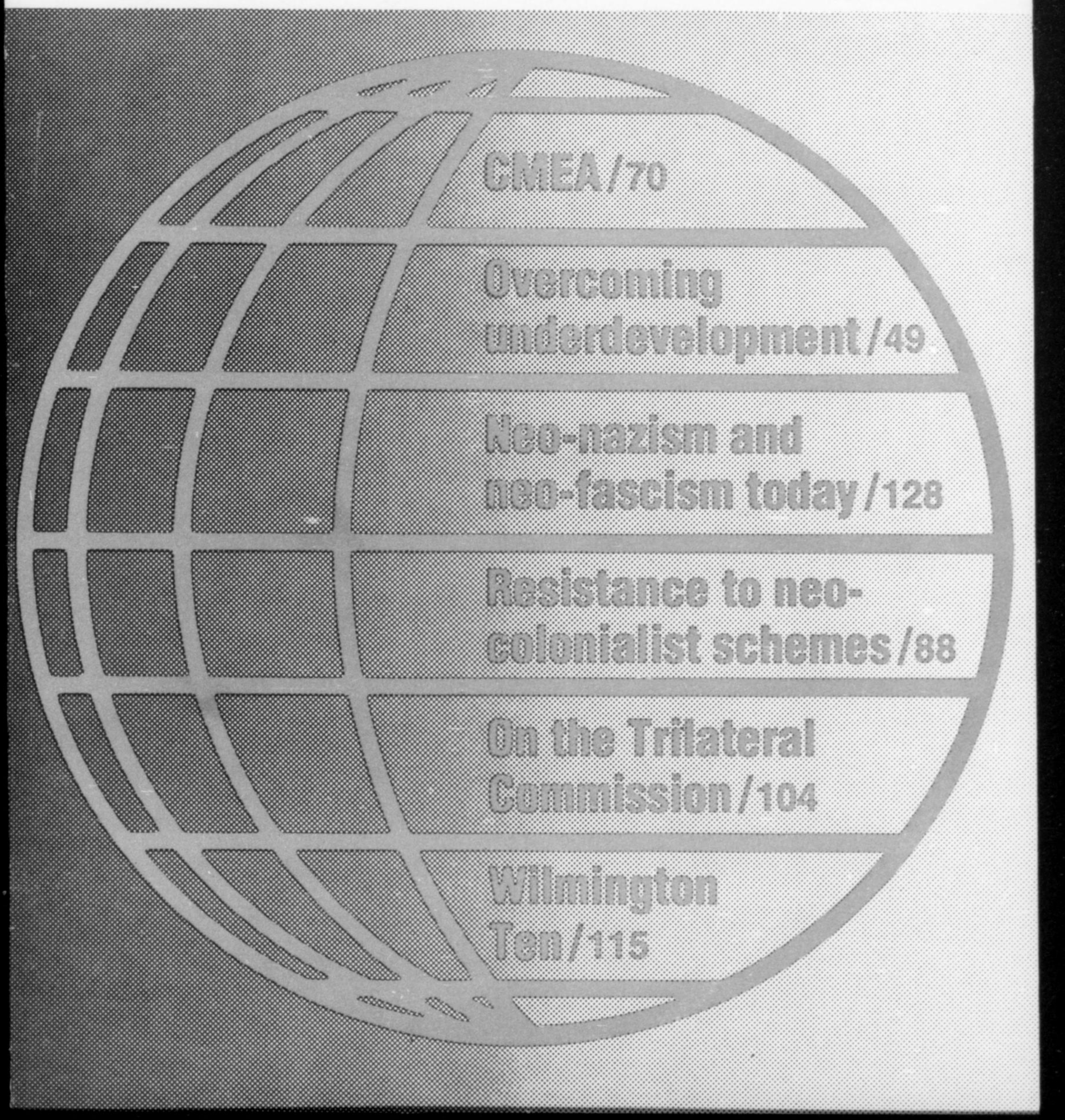
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Workers of all countries, unite!

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May 1978, Vol. 21, No. 5

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feature

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work

These words were spoken by Frederick Engels, associate and friend of Karl Marx, whose 160th birth anniversary was observed by progressive people across the world on May 5, 1978.

In connection with this memorable date an international study group held discussions at the *WMR*. The group was composed of Girgin Girginov, CC member of the CP of Bulgaria, Luis Padilla, CC member of the CP of Bolivia, Georg Kwiatowski, representative of the German CP, T. Oizerman, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and W. Seme, representative of the South African CP.

Speakers stressed that Marx's teachings have played an exceptional role in the advancement of contemporary society and will continue to do so in future. On the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin the international communist movement has grown into a truly worldwide force, the most influential political force of our time.

Marx's cause is the spiritual and social emancipation of the working class and all humankind. Spiritual emancipation is served by the powerful instruments of knowledge created by Marx. In collaboration with Engels he brought about a revolutionary change in social thinking. A solid foundation was laid for today's edifice of philosophy, political economy and socio-political science that shows us how the world can be transformed for the good of the working people, for the benefit of all humanity. The instrument of social emancipation is the struggle of the working class and the people against capitalism, for socialism and communism. Its success is assured, according to Marx's teachings, by the party of the working class guided by revolutionary theory, and by the fraternal alliance of the working people of all countries.

Interest in Marx's works and ideas is steadily growing, members of the study group stated. Sharp ideological controversies are raging unabated over his legacy. Bourgeois 'Marxologists' supplement further 'refutations' of Marxism with attempts to use Marx's name

and ideas against the ideology and practice of the contemporary communist movement. With reference to 'present-day demands,' they dissect Marx's doctrine, divide it into 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' parts, and mix it with unscientific concepts, trying to impart to it a non-partisan 'respectability' or to reduce it to a catechism, a set of dogmas far removed from science and life.

The communists uphold Marx's legacy as an organic whole, and constantly enrich it. This was the approach taken by Lenin, who defended Marxism against revisionist and bourgeois distortions as the only scientific world outlook of the communist and working-class movement. On the basis of Marx's teachings he provided solutions for new problems posed by the social practice of our epoch and thus creatively developed the Marxian doctrine on *its own* basis, raising it to a higher plane in keeping with the new period. Members of the international study group voiced the opinion that, taking the method and content of our revolutionary doctrine as a basis, it is possible to solve the problems posed by the new historical conditions. This conviction determined the group's approach to some cardinal problems of Marxian theory on which the practice of the class struggle focuses the communists' attention time and again. The problems discussed included those of the regularities of the social revolution, during which capitalism is replaced by a higher social system, socialism; the historic mission of the working class and its party; the attitude to the state, etc.

Having transformed socialism from a Utopia into a science, Marx and Engels set out with their associates to accomplish the formidable task of translating scientific socialism into reality, of combining it with the movement of the masses. This task has now assumed new, global dimensions. Scientific socialism acquires material shape in the actual process of building socialism and communism; it blends with the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries; it blends with the national-liberation movement. This, members of the group noted, is indicative of the internationalism of Marx's teachings. which provide all the three great revolutionary forces of our epoch with reliable guidelines in struggle.

A record of the study group's deliberations is being prepared for publication.

Program of builders of a new world

Romesh Chandra
President, World Peace Council

Thirty years ago, in 1948, a group of intellectuals of various countries — scholars, writers, actors and others — met at a world congress in Wroclaw to reach agreement on joint action for peace.

I repeat, it was in 1948 and the horrors of World War II were still fresh in the peoples' memory. The last battles in Europe had come to an end a mere three years earlier. Wroclaw itself was still in ruins, as were many cities of the Soviet Union and other European countries hit by the war; the dust raised by the U.S. atom bombs which had destroyed Nagasaki and Hiroshima was still radioactive. Nevertheless, there was an obvious tendency in imperialist circles to revive militarism (the year 1948 was most typical in this respect). The United States, calculating that it could retain its atomic arms monopoly, was trying to impose on a world delivered from the 'new order' of Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado its 'American order,' its program for 'moral leadership of the world' based on well-organized production of explosives for the atom bomb. Churchill had already made his notorious Fulton speech ushering in the cold war. Preparations for the conclusion of an Atlantic treaty were in full swing (the treaty was signed roughly a year later) and the more bellicose generals and diplomats of the imperialist powers hoped that they would be able to turn the cold war into a hot, nuclear one.

The progressive intellectuals who conferred at Wroclaw adopted the peace supporters' first policy statement, the Peace Manifesto of Cultural Workers. They appealed to the reason and conscience of millions, for, to quote Frederic Joliot-Curie, the Founder-President of our movement, they wanted 'every one of the millions that constitute the peoples threatened by war' to realize 'that the problem of war and peace is also *his* problem, that it affects him directly and he cannot evade it.' They want no one to 'feel powerless, for millions like him in every part of the globe pose the same problems along with him so as to defend peace, having united their forces.'*

The Wroclaw congress was unanimous in considering that the

*See, Frederic Joliot-Curie, *Textes choisis*. Editions sociales, Paris, 1959, p. 156.

horrors of war must never recur; that those who sought a new world war must be stopped; that never again must mankind allow itself so insensate a waste of material resources and human lives; that never again must cities be allowed to be razed; that never again must any continent be exposed to the threat of fascism.

That was how the World Peace Movement, the broadest and most representative anti-war movement known to history, was launched.

The past 30 years have seen the movement gain in scale and strength. This is confirmed, not only by the increasing number of countries in which national organizations are represented in the World Peace Council (130 today), and by the fact that the WPC's appeals on key problems meet with a growing response, but by the wide extension of the political range of the movement. The leading bodies of the WPC and the various national organizations represented in it are representative of the most diverse political parties and currents, socialists and social democrats, communists, Christian democrats, liberals, nationalists, radicals, MPs, trade unionists, and members of youth and women's organizations, scientists, writers and artists.

The width of this spectrum is an indication of the reality of the peace movement at this stage. The fact that WPC actions involve numerous political parties and forces that used to be outside the peace movement, the more than 450 million signatures collected to the WPC's New Stockholm Appeal for the ending of the arms race, and the WPC's close cooperation with the UN and its specialized agencies, as well as with other inter-governmental organizations, are evidence of the new qualities acquired by our movement.

We never forget that the struggle against the war menace is a decisive task for all who are working for peace. But closely linked with this task today is another task which we call building peace, building a new world, fighting to end hunger and poverty, exploitation and oppression, which have been the lot of hundreds of millions for centuries.

Our cooperation with the UN is particularly important in this context. We do not think that UN has done all that requires to be done in the struggle against the use of force in international relations, for the elimination of tensions in various areas of the globe, the settlement of disputes by negotiation and the promotion of peaceful cooperation between states with different social systems, with a view to solving regional and global problems. Indeed, we consider that the potentialities of the UN are far from being exhausted and that every problem tackled by the UN also concerns the World Peace Movement.

This became all the more evident at last year's World Assembly of

Peace Builders in Warsaw. The Assembly heard messages from the UN Secretary-General and from the directors general and heads of nearly all specialized UN organizations and agencies. Each of the ten commissions, the participants in every round-table discussion, every forum and every continental meeting discussed specific issues, referring continuously to the program and resolutions of the UN and other inter-governmental organizations.

I would like to add that the cooperation between the WPC and the UN is to our mutual benefit and that there is growing reciprocity between the two organizations. At the dawn of our movement, when the WPC was in the making, even the UN was affected by cold war sentiments. And perhaps only a few national delegations to the UN believed at the time that the peace forces could save the world from the nuclear catastrophe that threatened to come any day.

Yet the peace forces not only succeeded in preventing the cold war from becoming a hot one but brought about a turn toward détente. One result of this turn has been the decision to convene a special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament in May 1978. This decision is a signal success of all peace forces. Credit for it is due, first of all, to the governments of the countries championing peace and national independence, that is, to the overwhelming majority of the governments of UN member nations. But we must also point out the immense contribution to the struggle for peace, détente and peaceful coexistence made primarily by the Soviet Union, other countries of the socialist community, and by non-aligned countries, and the meaningful effort they have been exerting for a long time to transform the UN into an instrument of peace.

On the other hand, it is clear that governments alone cannot ensure lasting peace. But then there is no doubt that they can, with support from the peoples represented in the great peace movement, defeat on all fronts the forces of imperialism, aggression and war, of fascism and neo-fascism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and reaction. Our time is marked by the growing unity of the peace forces at state level and other levels. The governments of most of the world's socialist and developing countries, and even many capitalist countries, and the World Peace Movement have a common goal, which is to guarantee a lasting and just peace on earth. This was revealed, in particular, by the recent International Disarmament Conference of Non-governmental Organizations in Geneva.

Another distinguishing feature of today's movement of the builders of peace is widespread recognition of the fact that there is no contradiction between patriotism in its true sense, that is, love of one's country and people, and internationalism, or recognition of the fact that there exists only one world and one humankind, and that the

peoples have common interests in the struggle for peace. One cannot fight for peace without fighting for one's own people, nor can one build and defend a lasting peace without defending one's own people and seeking a new and better life for them. And on the other hand, one cannot serve one's own people without serving peace and the happiness of all peoples.

We have learned these and many other lessons from the 30 years' record of the peace movement. Our movement now has a clear idea of its manifold new tasks and prospects; it has gained new experience and is more optimistic and hopeful than ever, and also more vigilant. The new period is not one in which we can slacken our effort. To build a lasting peace means stepping up the struggle for peace, using the new opportunities and adopting new working methods to promote peace according to the new conditions.

World opinion is increasingly aware of the direct connection between lessened tension and social progress. Gains in détente have altered the international climate. They have generated fresh optimism and confidence in the possibility of staving off a third world war. Détente has resulted in reducing the danger of a world nuclear conflict but has not removed it.

Recognition of this fact pervades the entire activity of the WPC and of peace organizations and movements the world over.

Our adversaries spare no effort to interpret the policy of détente in their own way, to adjust it to the strategic objectives of imperialism. Differences in the approach of the ruling circles of the leading capitalist powers to détente do not change this situation. The fact is that the policy of capitalist countries is influenced not only by forces recognizing present-day world realities to one degree or another but by various militarist, conservative and reactionary groups who are associated with the military-industrial complex and the most aggressive circles of NATO and who are intent on at least reviving the cold war. Moreover, the 'realists' and reactionaries have identical class interests, for both groups want to 'suppress' or at least somehow 'stop' social progress and the liberation of mankind from exploitation. It is obvious to both groups that conflicts in the capitalist world today develop in an atmosphere in which the working-class democratic and national-liberation movement is surging ahead and the struggle of the masses is rapidly acquiring more social and class content. They realize that in most crisis situations, not only is there a clash of interests between states, but all the progressive forces of the world are virtually locked in battle with international reaction; the point at issue is not only the national independence of this or that people but, above all, the opportunities for their social progress. This is the case in southern Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and elsewhere.

Furthermore, until recently the imperialist rulers contrived by taking advantage of the disunity of the masses and the lack of organization among them to settle many international problems behind their backs or to impose their will through diktat. But the situation is changing as détente makes headway; the masses are becoming more and more resolved to, and capable of, influencing political developments. This is evident in the unprecedentedly vast campaign to ban the U.S. neutron bomb, the biggest mass campaign in history against any such weapon.

Détente is a tremendous factor for positive changes in social consciousness. Under its impact the population of capitalist and developing countries sees through the lying propaganda regarding a so-called 'Soviet threat,' on which the imperialists have been capitalizing for years. It is a fact that as a result of constructive initiatives advanced at international forums by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, by communists, people take a more sober and realistic view of those who for decades have been telling them stories about the communists' 'aggressive designs.'

Indeed, how can any sensible person take allegations about the 'Soviet threat' seriously now that negotiations of great importance to the population of the whole planet are being conducted on Soviet initiative or in line with proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries? These negotiations pursue such important aims as:

— limiting strategic offensive arms (Soviet Union and USA);

— imposing a complete and universal ban on nuclear weapons tests (Soviet Union, USA and Britain);

— limiting military activity in the Indian Ocean (Soviet Union and USA);

— reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe (Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries).

The latest Soviet proposals also include simultaneous cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons by all states, a mutual pledge by the Soviet Union and United States not to manufacture the neutron bomb and not to be first to use nuclear arms.

Experience shows, however, that the road from initiatives and talks to agreement is long and arduous. The opponents of détente will not abandon their positions without a fight.

For various reasons, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism continue to affect the social consciousness of a section of the population of capitalist countries. Extreme reaction's virtual monopoly of the media and of various research and forecasting centers financed by big capital seriously imperils peace and social progress.

Warmongers and those who profit from the arms race make frantic

attempts to muzzle public opinion, throw the peace movement into disarray and reduce its impact. Alarmed by the growing scale and prestige of our movement, by its increasing influence and appeal, they are now carrying out serious and well-financed measures to form their own 'peace movements' that would divert public effort from the solution of urgent problems, a sphere in which progress can now be made. Spokesmen of some of these 'movements,' who persistently pose as champions of general and complete disarmament, describe every partial gain in the matter of banning nuclear tests, and the talks on limiting strategic arms and banning chemical weapons and new weapons of mass destruction as measures which are not merely 'useless' but 'harmful' because we are on the brink of a world war and nothing but immediate general and complete disarmament can help mankind to survive. Accordingly, 'survival' becomes their main slogan.

There is also an opposite trend — toward distracting the attention of the peace movement from the struggle for the solution of such fundamental problems as disarmament, détente and peaceful coexistence, all of which is alleged to be 'politics,' a matter for governments and parties, while the peoples should concern themselves only with education, the environment and other such 'non-political' problems.

I do not think that the principal sponsors of such 'movements' are naive people who have been misled; I think they have carefully prepared plans behind them. While paying lip-service to the struggle against the imperialist powers engaged in the arms race and against the makers of the neutron bomb, they are confusing and weakening the peace movement. It is not accidental that the bourgeois press strongly supports all such 'fighters,' all the 'maximalists' who demand immediate disarmament and oppose the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which produce important if partial results.

We take a different view of world developments and the task of fighting for peace. We think it is essential not merely to survive in the old world but to advance toward building a new world. In our opinion, it is very important to solve the problems of education and the environment. And we put these questions high on our agenda. But unless the political problems are solved at the same time, it may so happen that the neutron bomb will leave neither teachers, nor pupils, nor environmentalists on earth. We favor every step, whether big or small, that brings a world without weapons or wars nearer. We fully agree with that outstanding peace fighter, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who has said that the main thing that has to be done now is 'to move from disarmament talks to real steps signaling the

beginning of disarmament. This, and this alone, will really meet the desires of the peoples, who want a lasting peace and who strongly condemn actions aimed at increasing the threat of a new world war, who condemn the arms race.'*

The Washington Peace Proclamation adopted by the Bureau of the WPC Presidential Committee last January at its first session ever held in the USA, and the statement on détente and disarmament adopted for presentation to the Preparatory Committee of the special session of the UN General Assembly, urge all peace forces to step up their fight for peace and détente, against the arms race.

We call for vigilance against new conspiracies by the military-industrial complexes and the transnational corporations.

