision engineering.

Joint projects meant to stimulate the evening-out process are planned and carried out in such a way as to preclude phenomena that could impair the strengthening of each socialist country and the community as a whole. On the contrary, we are out to achieve, in a planned way, what is possible only under socialism, when coordination of economic activity, mobilization of our forces and reserves proceed not through the spontaneous and, in the final analysis

destructive, methods of capitalist competition, but on the basis of joint coordination of national interests.

Socialist economic integration is in the vital national interests of the Hungarian People's Republic. It has a population of 10.5 million, that is, about 0.3 per cent of the world total and about 3 per cent of the CMEA total. But we have a relatively high density of population — 133 to the sq. km. To this should be added such economically negative factors as lack of natural and energy resources and a high degree of urbanization — nearly 20 per cent of the population is concentrated in Budapest. There is also this: nearly 50 per cent of our national income comes from foreign economic relations. These factors determine Hungary's tremendous interest in promoting foreign economic relations and international division of labor.

Cooperation within CMEA is for us of prime importance not only because we share common principles and aims with the other fraternal countries, but also because in the past 30 years of socialist construction utilizing the favorable conditions offered by cooperation with fraternal countries, we were able to build up a manufacturing industry employing skilled labor and modern technology. This gave us the export market needed for developing our economy and the money to pay for imports. Of special value to Hungary are joint projects that assure a secure and long-term supply of raw materials and energy, accelerated development of progressive industries, continued expansion in agriculture and the food industry, for both of which we have exceptionally good natural and geographical conditions.

Two-thirds of our foreign trade is with the socialist countries, including one-third with the Soviet Union. It should be observed that only thanks to our active cooperation with CMEA we can expand our contacts with other, non-socialist, sectors of the world economy.

It is now especially clear that the socialist community is the most dynamic and stably developing region of the world. And in this context it has to be re-emphasized that our countries' policy on foreign economic cooperation rests on this principle: CMEA is an open organization and does not reject contacts with countries with different social systems. We are prepared to cooperate — and indeed are cooperating — with non-CMEA members, even on some aspects of the Comprehensive Program on the basis of no discrimination, equality and mutual advantage. CMEA is, essentially, a community of sovereign states and, as a community, is prepared to form contacts with, for instance, other integration groupings. However, such contacts only create favorable institutional prerequisites for bilateral relations between countries with different social systems, and should not be seen as a substitute for such relations. We stated our principles

also at the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki.

By eliminating their historical backwardness through rapid and effective development, the countries participating in socialist integration are increasingly becoming a factor of competition in the world economy. However, in our view, this does not mean that we have reached a point when we no longer have to take the defensive measures mentioned earlier in this article. At the early stages of socialist international economic relations, all, or at least most, of the impulses coming from the other, capitalist economic system, had a negative influence.

Today we must approach the matter in a more differentiated way. Of course, we still need to protect ourselves against the disintegrating influence of the capitalist world economic crisis. For instance, we must gradually — for this will take time — adapt to the situation that has arisen on the world market with the change of prices of certain raw materials and energy. As for the influence of the new technology and technical progress, we consider it an additional stimulator in our development. The strength of the socialist community, the historic advantages of the socialist planned economy, lie precisely in the fact that our social system enables us to utilize in the interests of socialism some international tendencies and factors and by joint effort obviate the unfavorable consequences of others.

There is hardly any need to dwell on the vast importance of the advantages of our system in this time of the global capitalist economic crisis. But capitalism, undoubtedly, still has definite reserves that help it to maneuver and prolong its existence. The socialist countries are aware of these factors in the competition of the two systems. Lenin pointed out that the general crisis of capitalism does not preclude the possibility of an astoundingly rapid development in certain industries and certain countries in the imperialist era. But there is no getting away from the impression that capitalism has entered an era when rising trends more frequently alternate with decline, below capacity production and unemployment.

Of course, we Communists, all the working people of the fraternal countries, cannot be indifferent to this process, for it concerns the destinies and suffering of our class brothers, the workers and working people living under capitalism. But we know that the decisive thing here is not sentiment or intentions, but objective processes. 'The dynamic development and unity of the socialist countries, their peace policy and solidarity with all progressive forces,' Janos Kadar, First Secretary of our Party, declared at the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, 'is a key factor in promoting a favorable international situation.'

We Communists of the fraternal countries, now in power and aware of our responsibility not only for the fate of socialism in our countries, but also for the interests of the entire communist movement, consider it our duty to proletarian internationalism (apart from everything else) constantly to analyze all that is new, everything we encounter in our work, and prognosticate possible consequences of the operation of objective laws, again and again critically to appraise our work. By doing that we shall be discharging our historic mission.

Dialectics of the general and the particular

Teodosio Varela
Member of CEC,
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ON SOCIALISM AND THE WAYS OF REACHING IT

Our movement's in-depth study of the question of possible ways of reaching socialism and the value of accumulated experience reveals a marked desire among Communists to apply the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin creatively in the specific conditions of their respective countries, to embody them in the visible features of a new society. Comrades Nørlund and Karkabi provided many helpful ideas in their investigation of this question.¹ We would like to dwell on some of Colombia's pressing problems.