We proclaim our determination to fight for the slashing of military budgets, for the stopping of all arms supplies to fascist and reactionary regimes, for an end to the destabilization operations which threaten so many countries today.

The World Peace Council proclaims its full support for the efforts of the United Nations, of the governments, political parties and organizations dedicated to peace, the efforts of the peoples to end the arms race, to ban all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, to adopt effective measures for the reduction of arms and to move toward general and complete disarmament.

We condemn and are totally opposed to the development of the immoral and deadly neutron bomb.

We proclaim our full support for the convening by the United Nations as soon as possible of a World Disarmament Conference.

Détente, the easing of tensions, and all that it means for the world is threatened by the arms race.

We proclaim our determination ot intensify our efforts for the ending of the arms race and for disarmament — vital conditions for the consolidation of détente, for making the process of détente irreversible. We invite all who stand for peace to join hands in these efforts.

A new world *can* be built. Hunger and poverty *can* be banished. Independence and equality for all peoples *can* be ensured. The peoples *can* be assured their sacred right to live without fear.

This, in effect, is the action program of the World Peace Council, the action program of builders of a new world, as peace fighters call themselves more and more frequently, for the struggle for disarmament and détente is also the struggle to build a new world.

**Information Bulletin*. Prague, Peace and Socialism International Publishers, No. 3, 1978, p. 50.

Inseverable interconnection

Schafik Jorge Handal
General Secretary, CC,
CP of El Salvador

Past history makes clear that there have never been any 'pure' social revolutions. Nor can any ever occur. Each revolution is inevitably a patchwork of social movements which are not identical in every respect, and each is a chain of diverse class battles. Lenin wrote: 'Whoever expects a pure social revolution will *never* live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 356).

These words fully apply to Latin America today. Democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks in the revolutionary struggle are interlaced in the countries of our continent. No matter how the revolutionary processes in this or that country may have differed from each other in their social-class content and the extent of the working class' involvement, their course, when taken on the scale of Latin America as a whole, shows the organic connection between true anti-imperialism and democracy, on the one hand, and socialism, on the other.

This inseverable and dialectical interconnection depends on a number of important factors, the modern epoch itself being of crucial importance, since its main content is transition from capitalism to socialism. Its characteristic feature is the broad sweep of the people's struggle for democracy, and against the endemic tendency of imperialism to reaction all along the line, and suppression of the elementary rights and freedoms of the working people and the masses in general.

The transformation of socialism into the crucial factor of the world's political development, the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, which is having a painful effect on the material condition of the masses in Latin American countries, and the successes of the international working class and the forces of national liberation induce qualitative changes in the goals and tasks of the Latin American peoples' struggle. Objective factors, like the relative maturity of capitalism, the incompleteness of democratic transformations and the dependence on imperialism impel the anti-imperialist movement in

the countries of the continent to go beyond the framework of traditional bourgeois-democratic revolutions and acquire an ever more pronounced socialist tendency.

Working in the same direction are factors like the growth of the working people's class consciousness and extension of their political horizons, their mounting intolerance of social injustice and all the defects of the capitalist system; the proletariat's growing role as the center of attraction for all the forces coming out against the domination of the monopolies and for democracy; ever greater support by the masses for the communists' ideas for transforming society; and the unity of the patriotic and progressive forces within broad anti-imperialist alliances and democratic coalitions.

Those are the root factors which determine the growing approximation of the democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks of the revolutionary movement in Latin American countries. Unless this is taken into account, we feel no successful solution of national-liberation and social-emancipation problems on the continent is possible. The Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, 1975) said that 'the struggle for democracy for the popular masses, for vital structural reforms, and for the transition to socialism is inseparably linked with the fight against the monopolies and imperialism, which not only control our wealth, but also support and help the oligarchies and the oligarchic governments.'

Here I intend to consider the question of the inner connection within the framework of this struggle with its three objectives. Naturally, I lay no claim to dealing with all the questions that this involves, nor have I any intention of presenting my views on this matter as the last word in the discussion. All the problems considered here resulted from our reflections based on the experience of the Communist Party and other revolutionary forces in El Salvador, and I should like to share these with our comrades.

The whole current revolutionary process in Latin America stems from the structural crisis of an intermediate-level capitalism, a capitalism which depends on international imperialism, above all U.S. imperialism.[1] The ruling classes have tried and continue to try to overcome the crisis the bourgeois way, with the use of two forms: on the one hand, bourgeois-democratic regimes (as in Mexico and Venezuela, where the ongoing socio-economic process consisted or still consists of transition to a higher stage of dependent capitalism, to the stage of monopoly and even state-monopoly capitalism); on the other hand, fascist regimes (in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay and Bolivia). In both instances — whether under fascism or under bourgeois democracy — the attempts to solve the existing problems inevitably acquire not only a capitalist but also to some extent a pro-imperialist character both in

the economic and political field. The alternative, the true solution for the structural crisis, is the anti-imperialist and ultimately socialist way, capable of securing progress.

Capitalism in Latin America, including El Salvador, cannot exist or develop without dependence on imperialism. In other words, it cannot be an independent capitalism. That is why any attempt to find a bourgeois way out of the structural crisis inevitably turns out to be organically linked with the interests of imperialism. Both the bourgeois and the anti-imperialist way out of the crisis require not only control on the part of the state but also a definite type of political regime. With the bourgeois alternative, the type of political regime is determined by the inevitable confrontation of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution.

Following the victory of the first Latin American socialist revolution in Cuba and the growing tendency of revolutions in other countries to be transformed into anti-capitalist revolutions, some sections of the local big bourgeoisie and imperialism have come to regard fascist regimes as the only force capable of removing the danger of revolution and sending the Latin American countries along the bourgeois way out of the crisis, ensuring transition to dependent monopoly capitalism, and in some countries consolidation and stimulation of state-monopoly capitalism. Whenever for ad hoc or structural reasons the contest between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution does not threaten to develop into a revolutionary explosion, there is a tendency to use another bourgeois form for pulling out of the crisis. This can be achieved, if it can be achieved at all, only by a political regime of bourgeois-liberal democracy. In any case, the bourgeois alternative means no more than a step toward another phase of dependent capitalism. This is also borne out by our country's experience.

In our view, only one conclusion can be drawn from an analysis of this historical reality. Both the advocates of bourgeois representative democracy and the apologists of fascism seek, for objective class reasons, ultimately to tie in their interests and goals with those of imperialism. This must involve some form of settlement and cooperation with these two forces. We think that this is now being clearly expressed in Latin America and that, moreover, it is at the root of the Carter Administration's 'inconsistent' attitude to Latin American fascism.

The fact that the bourgeois-democratic and the fascist forms for pulling out of the crisis ultimately have the same strategic goals does not mean, however, that there are no contradictions between the forces and circles advocating either way. The revolutionary forces do draw a distinction between them and use this to promote the revolu-

tion. Historical experience shows that the bourgeois-democratic state best promotes the development and stability of capitalism because it meets the class interests of the bourgeoisie. That is why, although at the crucial points of confrontation with the revolutionary forces, the bourgeoisie tends, as a rule, to rally round the fascists; once the fascist regime has been installed and relatively consolidated, a section of the bourgeoisie inevitably comes to regard it as an obstacle to normal capitalist development, switches to the opposition and even makes attempts to overthrow the fascist regime.

From this it follows that the democratic, anti-fascist front proposed by the revolutionary forces can and must be very broad. In our view, even some circles of the big bourgeoisie may to some extent take part in it, provided they take a liberal stand, temporarily at any rate.

At this point we come to the gist of the matter: the democratic power established as a result of struggle by this *broad coalition of forces* can be nothing but a *transitional democratic power*. We feel that the main feature of the democratic power secured in this way will be its transitional, and consequently, temporary character. However, this is not connected with any definite time-scale, because the point at which this power is dialectically transcended will depend on the objective and subjective conditions of its extinction and its acquisition of a new quality.

Life provides confirmation of the fact that in the transitional periods of the revolutionary process the intensifying class struggle tends toward sharp clashes between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. In this context we assume that the transitional democratic power will not be able to consolidate itself, and that its stabilization will depend on the direction of its development: on whether the way out is consistently and finally bourgeois, and therefore dependent on imperialism, or whether the solution of the structural crisis is anti-imperialist, which is just as consistent and final, and for that reason leading on to socialism.

That is why the winning of a democratic power cannot be regarded as the ultimate goal, let alone as the completed stage of the revolution, but can and must be regarded as the starting point for the following stage of the revolutionary process tackling democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks.

To regard the transitional democratic power as the completed stage of the revolution would, in effect, we believe, be conducive to a bourgeois way out of the crisis. This is a point on which there has been a continuing discussion among the left-wing forces in the light of the lessons of Chile and Bolivia, and also of Portugal. Ultra-leftist groupings in El Salvador, as in other Latin American countries, advocate an artificial radicalization under a transitional democratic

power. They say that this consists in proclaiming and putting through at an accelerated pace a program of socio-economic transformations aimed at total expropriation. They regard the takeover of land, enterprises and housing as a task which is on the agenda as the main goal on which the whole revolutionary process depends. Experience shows that all of this, as a rule, ultimately plays into the hands of the counter-revolution and induces the middle strata, which are terrified by the radicalism of these groupings, to take a counter-revolutionary attitude.

The solution of this problem, we think consists in how flexibly and skillfully the new power succeeds in putting through the matured socio-economic reforms. The key issue for us in the period of a transitional democratic power is who actually wields the real power. Whether it is advisable to go fast or slow in putting through the socio-economic reforms depends, we think, on a number of factors. Even a proletariat in power continues to face the problem of the pace of change and use of elements of capitalism to boost the productive forces. An example here is the New Economic Policy (NEP), which the Communist Party and the Soviet state pursued in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. It did not signify an end to the class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The resultant situation created the objective conditions for the full and final victory of socialism over capitalism.

Consequently, even after the establishment of a transitional democratic regime there are still tasks bearing on the issue of power, and one tremendous, not to say primary, problem is, we think, the form in which the power is exercised, the mode in which human rights and civil liberties are guaranteed and and democracy and representation of the power itself, which comes solely from the people, are ensured.

Because the democratic power which the broad forces now involved in the fight against fascism will win is bound to be a transitional one, the task of the forces working for socialism, and of their communist vanguard above all, is to make it anti-imperialist. Eventually, this will objectively pave the way for socialism, regardless of the limited nature of the democratic front's present programs.

Of course, one cannot rule out the possibility that the transitional democratic power will be established before the conditions are ripe for transition to the next stage of the struggle. We believe that in that event, taking the realities into account, the putting through of various measures should be slowed down. It would be sheer adventurism, helping to defeat the revolution, to fail to reckon with the absence of the necessary conditions.

We think that the Cuban revolution offers a brilliant example of the objective connection between the struggle for democracy, against

imperialism and for socialism, and the model role which the communist vanguard has played and continues to play. This has helped to bring out the objective regularities of the revolutionary process in Latin America as a whole.[2]

The establishment of a democratic power in countries with dictatorial fascist regimes differs from the process in countries with more or less consistent bourgeois-democratic regimes. In the former instance, there is no democracy at all, and in the latter, various elements of democracy do exist. Accordingly, we feel that it is important to draw a distinction between the tasks in the struggle for democracy, which is a component part of the struggle for socialism (and that is our main and truly revolutionary goal), and the struggle for democratization. The latter, we think implies only changes in the methods used by the ruling bourgeoisie and is expressed in a different way in each of the two instances mentioned above.

Under dictatorial, fascist or fascist-minded regimes, the central slogan on the issue of power can be nothing but overthrow of the regime and establishment of a democratic government. The struggle for democratization and for the winning of concessions is determined at every given moment by the concrete balance of forces in each country. Such a struggle is justified and can, we believe, be a communist policy only when it is regarded as tactics, for it would cease to be a revolutionary policy if it were adopted as a general line and confined to the winning of concessions.

The democratic forces of El Salvador have gained considerable experience in this respect. The developments in our country over the past few years have aggravated the crisis, with the result that the living conditions for masses of people have worsened; the authorities have inflicted savage reprisals on the proletariat and the middle sections and there is the danger that a blatantly fascist regime will be set up. In the struggle over that period, of primary importance was the unity of the three democratic parties: the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) within the National Opposition Union (UNO). Set up in 1971, the UNO has mounted large-scale action in the struggle to democratize the regime.

The UNO's victory in the presidential election in 1972 (although the people were cheated of its fruits) showed that its program had been understood by the masses. The UNO also took part in the latest presidential election in February 1977. This time the electoral situation was used not only to carry on propaganda and organize the masses, but also, primarily, to install a democratic power, to unite all the democrats, both civilian and military, to rally a majority of the people, to enhance its militant spirit and rouse it to struggle in defense

of the will which it expressed on polling day, so preventing the establishment of an overt fascist dictatorship.[3]

Participation in the elections since 1966 provided the groundwork for establishing a united front of democratic forces and rallying the masses to back the joint program for democratic transformations. In the course of a bitter struggle, the masses learned from their own experience and became aware of the ballot rigging, the falsehood and duplicity of the much-vaunted 'representative democracy' which the ruling classes and their government defend.

Important political changes took place from 1972 to 1977, including the rise of a massive movement of peasants and agricultural workers, which had virtually been non-existent following the reactionary genocide in 1932,[4] the shift of a majority of the Catholic clergy to the left and its drawing closer to the rural masses, and the polarization of the contending forces; on the one hand, the overwhelming majority of the people, on the other, the regime, that is, the government and the oligarchy supporting it.

The struggle in El Salvador continues. Specific tactics are used in the specific conditions springing from revolutionary practice. One could, however, ask this question: following the ballot-rigging in the 1977 election, how important will it be to take part in election campaigns? In other words, will future participation in elections promote the cause of democracy and revolution in El Salvador? The communists believe that the elections have been exhausted as the main line of struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and put a democratic government in power. We think that this is now realized not only by the more advanced and organized sections, but also by the broad masses. Until the present government gives way to a different regime capable of carrying on a dialogue, the elections can be of no more than tactical importance.

Such is our experience gained in conditions when the government does not abide by bourgeois democracy. It is another matter when one has a more or less consistent bourgeois-democratic regime. In that event the struggle for democratization, as experience in some Latin American countries show, could become a means for obtaining access to the government.[5]

The situation which tends to arise is, we feel, a peculiar one. Let us recall that Marx allowed for the possibility of a state of social transition, 'where, on the one hand, the present economic base of society is not yet transformed, but where, on the other hand, the working masses have gathered strength enough to *enforce transitional measures* calculated to bring about an ultimate radical change of society.'[6]

Subsequent developments in this period of transition and a radical change of society would largely depend on a number of tasks the

revolutionary forces have to tackle: the winning over or neutralizing of the armed forces; political tasks, like maintaining the united front of anti-imperialist forces, further consolidating and extending the gains of the democratic power and its growth into an advanced, more developed democracy. Such a new democratic regime would, without entirely eliminating the economic basis of the capitalist system of exploitation, step by step make available to the working people effective and real instruments for resisting the counter-revolutionary violence, putting through reforms in the political superstructure, ousting the oligarchy and other pro-imperialist groupings from government, and paving the way to socialism.

Of course, one should see the intricate dialectics of this drawing together of the democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks in the revolutionary struggle in Latin American countries. This is a contradictory process because a feature of any democratic movement is its class and political unevenness, and the existence within it of socialist and anti-socialist trends, which inevitably makes for acute internal confrontations. That is why the maintenance of the proletarian movement's political and organizational independence, the strengthening of the leading role of the working-class party, and a clear understanding of the connection between intermediate democratic slogans and the chief goals of the proletariat's class struggle, of the historical perspective before the whole revolutionary movement on the international and national scale and the unconditional subordination of the struggle for democracy to the tasks of the socialist revolution, all of this, we think is the cornerstone of the foundation for a policy of joint action and cooperation between the vanguard of the working class and democratic movements and parties. Lenin wrote: 'One should know how to *combine* the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution, *subordinating* the first to the second. In this lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 35, p. 267).

We think that the guarantee that reaction and imperialism will fail to drown the revolution in blood in the transitional period can only be provided by the solution of the main problem, which is the final winning of full power by the proletariat and its closest, most solid and consistent allies. This problem has to be solved in the light of the interests of the masses, within the framework of the new (or advanced) democracy and new legality. The communists of El Salvador believe that one of the chief lessons of the Chilean revolution is the urgent need to win full power.

The struggle for the working people's immediate demands, against imperialist oppression and for developed democracy and socialism, all these are stages in one and the same historical process, and this

was emphasized by the Conference of Communist Parties in Havana when they declared that 'the path of revolutionary reforms in Latin America presupposes concerted and sustained struggle, in which the battles against fascism, in defense of democracy, against imperialism and oligarchies, and also the active participation of the people in political life comprise a single process.'

1. This structural crisis is expressed in the inability of the political and economic system to ensure the development of the productive forces for attaining reliable and independent economic growth meeting the requirements of broad masses of people. Capitalism is the dominant system in Latin America, but its development is largely the result of the intrusion of imperialist monopolies. Besides, capitalism is combined with pre-capitalist forms of production, above all latifundism and semi-feudal relics. This tends to distort the development of capitalism and, for its part, determines the character which revolutions in Latin American countries tend to acquire within the framework of the present epoch, namely, anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic, agrarian, and democratic, with a socialist perspective.

2. The profound interconnection between the democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks markedly distinguishes the revolutionary processes in Latin America from similar processes in other regions of the so-called Third World, and our revolution from the anti-colonial revolution, although one must admit that some anti-colonial revolutions have the same dialectics. The anti-colonial revolutions in Asia and Africa do not always result in a conjugation of national, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks in the same form, in the same intrinsic connection and rhythm as in Latin America.

3. For details see, Victor Montes, 'What is happening in El Salvador?' *WMR*, December, 1977, p. 103. — *Ed.*

4. During the suppression of a popular uprising in January 1932 against the terroristic Martinez dictatorship, one of the major revolutionary actions in Central America, the leaders of the CP of El Salvador were shot, including Agustin Farabundo Marti, one of its founders. The victims of the terrorism came to something like 30,000 and included agricultural and industrial workers, peasants, students and progressive intellectuals (the whole population at that time was less than one million).

5. This is what happened in Chile, where the use of the existing democratic freedoms and the extension of these freedoms through the struggle of the working class, the progressive anti-imperialist forces, working-class parties, and the forward-looking middle sections, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and others, paved the way for participation in the government.

6. Documents of the First International. Vol. III. Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance. p. 324.

exchange of views

The dialectics of economics and politics during the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society

International Scientific Conference

1. STAGES OF REVOLUTION AND APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

Ib Nielsen, who represented the Communist Party of Denmark at the Conference, emphasized and enlarged upon the idea that the dialectical connection between economics and politics is embodied in a specific way at each stage of the revolutionary struggle.

The Program of the CP Denmark, adopted in 1976, he said, outlines the prospects for Denmark's advance toward socialism. Our assumption is that in the preparatory process, before the final transition to socialism, changes are likely to take place in the direction of *anti-monopoly democracy*. At this stage (defined in the Program as 'not yet socialism') the means of production are not yet owned by the people but some key branches of the economy are subjected to 'democratic nationalization.' In economic life and in production there is still a sufficiently large private sector, but it operates within the politically specified 'framework of worker participation in management.' Once the key spheres of the economy are nationalized, it becomes possible to control them politically, and since the political power of anti-monopoly democracy turns, as we assume, into democratic people's power, it becomes possible to develop the main elements of democratic and planned economic management even before effecting the final transition to socialism.

The socialist society, according to the Program, will have the following characteristic hallmarks: (a) the means of production will become the people's or collective property; (b) the people, led by the working class, will assume the full weight of political power, and (c) that power will be used to develop the economy along planned lines to

Continued. See *WMR*, March 1978, page 70.

meet the material and cultural needs of the population. So, the transition from anti-monopoly democracy to socialism will be in the nature of a decisive, qualitative leap, but the duration of the revolutionary leap from capitalism to socialism will be reduced in the process of preparation for anti-monopoly democracy.

We do not regard anti-monopoly democracy as an independent socio-economic formation which, over a long period of history, reproduces itself as a 'mixed economic' and 'pluralist' system maintaining a definite equilibrium between a plan-governed 'socialist sector,' and a market-governed 'private sector.' Anti-monopoly democracy, our Program says, is a conprehensive politico-economic-social process, whose dynamic development serves as preparation for a (possible) *peaceful transition to socialism.*

According to the Marxist theory of socialist development, capitalism and socialism are separated by a special historical period, in which conditions take shape for building socialism as an independent socio-economic formation by bringing about profound political, economic, social and ideological changes. This transitional period *begins with* the working class and its allies *winning political power* and using it to effect the above-mentioned fundamental changes, initially by taking possession of the decisive commanding heights in the economy. When the CPD Program speaks about transition to socialism and the possibility of effecting it by peaceful means, it signifies precisely the establishment of socialist political power prepared by the development of anti-monopoly democracy and the creation, in this period, of a force capable of restructuring society, and not some wider dimension of this transitional process. The CPD Program does not contain a special section suggesting any special period of transition between the establishment of socialist political power and developed socialism. Anti-monopoly democracy is to be carried further, now drawing on the more favorable conditions created by the winning of political power, directly in the course of building socialism.

This is, in our view, a fully consistent stand because what the Program says about the things that can be *realized under anti-monopoly democracy* (which, I repeat, is 'not yet socialism') is very much similar to what was usually projected for the transitional period *after* the winning of socialist political power. Our Program suggests that the people, as a force transforming society, can at some earlier date bring about certain 'profound changes in society,' changes which classical Marxist theory considers attainable only after the winning of power by the proletariat, since these changes must necessarily have a socialist content. Essential elements of the socialist basis, as well as essential elements of the socialist superstructure, can, in our view,

develop even under pre-socialist social conditions. There is, however, a limit beyond which anti-monopoly democracy cannot develop along these lines and where the question arises of the need for a 'leap' from capitalism to socialism. These time-limits are not specified in the Program, because anti-monopoly democracy is not a state but a process, and the conditions of its development tend to change in the course of this development.

O.T. Bogomolov, Director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences, maintained that the fact that monopoly capital fuses with the apparatus of the capitalist state inevitably suggests that any democratic and socialist restrúcturing of the economy is inseparable from corresponding changes in political power.

The depth and social character of economic changes, he said, decisively depend on whose interests are expressed by the political power. The nationalization of monopoly capital, for instance, if carried out by a revolutionary democratic power with the participation of the working class, may be regarded as a democratic step toward the creation of a people's sector of production already transcending the framework of capitalism but not yet signifying the birth of socialism.

Nationalization, Lenin said, is but a first step toward real socialization of production, which can be brought about only by democratic means, as a result of the active involvement of the working masses, who draw their support from *their* state, in the process.

The experience of our revolution and of subsequent socialist revolutions demonstrates that in the course of revolutionary transformations political power, the state leadership of the working class and other working people is an indispensable instrument of economic revolution, and one for which there can be no substitute. The idea of democratizing economic life under capitalism and switching it to socialist lines as a gradual process originating within the depths of the economy and then spreading to all its levels and structures, up to the point of replacing state power, has not so far been borne out by practice.

Another aspect of the dialectical interdependence of economics and politics during the revolutionary transformation of society must be stressed. Political power itself (whether revolutionary-democratic or socialist), which is established in the course of revolutionary transformations, cannot consolidate its positions without bringing about appropriate changes in the economy, without taking definite steps toward the economic system of socialism, and without providing itself with an appropriate economic basis. Revolutionary power can be the

'midwife' of democratic and socialist changes in the economy, but it cannot be an alien growth on the old private capitalist structure of the economy or, at any rate, remain such a growth for any long period of time.

As has been proved in both theory and practice, socialism cannot be decreed from above or introduced overnight. Therefore, in the period of revolutionary transformations in the economy decisive significance attaches not so much to the scope of these transformations as to the general trend in the development of politics and economics. To channel the economy along the road to socialism, state control must be established over the main nerve-centers of the national economic organism, the commanding heights of the economy and its key positions, and so transform them into social property. Lenin's theory of using the commanding heights in the process of revolutionary-democratic and socialist changes effected during the transition from capitalism to socialism is, we believe, valid today as well.

To this it should be added that it is exactly the commanding links of the economy that most strongly reveal a tendency toward separation of property from management, toward separation of controlling authority from the authority that really governs and is engaged in economic decision-making. The giant scale of industrial concentration, the increasing complexity not only of the technology but of the entire range of social relations of large-scale production; and the difficulties in planning it, all tend beyond doubt to increase the power of the 'technocracy,' the managers, and render control on the part of the owners and the capitalist state more difficult. One cannot agree, however, with the view, say, of the well-known U.S. economist J.K. Galbraith, who maintains that any public control over the managers and technocrats becomes a fiction by virtue of the above circumstances. Nor can one agree that this invalidates the democratic and socialist forms of economic organization.

To be sure, it is no easy matter to make 'technocracy' in the large-scale, leading sector of the economy and in the state administrative apparatus serve the interests of broad sections of the working people, above all the working class. For this it is not enough to reorganize political power; it is also necessary to resolve the problem of effective democratic and socialist control, because purely bureaucratic control will immediately lower efficiency in production, make flexible management more difficult, and consequently, hit at the interests of the working people.

It is important, as we see it, to bear in mind that the technocratic upper crust owes its strength not only to its high skills. First and foremost, it has on its side the strength of organization. So the

working people can put it under democratic control only by using the strength of their organization and cohesion, and above all the strength of the political party of the working class.

Felix Dixon, alternate member of the CC, People's Party of Panama, took his country's experience to show the topicality of Lenin's ideas about the possibility of different economic structures existing in the national economy at the transitional stage, about the importance of correctly analyzing them and singling out the dominant ones, and also about the active role played by political power in deciding which of the structures is to become the dominant one.

Contemporary development in Panama, he stressed, is characterized by the existence and interaction of different structures and contending trends in the economy. Crucial is the fact that political power is in the hands of the forces with a stake in effecting a transition from the dependent capitalist structure to an independent economy, whose development is determined by the progressive forces and prepares a new step forward, in the direction of socialism.

State political power is the key to any deep-going transformation. It is absolutely natural, therefore, that in our country, where a process is now under way of replacing the old political order linked with the dominant oligarchy and U.S. imperialism, the question on the agenda is that of organizing a new constitutional power. The national, provincial, municipal and local organs of the state power that came into being as a result of the 1972 elections, all bear the imprint of the new development.

When we put forward the slogan of popular, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic power or national liberation, we do not have in mind the power of a definite class. What we mean is the revolutionary, the only unitary and legitimate form of combined power, based on the cooperation of all of Panama's revolutionary forces and resulting from the development of a definite unity of these forces. Inasmuch as we are now on the way to the desired goal of unity, the diversity of the forms of power, typical of the present situation in the country, reflects the provisional character of the existing power.

A feature of the turn in Panama's economic development since 1969 is that progressives obtain access to bodies in charge of economic decision-making. In 1972, there arose such forms of popular rule as the National Assembly of Representatives of the Corregimientos, provincial and neighborhood councils, municipal and local juntas (councils). The participation of progressive leaders, representatives of the workers and peasants in decision-making with regard to the

economy, finance and employment has laid a new imprint on the government's economic policy. The policy of the present regime toward the Panama Canal has acquired a new content. Economic development is being channelled toward the goal of social transformation.

The development of the progressive process has confronted the more forward-looking segments of society with this alternative: either to destroy the old structure or to coexist with it in economic competition. Competition between the private sector, on the one hand, and the state and cooperative sectors, on the other, has become a feature determining Panama's economic development today. Of cardinal importance here is the reorientation of economic management toward using all the national accumulation for investment in those branches of the economy which will provide the basis for the country's future industrialization.

The mounting class struggle between the motive forces of the revolution and the dependent capitalist structure serves as a dynamic force of development, of implementing definite changes within the capitalist framework itself. This creates the premises for future socialist transformations.

Badamyn Lhamsuren, member of the CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, highlighted some methodological questions of the relationship between economics and politics in the less developed countries' advance toward socialism bypassing capitalism.

This problem has its own specifics and difficulties, he said. This has been borne out both by the experience of Mongolia, which has traversed a non-capitalist road of development, and by today's practice of the socialism-oriented developing countries. The importance of the problem is determined by the fact that the bourgeois ideologues and opportunists are trying to falsify it by using every possible means — from denial and minimizing of the role of the revolutionary forces in these countries, from slandering their political alliance and friendship with the socialist world, all the way to hypocritical allegations that Lenin's idea of the possibility of the less developed nations advancing along the non-capitalist road amounts to a revision of Marx's theory.

Proceeding from the experience of the MPRP, I should like to stress that when we speak about the non-capitalist road traversed by Mongolia we have in mind a whole period in history, whose main content is the fundamental breakdown of the old relations and the creation of the necessary requisites for socialist change. This period covers the

whole general democratic stage, beginning with the victory of the People's Revolution in 1921, and part of the socialist stage, up to the early 60s.

To effect the transition to building a new life in Mongolia, it was first of all necessary to break the fetters of the old system, i.e., to abolish feudal relations in the political, economic and spiritual spheres. Destruction of the feudal system is a task tackled by the bourgeois-democratic revolution. But in Mongolia's conditions, with its chosen path of non-capitalist development, this process had its own distinctive features. The vigorous transformative activity of the MPRP, the leading force of society, helped to overcome the remnants of the moribund system fundamentally and resolutely within a historically brief space of time, mainly at the general democratic stage of the revolution. Therein lies the incomparable advantage of the party's line of non-capitalist development. It is common knowledge that it took many of what are now developed capitalist countries centuries to overcome feudalism, but its survivals persist to this day. Witness, also, the example of a number of capitalism-oriented developing countries.

A second range of problems is linked with the provision of material conditions for building socialism. Of great methodological significance in understanding the complexity of this problem is Lenin's thesis that in the conditions of backward countries it is easier to *start* a revolution than — an extremely difficult thing — *to carry it on to completion*.

After the victory of the People's Revolution in the mid-20s Mongolia was at the crossroads between socialism and capitalism. With feudal relations being broken up, capitalist elements started to gain in strength. However, the party worked out the general line for the country's development toward socialism bypassing capitalism. An organic component of this line was the policy of curbing the growth of the budding national bourgeoisie. The content and aim of this policy was to ensure that the capitalist elements should not become a class, and their enterprises, an independent economic structure. This means that the party did not allow either the spontaneous growth of capitalist elements or concessions to them, and that it did not insist on their immediate abolition.

Building the material prerequisites of the new society was a task that included a vast program for the development of national industry, modern types of transport and communications, a national trade and financial system, the development of revolutionary culture and, on this basis, the moulding of new social forces: a national working class and a people's intelligentsia. All these tasks were successfully fulfilled

with enormous assistance from the first land of socialism and later from other countries of the socialist community as well.

The key to all the MPRP's activities for the revolutionary transformation of society is its policy toward the bulk of the population — the arat cattlebreeders, i.e., the Mongolian peasantry. The chief aspects of this policy were: emancipation of the arat farms from serfdom and feudal-economic bondage, overcoming the subsistence character of these farms, support for the cattle-breeders' labor effort and increasing their incomes while at the same time curbing the growth of that well-to-do stratum which tended to exploit the labor of others, and the gradual development of the cooperative forms of the economy. Socialist cooperation of the peasants was completed in Mongolia in the late 50s. This revolutionary transformation had its specific features: since the land was the property of the whole people, it was mainly the cattle that were socialized as the cooperatives were set up; well-to-do farms were included in the cooperatives without expropriation of their property on the same basis as the main masses.

Such, I believe, are some of the main elements in the dialectical connection between economics and politics in Mongolia's non-capitalist development.

Questions and answers

Question to the Italian comrades from Hamid Safari, member of the Executive Bureau, CC, People's Party of Iran: Your comrades say that elements intrinsically inherent in the socialist ideal should even now be introduced in Italian society. Could you explain what exactly these elements are? What, in this sense, are the possibilities and the limitations?

Reply by Gianni Simula of the ICP Center for the Study of Economic Policy: By socialist elements we mean those signs of renewal in the economy and in society which lead to a discussion of questions of ideology and management in the capitalist society. For instance, we are working for an effective limitation, a definite conditioning of the choice before monopoly capital in the sense that investment and the restructuring of production are conditioned, on the one hand, by the increasingly wider participation of the state owing to the support it has to give the enterprises, and on the other, by the fact that the decisions on new investment should be discussed and taken jointly with the working people's trade unions. Thus begins a process which is acquiring features that differ greatly from ordinary capitalist practice. When we give priority not to private but to collective consumption, which is of necessity ensured by the state or, at any rate, by the state institutions, this — and not just supply — has its effect on the

market and demand. The process initiated by what we call democratic planning or democratic programming of the economy may lead to a development in the economy and society which will begin to acquire a socialist content. The question of the possibilities and of limitations depends on how well we are able to uphold our concept of society vis-à-vis other ideological and political organizations. This question is also linked with the forms in which the leading role and hegemony of the working class may be exercised. Hence it follows that the introduction of the elements of socialism is both correct and necessary. We maintain that in order to find a way out of the crisis we must reckon with the increasingly intensive affirmation of these socialist elements. The most serious limitation consists precisely in the fact that *unless we follow* this road, a situation may arise that will force the entire working-class movement to retreat.

Question from Satiajaya Sudiman, member of the Leadership, Communist Party of Indonesia: What exactly is meant by the democratization of the economy, if one bears in mind the conditions of political domination by bourgeois parties? What are the possibilities and limits of the influence that the working class and democratic forces can exert on the economy and the activity of state and private enterprises?

G. Simula's reply: Comrade Sudiman poses essentially the same problem of which we have already spoken, but stresses the significance of democratizing the economy which we propose. To put it briefly, programming, for example, must be a task tackled with the participation of, besides the state and government institutions, the whole spectrum of local self-administration bodies, i.e., municipal councils, provincial councils, regional councils, etc., which in Italy play an extremely important role, representing very significant forces of our democratic life. The trade unions and the employers' forces are also called upon to contribute. We should work to achieve a synthesis of all these agencies and forces at every level within the framework of the country's realities and, consequently, taking a realistic account of the resources and of the aims that can be set. It is also clear that the choice — the strategic choice of a programming thus characterized — depends on what the structure of the economy and society is like, i.e., it corresponds to the real correlation between public and private enterprises, the role of the independent working people, the cooperatives, etc. We hold that in our strategy we should always consider the alignment of forces taking shape in specific situations. The possibilities and limits of the renewing and revolutionary activity must not be separated from the real balance of forces.

Question to the Soviet participants from Milton Paredes, Political Commission member, CC, Communist Party of Honduras: In connection with the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution writers in the bourgeois and reformist press claimed that Lenin's statement at the First Congress of Soviets in June 1917 about the Bolsheviks' being prepared to take power was irresponsible because it did not reckon with the actual conditions. Neither economic nor political prerequisites, they said, had then matured for the proletariat to take over, and the socialist revolution in Russia commenced more than four-and-a-half months later. In view of what has been said here about the significance of the 1917 revolution, it would be interesting to hear your opinion on this.

Reply by Konstantin Zarodov, Dr.Sc. (Hist.). I believe this to be a very important question, particularly since the situation in Russia in June 1917 was, to a certain degree and in its own way, reminiscent of the situation in several other capitalist countries. At the time of the First Congress of Soviets, Russia was going through an acute economic and political crisis. Tension was such that the country seemed to be plunging toward a national catastrophe and a reactionary regime. The widespread dissatisfaction that this caused could have erupted and ended in a bloody dictatorship. You know that within a month something like it did take place (I have in mind the July events).

As true patriots, Lenin and the Bolsheviks wanted to bring the country out of the crisis and avoid an economic and political disaster as painlessly as possible. Did the conditions for this exist in June? Yes, they did.

First, the country's economy was already strong enough for a democratic system to be set up and for that system to evolve gradually into a socialist system. And what about the political prerequisites? They also existed in the Soviets as a new form of state power with great authority at that time, and sharing power with the bourgeois Provisional Government, which relied on monopoly capital. The authority of the Soviets was such that the Provisional Government could not act on any question without the consent of the Soviets. Second, Russia already had democratic freedoms that were unknown in even the most democratic bourgeois republics of those days. Third, the overwhelming majority of workers, peasants and soldiers supported the revolutionary democrats and not the counter-revolution, and the demonstrations in Petrograd and other cities just 15 days after Lenin addressed the First Congress of Soviets showed that they were with the Bolsheviks.

Those who claim that the socialist revolution in Russia took place

more than four months after the Congress and so accuse Lenin of being 'irresponsible,' either cannot, or will not understand that in June 1917 Lenin did not raise the question of a coup d'état or of immediately taking power from the First Congress of Soviets, because out of the 1,090 delegates only 105 were Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks had no illusions. They insisted that the working class must assume responsibility for the country's destiny and that it must take measures that would fall short of socialism or communism but would constitute steps in that direction. In June, the Bolsheviks were not demanding power for themselves alone, although they did say they were prepared to take over. The Bolsheviks were demanding that power be taken by the All-Russia Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. They realized what the balance of forces was at that time and agreed with the formation of a government without the Bolsheviks, made up only of Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries accountable to the Soviets. In other words, they were ready for an agreement or a compromise and the issue then was not of establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, but of a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

How then did Lenin visualize the revolution developing into a socialist revolution? He believed it was possible to have a 'peaceful' revolution, peaceful elections of deputies, the parties' peaceful struggle within the Soviets, the testing in practice of the various parties' programs, and peaceful transition of power from one party to another. Lenin firmly believed that in the long run the Bolsheviks could win over the majority of the people and turn the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

So, it is clear that Lenin took a responsible attitude to his statement at the First Congress and was fully aware of the conditions in June 1917. Unfortunately, the other socialist parties — Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries — did not accept Lenin's proposal. Instead, they turned to the bourgeoisie and its reactionary wing. In this they were influenced by the leadership of the Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International. Besides, the imperialist countries, through their embassies in Petrograd, promised them vast financial and other aid. This is the brief answer to that question.

II. POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AN ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVE

Robert Francis, representative of the Communist Party of Belgium on the journal, stressed the formulation of a constructive alternative to bourgeois economic policy as an important theoretical and

practical aspect of the dialectical connection between economics and politics.

The present crisis, he said, which has affected the foundations of big capital's monopoly power, differs from the 1929-30 crisis in that today the prospects for a democratic way out are better because of the general weakening of world imperialism and the activity of the anti-imperialist forces.

But there are obstacles, and one of the biggest is the absence of a clear-cut program of long-term development that would differ from present development, and the fact that there is no government, no majority, intent on implementing a program for a progressive way out of the crisis, a program which could be discussed with potential allies in order to establish a broad, democratic front capable of curbing and then breaking the monopoly power.

For a Marxist-Leninist party it is absolutely clear that a cardinal solution to the global crisis that has hit our country is possible if there is a *final break* with the monopoly power. We are certain this can be done only by building socialism. It is our conviction that 'Belgian' socialism must be created by democratic and peaceful means, through a peaceful and democratic winning of power by the working class and its allies. Consequently, *to effect a socialist transformation of society we must work to win over a majority of the population*. This means socialization of the basic means of production and of commerce, and development of our economy and society under a plan democratically drawn up, carried out and controlled.

This 'Belgian' socialism should be built on the basis of the democratic gains and freedoms (still partial, not fully developed) that the working class and the rest of the people have wrested from the bourgeoisie over decades of relentless struggle.

Though we cannot fix a time-scale for the democratic and anti-monopoly stage, we can outline its chief characteristics:

— democratic nationalization of key branches of industry (ferrous metal, and iron and steel industries, chemical and pharmaceutical industries, finance and the key foreign-trade sectors);

— government by a broad alliance of representatives of the workers and all the people within the framework of a pluralist and democratic system (excluding big capital, the right-wing forces and their direct allies).

Of course, not all the conditions are at hand for the first stage, but the conviction is rapidly gaining ground that it is Belgian capitalism and the multinationals and not the working people who should pay for the crisis. Therefore, the political significance of an economic alternative is becoming ever more important. Such circumstances are favor-

able for the communists to draw up concrete proposals and tasks which could unite the forces opposing the bourgeois crisis-policy, and bring them over the the left in Belgium for a more consistent opposition to this policy.

On the basis of his party's history, Dr. Heinz Hummler, Pro-Rector of the CC, SUPG Academy of Social Sciences, spoke on the significance of a constructive communist economic alternative, on how it ties in with the solution of political problems, and the experience of formulating an effective program.

At its 1935 Brussels and the 1939 Berne conferences, he said, the Communist Party of Germany put forward a broad conception of its strategy and tactics in the anti-fascist, liberation struggle and during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Even before German fascism unleashed the Second World War, the party oriented the working people on anti-fascist, democratic transformations.

The main blow was to be aimed against the monopolies and against large landed estates. By demanding 'dispossession of the capitalist owners of fascist trusts' and 'a democratic land reform to benefit the peasants and farm hands,'* the CPG made it clear precisely which class forces of big capital should be deprived of their economic and political power. Just as emphatically the party spoke of the need for a close class alliance and promised 'protection for the property of the peasants and the middle strata.'** This was important for the peasants, as the working class's main allies, and also for the craftsmen, traders, the small and middle non-monopoly businessmen, none of whom should be classed with the big bourgeoisie at any stage of the revolution.

History placed the German people in such a position that they were unable to defeat fascism by themselves. Our people will forever be grateful to the Soviet Union for their liberation and for giving our working class a great historical opportunity. In their zones, the imperialist occupation authorities prohibited the CPG from uniting with the SDPG and prevented expropriation of the monopolies and implementation of land reform. In the part of Germany occupied by the Soviet Army, however, the working class, its parties, trade unions and other mass organizations enjoyed complete freedom. They were able to start anti-fascist, democratic reforms without imperialist intervention and armed resistance by the big bourgeoisie.

In these new conditions the CPG continued its pre-Second World War strategy and tactics.

* *Revolutionäre deutsche Parteiprogramme*. Berlin 1967, p. 182.
** *Ibid.*

Economic and political tasks were dealt with simultaneously. The working class could neither work with the old government machinery, nor start production at enterprises belonging to big capital.

Priority was given to the formation of democratic organs of power. Everywhere, nazi officials were removed from office and authority was placed in the hands of workers who had been active in the anti-fascist Resistance, and also anti-fascists from among bourgeois circles.

The CPG's Policy Statement of June 11, 1945, laid the foundation for CPG-SDPG united action. Even the CDU and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDPG), founded in June and July 1945, stated their readiness to cooperate with the working class in carrying out democratic reforms. That was the beginning of the anti-fascist, democratic bloc of parties, which in 1948 was joined by the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany and also by the trade unions and other mass organizations. The merging of the CPG and SDPG to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in 1946 and the emergence of united mass organizations provided a firm basis for the alliance of the parties.

This alliance was greatly enhanced by the party's view that the working class must allow for the economic interests and demands of its partners in the alliance and together with them find ways of gradually involving the peasants, intellectuals and urban petty bourgeoisie in the revolutionary transformations. During the land reform, only estates of 100 hectares and over were expropriated without compensation. The land was not nationalized, it was divided among more than 200,000 farmworkers, land-hungry peasants, and settlers.

In the early years there was a struggle between two class lines in the CDU and the LDPG. One favored cooperating with the SUPG against monopoly and landowner rule, the other was for preserving by and large the capitalist mode of production. The SUPG backed those forces in the parties of the bloc that had learned the lessons of history and remained loyal to the progressive traditions of the German bourgeoisie. At the same time it fostered among its members a spirit of trust and patient cooperation.

Soon after the land reform and dispossession of the big industrialists, war criminals and active nazis, the working class, which played the leading role in the anti-fascist, democratic alliance, took the key economic positions into its own hands. The non-monopoly, small and middle businessmen, craftsmen and merchants retained their property; they were urged to be active in building a new democratic life. They helped greatly to arrange the economy, commerce and service facilities. A change in ideological outlook began among a

large part of the petty bourgeoisie in the course of their practical work. Thus it was that new forces began emerging, convinced of the correctness of SUPG policy and becoming true allies of the working class.

It is possible to draw up an effective program, said *Julio Laborde, member of the CC, Communist Party of Argentina,* if this is done on the basis of a thorough analysis of real processes with consideration for the specific conditions, and at the same time relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, on knowledge of the objective laws governing relations in society, particularly in the interaction of economics and politics.

In the capitalist countries, he said, economic policy is invariably class based. Two extremes are expressed here: one by those who would preserve the old structures, even resorting to superficial reforms, and the other by those who are for revolutionary change. Changing or preserving the socio-economic structure in any country requires political power. The state and its institutions are the bastion, control of which gives one a decisive influence over events, particularly since today the state plays a much larger role in society.

In the developing countries economic independence hinges on who controls the state and what policy it pursues. In Argentina, for example, industry and agriculture, notably livestock farming, have become warped and backward as a result of the connections between the landed oligarchy, big compradors and the foreign monopolies. Domination of key branches of the economy allows the foreign monopolies to make and export huge profits. This complicates economic development. All the remedies suggested by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois economists or by the monopolies themselves have achieved nothing. In an article headed 'A Critique of Peripheral Capitalism,' which appeared in the *ECLA Journal,* Raul Prebisch, a bourgeois economist, writes that the big centers, as he kindly describes finance capital, are 'appropriating an excessive share of peripheral surplus' and that this 'tends to worsen the dynamic insufficiency of development.' The resources that find their way abroad reach such proportions that they may exceed new investment. This increases 'outside pressure affecting development rates.'

In our country, the various economic programs hinge on the role allocated to the state. One trend, known as the anti-state trend, defends private enterprises, economic freedom and free-market competition. This does not, however, prevent big business and the monopolies from using the state to their own advantage. By contrast, we communists believe that the state should play the main role in

development programming, in key investments and in control of the market. What is called economic freedom and free competition is, in reality, domination of the market by the multinationals, which appropriate a large share of the national accumulation and artificially raise production costs. Foreign monopolies do not invest in areas where they could clash with their main firms. They strive to take over secondary branches, which often are consumers of out-dated technology and products of the metropolitan country. Private industry in Argentina does not have the resources necessary for large-scale application of modern technology. This can be done only by the state.

Our party has a program for a radical solution of the problem. This is a program for a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution leading to socialism. These are not just generalizations. We believe it necessary to work out our national draft down to the last details, taking into account all the resources needed to carry out the proposed measures, and the financial sources. Ours is a concrete program.

The question may arise, why is it that we communists, not yet in power, deem it necessary to plan not only general reforms, but even elements of the infrastructure? We believe this is important so as not to start improvising when the working class and its allies come to power and, likewise, to show all the people that a realistic solution exists to the problems facing the country. This exposes imperialist ideologists and demonstrates the bourgeoisie's inability to lead the progressive process. The vanguard of the working class must demonstrate its ability to run the country in every sphere. This is a part of the revolutionary preparation of the working people of town and country.

Questions and answers

Question to the Italian delegates from Hugo Fazio, member of the CC, Communist Party of Chile: Your party documents and statements by the leadership say that the working class can be society's leading force if it assumes the responsibility not only for consumption but also for production accumulation. Could you explain this in economic and political terms?

G. Simula: This is a basic question. From the political side I think it is clear that if the working class' mission is to be the guiding force, it must be responsible for accumulation. If this is true even when the workers are not yet in power, it is all the more important after, when it guides national policy. Economically, it means sharply changing the complicated situation characteristic of Italy's economy in the 1970s. There is an obvious contradiction here. On the one hand, we speak of responsibility for accumulation, while on the other, the gains of the

working class cause a crisis at the very foundations of capitalist accumulation. But this is not our contradiction. This is a contradiction of the capitalist system and whatever helps to surmount it must bring about the destruction of the capitalist basis.

Question to the Soviet delegates from Jeronimo Carrera, member of the CC, Communist Party of Venezuela: On the basis of the experience of the October Revolution, what is the role of the revolutionary regime in providing a socially fair distribution of incomes in society? Are government measures in distribution sufficient to greatly increase the working people's material well-being? Do you agree that a certain danger lies in the illusion of an immediate improvement in living standards?

O.T. Bogomolov: The importance of fair distribution principles in the democratic and socialist transformation of society is apparent. It must be pointed out, however, that consistent realization of fair democratic and socialist distribution principles is difficult without the help of measures by the state to abolish exploitation, to control the measure of labor and the measure of consumption in society, and to limit economically unjustified differentiation of incomes. Of course, we should not underestimate the working people's struggle for their social rights, the influence of the unions and public opinion. But, as numerous examples have shown, what the unions win can be retained, deepened and developed only with the support of the state. In distribution, democratic and especially socialist economic transformations imply measures by the state, like a tax policy based on social justice, a universal pension system provided for the aged and disabled, subsidies for low-income families, universal social insurance in case of illness, a housing policy, etc. Besides influencing incomes distribution, it is important that the state should regulate needs from the viewpoint of moral and ethical criteria. This means, for example, banning activities associated with parasitical, ostentatious and socially harmful consumption, and advertising of superfluous goods.

Steps toward achieving greater social equality in consumption can be taken at the stage of deep democratic transformations, and this should later become one of the principal directions of the new system's development. Our experience suggests that the working people's power must determine the optimal measure of labor and measure of consumption for ensuring the continuous and rapid growth of production and of consumption. Such a regime must place democratic and socialist principles at the basis of the distribution of the consumption fund in society. Fairer distribution means higher

incomes for the working people in the post-revolution period. Receipts from social consumption funds will increase, for example. However, as we have seen many times, the increase in consumption through redistribution of incomes is a comparatively small increment. For this reason, any democratic and socialist economic restructuring must not promote the illusion that living standards will improve immediately. Such illusions may be dangerous when backed up with propaganda, for if they prove to be 'impracticable' the resultant disillusionment will mean a certain part of the working people turning away from the revolution.

It is not so much new distribution principles that should improve living standards as an increase in labor productivity, the result of a planned economy and new incentives — themselves the product of working people having a say in production management and the knowledge that they are working not for exploiters but for society, i.e., for themselves. However, it takes time for all these factors to be sufficiently effective. It is in this period that the revolutionary regime is responsible not only for the democratic and socialist restructuring of the economy but also for its steady growth and effective functioning. It is only under such conditions, we believe, that the working people will feel the full material results of democratic and socialist economic development. That, at any rate, is what our revolution teaches.

III. PROPERTY AND POWER

Kvetoslav Roubal, First Deputy Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, considered the interconnection between property and power as the chief aspect of the dialectics of economics and politics.

There is no doubt, he said, that the development of monopoly capitalism and the scientific and technological revolution accelerate the concentration and centralization of capital and production, thus making for a higher degree of socialization of the productive forces and also of *socialization* of production within the framework of groups of finance capital and even — in the form of state-monopoly capitalism — *within the framework of the capitalist class as a whole*. However, this is merely an inadequate adaptation by monopoly capital to the new character of the social productive forces, and it is in no sense equivalent to the consistent and full economic socialization of the socialist type. Nor can socialism be attained through social-law socialization, that is, various kinds of nationalization of production, unless the power of capital is actually replaced by the power of the

people. It is another matter that the natural development of the social character of the productive forces and production 'promotes' socialism because the contradictions of the capitalist system are objectively deepened, the political and class struggle is developed, the system becomes unstable, and this creates *favorable conditions for revolutionary economic transformations backed up by the democratic activity of masses of people*.

The experience of the revolution in Czechoslovakia, by then an industrialized country, bears out the main conclusions drawn by Marxism-Leninism on this question.

Even at the democratic stage of the revolution in our country, there was a transfer of banks, insurance companies, and the extractive, metallurgical and engineering industries into the hands of the people (the railways had been publicly owned even in the bourgeois republic). Under pressure from the people's revolutionary movement, and on the basis of a decree issued by the bourgeois president, more than 50 per cent of industrial production was socialized. While these gains were the gains of an overwhelming majority of the people, they still fell short of being socialist because the question of power had not been decided (the bourgeoisie was taking part in government) and also because an act in law — however revolutionary — is not enough for organizing real balanced management of the socialized productive forces for the benefit of all the working people.

The struggle to give the economy a socialist character was subsequently closely connected with the struggle for the establishment of the people's power. Consequently, our experience confirms the theoretical tenet that a high degree of economic and juridical socialization in the form of nationalization does not go beyond the framework of a democratic revolution. (Let me note that in the state-monopoly capitalist countries such forms of socialization are even put through at the insistence of the monopoly bourgeoisie and entirely serve the purposes and interests of the financial oligarchy.)

Czechoslovakia's experience shows that in a country with a high degree of monopolization, a broad democratic movement, given favorable international conditions, is capable of eliminating the economic positions of the monopoly bourgeoisie in a democratic way. It can use the strong social and state sector of the economy created in this way within the framework of constitutional and democratic development as a starting point for building up the elements of socialism (in the form of planning, etc.) and also as a starting point for transforming this quantity into a socialist quality in the course of the reproduction development of the sector. It is capable of integrating the strong private-capitalist and small-commodity sectors (in our conditions, 49 per cent of production), if *power is in the hands of the*

people led by the working class, and if the alliance of workers, peasants, small businessmen and the intelligentsia pursues a vigorous class struggle against the bourgeoisie's sabotage and corrupting influence, and also if a policy is pursued to restrict and suppress the bourgeoisie.

If the bourgeois groups in Czechoslovakia had not lost their heads and had not tried in February 1948 to stage a coup, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — and it was prepared to do this — would have set about gradually, as the socialist character of the social and state sectors matured, solving the problem of the economic elimination of the private-capitalist sector, making use of peaceful and constitutional means in the form of forced or economic redemption (state capitalism) with the democratic support of the majority of the people. There is no doubt that the opportunities for using such forms of developing socialism will grow, and in direct proportion to the growing strength and level of development of the world socialist system.

Bruno Furch, member of the CC, Communist Party of Austria, spoke on the subject of social democracy and nationalization.

The political activity of the social democrats in our country today, he said, is closely connected with the functioning of the state sector. For well-known historical reasons, the state's share in Austria's economy is usually large. Nearly the whole of basic industry is nationalized: 100 per cent of ore mining, 100 per cent of pig iron production, 95 per cent of steel output, 89 per cent of brown coal output, 85 per cent of electric-power generation, 83 per cent of oil extraction, and 70 per cent of aluminum production; the three largest banks are nationalized. All together, Austria's state and public utilities sectors employ more than 30 per cent of all wage and salary earners. They also account for roughly 30 per cent of the Gross National Product.

The nationalization put through in 1946 by the Socialist Party of Austria and the Austrian People's Party cannot, of course, be regarded as a revolutionary act designed to transform society on socialist lines. But from the outset the social democrats tried to create an illusion about some 'embryonic cells of socialism.' At one time the attitude to this illusion was the basis for differences within our party. These were differences with the right-wing opportunist forces, which wanted the CPA to act as a left-wing social-democratic appendage of the SPA, 'advancing' it, instead of acting as an independent political force to muster the working class for the struggle for the working people's interests and for revolutionary transformations.

The struggle against right-wing opportunism was completed at our party's 22nd Congress (January 1974) with the adoption of the

Politico-Ideological Principles of the CPA, which emphasized in particular: 'In the final analysis the character of nationalized enterprises is always determined by the character of the state. The role of these enterprises has markedly changed since the adoption of the nationalization law. At first there was an opportunity to convert the nationalized enterprises into bridgeheads of the working class in the struggle against capitalism and for socialism. Subsequently, internal and foreign monopoly capital managed, with the aid of the SPA leadership, to win decisive influence in the nationalized industry and then used it for consolidating state-monopoly capitalism. Now it is completely integrated with the capitalist system. . . . State property — industry and the banks — has become an instrument for strengthening state-monopoly capitalism in Austria.'

The 23rd Congress of the CPA (December 1977) confirmed this assessment. The Congress showed, in particular — and evidence also comes from the statistics — that the Austrian economy is geared to imperialist groupings of monopoly capital, the EEC, and the International Energy Agency, and added that its subordination was accelerated with the conclusion of a treaty with the EEC in 1972.

This process is also influenced by the shaping of the 'social partnership' system, which, as the political resolution of the 23rd Congress says, 'has grown into a specific dominant form of capital in Austria.'