First, a few words about the general and the particular in the revolutionary process, a problem that always attracted the founders of Marxism-Leninism. Stressing the importance of the general, of anything that follows a certain pattern or law, they were careful to point out that the general does not exist of itself, apart from reality. '(Law is the reflection of the essential in the movement of the universe ...) (/law-part/)' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, p. 152). Lenin wrote in his 'Conspectus of Hegel's Science of Logic.' The particular includes also the empirical singularity of datum and the theoretical necessity of law. '(Appearance is *richer* than law)' (*ibid.*).

Lenin used this maxim of dialectical materialism as the foundation for the strategy and tactics of the class struggle. In his work, 'Our Revolution,' Lenin argues with the Menshevik N. Sukhanov and his supporters. 'They are complete strangers,' he writes, 'to the idea that while the development of world history as a whole follows general laws it is by no means precluded, but, on the contrary, presumed, that

certain periods of development may display peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development' (Vol. 33, p. 477). Lenin's thought is obviously aimed against the inability to understand the particular as a manifestation of the regular, the general, which expresses the essential relation of phenomena in the course of the revolution. He is against their being contrasted or viewed individually. Our Party proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist concept of the interconnection between the general and the particular and firmly believes that while a revolution is primarily the result of a country's internal, specific development its success depends on how one applies its general laws.

In practice, however, this normal and apparently necessary association is intricate.

It has been our experience in Colombia that absolutizing the particular, the specific and forgetting its ties with the general may lead to nationalism and, through it, to opportunism. The nationalistic trends, for example, are evident in the 'Colombian Socialism' movement, preached by the leadership of the National Popular Alliance (ANAPO), advocating a popular, nationalist government and national, popular law and order. The vagueness of this slogan stands out on the background of the simultaneous assertion that there exist 'two imperialisms.' The essence of imperialism is veiled and the national idea deprived of its popular and anti-imperialist content because it is isolated from the historical context of our liberation struggle, which is bound up with socialism's class policy and is an integral part of the world revolutionary process. After taking this course the National Popular Alliance soon started losing its popularity and influence in the country.

The same mistake was made by Senator Echeverry Mejia, former presidential candidate from the National Opposition Union (UNO), representing the country's mass progressive movement in which the Communists participate. Yielding to blind nationalism, he left the movement, with several supporters, not wishing to be a part of the 'international socialist scenario,' as he put it, not realizing that unwittingly he fits right into the 'international scenario' whose anti-socialist authors are headed straight for the bog of anti-communism.

Such are the consequences of scorning dialectics.

The Declaration adopted unanimously at the Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean last year in Havana is a good example of positive embodiment of the principle of the dialectical unity of the general and the particular. This is an important document for us as a deep analysis of the Latin American revolutionary struggle although it was no simple matter to compose the final document. The point is that Communists of the Latin Ameri-

can countries had to overcome two tendencies that emerged from the clash of revolutionary streams. Supporters of one such trend, viewing the continent as united and, therefore, facing identical problems, believed that the strategy, tactics and forms of struggle could be drawn up without consideration for each country's national experience. The other tendency, on the contrary, absolutized the specifics of individual countries, rejecting the very possibility of joint discussion and a coordinated struggle against the common class enemy. We take pride in the fact that we were able to overcome the difficulties and produce a dialectical, creative synthesis that takes into consideration economic, social and political differences in individual countries while accenting the general features that have a direct bearing on our strategic principles and the opportunities for realizing them.

After analyzing the situation on the continent we agreed that Latin America, which is resisting imperialism and demonstrates its solidarity with all nations putting up similar resistance, could deal with the problems of its own development, national independence and social emancipation only on the road to socialism led by the working class and its Party, together with the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

In arriving at a scientific understanding of social trends in their respective countries the Communists are able to rely not only on the general sociological theory of scientific communism, but also on analysis of the current scene with its objective information on actually existing socialism. In other words, their policy can be guided by a knowledge of the future enriched by the experience of the past struggle for socialism and the experience of building socialism in several countries. Frederick Engels wrote that knowledge of the present should be synthesized with a knowledge of the past. Disregard for the past could have a negative effect on the present. Reporting to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, First Secretary Fidel Castro said: '... Revolutionaries must be realists guided by the laws of historical and social development. The knowledge needed to guide the revolutionary process must be drawn from the inexhaustible source of political science and world experience. We must be able to learn from available facts and reality.' Commenting on the need of consideration for the general laws, Fidel Castro said: 'Marxism-Leninism is a science that has been greatly enriched by the practice of building socialism in various countries. We, Cuban revolutionaries, can likewise add to this heritage, but cannot ignore the contribution made by others.'² This was said in connection with an analysis of past underestimation of the importance of general laws in the formation and development of the socialist economy in Cuba.

If one ignores the general and fails to take into account historical experience, one cannot understand and appraise the particular correctly. The dangers of this are stressed by the Chilean comrades, who refer in particular to certain mistakes made by the Popular Unity government. It underestimated, for example, the effect of the 'objective economic laws, which resulted in practice, in some very substantial manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism'³ in dealing with the specific problems of developing Chile's economy.