The nationalized industries and banks have become the chief vehicles of the integration of the SPA and trade union leadership with the state-monopoly system. The top echelon of Austrian social democrats, as the CPA Principles say, is a strata consisting of lawyers, functionaries and executives, who because of their ideology and also because of the earnings and privileges accruing to them from their political activity, that is, because of their material conditions, belong to the oligarchic leadership of state-monopoly capitalism. We are witnessing a peculiar coalescence of the social democrats' party-political apparatus, the state apparatus, and the management of industry, a peculiar 'personal union.'

Thus, Austrian experience shows very well that nationalization does not in itself amount to a 'step toward socialism.' As the 23rd Congress emphasized, the condition for advancing toward socialism is 'establishment of the power of the workers, who perform the function of the proletarian dictatorship, so as to destroy the dictatorship of capital in all its forms and to effect the broadest democracy for the working class and all the other working people.'

At the same time, our party does not take a negative attitude to extension of nationalization. At the latest CPA Congress, such a demand was again put forward alongside the demand for democratizing the management of the nationalized enterprises without delay.

Hans Kleven, Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway, drew the conclusion that state-monopoly capitalism establishes what are probably the closest ties between economics and politics, property and power that have ever existed in the whole history of capitalism.

In Norway, he said, there is evidence of ever greater interlacing of business and the state, of economic and political power. Increasingly, key elements of the state machinery turn out to be under the control of big companies. The monopoly capitalists have been shaping a system in which associations expressing their interests, like banking associations, associations of industrialists, the shipowners' union, and so on, in effect become, to some extent, state agencies. The monopolies have increasingly used the state to realize their economic and political aims. Ever more frequently, the state has directly intervened in the economy with the help of big business. At the same time, the power of parliament (Storting) and other elective bodies is reduced to an executive role. With the help of the state, attempts are made to limit the workers' economic struggle by means of a 'coordinated' incomes policy.

In these conditions, it is no longer sufficient, we feel, to confine ourselves to the traditional economic struggle of the trade unions to secure full employment, to maintain or raise the attained level of wages and living standards. It is necessary to involve the state in this struggle in the light of the interests of the workers, employees, peasants and fishermen. There is a growing need for political struggle. This means putting forward demands not only on the employers, but above all on the state.

Our party has pivoted the whole of its policy and activity on its economic policy. We have outlined in detail temporary measures as partial solutions, as a way out of the difficult economic situation in the country, out of the existing emergency. But we have also stressed that the new economic policy requires radical measures.

We have put forward as the first task the nationalization of key enterprises in the pulp-and-paper, electronic and chemical industries, and the big shipbuilding yards, nationalization that would be carried through on a democratic basis. That would deprive big capital of important commanding heights, while control and management of the country's production effort and control over an important part of the price-formation process could be exercised by democratic political agencies. At the same time, we demand the nationalization of enterprises owned or controlled by foreign monopolies. the same thing should be done with the big private banks, insurance companies and big shipping lines.

Nor is the demand for nationalization being advanced as merely an economic one: it should be democratic as well. The economic positions thus secured, we believe, should be handed over to agencies elected by the people, with workers and functionaries of the people's organs at the nationalized enterprises having a big say. We have also connected the question of nationalization with two other main demands: the workers' real participation in management, democratic control, and the planning of key economic industries.

In view of the fact that the sovereign right of the elective organs is limited by the growing bureaucratization of the state and administrative apparatus and growing centralization within the executive apparatus, the struggle for the people's sovereignty now becomes especially meaningful. The Communist Party of Norway has worked out the basic lines of democratization of the state apparatus and the municipal organs of power, the legislature, the judiciary, the police and the army, and also the principles for democratizing school education and cultural life.

Consequently, this is not just a struggle for separate reforms, which capitalism can easily 'digest,' but a whole package of reforms. We regard every step in this direction as a stage in a broad offensive against the power of capital, as a link in the chain of growing, escalating reforms in which realization of one reform entails the following, deeper reform. This gives the reforms a new character, as we move ever closer to the core of capitalist property relations and power.

In this revolutionary, phased process, involving a close and intricate interlacing of economics and politics there are a number of transitions whose boundaries it is not easy to discern. It is obvious, however, that the country's socio-economic problems can be fundamentally solved not within the framework of capitalism but only in transition to socialism.

Naziha Duleimi, member of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, emphasized that the laws underlying the development of the revolutionary process, which were discovered by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, notably the law-governed connections within the 'economics-politics' system, however specific their expression in the specific conditions, constantly make themselves felt, and it would be a serious strategic mistake to fail to take them into account.

The 1958 national-democratic revolution, she said, which overthrew the feudal monarchy connected with imperialism marked the start of important revolutionary transformations in Iraq. The revolution es-

tablished the independent Republic of Iraq, liberated the country from the military and political fetters of imperialism, and got down to fulfilling a number of basic tasks of the national-democratic revolution. Among these were the land reform, the development of a national industry and efforts to recover the oil industry from the international monopolies. However, the bourgeoisie exerted an influence on the government of the young Republic and opposed the radical land reform, extension of the state sector and advocated complete freedom for the development of national capital and lifting of all restrictions on foreign trade. Experience showed that this class was incapable of guiding the national-democratic revolution and realizing its tasks. Our people continued their struggle to resume the revolutionary process.

The class struggle between the more radical revolutionary forces and the counter-revolutionaries led to a deepening of the socio-economic and political transformations. Following the 1968 revolution, in the course of which the revolutionary democrats took over, the land reform was deepened, the state sector in the economy enlarged, the oil reserves nationalized and an independent national sector for the extraction, transportation and marketing of oil set up. This revolution led to important political advances like the establishment of the National Progressive Front (1973), which our party joined, together with the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath). The Front's National Action Charter was a joint national program for political and socio-economic transformations. A Law on the Autonomy of the Kurdish People was passed. In foreign policy, the government began to pursue an anti-imperialist line, to develop political and economic cooperation with socialist countries and to support national-liberation movements in the Arab countries and all over the world.

This enabled Iraq to take the road of non-capitalist development. In other words, a decision was made on choice of the road for completing the tasks of the democratic revolution and creating the conditions for transition to socialism.

Acting from its analysis of the concrete situation in the country in the light of Marxism-Leninism and the rich experience of the world revolutionary movement, our party, at its Third Congress (1976), sets the tasks aimed at consolidating and developing the existing political system. (It is relevant to mention here that what has been achieved in the sphere of political changes is still in its main aspect lagging behind the economic and social transformations.) These tasks can be summarized as follows: development of the political system toward the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic republic, to be led by a coalition government representing an alliance of the parties and the revolutionary forces united within the Front. This Front represents

the broad masses of people, the motive forces of the revolution. It rallies them, activates their potentialities and initiatives and stimulates their political activity.

Our party's special attention to strengthening and developing the political system in Iraq springs from the exceptionally important role of the political regime in deepening the non-capitalist course and creating the conditions for transition to socialism. After all, in the conditions of non-capitalist development the role of the state is not confined to organizing society. It has a crucial role to play in socio-economic transformations. Our experience fully bears out the Marxist-Leninist conclusions that politics, being a concentrated expression of economics, exerts a tremendous influence on socio-economic development, either promoting or retarding it.

Questions and answers

Question to the Chilean comrades from Sarada Mitra, National Council member, Communist Party of India: There were some statements in the press that the Popular Unity government had been in too much of a hurry with the nationalization of some foreign and national enterprises, that the pace of nationalization was not justified in general, and that this caused political complications. What can you say on this point?

Question from Peter Boychuck, alternate member, Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada: What were the factors behind the workers' strikes with excessive economic demands, something that is known to have complicated the political situation? What could have been done to avert this?

Reply by Hugo Fazio, member of the CC, Communist Party of Chile: Let me answer both these questions at once because they are to some extent interrelated.

There are many who analyze events in Chile in their own way and believe that the revolutionary forces should have confined themselves to the land reform and put through only the most necessary anti-imperialist measures, without touching some groups of the domestic financial oligarchy. On the other hand, there is the view that the need was to go further, and to expropriate the whole bourgeoisie in general.

Definition of the tasks to be tackled in the course of a revolutionary process is not an arbitrary act. Here it is necessary to take into account both the real correlation of forces and the tasks of the revolution which objective reality puts on the order of the day. Any attempts to go beyond the framework of the Popular Unity program in those conditions would have meant losing sight of the problems of the

structural crisis in the country and ignoring the correlation of forces. In some cases there was expropriation which went beyond the framework of the program, and this did some harm to the revolutionary process and the working-class policy of alliances.

But basically the policy was correct. In Chile, there was a close connection between the imperialist monopolies and domestic big capital. For this reason and also because foreign monopoly capital had put down deep roots in the national economy, the anti-imperialist measures envisaged by the program inevitably led to clashes.

The degree of capitalist development, the level of centralization and concentration of capital, and the developing elements of state-monopoly capitalism produced a situation in which it was impossible to put through revolutionary transformations without eliminating the positions of the financial oligarchy. Without nationalization of its enterprises it was impossible to gain control over the profits, to increase the volume of investments, to modify the structures of production, to make the necessary changes in distribution of income, to increase employment, and so on.

The need for swift expropriation of the big monopolies was imposed by the developments themselves. It goes without saying that the monopoly centers at once subordinated their economic activity to their political goals, bending every effort to disrupt the normal production cycle and to convert many of their assets into cash so as to take it out of the country or to use it for destablization campaigns. They bought up and hoarded foodstuffs, and stimulated the black market and speculation in an effort eventually to produce chaos and anarchy. The pace at which the special property sector was being built up within the framework of the program was, therefore, crucial for success.

In these difficult conditions, the popular government succeeded in transforming the structure of property. Here the crucial role belonged to the working people, above all at the enterprises earmarked for expropriation or transfer to the state. However, because of the incomplete understanding of the forms that the financial oligarchy's activity had assumed at the end of the last decade, there were obvious shortcomings which made it impossible completely to eliminate the chief groups of the financial oligarchy. The point is that it had set up across the country an intricate system of institutions in the financial field and was developing in the form of conglomerates involving many types of operations. That is why it was impossible to eliminate the financial oligarchy by separately attacking its parts; it was necessary to see the activity of these economic groups as a single whole. Had the revolutionary power done this, it could have delivered its blows at the chief enemies with greater precision. At present, this experience

is of much importance for us Chilean communists because fascism has intensified the process of centralization.

We believe that in order to radically change the relations of production and to create a situation in which the working class would in practice manage the economy, it would have been necessary to rely on the transformations that had already been brought about. Only then would there have been a deep-going democratization of production activity. At this point, we come to the question raised by Comrade Boychuck. The main thing was to pave the way for the people's massive participation in running the state. This would have led to the emergence of a new type of production relations and to the development of a new governing class, thousands upon thousands of whose representatives would have shed the relics of the social forms that had to be destroyed. Everything that was done in this field is of great value. But there had to be radical changes in the scope and quality of the people's massive participation in management, so as to make it a daily activity for millions of men and women.

The fact that our party and other popular parties, in working to educate the masses and shape their consciousness, did not spread the idea about the need to win full power had a negative effect on the development of these processes. On the other hand, this was a task which could not be fulfilled all at once, and which required persistent effort in the course of which the masses would gain experience. Ideological preparation of the people on the basis of that experience was also important.

Negative influence was also exerted by the fact that the involvement of the masses in management — when new organs for the exercise of the people's will were set up — was not connected with trade union activity, and this produced twofold problems: on the one hand, it weakened the organs of participation, because they did not have the full backing of the trade unions, a traditional channel for the expression of the working people's views; on the other hand, such an approach to the process of participation offended the trade unions, which saw it as a limitation of their field of activity, with the result that economism trends hampering the due development of the new process were intensified within the trade unions. This produced some antagonism, some artifical contradictions between the one and the other form of expression of the working people's views, that is, between the trade unions and organs of participation. An effort to overcome this, we feel, could really have helped to change the relations of production, to halt the trends of economism, and to stimulate the working people's interests in progress and development in industry. In my view, the strikes with excessive demands, which actually complicated the political situation, can basically be explained by the

fact that trends of economism were still in evidence during the Popular Unity government's activity, while the shortcomings in the work to involve the working people in the management of production prevented them from becoming the basic force in solving problems in production and management of the economy.

Question to the Soviet comrades from J. Laborde: Bourgeois writers frequently claim that nationalization in Soviet Russia was chaotic and led to a destruction of the productive forces. What was the process like in actual fact and which laws was it based on?

Reply by V.A. Vinogradov, Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences: One does indeed come across such claims, whether we take the bourgoeis books of the 20s or the bourgeois works on economic history of the 70s. They are a reflection of the authors' class attitude to the revolutionary transformations effected in the world's first socialist country.

Socialization of the commanding heights of the national economy was the basis of the Bolshevik Party's economic program, which had been worked out by Lenin. But our party believed that the takeover of the commanding heights was not a one-shot effort, that the groundwork for it had to be well prepared, that it was easy to nationalize but hard to socialize in practice and run production. That was something to be learned. But the sabotage by the bourgeoisie hastened the process of nationalization. However, even in that complicated period (1917 — early 1918) the process was balanced.

The decree nationalizing industry took a long time to prepare and was signed by Lenin on June 28, 1918, but even then the Council of People's Commissars did not rush with the actual socialization. In the first few months all the enterprises declared nationalized remained in the hands of their former owners, who had the duty to hand them over to the Soviet authorities in an orderly manner and under the workers' control. That is why there is no substance in the assertions that the process was chaotic.

It is clearly untrue that the productive forces were destroyed. On the contrary, the nationalization and the economic measures taken by the Soviet government saved industry and the country itself from economic disaster. In that period there was no other alternative for Russia. And evidence of this comes from the fact that by the mid-20s our country had succeeded in rehabilitating the ruined economy, which had been hit not only by the First World War, but also by the Civil War and the foreign armed intervention imposed on us. Our country recovered the pre-war level of production before other belligerent states, notably Germany. Such are the facts of history.

Overcoming underdevelopment

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of Tanzania — Chama Cha Mapindu

In our context, a development strategy implies an integrated plan for action which is designed to overcome our underdevelopment. Generally, what characterizes countries like Tanzania, as underdeveloped, is their low level of real incomes (output) per head. This low level of output per person is also accompanied by mass poverty, malnutrition and starvation, intolerable squalor and rampant disease. Consequently, for the majority of the people, in both urban and rural areas, incomes are barely adequate to maintain a subsistence level. It is, therefore, quite clear that something far-reaching and drastic should be done, and fairly quickly, to give the majority of the people in these countries a future which they and their children can look forward to with hope and promise.

In accordance with bourgeois economic theory, the people in underdeveloped countries are poor due to what they call the 'vicious circle of poverty,' that is, they are poor because they are poor. The question then is: how are these countries to break such a vicious circle of poverty and bring about development? In the view of bourgeois economists, the countries concerned have to overcome a constellation of impediments, namely, low levels of savings, foreign exchange, inadequate skills and technology, obsolete cultural values, environmental obstacles; and even the size of the population has also to be made right for development. In other words, a large part, if not all, of the poverty in underdeveloped countries is attributed to domestic factors. What is equally puzzling in this kind of explanation is also the way that causes and effects are skillfully intermingled to produce a rationalization of the status quo. Are low levels of savings, skills, etc., for instance, the result or the cause of our underdevelopment? Only by going beyond the bourgeois approach and considering this phenomenon from a radical, progressive angle can one get to the roots of underdevelopment.

Indeed, since the bourgeois theories of underdevelopment are not helpful in our efforts to formulate a workable strategy and policy, or even in understanding the roots of our underdevelopment, it is easy to see why some apologists have come to the conclusion that it takes a certain racial type of people to bring about development. Such a racist view of underdevelopment has provided the greatest impetus for the provision of 'aid' by capitalist and imperialist countries as well as the international organizations they control. The paradox of capitalist and imperialist 'aid,' as far as the underdeveloped countries are concerned, is that the more such technical and financial 'aid' a country receives, the more indebted and dependent it becomes. Consequently, the countries which have received the most 'aid' in dollar terms are the ones facing the most serious debt-servicing problems. The plight of the broad masses remains untouched, while the élites are reaping the benefits of their having become compradors.

The truth about our underdevelopment, which is always played down by the imperialists and their apologists, is that since the Second World War no country has attained development, in the all-embracing sense of overcoming mass poverty, illiteracy and rampant disease, through a capitalist strategy. It is equally true that nearly all the presently underdeveloped countries are either colonies and ex-colonies or satellite states of the advanced capitalist and imperialist countries. This is by no means fortuitous. There is, indeed, a meaningful correlation between the underdevelopment of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the development and policies of the advanced capitalist and imperialist countries.

Let us recall that the early development of capitalism in Europe and North America was accompanied and accomplished by massive seizure of wealth, by undisguised looting and plunder, and by enslavement and murder in today's underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. All of this also caused a serious setback to their primary accumulation of capital when they rose to independence.

While later on this exploitation was mitigated by the economic interdependence and the development of trade, its essential characteristics have remained unchanged. Thus, the capitalist and imperialist colonial countries, taking advantage of the lack of unity among the underdeveloped countries, on the one hand, as well as their superior military, economic and diplomatic position, on the other, pushed for the kind of international division of labor which has obviously worked to the detriment of the latter, relegating them to the role of raw material producers, while the advanced capitalist countries have appropriated to themselves the role of producers and suppliers of manufactured products. Consequently, most underdeveloped countries produce what they do not consume and consume

largely what they do not produce. The imperialist countries have also dictated the prices of their own exports and of those of the underdeveloped countries. Any attempt drastically to alter this system has been met by stiff resistance, often supplemented with the threat of military action, and economic and diplomatic pressure. It is no wonder, therefore, that the terms of trade have, over the years, moved against the underdeveloped countries. Capitalism is a system which, by its very nature, thrives on bigger and bigger profits.

Thus, given such a situation the process of overcoming underdevelopment must involve the rapid diversification of the domestic economy so as to facilitate an indigenous and locally based development. It calls for less and less dependence on trivial and non-essential products from abroad and on outside skills. It requires encouraging people, at the grass-roots level in each of the underdeveloped countries, to put into both the process of production and decision-making their previously untapped human potential for ingenuity, persistence, cooperation, the ability to learn from practice and from each other, political consciousness and social responsibility. It would finally require modelling production so as, first and foremost, to meet the basic demands of the broad masses of workers and peasants for food, shelter, clothing and security and give them a sense of social confidence.

The logic of overcoming underdevelopment, therefore, necessarily implies breaking the ties, in some cases gradually, in others abruptly, with the capitalist world and imperialist countries. In the case of Africa, it means severing the exploitative relation with our age-old predators. Similarly, the type of production which would primarily serve the basic needs of the masses, rather than serve profits or meet demands arising largely out of the selfish and acquisitive motives of small élites, is only possible with production and economic organization based on socialist development. While the word socialism has been subject to misuse, here we are only referring to the only type of socialism which has conquered hunger and turned slaves into men, namely the socialism of Marx and Lenin. If one has to imitate anything one should imitate the best example there is. It is of course, one thing to derive lessons and experiences from early starters on this formidable trail. It is quite another thing to copy blindly from other people, without carefully and critically analyzing the objective conditions obtaining in a particular situation.

Basic principles

Only if we are able to appreciate the causes of our underdevelopment and what it is likely to take to overcome it, would we be able to appreciate the type of development strategy adopted by Tanzania.

Basically the strategy for Tanzanian development encompasses two fundamental principles — *socialism* and *self-reliance*.

In Tanzania, socialism, as articulated in both the Arusha Declaration and Mwongozo (Guidelines),[1] is viewed as having two basic and interrelated aspects. The first is the nationalization of all the means of production and placing them under state or collective control. Indeed, there can be no economic independence if the major means of production are either in foreign hands, or those of their domestic conprador bourgeoisie or both.

The ability to control one's resources and consequently one's economic destiny is a necessary though not sufficient condition for bringing about socialist development. The second aspect, therefore, would entail organization of production in a manner that serves the basic needs of the broad masses. In order to ensure that this actually takes place, it is necessary to institute the type of industrial democracy which would bring about genuine and effective workers' participation in all the production decisions. In fact, without such effective involvement of the workers and peasants in the production process, management of productive enterprises would become bureaucratic and heavy-handed, in which case a few people in senior positions would appropriate to themselves the role of taking all the major decisions.

Once the workers and peasants were alienated and their initiative completely stifled, the possibility of socialist development would also be hampered. In consequence, a few powerful and entrenched bureaucrats would begin enriching themselves at the expense of the broad masses. As corruption, both open and hidden, becomes the rule of the day, the ordinary people cannot expect any kind of services or justice from public institutions without paying in bribes and favors. That is why I emphasized earlier that nationalization may be a necessary but not sufficient prerequisite for bringing about a socialist economic order.

In view of the critical importance that genuine and effective workers' participation occupies in a socialist economic organization, we need to examine this question further, especially in relation to recent developments in Tanzania.

Indeed, there has of late been some apprehension that perhaps the cause of slow growth or stagnation in production in Tanzania was the institution of paragraph 15 of Mwongozo (Guidelines), which states that: 'Together with the issue of involving the people in solving their problems, there is also the question of the habits of leaders in their work and in day-to-day life. There must be a deliberate effort to build equality between the leaders and those they lead. For a Tanzanian leader it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptu-

ous and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and who is not a tyrant. He should epitomize heroism, bravery, and be a champion of justice and equality. Similarly, the party has the responsibility to fight the vindictiveness of some of its agents. Such actions do not promote socialism but drive a wedge between the party and the government, on the one side, and the people, on the other.'

There is certainly nothing in this now-famous paragraph which would suggest that workers are now free to loiter, to become undisciplined, to engage in pilferage and sabotage. Nor is this doctrine meant to tie the hands of a leader of a productive activity. A manager cannot be made ineffective simply because he has to exercise humility, modesty and consideration in dealing with the workers. How else could a manager be expected to behave in a socialist enterprise? Thus, the suggestion that Mwongozo (Guidelines) has been responsible for the decline in productivity in our productive activities is diversionary, at best, and counter-revolutionary, at worst. The tragedy is that this could be deployed as a pretext to clamp down on progressive workers who would have openly defied their bosses and exposed corruption, inefficiency and favoritism.

Thus, two important lessons can be drawn from the recent situation in Tanzania. To give up workers' participation as part of our production organization would be to give up socialism altogether. The main problem really occurred with the way this revolutionary concept was introduced, which in some instances resulted in workers' participation falling into the hands of very cynical managers, on the one hand, and unprepared workers, on the other. The preliminary political and educational groundwork was not thoroughly done. What should have been done instead was to pick the enterprises which were ready and concentrate our efforts on them in order to provide a model as well as a fund of experience both positive and negative for the rest. The way it was implemented, however, just intensified the class struggle in our industries, the outcome of which would appear to be against the ill-prepared progressive forces.

Secondly, it is not enough to have a revolutionary theory, like paragraph 15 of Mwongozo (Guidelines). One also needs to integrate such a theory with practice. Thus, those who preach a good revolutionary theory must be prepared wholeheartedly to live by it and lead by practical example. In political work there is no room for 'follow what I say and not what I do.' To entrust a revolutionary doctrine, like workers' participation, to cynics is to invite its ineffectual implementation. Consequently, those who were against socialism, in the first instance, found an easy way to postpone and distort this important doctrine. The corrupt, extravagant, cynical

management are eating up the surpluses and driving our parastatals into bankruptcy. Similarly, the less committed among the ill-prepared workers also dipped their hands in the till for their share of the loot. After all there is such a thing as false consciousness, in the sense of imitating the behavior and way of life of one's oppressors.

In short socialism cannot be brought about by default; it requires a conscious organization and people to bring it about.

The concept of self-reliance

In the Tanzanian context, self-reliance implies that, as far as possible, a country relies upon its own resources and efforts to meet its basic requirements. It hardly needs emphasizing that self-reliance does not mean self-sufficiency and isolation. Nevertheless, a country which has successfully implemented a program for self-reliance would not be heavily dependent on foreign products and personnel to meet its basic needs. Consequently, if there has to be foreign trade, it would probably be a very small proportion of the total domestic production. In any case, whatever gets imported from outside would usually be for augmenting the domestic production capacity, in the sense of taking advantage of technical innovations achieved elsewhere. In general, whatever the proportion of foreign trade, the rule would be that exports pay for imports, and whenever possible, there should be a trade surplus in order to build up a modest amount of foreign-exchange reserves to meet unforeseen requirements from outside. Furthermore, a self-reliant country would also shun excessive dependence on trade with capitalist and imperialist countries. It would also be extremely reluctant to entangle itself with imperialist aid, which drives into the debt trap.

In reality, however, and especially among ex-colonized and oppressed peoples, self-reliance is more easily said than done. Thus, a village, for instance, cannot on its own build the roads, school, irrigation, hospital, and so on, which it requires. It expects the government to provide all those things gratis. Similarly, the country as a whole cannot conceive of a project, large or small, without asking for foreign consultants, funds, personnel, and skills.

The revolutionary courage which exuberates a people with the self-confidence required to attempt everything themselves, using all available resources and skills before looking for outside assistance, was eroded by the long association with colonialism and imperialism. Consequently, the attitude of the people and their government is generally to regard things foreign with unwarranted and unquestioning adoration, while their own resources and talents are viewed with disdain. Thus, if self-reliance is to take root, institutions and value systems which stand in its way must be ruthlessly and unsparingly

attacked and destroyed. The mere realization that there can be no self-reliance unless something drastic is done quickly about the inferiority and dependence complex which has been inflicted upon all the colonized and oppressed people, would certainly represent a positive and progressive step. To actually begin eradicating these two deadly maladies would effectively mean implementing self-reliance itself.

In short, the practical implications of self-reliance in Tanzania would require each village, and eventually the country as a whole, first to examine their own resources and capabilities, in relation to the tasks to be carried out, before seeking outside assistance. Thus, in this respect, self-reliance for a country like Tanzania becomes a logical, strategic and practical necessity for safeguarding our economic independence as well as for reducing and ultimately cutting the suffocating ties with the capitalist and imperialist countries.

Cooperation of economic sectors

In order to put into operation the above development strategy, Tanzania has emphasized and will continue to lay emphasis on three broad sectoral areas. The first is *agriculture,* which must perform a dual function. On the one hand, our agriculture must produce enough food to feed the growing population, with a better and better diet. Indeed, the events of 1974 and 1975[2] have clearly demonstrated to Tanzania the basic necessity, for survival as a self-reliant and socialist nation, of agriculture in general, and food production in particular. Tanzania, with her commitment to provide food for her population, an extremely noble undertaking considering the plight of the masses in other countries that faced a similar situation but dealt with it differently was, as a result, compelled to rapidly run-down her foreign-exchange reserves to import food grain from outside. Thus, the food import bill, for example, which was shs. 28 million[3] in 1973, rose to shs. 731 million in 1974, and declined slightly to shs. 551 million in 1975. Given the uncertainties involving dependence on imported food supplies, it is not surprising, therefore, that Tanzanians, wherever they were, responded very enthusiastically to the call by the party and the government to cultivate or perish.

On the other hand, our agriculture must also produce adequate surpluses for export in order to enable us to obtain the requisite capital and intermediate goods that have to be imported. If we do not have oil, for instance, it must be imported until Tanzania strikes her own oil deposits or finds alternative sources of energy like hydro-electric power and coal. Hence, something would have to be found to pay for oil and like imports. But even if we had all the necessary natural resources, we would still initially have had to import the

capital and intermediate goods in order to get started with our industrialization. Consequently, even though farm exports would be declining in their importance, in the course of time, as our industrialization is advanced, their strategic importance particularly at the initial period can hardly be over-estimated.

In order, therefore, for our agriculture to perform this dual and critical function, it would have to be transformed from being predominantly subsistence to a modern one. Our agriculture must reduce its excessive dependence on an erratic weather, which most often has meant either too little or too much rainfall for rewarding cultivation. The reduction of such dependence would require partly the construction of large-scale irrigation projects for our state and other public farms, through harnessing our vast water resources, and partly the development of medium and small-scale irrigation facilities at the village level. Indeed, the provision of adequate water for irrigation in Tanzania would remain a critical factor in our efforts to develop agriculture for self-reliance. Our agriculture must also incorporate technical innovations. If agriculture is to feed our growing rural and urban population and at the same time provide enough surpluses, the age-old methods of cultivation would have to go. The greatest challenge to our educated men and women, therefore, would be to assist in carrying out this agricultural revolution in the countryside. Indeed, if our agriculture fails, the realization of our other cherished objectives would be that much more intractable.

The second sector emphasized in our development strategy is *industry*. In order to tap our various local resources as well as enhance our agricultural and other development, the industrial sector cannot be left far behind. Consequently, a very judicious selection of key industries, both for the development of our agriculture as well as for other important industrial activities, must be made. Thus, the development of iron and steel, machine-tools, and agro-based industries, among others of course, top our priority list. Accordingly, our planning work has of late increasingly emphasized the need for processing our agricultural raw materials so as to increase their value-added.

The problems in implementing this aspect of the strategy are well known, especially for a developing country like Tanzania. The numerous and varied demands placed on our resources often make it very difficult to carry out a successful industrialization program. How, for example, should a decision be made between building a railway line and a steel mill, if the resources available are not adequate for both? Superficially, of course, one would choose the steel mill, since it would provide the raw material for the railway, but some transportation system would also have to be provided for mov-

ing the heavy and bulky steel products from where they are produced to the point of use.

The third sectoral area is what is often known as *strategic infrastructure*. It is regarded as strategic because, without it, effective productive activities would be difficult, if not impossible. This calls for investment in power, railways, roads, other means of transportation and communication. Besides, with the problems of illiteracy and disease in Tanzania today, adequate provisions for education and health facilities as part of the total development effort cannot be overemphasized. Again with the general problem of resources, one is always faced with the difficult question of choice between, for example, a road, a school or a dispensary. Of course, the emphasis on self-reliance and its effect in terms of proper and effective use especially of human resources would make the problem of rational choice manageable. It is often not realized, for instance, that labor-power, both mental and physical, is an indispensable and important resource for any development.

We have found that not only is a development strategy necessary, but also that conceptually a certain type of strategy like the one adopted by Tanzania is required for building the foundations for socialism and self-reliance. It is also quite clear that the realization of such a strategy requires extremely judicious planning to balance the conflicting and mounting pressures on our limited resources. The overriding consideration in making such delicate choices would be the long-term implications of the various decisions. In addition, such a strategy requires proper, effective and efficient use of our manpower resources. Thus, the situation in which the rural areas are deprived of all trained manpower because of the irrational rural-urban migration of all the educated young people would have to be corrected. Finally, the tendency for urban and sometimes rural unemployment to coexist with vast stretches of land clamoring to be used would also have to be effectively dealt with as part of the program for proper deployment of our manpower resources.

I have tried to show the various aspects and goals of the development strategy, proceeding mainly from Tanzania's experience. But I believe this problem is also of interest for other countries in Africa and Asia.

1. The Arusha Declaration was approved by TANU's National Executive in 1967, and the Guidelines, in 1971. — *Ed.*

2. In the mid-70s, Tanzania and many other African countries were hit by a heavy drought, which played havoc with their farming. — *Ed.*

3. U.S. $1.00 = 8.45 Tanzanian shillings. — *Ed.*



Our interviews

ISOLATION OF ANTI-COMMUNISM — A TARGET FOR ALL COMMUNISTS

At the request of the *WMR*, leading figures of the international communist movement have commented on the following two problems:

(1) Typical lines and methods of anti-communist propaganda in various countries;

(2) The most effective ways of combating anti-communism and anti-Sovietism today.*

James West
Political Bureau member, CPUSA

Anti-communism is least effective when people unite in struggle to better their lives, for peace and democracy. In view of the powerful anti-Soviet campaign going on day after day, it would be wrong, in our party's opinion, to take a defensive or even conciliatory stand when socialist countries are attacked. We popularize — in the interests of the American people and social progress throughout the world — the achievements of the USSR and other socialist countries, and persistently uphold their fight for détente and peaceful coexistence. We see one of our party's tasks in spreading in our country the truth about their internationalist role. It is necessary to rebut and defeat each and every new or old anti-communist and anti-Soviet lie and slander.

Of late, anti-communist propaganda has taken on new shadings and 'refinements.' Where before all communists were 'devils' now there are 'good' or 'acceptable' communists and 'bad' or 'unacceptable' communists. The chief distinction between 'acceptable' and 'unac-

*Continued. See our interviews with William Kashtan, Arne Jørgensen, Karl Heinz Schröder, Marcelo Santos, Jose Meseguer, Ib Nørlund and Rubens Iscaro, *WMR* April 1978, and Ezekias Papaioannou's article 'Anti-communism in the late 70s: some features and trends,' in *WMR*, February 1978.

ceptable' is seen in the attitude to the Soviet Union. 'Acceptable' are those communists who disassociate from and slander the USSR. 'Unacceptable' are those who adhere to working-class internationalism and uphold the achievements and peace policies of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Anti-communism is used in our country as a means of intimidating the workers and undermining their unity and militancy. There is also the fear of losing one's job. Some workers, fearing that they may be labelled 'red,' shrink from joining in struggle when it is called for and keep away from militant fellow-workers. Thus anti-communism serves as a means of disuniting the working people and hampers the growth of their class consciousness.

Generally, our people did not accept anti-communism as justification for foreign military adventure, such as the barbarous war against Vietnam or the intervention against the Dominican Republic. This is also the case today, when conditions for isolating and defeating anti-communism are becoming more favorable.

First, present-day capitalism with its anti-communist ideology provides no answers to the problems of mass unemployment, racism and the oppression of the racial and national minorities, the restriction of democratic rights, growing inflation and taxes, intensification of labor (speed-up), pollution, corruption, the physical decay of the cities, the ruination of small farmers and small business, the decay of cultural, social and moral values. Anti-communism can be more readily exposed, and the truth about socialism, communism and the USSR can be more effectively brought out in the course of the struggle for the most urgent needs of the working class, the Black people and the other oppressed minorities, the youth, poor farmers and middle strata. Second, the example of existing socialism, first of all in the Soviet Union, provides irrefutable arguments proving the superiority of socialism over capitalism, particularly in relation to the problems just cited. This example is also very important because many workers in industry, especially basic industry, are of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, German, Czech, Slovak, etc., origin.

In the fight against anti-communism our party and various left organizations publish books, pamphlets and leaflets, organize speaking tours, hold public meetings on the occasion of anniversary dates, encourage workers' delegations to socialist lands and the invitation of delegations from these lands. We fight the laws and State Department regulations which exclude or restrict contacts between Americans and citizens of socialist countries in violation of the Helsinki Final Act. We energetically expose the class collaborationism advocated by George Meany and the right-wing social democrats.

Gastone Gensini
Member of the Central Control Commission and head of the Ideological Department, CC Italian Communist Party

Speaking of the situation in Italy, I wish to call special attention, not to the problem of anti-communism, but to the 'communist problem.' What I mean is the fact that as a result of years-long active political struggle and careful elaboration of our party's programmatic and political positions, the issue of its participation in effective leadership of the country is not only appreciated by the working class and numerous other citizens but is seen by them as pressing.

Other political forces of the democratic left ranging from the socialists to the social democrats and republicans are realizing more and more — and have confirmed this officially — that the communists must join and take part in a government majority. Without ICP participation Italy's challenging economic, social and political problems cannot be solved. The Christian Democrats admit, if not without hesitation and opposition, the need for agreement among all democratic forces, including the ICP.

All this is evidence of a telling setback for anti-communism. In particular, the fact that we won nearly 35 per cent of the vote in the latest (1976) elections is proof that there is no more parliamentary majority, with the Christian Democratic Party (CDP) playing the chief role, and that a new political phase has opened in our national history. This is not to say, of course, that anti-communism has been completely defeated. Reaction refuses to reconcile itself to a situation in which the ICP plays so important a role. It therefore engineers attacks on us and on democratic rule, including attacks in criminal, terroristic forms. The ICP counters this subversion with mass initiative to extend and strengthen action for unity by all democratic forces ranging from the Socialist Party to the CDP. The development of relations tending toward unity was made possible, among other things, by the undertaking, given by these forces independently of one another, to defend the institutions of a democratic regime. The foregoing shows that the fight against anti-communism is inseparable from the fight for democracy and can therefore have a very broad mass basis and exceptional political significance.

Seydou Cissoko
CC General Secretary, African Independence Party of Senegal

Anti-communism in Senegal has now retreated or become less outspoken among the clergy, with whom it has been traditional. But the government has stepped up its anti-communist propaganda. This is a reflection of the growing ideological activity of imperialism in Africa.

By virtue of its geographical and political situation and the pro-Western bias of its regime, Senegal has become a key center for the dissemination of anti-communist ideas on the continent. Official anti-communism is due primarily to the growing world influence of socialism (in Africa this finds expression in a stronger alliance between the socialist system and the national-liberation movement), and to the fact that Senegal's ruling party has joined the Socialist International (this stimulates social reformist trends in our country and brings in the strategy of the social democrats of Europe).

Anti-communism in Senegal manifests itself, first of all, in an anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban hue-and-cry over 'foreign interference,' and in the authorities' attempt to represent our party, which honors its internationalist obligations, as 'an extraneous national excresence' and to describe all political opposition and every serious social action as something inspired or directed from outside. A particular form of anti-communist propaganda is increasing criticism of socialist-oriented African countries. Some of them, such as Guinea and Angola, are censured as countries with 'communist regimes.' Occasionally the authorities blame the quality of equipment supplied by socialist countries for the failure of a national enterprise, as they did in the case of SOSAP, a Senegalese fishing company. They do so to discredit socialist aid and justify increasingly numerous appeals to foreign imperialist capital for aid. The *gauchistes'* anti-Sovietism and the attempts of Mahjemout Diop, a renegade, to disrupt links between our party and religious working people by accentuating atheism are entirely in keeping with official propaganda.