We believe that these conclusions of the fraternal parties, drawn from their own experience, are extremely important from the standpoint of our daily efforts in the struggle for socialism in Colombia.

Revolutionary experience makes it clear that the 'general' does not mean something alienated from life, something purely 'abstract.' The general makes itself felt at every step. At the same time any universal truth is transformed into a scheme or object of faith and not into knowledge unless it is founded on an analysis of concrete reality.

Something similar is happening in Latin America thanks to the positions of the ultra-leftist groups preaching the so-called 'ideal models of national socialism.' The 'leftists' are truly in the grip of utopia, vainly attempting to side-step the real and fundamental dilemmas facing our countries — national emancipation or neo-colonial dependence, monopoly capitalism or scientific socialism. Refusing to study the experience of the socialist countries, they also lack any knowledge of scientific socialism, imagining it void of a class struggle, hegemony of the proletariat, without contradictions and difficulties.

In contrast to all utopias, we propose a concrete program of struggle for the future socialist society. Our Party is guided by a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of Colombia's realities. And the realism of our policy is in the implementation of truly scientific knowledge, conclusions drawn from the past in order to know the present, and through the present — the future. The following examples will, we hope, show just how our Party takes heed of the most important laws governing the transition to socialism and what form this takes.

It is a well known fact that irrespective of specific national features, socialism means transferring the basic means of production into the hands of the people (collective ownership), that the working man has an entirely different position in production and in society (from a hired laborer he becomes co-owner of the means of production), that there is a steady rise in the people's living standards and a revolution in culture and education. Criticizing utopian views of socialism and carrying on broad explanatory work among the people, we strive, first of all, to show just what *is* and what is *not* a socialist society, stressing

the leading role of socialization of the means of production. But how should this be accomplished?

The Party Program clearly defines two stages. 'In order to come to socialism, the conditions in our country require, first of all profound social and national-liberation transformations: an anti-imperialist, anti-latifundist, anti-oligarchy, democratic and popular revolution as the initial stage in the transition to the socialist revolution.'⁴

We attach particular importance, already at the initial stage, to socialization of the means of production. The Party is for nationalization of all enterprises now in the hands of the imperialists, the big industrial, banking and foreign trade monopolies, the property of capitalists who are betraying the country's interests and are opposing the revolution.

Nationalization, a step toward socialization, acquires a strategic and tactical character. Due to the country's dependence on foreign capital, it helps to expose the main enemy of the revolution and find the link connecting the masses with the revolutionary struggle.

Our position on this is in sharp contrast to the position of the ultra-leftist groups. In their petty-bourgeois desperation they are trying to skip over various stages with the 'all or nothing' slogan, and under the pretext that nationalization itself is not yet socialism, they justify inactivity and delay the awakening of the people's anti-imperialist awareness.

Our views are likewise very different from reformist views, particularly those of our government, which does not see nationalization beyond the bourgeois framework. For this reason we oppose the so-called nationalization of the oil fields, which only deceived the people, because the state purchased exhausted oil deposits and old equipment at high prices and the state treasury was made responsible for paying the workers back wages through the Colombian Oil Company. This should have been covered by the 'expropriated' oil companies. We likewise expose what is called 'Colombianization' of foreign capital, or as it is also called 'association' of national and foreign capital, which in reality is nothing but redistribution of profits made through exploitation of the people.

Our struggle for genuine nationalization, which would be a step forward toward socialism, is increasing in scope and it is in this struggle that the people are gradually becoming aware of what abolition of private ownership of the means of production would really mean.

Still another important aspect of the transition to socialism is the struggle for democracy. And, although conditions for this are also individual to Colombia, what is important is that '... the proletariat,'

as Lenin said, 'cannot perform the socialist revolution unless it prepares for it by the struggle for democracy' (Vol. 23, p. 74).

The big bourgeoisie in our country is a compromising bourgeoisie. It is connected with the latifundists, whom it is urging to speed up agriculture's capitalist development. It also curries favor with the imperialists. The development of monopoly tendencies is accompanied by obvious signs of what Lenin saw as characteristic of the relations between the monopolies and democracy. 'Imperialism,' he wrote, 'is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. Whatever the political system, the result of these tendencies is everywhere reaction and an extreme intensification of antagonisms in this field' (Vol. 22, p. 297). Although the Liberal-Conservative government proclaims a 'left-centrist' policy and the President says, 'We must protect socialism from bureaucratic Stalinism,'⁵ this does not change the reactionary tendencies.

The first thing one notices is a gradual introduction of martial law in order to stop the spread of the mass struggle, prevent public organizations from being formed and force the working people to accept the consequences of the big bourgeoisie's policy. Still another characteristic trait of this tendency is the growing role played by the repressive top brass in state affairs. The military upper crust has introduced its own 'justice' and together with other highly placed officials proposed 'legalizing' the death penalty that is now frequently imposed.

The President himself supports 'constitutional reforms,' which would divide the country into what are called 'development poles,' which actually means spheres of domination by the various financial groups collaborating closely with imperialism. This is an attempt to deprive the municipal councils — organs of popular representation — of their ability to work in the people's interests.

In these conditions it is urgent that we struggle for democracy. However, we should like to stress the following.

Our final goal, as distinct from that of the government and the reformists, is socialism and this is what we are already working for at the democratic stage, because it is precisely this struggle, Lenin wrote, that is 'a necessary basis both for the abolition of the poverty of the masses and for the *complete* and *all-round* institution of *all* democratic reforms' (Vol. 21, p. 408).

In our determination to achieve this we cannot but point to the reactionary maneuvering of the groups within the Liberal Party, the country's largest party. Pretending to show 'forebearance' toward all who in 1974 voted for a 'democratic alternative' supposedly represented by President Lopez Michelsen, they are, at the same time, encouraging violence and terror against the people.

The Latin American experience is convincing proof that these pseudo-democrats from the oligarchy are no obstacle to reaction and fascism. On the contrary, they are part of the process that could lead to just that. The only protection from fascism is a powerful revolutionary front founded on mobilization and unity of the masses which would bring about the country's democratic renewal.

On the other hand, because we are working for socialism, we also take the struggle for democracy very seriously, which is something that the ultra-leftist elements in Colombia either cannot or do not wish to understand. In spite of the fact that life shows the necessity of struggle for democratic freedoms and that this is a timely political struggle, the near-sighted ultra-leftists are ignoring it. The dogmatists are absolutizing Lenin's theory that monopoly means 'reaction all along the line' and claim that the revolution and not democracy should accelerate the struggle. Why is this incorrect?

First of all, because this 'reaction' is but a tendency, as Lenin noted, and not a fatal force. If this were not the case, and if we were to believe the 'leftists' then we could neither defend the workers' and peasants' democratic rights, nor demand the release of political prisoners, nor counter the sharp, official attacks on the university. The writers and cultural workers, meanwhile, could not stand up for their right to create, for freedom to organize, freedom of assembly and the press. In other words, we would have to agree to all arbitrary acts.

It should also be pointed out that the bourgeoisie is not alone in deciding on the country's system of political rule. There is friction within the traditional parties and among the clergy and the military and there are many other forces which, in one way or another, influence the political structure.

And, finally, the resistance of the masses cannot be discounted, for it is capable of unfolding into a broad anti-monopoly front. If this resistance is sufficiently broad, it is capable of extracting freedoms and rights from the bourgeoisie (as is actually the case) and although they as yet do not signify revolution, they facilitate the revolutionary struggle.

The struggle for democratic rights emerges from broad participation by the people in politics and the character of this struggle must be very broad indeed, and our experience substantiates this.

At the end of 1975, our Party, together with representatives of various political and ideological trends held a forum of democratic and patriotic forces to discuss the reprisals against the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, left journalists and the indigenous population. This forum unanimously approved an appeal saying: 'There will be no revolutionary way out for Colombia unless we are able to unite the energies of all who are striving to radically change

society, unless we are able to span the moat of sectarianism, unless we create a broad platform for a dialogue. That is why we appeal to our citizens' conscience, to representatives of the various political parties, movements and trends of a democratic character, to all who, although not connected with any party group, are concerned with events, to all Colombians eager to end despotism and come out against the enemies of civil rights.'⁶

It is obvious that as the people gain experience in defending their social freedoms, they will become ever more aware of the class and limited nature of bourgeois democracy, that only socialism can ensure genuine democracy, and that it is truly worthwhile to work toward achieving this great goal.

We believe in the action of the masses, in their mobilizational and organizational abilities which develop as the struggle progresses for their radical class, economic and political interests. This struggle is harmed by anarchy, adventurism and terrorism. Experience confirms the correctness of Lenin's conclusions showing that only the enemy stands to profit from these trends.

Such are the specific problems facing the working people in our country in their struggle for democracy, stressing the general laws governing the struggle and, at the same time, the need for these laws to be followed at various stages of our revolution.

In all revolutions the central issue is the issue of power. Therefore, the Communists' position on this must be very clear. They must master the dialectics of the daily tasks and the socialist perspective, they must continue beyond the tasks of the present and provide more extensive solutions illuminating the way to the victory of the revolution and of socialism.

Our Party clearly states that socialism means power exercised by the working class, by all the toiling people, power capable of defending itself from counter-revolution by the overthrown classes that are capable of violence. As realists, we are searching for concrete ways of realizing our main goal with an eye to the favorable conditions that exist today, and of building up the strength of the proletariat and other revolutionary forces.

It was from these positions that we spoke in 1974 of the new political process unfolding in Colombia which could possibly lead to a new situation and a new regime in the country. The 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia (1975) went on record as saying: 'The issue concerns the prospects of a new ruling structure, of a democratic and anti-imperialist alliance. This shows us that the growing demands by the people for their essential rights, their readiness to fight for these rights, the possibility of the formation of a workers' and popular alliance during this process and the ever more apparent

inefficiency of the policy of the traditional oligarchic rulers are all creating conditions for the popular movement to raise the banner of truly democratic reforms, of a new regime which would release the people's deep national aspirations.'⁷

We are on the threshold of such a transition. As yet, however, this would not be a patriotic front in the full sense of the term, but only its beginnings depending on the present conditions. We are working in that direction and already see certain results. Experience is making the people aware of the fact that the prospect of socialism is a reality, although this awareness is not identical throughout the country. They realize that as we progress in dealings with current political tasks, and without by-passing any stages, it is possible to approach this goal.