Official propaganda upholds various Western bourgeois concepts directed against Marxism-Leninism and the alliance of world socialism and the national-liberation movement. It denies the theory and struggle of classes; maintains the doctrine of the division of the world into 'rich and poor nations,' which opposes the Soviet Union to the disinherited nations of the 'third world'; upholds the theory of 'superpowers,' which ignores the essential class division in contemporary international politics, and the concepts of 'national communism' and 'democratic socialism.' It extols various rightist trends in African social thought, typically represented in Senegal by Senghor. Taking their cue from the Western capitalist countries, which pose as champions of an 'African settlement of African problems,' government quarters have adopted the slogan 'Africa for the Africans.' They spearhead it against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, deliberately identifying assistance to the African liberation movement with the interference in the affairs of our countries actually practised by imperialist powers. The Senghor regime tries through vicious anti-communism and anti-Sovietism to prevent the people from realiz-

ing the pressing need for democratic changes in Senegal and to divert patriotic opposition forces from the paramount task — achieving unity of action in the fight for these changes.

Anti-communism wants to discredit the freedom goals of socialism and its political and social gains. It affects the interests of all who are involved in the international communist movement. And it is as a result of common resistance to imperialist propaganda that anti-communism will retreat everywhere. The struggle against anti-communism takes account of the diversity of the situations in which the Communist Parties are operating; this makes it stronger. But if it is to be consistent it must resist anti-Sovietism, to which imperialism resorts in fighting against the communist movement and all progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

We favor stronger links and cooperation between the democratic mass organizations of Senegal and similar organizations of other countries. The fight for working-class unity and an alliance of all patriotic forces helps to eliminate anti-communist and anti-Soviet influence on the working people. Contrary to the expectations of official propaganda, the working people are increasingly associating the defense of their economic demands with the political struggle of the country's progressive forces to end the crisis and bring about democratic changes.

Pedro Ortega Diaz
CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Venezuela

Those in Venezuela who are doing their utmost to step up the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign include the trade union bosses. This bureaucratic group has formed around the main federation of labor and comprises right-wing union leaders with social-democratic leanings. Some of these leaders are members of the Democratic Action Party. Most of them were educated in the United States. As for the union leaders belonging to the Social Christian Party, they were mostly educated in West Germany, which has now set up trade union schools in Venezuela as well (instruction is given by West German 'experts'). The union bureaucracy is trying to set the unions on an anti-communist course.

Anti-communism also finds support among certain progressive left-wingers — that is, if the latter term is suitable at all in this instance, since we do not regard people holding anti-communist views as left-wingers. For example, many leaders of the organization called the Movement Toward Socialism virtually behave like anti-communists. Under the cover of nationalist talk they hold forth about a 'national' type of 'socialism,' 'not imitating other countries.' Some of them hold frankly anti-Soviet or even anti-socialist views. They

attack existing socialism and talk about an indeterminate socialism which has not yet materialzied anywhere and regarding which there is no evidence that it can ever materialize. There are tiny ultra-leftist groups belonging to the same camp. They wield no particular influence but strike at the vanguard and mislead progressives, especially young people who are prompted to join the left by their hearts rather than their minds, and who embrace our cause with great enthusiasm. 'Leftist' groups try to talk these young people into believing that our party has become 'outdated,' 'bigoted' and 'bureaucratic,' and that it is the various 'leftist' adventurers who are real revolutionaries. We consider it very important to expose their divisive activity. We have published books, pamphlets and documents directed against manifestation of right- and 'left'-wing revisionism. Through the Communist Youth organization we are fighting continuously against the anti-communism of the ultra-leftists in the university. The party carries on active explanatory work among the workers. Its goal is to unite the workers and spell out its program goals and guidelines to them. I believe this is the most important aspect of what our party is doing to combat anti-communist ideology.

Of course, we do not consider these organizations as a whole anti-communist. Nor do we consider that anyone who does not accept our policy or differs with us is our enemy. It is perfectly clear, however, that we must not only resist the anti-communism of extreme reactionaries and rightists, who are hostile to communism because they are counter-revolutionaries; we must also make a special effort to counter all attacks on our party from pseudo-revolutionaries or the above-mentioned trade union bureaucrats.

We think we now have the basis for isolating anti-communism. This is, first of all, the objective situation in the world, the gains of existing socialism and the working class of the capitalist countries, and the disintegration of the colonial system. The situation in each particular country today is closely linked with the alignment of world forces. And since it is changing in favor of the forces of progress, democracy and national liberation and to the detriment of imperialism, it offers the working class, communists and other fighters for democracy and progress throughout the world better opportunities to isolate anti-communism. It is also highly important that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism increasingly betray their indefensibility, and their incompatibility with the people's interests. The people certainly do learn the lessons of the past; one can deceive them once or twice but after that, given a guiding vanguard, they are bound to take the right stand. To be sure, this task is hard to accomplish in countries dominated by bourgeois ideology. There may be gains and reverses but we are certain of our ultimate victory.

Otto Schudel
Swiss Party of Labor

The Swiss bourgeoisie makes active use of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism to mislead the working class. The main vehicle of anti-communist propaganda is the press. To divert the working people's attention from the fact that Swiss capitalism is, generally speaking, unable to cope with the problems arising from the crisis, the bourgeoisie paints life in the Soviet Union black. It alleges that human rights are not respected there and minimizes the Soviet Union's contribution to détente and peace, saying that the Soviet peace effort is a mere facade and that the Soviet Union wants no real disarmament. There is no denying that anti-Soviet propaganda meets with a certain response, even among the workers, and has a demobilizing effect upon them. What it says about 'dissidents' supposed to be held in mental hospitals plays a notable part in this. Propaganda on these lines damages our party's propaganda effort.

The Swiss worker is very slow to awaken to the new situation created by the capitalist world crisis. More often than not, he does so only when affected personally. The bourgeoisie takes advantage of the fear of losing one's job. It tries to set nationals against immigrants so as to divide the working people. Left-wingers are under police surveillance. They are registered in card indexes which employers use to refuse jobs or to dismiss job holders. The still unofficial system of hiring and firing that is taking place in the government agencies of Zurich Canton, center of the Swiss fascist movement in the 30s, is largely similar to the West German ban on professions. Much the same is going on in other cantons.

A great deal of the blame for misleading the workers must be put on the rightist-dominated Social-Democratic Party. On the Federal Council and in the government the social democrats collaborate with bourgeois parties, which try to remedy the crisis by placing the burden of its consequences on the masses. The SDP tries to justify its support of this policy by referring to the need to provide the government with funds for its 'social policy' but says nothing about the need to make the rich pay. Under the influence of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism the SDP leadership sticks to its refusal to cooperate with the SPL at the national level, even in defending the working people's social demands.

Our party considers that to defeat anti-communism as the ideology of subordinating the working people to the capitalist system, it is necessary to carry on a sustained struggle in defense of the interests of the working class and other working people and form a broad democratic front against monopoly capital. In the French-speaking

cantons there is a consensus between the SPL and social-democratic organizations on a number of issues. We are working to extend cooperation on these issues to the rest of the country. In resisting propaganda against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we use our press and organize lectures. The societies of Swiss-Soviet and Swiss-GDR Friendship, for their part, organize lectures and cultural events. Regrettably, our opportunities of stemming the torrent of hostile propaganda are limited. We have only one daily newspaper — *La Voix ouvrière* — in the French-speaking part of the country and two weekly papers — *Vorwärts* (in German) and *Lavoratore* (in Italian).

Emile Touma
CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Israel

Anti-communism, organically linked with anti-Sovietism, is a major component of the ideology and policy of the Israeli ruling circles. The ideology of these circles, Zionism, is certainly incompatible with the communist world outlook. Communism and Zionism are also poles apart politically.

The anti-communist bias of the Israeli rulers also stems from their foreign policy orientation. Ever since the State of Israel was founded, its pro-Zionist leaders have been pursuing a policy of denying the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and encroaching on the rights of Arab neighbors. This policy culminated in the 1956 and 1967 wars of aggression, which revealed the Israeli rulers' alliance with imperialism against the Arab national-liberation movement. The Israeli rulers' anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and their adventurist policy are firmly countered by our party, which insists on a fair and comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict through the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories. They are also countered by the Soviet Union's resolute support of the Arab people of Palestine and other Arab peoples.

We may single out two basic manifestations of anti-communism in Israel: one, hysterical attacks on CPI policy, which are accompanied by press 'polemics' against communist ideology, and two, concentrated efforts designed to isolate our party in domestic politics and prevent the people from recognizing the fact that the CPI proposes the only realistic and reasonable alternative to the dangerous policy of war by submitting for discussion a policy meeting the working people's true interests.

Success in the fight against anti-communism depends in the long run — provided international conditions are favorable — on growth of the influence of the communist and workers' parties. Naturally, each

party has been combating anti-communism in distinctive conditions determined by national history and tradition. At the same time our experience and our knowledge of contemporary history show that success in the struggle against anti-communism hinges on two factors: first, creative, non-dogmatic application of scientific communism preserving the purity of Marxist-Leninist teachings, and second, determined, uncompromising resistance to anti-Sovietism. Such is the experience of the CPI, a party operating in a climate of unrelenting, rabid anti-communism.

Our party brings it home to the masses that anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are a smokescreen behind which the ruling circles of Israel continue to exploit the working people and preserve in their policy of aggression and expansion directed against the Arab peoples, a policy endangering both these peoples and Israel itself. Our comrades' activity among the masses, in the trade unions, has been helpful in discrediting anti-communism in the working people's eyes. The CPI plays the leading role in the movement for friendship between the peoples of Israel and the Soviet Union. We maintain that raising a powerful barrier to anti-Soviet slander and instigation, and promoting friendship between our peoples are essential prerequisites of success in the struggle to defeat anti-communism. Our party considers solidarity with the CPSU an expression of proletarian internationalism. We consider that a 'reserved' or critical attitude to the Soviet Union would not contribute to the communist cause or help to weaken anti-communism. Such an attitude would tend to destroy the workers' party, weaken proletarian internationalism and breed erroneous deviations.

Idris Cox
Communist Party of Great Britain

The main expression of anti-communism in Britain is the persistent campaign against the Soviet Union, alleging that it relies on superior armed strength to impose its will on other countries, and extends its nuclear power to the same end. It is alleged that communists in all socialist countries (and those in the capitalist world) are against democratic rule, and seek to enforce a system in which a minority rules the majority, suppresses religion, and prevents the 'free expression' of political ideas.

In the course of more than two centuries the British ruling class has developed great experience in its subtle methods of deceiving ordinary people. On occasions it invites progressive Labour speakers (and very rarely even communists) to speak on radio and television, to create the impression that the mass media are impartial. But after a

brief program it switches back to the usual reactionary propaganda, which the communists are never given an opportunity to answer.

As long as imperialism and capitalism last it's not possible to isolate anti-communism entirely. All that can be done is to restrict its scope and weaken its influence among the masses. Workers are not 'naturally' opposed to communism, but are conditioned to believe in the distortion of communist ideas.

It's not enough to counter anti-communism only in words and pictures, or even on the cinema screen. Mass action in the capitalist countries in support of the everyday demands and needs of the mass of the people is the starting-point of the struggle against anti-communism. When individual communists, or organized groups of them, voice the needs of their work-mates, start and lead the struggle to fulfill these needs, then ordinary people start to change their views about communism.

The main answer to anti-communism is to organize men and women at the point of production in the struggle to improve their wages and conditions, and in the streets and localities for more and better houses at lower rents, and against inflation and rising prices. This is the atmosphere in which communists will become recognized as trusted political leaders. It is in this situation that the seeds of Marxist ideas will grow, and in which it becomes easier to bring out the great achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

To grasp the basic principles of Marxism, and what communism is in theory and practice, is not an automatic process. It needs persistent study, a combination of theory and practice, as well as the rich experience of the struggle against capitalism and for the achievement of socialism.

The forms of struggle vary according to the conditions in each factory or coal mine and the industry as a whole, in each village, town, city, region, or the country as a whole. Communists strive to prove in action that they belong to the people, join with them in their struggles. Within the British trade unions many communists have been elected to key positions and are in a stronger position to wage the political struggle against anti-communism. Every communist in Britain must be far more zealous in winning more readers for *Morning Star,* the only workers' daily paper in Britain. They need to concentrate far more on raising the political level of the working class by bigger sales of communist literature (pamphlets, books, and journals) and by public meetings and demonstrations, and mass lectures on communist theory and practice.

MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

A meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union was held in Budapest, February 27 to March 1, 1978, to discuss international and ideological questions. A representative of the Communist Party of Vietnam attended in the capacity of an observer.

The participants informed each other of the ideological and political work of their parties. Views were exchanged on cooperation in this sphere and on current international issues. Speakers noted with satisfaction the fruitful character of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation of fraternal countries in the field of information and propaganda, social sciences, education and culture, and expressed the resolve to develop it further. Such cooperation, which takes into account the specific conditions in which each party is working, is helpful in dealing with problems of common interest, popularizing the socialist countries' achievements, and making their domestic and foreign policy better understood.

The meeting examined the results of the events marking the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This date, which was widely observed throughout the world, and the celebration of other important anniversaries and events in the life of the fraternal parties and peoples, clearly demonstrated the importance of socialism's main achievements in all spheres of life, promoted the broader dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the great ideals of peace, freedom, national independence and socialism. Stress was laid on the need to continue marking outstanding dates of the working-class, revolutionary movement of the peoples of the socialist countries, including the 30th anniversary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in 1979. The representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Cuba informed the participants of plans for next year's marking of the 30th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic and the 20th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution.

Attention was focused on the role of the mass media in present-day international policy. The view was expressed that the mass information and propaganda media should make a positive contribution to furthering détente, to curbing the arms race, to the struggle for disarmament, for strengthening trust among the peoples and promoting diverse mutually advantageous cooperation among states, irrespective of their social systems.

Special attention was drawn to the danger stemming from the continuation and intensification of the arms race, the creation of new kinds of mass destruction weapons, including the neutron bomb, which is a formidable obstacle in the path of the further normalization of international relations. The parties taking part in the conference came out for the adoption of resolute disarmament measures, above all for nuclear disarmament. Overcoming the resistance to such measures by reactionary circles in the NATO countries and by other conservative forces is an urgent task of vital importance for all the peoples.

On behalf of their parties the participants pledged solidarity with the just struggle of the communists, progressive, revolutionary and national-liberation forces, of all the peoples against the imperialist policy of diktat and aggression, against attempts to obstruct the free expression of their will, for national independence, sovereignty, inviolability of their borders, respect for the right of every people to decide their future themselves without outside interference, and for social progress and equitable international cooperation.

They denounced anti-communist campaigns, attempts by imperialist and reactionary circles to distort the policy of the socialist countries and to interfere in their internal affairs. They stressed their desire to promote the dissemination of objective information about the activity of all communist and workers' parties, on the peoples of the socialist countries and about their achievements in building a new society, in developing mutual cooperation.

Speakers stressed the significance of giving publicity to the socialist countries' constructive efforts directed at strengthening international security, and ensuring consistent and full implementation by all states participating in the European Conference of the provisions of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki. The conviction was expressed that joint efforts by all concerned, taking into account the positive experience accumulated in the sphere of cooperation between states, both big and small, irrespective of their social systems, are an important prerequisite for deepening détente and consolidating peace and security.

The participants reaffirmed the resolve of their parties to facilitate full and consistent implementation of the conclusions of the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties. The Communist Party of Cuba also reaffirmed that it will continue to do everything for the realization of the conclusions of the Havana Conference of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The meeting proceeded in a businesslike, friendly atmosphere, in a spirit of equality, mutual respect and internationalist solidarity.

viewpoints

CMEA: new scope of cooperation

The socialist-community countries have reached the half-way mark in fulfilling their current five-year plans for economic development. An increasingly important role in this endeavor is played by their closer economic cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which will mark its 30th anniversary next year. Their multilateral ties are growing, new and more effective forms of joint economic activity are emerging, and the achievements of scientific and technical progress are being applied on a wider scale.

This process is described in the article by Pyotr Lomako, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy, and in the reports from the major construction projects of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Mongolia written at *WMR*'s request by journalists of these countries.

THE MOST PROGRESSIVE TREND

Pyotr Lomako,
Member of the CC CPSU, USSR Minister of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy

During the almost 30 years of the CMEA's functioning its member-states have been steadily expanding their ties. Simple commodity exchange was followed by coordination of plans. Now these ties have acquired a new dimension expressed in the elaboration of long-term programs of economic cooperation. The CMEA countries have reached a new stage in using the advantages of socialism as a world system and deepening international socialist division of labor. The CMEA's work, Leonid Brezhnev has said, may be described as 'a unique experience of equitable cooperation of a large group of countries, harmoniously combining their national and international interests and applying in practice the principles of socialist internationalism.' This unique experience is winning over wider recognition in the world.

I will try, using the example of the industry I deal with, non-ferrous

metallurgy, to show the mechanism of socialist integration at work in economic sections at different levels, to show how the CMEA's principles are applied in this new type of international alliance, which differs basically from capitalist economic communities and alliances.

The unparalleled efficiency of the socialist countries' economic cooperation is most clearly pronounced in the way they are solving the most acute problems in the practice of world economic relations. Significant in this context is cooperation among the CMEA members in non-ferrous metallurgy, which more often than not has to deal precisely with such problems.

One of them is raw material supply. In the capitalist world the countries having no raw material sources of their own have either to put up with lopsided, inadequate industrial development, or to join the imperialists in plundering the natural riches of other countries. The states possessing sources of raw materials become an object of intrigue, trade wars and military conflicts. And those raw material resources to which the monopolies ultimately gain free access are exploited without scruple.

The problem of raw material supply is not an easy one for the socialist community either. Although the community possesses sufficient amounts of raw materials, their reserves are not big enough in the populated areas. Besides, while some members of the community are rich in raw materials, others have practically none. We must also reckon with such a reality of the modern world as the fact that in general natural resources are relatively limited, considering the growing demand for them both now and in the future. And, last but not least, one cannot ignore the fact that the situation in the world raw material market cannot but complicate, to a certain degree, the problem of raw material supply for the socialist community. But still, this problem is being solved in a totally different way than in the capitalist world. Realizing that this problem is among those which are increasingly influencing and will continue to influence the life of every nation and of mankind as a whole, the socialist countries approach it with a special sense of responsibility, seeking a constructive and comprehensive solution.