The Communist Party firmly believes that in our country's conditions the revolutionary goals it faces, and the social forces whose interests are vitally bound up with these goals and changes, mutually require political unity and an alliance. Such is the revolution's strategic line in our country.

Summing up what had already been done, the 12th Party Congress pointed out that this work was being accomplished at various levels and was specific to each individual case and stage of the popular movement; it must be flexible and stand on firm principles maintaining constant contact with the people struggling for their essential needs, but above all there must be unity of progressive forces at all stages and in all sectors of the mass movement whose backbone is united action by the working class.

The Political Resolution says the following concerning these aspects: 'There are close ties between the various levels of the unitary process — simple coincidence of viewpoints, unitary action, agreement on a program basis. Strategic alliances assume a certain minimum of ideological understanding; experience has shown that there can be no alliance with those preaching a splitting policy, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.'⁸

Following this line consistently, the Communist Party has always worked for mutual understanding with its allies. Today it is active in the National Opposition Union (UNO), a broader union than previous ones in its goals for it has a democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchy platform, and likewise in its organizational aspects for it has already established a leadership on a nationwide level. UNO is an inspiring example and is already looked upon as the beginnings of a patriotic, national-liberation front.

A successful revolution requires the participation of varied sections of the population. Communists believe, however, that this should not be an amorphous movement. In practice, revolutionaries, sharing the

views of the working class and with Marxist-Leninist theory to guide them, strive to be at the head of this movement and victory will be ensured only if the Party fulfills this role, making the struggle consistent and revolutionary.

There must be no misunderstandings concerning an alliance, for an alliance assumes a convergence of complex but differing views. It is important to stress this in the light of the good prospects for broadening UNO and other non-conformist organizational methods and the fact that we, Communists, are in the lead of the revolutionary-democratic opposition to the government and the oligarchic parity system. The revolutionary struggle can take the form of an alliance and mutual understanding, unity of action mainly between Communists and other non-proletarian democratic forces. This is the foundation of a patriotic front. Possibly in the future there may be a merger with these forces, or the revolutionary movement will be victorious and will build a new society not only with the Communist Party. This will be seen in the course of the struggle. However, our line must remain consistent. We are not insisting that others take our positions, nor will we allow ourselves to be forced into those of others. It is important that we act jointly without stipulating a concrete date for establishing unity or for carrying out the revolution.

Only such an approach to an alliance will protect us from petty-bourgeois despair, which, history has shown, can be so harmful to the revolution. It will also protect us from being pessimistic about the future if difficulties arise.

In conclusion I should like to stress once again that a united front can be victorious if it is headed by the working class, the most organized and militant class, vitally interested not only in protecting its own and the people's interests, but in seeing through the sweeping changes that the country demands, the class whose historical mission is to create a future socialist and communist society as envisaged by our Party's Program. The success of a revolution is determined by the Party's ability to dialectically combine its knowledge of the general laws of revolution and its knowledge of the specific conditions for its realization.

1. See I. Nørlund, 'The image of our own future,' *WMR*, January 1976, Z. Karkabi, 'The problem of power in the transition period,' *WMR*, May 1976.

2. *Granma*, December 20, 1975, p. 9.

3. H. Fazio, 'Analyzing lessons of the past in the interest of the future.' *WMR*, April 1976.

4. 'Programa del Partido Comunista de Colombia,' Ed. Colombia Nueva p. 34.

5. *El Tiempo*, Bogota, May 3, 1976.

6. *Voz Proletaria*, Bogota, November 27, 1975, p. 5.

7. *Cuadernos Politicos*, Bogota, N. 8, December 1975, p. 8-9.

8. *Voz Proletaria*, December 11, 1975.



Book reviews

THE STORY OF AN UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER

The story is of *El Machete*, the central press organ of the Communist Party of Mexico, published underground from 1929 to 1934, and it is told in a book of photo reproductions of many of its pages.

It was founded by Mexico's famous painters David Alfaro Siqueiros, Jose Orozco, Diego Rivera and Jarier Guerrero in 1924 as the trade-union newspaper of artists and sculptors. But from the very beginning it spoke for the more radical minded working people, living up to its subtitle, designed by Siqueiros 'The newspaper of workers and peasants.' Its appearance was the beginning of the Communist press in Mexico.

The name *El Machete* was chosen because, it said in its first issue: 'The machete is used to cut sugar cane, to blaze a trail in thick forests, to chop off the heads of snakes, to uproot weeds and tame the ambitions of the cruel rich.' It used bold type and many drawings so that the working folk, many of whom were not too literate, could understand it. The material was written up in the form of the *corrido*, a folk ballad, under a common heading, 'Down with the rich, up with the new order.' Written in the language of the people and politically oriented, the *corrido* described the plight of the workers and peasants, exposed the betrayal of the national bourgeoisie, the avidity of U.S. imperialism and ridiculed the intellectuals turned bureaucrat.

At the same time the Communists launched a successful campaign on its pages against anarchism. *El Machete* became the Party's main lever in uniting the ideas of scientific socialism with the spontaneous workers' movement, in building up the Party, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie for influence and leadership of the masses.

During the right-wing coup in mid-1929 police agents assassinated one of the founders of the Communist Party of Cuba, an outstanding anti-imperialist fighter, Julio Antonio Mella who was active on the staff of *El Machete*. Peasant leaders Guadalupe Rodriguez and Hipolito Landero and many Communists were murdered by the

army, the police and thugs in the service of the landowners. In June 1929 the police raided the editorial offices of *El Machete* and destroyed its printing plant. The campaign of repression against the Party and the workers coincided with moves toward closer ties with U.S. imperialism.

The Party was forced underground, and so was *El Machete*, now edited by Hernan Laborde, the Communist Party General Secretary. The paper was of a smaller format and printed on a smaller press, presented by German workers — it came to be known as our 'Aurora.'

Let us leaf through *El Machete's* 124 underground issues. The headings bear this legend: 'Central Organ of the Communist Party of Mexico, Section of the Communist International. Registered 13 March, 1924, closed down 6 June, 1929, raided 29 August, 1929.'

The paper now focused its attention mainly on workers' strikes, demonstrations, meetings, hunger marches, hunger strikes by political prisoners, appropriation of land by armed peasants and peasant clashes with the army. It sharply attacked all repressive measures, every infringement of the freedom of revolutionaries and the workers' political rights.

Every issue contained reports about the young Soviet Republic, the progress of its first five-year plan and collectivization, pointing out that all this was being accomplished at a time when the capitalist world was experiencing a severe crisis.

Whether it was dealing with the struggle of the European proletariat against freedom, the progress of the Chinese revolution, solidarity with the Cuban people, again threatened with U.S. military occupation, or the American workers' fight against unemployment, *El Machete* unfailingly showed its readers that their struggle was a part of the struggle of the world proletariat.

Much attention was devoted to building the Party. There was a special section on organization and development of the Party, its ties with mass movements, and Central Committee directives. In short, *El Machete* tried to fulfill the tasks Lenin had set for the revolutionary Marxist press.

As a result of the persistent and heroic efforts of Party activists, using *El Machete* as one of their main weapons in the difficult struggle of 1924-1934, the foundation was laid for making the Communist Party of Mexico the vanguard force of the workers and peasants and for its central role in carrying out the reforms of the latter part of the 1930s against the latifundists and imperialists and for broader democracy in the country's political life.

Those who published *El Machete* have left us a legacy of dedication, courage and resourcefulness, for it was they who ensured

that the Communist press in Mexico remains effective under all conditions.

By publishing reproductions of the illegal issues of *El Machete*, the Puebla University has provided us with an invaluable source of information on the history of the Mexican workers' movement, and the wealth of experience accumulated by the Communist press of Mexico, to be used in today's revolutionary struggle.

Samuel Melendrez

WHAT PATH FOR FORMER COLONIES?

Studies in the National Liberation Struggle. Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1976, 478 pp.

The rapid growth of the national-liberation movement, the emergence on the world scene of former colonies and semi-colonies, and their greater role in international affairs, naturally pose the question of what path they choose. The answer is important not only for their social and economic development, but also for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The problem is dealt with in an interesting book by Soviet Professor R. Ulyanovksy, who analyzes the experience of liberated Asian and African countries and uses a wealth of material in studying the theoretical problems of the national-liberation movement. Prof. Ulyanovsky traces the rise and development of the Marxist-Leninist concept of non-capitalist development and shows the significance of Soviet experience in solving the nationalities problem.

The author examines the more important features of socialism-oriented states, questions of a united anti-imperialist front, and the role of developing countries in promoting détente.

Drawing on the events in many of these countries, in particular Angola, he describes the consistent internationalist policy of the socialist community and shows the objective necessity for the anti-imperialist forces in the liberated countries to form an alliance with it.

The book summarizes the experience of socialism-oriented countries, noting that notwithstanding serious objective and subjective difficulties they are making steady progress.

Discussing the ideological struggle over ways of socio-economic development, Prof. Ulyanovsky points out that for Communists the core of the problem is not to identify national-democratic ideology with scientific socialism or, on the contrary, reduce it to the petty-bourgeois level, but in the course of the common struggle against imperialism, to achieve broad and close cooperation in the interests of the nation and the working people, and to accelerate social progress.

M. Jurgens

NEW BOOKS

K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin. *Über den Anarchismus* (On Anarchism). Prepared and prefaced by H. Adamo. Frankfurt on Maine, Verlag Marxistische Blätter, 1976. 312 pp.

A collection of articles, letters and extracts from the Marxist-Leninist classics, exposing the theoretical bankruptcy of anarchism and showing the harm it has inflicted on the workers' movement.

K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin. *O Socialismo Científico* (Scientific Socialism). Lisbon, Edicoes 'Avante!', 1975. 155 pp.

Extracts from letters written by K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin compiled under the following headings: 'The Origin of Scientific Socialism,' 'Theory of the Socialist Revolution,' 'The Stage of Transition,' 'Socialism and Communism.' Translated and prepared for printing by the 'Avante!' publishers.

V.I. Lenin. *A Questão Agrária* (The Agrarian Question). Lisbon, Edicoes 'Avante!', 1975. 257 pp.

A collection of extracts from books, articles and speeches. This is the first issue of the Lenin series prepared by the 'Avante!' publishers.

G. Amendola. *Intervista su l'antifascismo* (Discussing Antifascism). Bari, Laterza, 1976. 221 pp.

The author, a member of the Italian Communist Party Leadership points out that the anti-fascist struggle for which Italian Communists have made such big sacrifices since the foundation of their Party in 1921, had fostered a hatred for fascism among the people. The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Italy (March 1975), noted that only joint action by all national progressive forces could cement and further develop the working people's democratic and social gains.

The Ideological Struggle Today. Edited by Academician F.V. Konstantinov. Vol. 1 — The Course and Main Problems of the Ideological Struggle; Vol. 2 — Capitalism Today, Its Contradictions and Doctrines. Moscow, Politizdat, 1975-1976.

The two volumes contain a consistent criticism of modern bourgeois and revisionist conceptions in philosophy, political economy and other social sciences, linking the emergence of these conceptions with the growth of the proletariat's class struggle in the capitalist countries and the upsurge of the national-liberation movement, development of the world revolutionary process. The materials also demonstrate the ideological and political machinery used to spread present-day bourgeois and revisionist theories.

P. Vas-Zoltan. *Az Agyak Elrablása* (The Brain Drain. Anomaly of

International Relations). (Printed in English). Budapest, 1975. 151 pp.

The author researches the political, economic, social and ethical sides of the brain drain from the developing states to the developed capitalist countries. The author also analyzes bourgeois literature on this subject.

M. Vicent. *Femmes: quelle liberation?* (Women, What Kind of Liberation?). Paris, Editions sociales, 1976. 167 pp.

How are women faring in the capitalist crisis? What are the social roots of their inequality? How can women win their freedom? These are the questions dealt with by the author, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of France. 'Only socialism,' she says, 'can resolve this problem.'

O. Havlic, J. Kettner. *Kommunisticke a delnicke strany sveta* (Communist and Workers' Parties of the World). Prague, Svoboda, 1976. 672 pp.

The authors trace the origin and history, strategy and tactics and organizational principles of Communist and Workers' parties and write about their various publications.

A. Iancu. *Cresterea economica si resursele naturale* (Economic Development and Natural Resources). Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1976. 262 pp.

The Rumanian research worker reviews bourgeois economic views on the relationship between economic development and natural resources. He exposes the reasons for the sharp difference in rates of economic development between the emerging and the developed capitalist countries and shows how political factors affect protection of the national natural wealth.

The Communist Party and How It Works, on Its Organization and Functioning. New York, New Outlook Publishers, 1976. 77 pp.

This is a book on the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party USA, how it functions, its work among the people, organizational principles, its publications and financial sources.

The Socialist Way of Life. Moscow, Politizdat, 1976.

A group of Soviet research workers compiled this monograph analyzing the effects of various socio-economic factors and of science-technical progress on the socialist life style.

The authors show the problems being dealt with by the CPSU and the Soviet people. The book demonstrates the advantages of socialist democracy which guarantees realistic rights to individuals while protecting the interests of society as a whole.

Brief information about Communist and Workers' Parties

COMMUNIST PARTY OF NORWAY

Founded on November 4, 1923, in Oslo by representatives of the left wing of the Norwegian Labor Party who left the party following its takeover by right Social-Democrats and its withdrawal from the Comintern (which it had joined in 1919).

The Communist Party was banned but continued to work underground during the nazi occupation (1940-1945).

The program documents adopted in 1953 and 1963 played a big part in the Party's efforts to strengthen its ideological, political and organizational unity and consolidate its positions in the workers' movement and among the people. The Party is guided by the Program adopted by its 14th Congress in 1973. It is based on the principles set out in the documents of the world communist movement and on the experience of the international and national workers' movement. In its practical activities the Party is guided by the 1969 Working Program.

In 1973 the left forces' Socialist Election Alliance (SEA) was formed, composed of the Communist Party and several left political parties and groups. In the 1973 parliamentary elections it won 11.2 per cent of the vote, giving it 16 of the 155 seats in Parliament. However, the left Socialist leaders made their continued cooperation within the SEA conditional on its reorganization into a party with dissolution of its constituent parties and groups, including the Communist Party (the Socialist Left Party was formed in March, 1975, on the basis of the SEA).

The 15th Congress of the Communist Party in November 1975, rejected the reorganization scheme, declaring that 'a successful working class struggle in any country depends on the existence of a Marxist-Leninist Party.' The congress resolution says: 'All experience of the international class struggle shows that socialism has never triumphed in any country without a party founded on Marxism-Leninism.' The congress stressed the need to strengthen the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, outlined steps to increase its actionability and effectiveness. It called for closer ties with fraternal parties in other countries and with the world communist movement.

The 1976 Program for Cooperation of the Norwegian Working

People, based on the 15th Congress decisions, explains the Communist demands in the struggle for peace and the democratic, social and economic rights of Norway's working people.

In composition, the CPN is basically a workers' party, built on the principles of democratic centralism. Its supreme organ is the congress convened every two years, and in between congresses — the Central Board and its Executive Committee. Norway also has a Young Communist League.

The central organ of the CPN is the weekly *Friheten* (Freedom).

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF LAOS

The Laotian people's liberation struggle began immediately after the country became a colony, and since the 1930s was led by the Communist Party of Indochina (CPIC). The People's Revolutionary Party of Laos (the name was changed from People's Party in 1972) was formed in March 1955 after independence was proclaimed, and it continued the work of the CPIC. It is a Marxist-Leninist working class party — the guiding force of the Laotian revolution. The PRPL is the organizing and leading force of the Laotian Patriotic Front which is based on a worker-peasant alliance and unites all the forces working for independence and social change.

The Laotian people won through to victory under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party. They took over power after the monarchy was deposed, and the Laotian People's Democratic Republic was proclaimed on December 2, 1975.

The ultimate goal set by the PRPL is implementation of socialist transformations and the building of socialism by relying on dictatorship of the proletariat.

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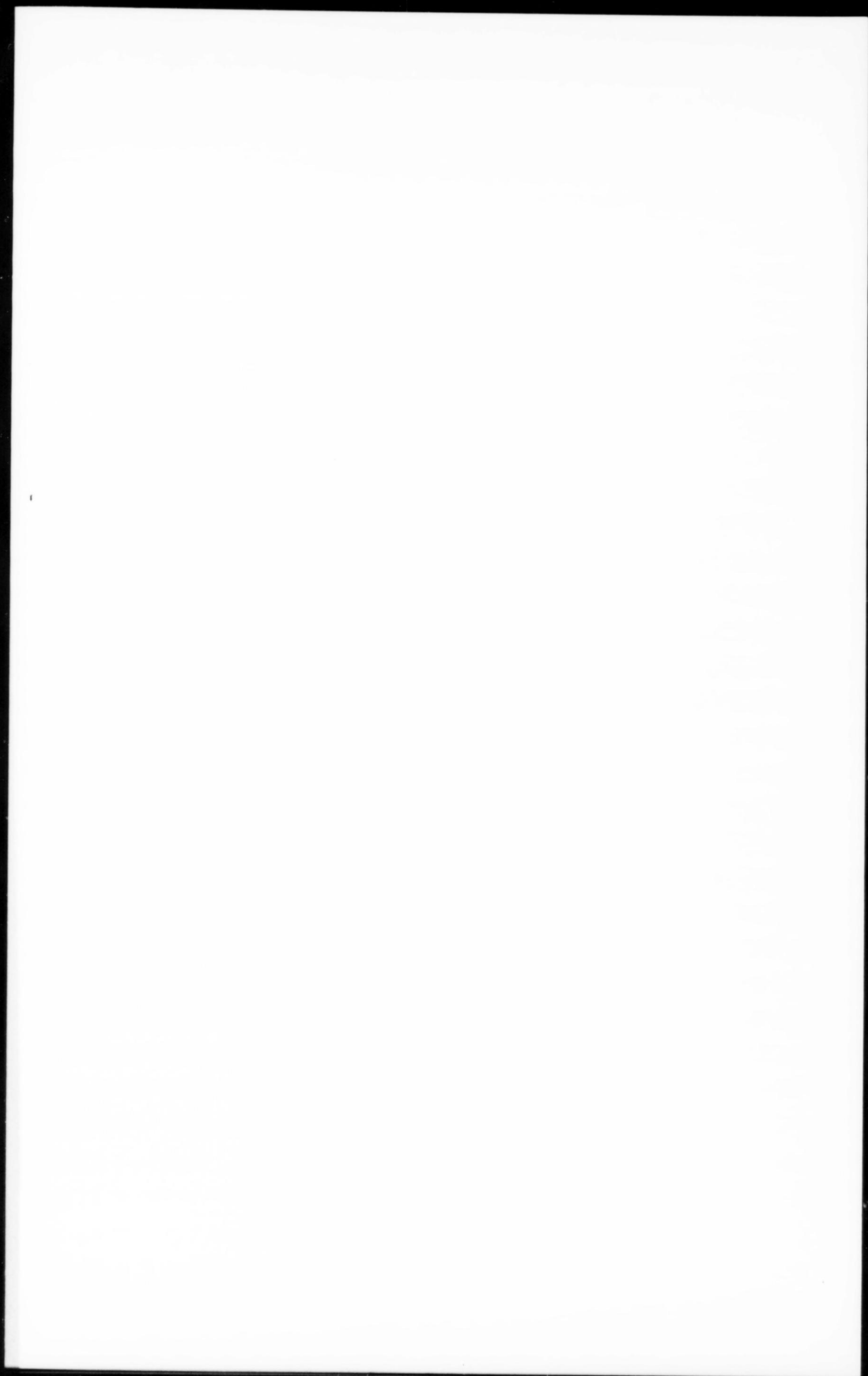
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