The socialist community today is known to be practically self-sufficient in major raw materials. In non-ferrous metallurgy, for instance, the Soviet Union has increased the annual output of ore to 2,100 million tons and is now one of the world's leading non-ferrous metal producers. In contrast to the capitalist world, in which priority is given to easily accessible minerals while those located in regions which are difficult of access are, as a rule, ignored, the CMEA member-countries, in increasing the output of raw materials today, also care for the future and lay stress on a thrifty, rational use of

mineral resources. In coordinating their economic plans for the post-1980 period they pay special attention to meeting their economically justified long-range needs for raw materials by obtaining them from the regions that are hard to reach. At its 31st session in 1977, the CMEA made an important decision to concentrate on developing long-term goal-oriented programs of cooperation in the production of fuel, energy and raw materials and to draw up corresponding agreements.

The 'raw material strategy' of socialist integration is being consistently applied in practice. The CMEA countries carry on extensive joint search for methods of deep mining and in difficult geological conditions. They cut losses during raw material extraction and processing and try to achieve a multi-purpose utilization of minerals. They make use of raw materials with low mineral content or those whose processing takes substantial effort, and even waste. On top of that, they make large joint investments in the geological survey of the regions singled out as promising by CMEA's 1971 Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration. For instance, the CMEA countries financed, without indemnity, the international geological expedition operating in Mongolia. Under an agreement signed between Mongolia and the Soviet Union in 1973, copper and molybdenum deposits are being developed in Erdenet to provide raw materials for the big Mongolian-Soviet Erdenet ore-dressing project currently under construction. Incidentially, the fact that the project is being built by Soviet and Mongolian organizations does not in any way infringe on Mongolia's sovereignty over her mineral resources. Although the charter fund of the joint enterprise is made up of equal shares, the enterprise is the juridical person of the Mongolian People's Republic, which alone may make decisions on marketing its share of output. When completed, the project will greatly increase Mongolia's export potential.

This also applies, for instance, to nickel production in Cuba, in which CMEA member countries take part. The work going on there will enable Cuba not only to meet her own demand for nickel but also to boost its export to socialist and other countries. The new project is very significant to Cuba, if we recall that nickel is her second largest export item after sugar.

All this is very different from what we observe in the capitalist world. When supra-national corporations 'help' build or re-equip enterprises dealing with the extraction or primary processing of raw materials, they often do whatever they can to restrain the national export of these enterpises' output. Having snatched a good profit from that 'aid,' they take the recipient of the aid by the throat: the ethics of competition prompt them to try and seize control over

mining and using mineral resources. If in 'well-off' Canada foreign monopolies control 100 per cent of oil and gas extraction and 55 per cent of primary-ore mining, what is there to say about a large number of 'less civilized' states pressed by the diktat of supra-national corporations?

Characterizing the cooperation between the CMEA countries and their mutual aid, Fidel Castro had every reason to stress that this aid 'is free from any burdening terms, from the drive for raw materials or profit squeezing.' Therein lies the 'great difference between cooperation within the CMEA and imperialism's exploitation and "aid".'

Another acute problem in the modern world is the evening out of the economic, particularly industrial, levels of various countries. The practice of world economic relations shows that all attempts (made in the capitalist way) to close the gap between the traditionally backward and industrially advanced countries have been of no avail. On the other hand, in the system of socialist states this dynamic process does not proceed spontaneously but is deliberately stimulated through the joint efforts of parties and governments, both at the national level and at the level of identical industries. For instance, the gross output of non-ferrous metals in 1956-76 increased 9.5-fold in Rumania, 7.5-fold in Bulgaria, 5.1-fold in Poland, 3.5-fold in Hungary and the GDR, and two-fold in Czechoslovakia.*

But for all these impressive 'gross' results, one should not ignore the important qualitative aspect, because at this stage of socialist economic integration the intensive factors of growth are acquiring decisive significance. This trend has been gradually growing in CMEA countries' cooperation in non-ferrous metallurgy.

In the first years of this cooperation experts and organizations in the fraternal countries concentrated primarily on studying and sharing collective experience, above all Soviet know-how. Thousands of Soviet workers, engineers and technicians were sent to these countries to provide technical assistance in organizing production, and about the same number of experts were sent to the USSR to upgrade their skills. A large number of mining and processing enterprises were built in socialist countries with Soviet aid.

Today, too, Soviet specialists in non-ferrous metallurgy are just as actively assisting their colleagues in other socialist countries. But the accents have shifted a good deal. The fast growth of production, the intensive work to align development levels in this industry, and the notably increased skills of workers have made it possible jointly to undertake a comprehensive solution of the new and pressing prob-

*The data provided by the Standing Commission for Non-Ferrous Metallurgy (SCNM), which was set up in 1956 by decision of the Seventh CMEA Session. Yugoslavia has been taking an active part in its work since 1964.

lems of raising the efficiency of production and speeding up technological progress. For non-ferrous metallurgy these problems are all the more important because, like power engineering, machine-building and chemistry, this industry is among those which determine the level of progress in the whole modern structure of production. It is not without reason that non-ferrous metals are called metals of technical progress.

It is only natural, therefore, that various aspects of scientific and technical cooperation are becoming increasingly important: the fast-growing sharing of know-how, exchange of experts to study innovations, scientific and technical conferences, symposiums, joint research (also, individual research with the subsequent exchange of new results), and joint designing and study of licences, to mention a few.

As a result, our countries now have a large and close-knit group of experts who know and understand each other well and are dedicated to the common cause. Close contacts between the workers of ministries, departments and enterprises make for rapid solution of many problems of mutual concern. Good results were achieved, for instance, at a recent meeting of groups of leading Soviet and Polish specialists, headed by ministers of non-ferrous metallurgy, during which the participants were shown Polish factories and shared their experience. After a thorough preliminary study they drew up long-term programs for a joint search for basically new technological solutions to be applied in underground mining in the near future and for joint development and production of specialized equipment. There have been quite a few such meetings of late, which have proved useful for all concerned.

The specialized scientific and technical councils (STC), set up in 1972 in the SCNM framework, have been invaluable for improving production and accelerating technical progress. The work of each of the councils is coordinated by one of the CMEA countries: the STC for mining non-ferrous metal ores is supervised by Bulgaria; the STC for environmental protection in the vicinity of operating enterprises, by the GDR, and so on. The standing delegations to these councils consist of the most competent experts and scientists from various countries, which means that they take a truly scientific approach to coordinating research in the most pressing problems. (Part of the research has already been completed and produced a substantial economic effect.) The STCs are convened twice a year to analyze and discuss technical problems. At the present time the STCs are working out comprehensive programs for realizing some of the latest technological ideas. These ideas, which were previously regarded as a matter of the distant future, have now become so topical that there

is a necessity and possibility of realizing them not later than 1980-85.

The joint work of the socialist countries' scientists and specialists in metallurgy shows the CMEA as a new type of international alliance. As we all know, supra-national corporations in the capitalist world are also interested in research whenever it brings in profit. But, when involving the industries of less developed capitalist countries, and also developing countries for that matter, in the process of capitalist integration, they, as a rule, monopolize the results of new research. This is done fully in accord with the tendency of the big imperialist industrial powers to exploit research in order to build up their economic and military potentials. This explains why in the non-socialist part of the world the scientific and technological revolution bypasses, as it were, the countries that are less developed economically, thereby retarding their development, while its fruits are reaped by only the more advanced capitalist powers. In the socialist community the approach to problems of scientific and technical progress is fundamentally different: each country actively helps to speed up this progress, and each, whatever its size or economic level, has a sovereign right and real opportunity to use the results.

International economic amalgamations functioning within the CMEA's framework is another form of world economic relations in which the CMEA is widely applying the principles of equality, mutual benefit and justice. The amalgamations emerged in response to the growing objective need for the CMEA members to go over to more complex forms of cooperation, when development programs are not merely coordinated, but the advantages of international socialist division of labor are daily used in the lower economic echelons. We know of the positive results achieved by a number of such amalgamations. They all engage in active search for specific solutions in international specialization and cooperation at a level different from those stipulated in the general agreements between states or identical industrial ministries.

Such amalgamations are without precedent in the practice of world economic relations. They are sometimes called 'socialist concerns,' which is really a misnomer. Capitalist amalgamations only outwardly resemble ours and the analogy does not suit here. 'Servicing' national and international production complexes, capitalist concerns, nevertheless, dominate them, since their main purpose is to serve the self-seeking interests of transnational companies. On the other hand, the CMEA's economic amalgamations, like all other elements of socialist economic integration, are devoid of any features of supranational organizations. These are precisely international amalgamations. Each country decides independently whether to join or not, and if yes, what the extent and form of its participation should be.

In non-ferrous metallurgy the first socialist amalgamation of this kind was a Soviet-Mongolian enterprise, 'Mongolsovtsvetmet,' which operates successfully today. In our view, an interesting form of cooperation, which so far has been used only in non-ferrous metallurgy, is the special working group set up as part of the SCNM ('Tsvetmetobrabotka'). Its main purpose is to make effective use of the production capacities of processing plants and ensure a mutually beneficial exchange of non-ferrous metallurgy products between the socialist countries.

Why is such an organization necessary? The point is that a modern processing industry can be highly efficient only if there is large-scale production and a high degree of its concentration. But normally production on such a scale exceeds the demands of the markets of small and medium countries, which are in the majority in the socialist community. Therefore, the capacities of the processing plants, their modern and highly productive machinery cannot be effectively used for a long period, if their output is geared to the needs of only one country. In this case production in large batches is restrained while fluctuations in the volume of orders within that country lead to stoppages due to readjustment, maintenance and other non-productive operations. Hence the idea of making these enterprises run to capacity by filling the orders of other countries. As a result, the CMEA countries and Yugoslavia have greatly increased mutual supplies of semi-finished non-ferrous metals. In 1977 these supplies amounted to almost 240,000 tons, instead of a mere 13,800 in 1965. Over the past 13 years these countries have produced (mainly from the raw material of the customer) and supplied to one another nearly 1.5 million tons of semi-finished non-ferrous metals, which allowed them to save fairly big sums of money. Should the orders be placed in the capitalist world, it would cost them around $430 million.*

The good results achieved by the 'Tsvetmetobrabotka' group have been taken into account also in a similar group, 'Redmet,' set up in 1971 to coordinate cooperation in utilizing unused capacities and the exchange of semi-conducting materials, fine metals and metals with special physical properties. In 1976 the member-countries of the 'Redmet' group used the free capacities to produce 169 kinds of output and exchanged them. During the five years of the group's existence they exchanged various production items to the tune of 60 million transferable roubles.

All this only proves the economic benefit of the new development.

*The 'Tsvetmetobrabotka' group has no permanent staff and, consequently, no wages bill. It holds regular brief sessions at which each member-country is represented by delegations including planners, foreign trade experts and representatives of ministries and enterprises.

However, there is an aspect testifying in favor of still another advantage of socialist economic integration. In the capitalist world, where partners are engaged in a severe competitive struggle for producing this or that commodity, it is inconceivable for one country to concern itself with a fuller and more advantageous utilization of the production capacities of another country. Socialist economic integration is aimed at increasing the efficiency of the social production of each CMEA country without exception for the common benefit of the socialist community as a whole.

The principles of international specialization and cooperation of production applied by the socialist-community countries are drawing increasingly closer attention and winning them ever greater prestige in the non-socialist part of the world. And not only because of their obvious economic advances and steady growth rates, but also because of the ever wider recognition of the fact that the CMEA activities have an open character, not confined to the limits of the socialist community. Free from economic autarchy, the CMEA countries are developing trade and economic relations with all interested countries on principles of equality and mutual benefit. This is the basis for the agreed concept of the CMEA's economic policy toward third countries and other economic alignments.

Notably, this policy does not express merely the free will of the socialist community members. Neither is it dictated by propaganda motives, as our adversaries try to make out. This is a policy based on a sober account of the imperative demand of the times, on an understanding that in the conditions of growing internationalization of economic activity, in the epoch of the scientific and technological revolution, we must solve our own problems with due regard to world economic problems. It is no accident that in the sphere of world economic relations, too, the CMEA countries keep promoting cooperation at most different levels.

Soviet-Turkish cooperation is a case in point. Over the past decade, several large projects, including the metal works in Iskenderon and the aluminum factory in Seidishekhir, have been built with Soviet aid. This enabled Turkey to use her own mineral resources. The personnel for the aluminum factory were trained on the spot with the aid of Soviet engineers and other specialists. Besides, for some years now, a group of Soviet engineers have been sharing known-how with their Turkish colleagues. Many of the Turkish experts have had their training at similar enterprises in the USSR. In return, the Soviet Union receives from Turkey alumina and other items as payment for credits.

There are other examples of fruitful, mutually beneficial international cooperation in which Soviet non-ferrous metallurgy is in-

volved. There is, for instance, the assistance rendered to India in the erection of large projects, the construction on a new technological basis of a large nickel factory in the Soviet city of Norilsk with the participation of Finnish firms, and so on.

While expanding this type of cooperation, the CMEA countries do not seek unilateral advantages for themselves. As regards developing countries, the socialist states render them every assistance. The socialist community now assists 75 developing countries. It has granted them long-term credits to the tune of over 15,000 million roubles. With the aid of the CMEA member-states more than 3,000 industrial enterprises have been built or are under construction in these countries and other projects are being carried out in various economic spheres.

If we compare these facts with the economic policy of the industrialized capitalist states, which look upon developing and less developed countries as merely additional stimulators of their own economic activity and squeeze fabulous profits out of them, we shall see why the example of the socialist system of states has such an appeal.

Taking part in world economic relations and in the international division of labor, the CMEA countries represent the most progressive tendency in those spheres. Theirs is a fundamentally new type of economic relations based on equality, disinterestedness and mutually advantageous cooperation, a type of relations that could be built on a world scale.

STEEL SUPPORT

Tadeusz Sztrumpf,
Polish journalist

In January 1978, the Katowice steel mill reported that it had turned out over two million tons of steel. It had been produced within a year by a mill that had only started in December 1976. Two million tons is twice the total output of all Poland's steel mills in 1938.

But our interest today lies not in the backwardness that is now well behind us, but in the present and future of our dynamic socialist economy, which needs 20 million tons of steel a year to meet the rapidly growing requirements of all its industries.

Katowice is being further developed. In the 1980s it will be producing nine million tons of steel a year, vast quantities of rolled stock, rails and other items. The ultimate target is 10 million tons of steel a year.

Katowice intends to become one of the biggest steel mills in the world.

The construction has gone forward at a record pace. It is less than seven years since the Sixth Congress of the PUWP (1971) decided that the country needed a new and major metallurgical base, and that construction on it had to be started without delay. Almost at once the first teams of builders arrived in the area near Dabrowa Gornicza, an area of low-crop farmland and scrub. The teams grew rapidly and at the high point of the construction effort the number of builders came to more than 40,000. Two hundred factories across the country have been manufacturing machinery, equipment, and steel structures for the mill. Plant and machinery have come from 20 countries.

From the outset, the construction project has had the attention of the whole people and the backing of the party and the government. It was repeatedly visited by Edward Gierek and Piotr Jaroszewicz; workers of over 100 enterprises were involved in the assembly operations, and the ranks of the new steelworkers grew rapidly. Everyone labored unsparingly because they were fully aware of the economic importance of steel, particularly when the economy was faced with the urgent task of cutting back on the growing imports of rolled stock and of giving the older mills a breathing space in which to modernize and remodel.

Within four and a half years from the start of construction, the new mill turned out its first steel, and some of the leading experts in this field abroad said this was a very fast pace, a Polish pace, they called it.

The Katowice project cannot be compared with any of our earlier ones. Throughout the history of Poland's industrial construction we had never undertaken to build, in such a short period, a mill of this size, with its sophisticated technical equipment and thousands of workers.

This called for a modern system of work organization to make it possible simultaneously to erect 1,500 units with a steady flow of vast quantities of technical specifications and an uninterrupted supply of machinery and equipment. An important feature of the project was the *comprehensive approach*; in the old days, the first to go up was the blast furnace, then came the steel-melting shop and finally one or more rolling mills. At Katowice, all the units of the mill went up at the same time, together with the social and everyday facilities, the transport network, the housing, schools, recreation facilities, etc.

That is why the project has transformed the whole area and its surroundings out of all recognition.

A new and vast collective, a new contingent of the working class in the heavy industry, is taking shape, a process which naturally has its difficulties.

Experienced specialists and countless numbers of 'beginners' have

been arriving from Slask, Zaglebie and other parts of the country. Will it be possible in a short period to mould this human 'mix' into a friendly, workmanlike and disciplined army of workers, technicians and engineers, an army capable of overcoming all the difficulties in which building and the starting of new lines of production always abound?

Waldemar Kowalski, First Secretary of the project's Party Committee, says: 'Human potentialities are much greater than the technical potentialities of machines. In our political work we rely on people with drive and enthusiasm. We have been doing everything to increase their number. This is a necessary condition for success. We have put forward this slogan: "Today we work better than yesterday, and tomorrow, better than today!" This is a principle that cannot be practised by those who are indifferent, who are not dedicated.'

It is not easy to present a picture of these enthusiasts on a few pages. I spent more than a year at the Katowice project as a correspondent of *Trybuna Ludu,* and have written a fairly big book about it under the title *The Poles Can Cope With Everything*. But I find that even in that book I did not do full justice to this collective of builders and steelworkers, who are ordinary men, with all their failings, but who are totally dedicated to their cause.

The Katowice steel mill is a truly beautiful sight. Everyone who has seen it is impressed by its architectural merits.

Everyone working at Katowice has the kind of conditions that the older enterprises, even those built only a few years ago, cannot provide, and this is true not only of Poland. Engineer Bronislaw Wasilewicz, the chief designer, said: 'Our aim has been to equip it with the most modern technical facilities to be found anywhere in the world. We have kept in touch with the latest advances in all countries. We have used all the best elements introduced in the Soviet Union, Japan and France.'

What is the *modern* approach? It is, of course, to have vast units running without interruption, to have them automatically controlled, with the smallest number of personnel, and producing maximum output with maximum efficiency. But the modern approach also means minimizing the damage industry necessarily inflicts on the environment. It is safe to say that Katowice is well up to the modern standard in this sense. Its pollution of the air will come to only 20 per cent of the tolerable level.

Each of the two blast furnaces already running at the mill has a volume of 3,200 cub.m. These are giant furnaces, among the biggest in the world. This type of furnace will produce over 2 million tons of pig iron a year. The 350-ton converters, producing a melt every 36 minutes, are also impressive.

Franciszek Kaim, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Metallurgical Industry, says: 'The big units mean above all a high level of efficiency. Thus, the per-product-unit cost of building 3,000-cub.m. blast furnaces is 35 per cent lower than for 500-cub.m. furnaces. The cost of building a steel melting shop with oxygen converters turning out over 300 tons of steel per melt is 30 per cent lower than that of a shop with 100-ton converters . . . Such large facilities help to boost labor productivity many times over. The same applies to rolled stock.'

Modern equipment, he said consumes less fuel and energy and is more reliable to run, besides producing high-quality goods. 'The view is that the greater the share of high-quality oxygen-converter steel in the total product, the higher the level of metallurgy. When Katowice starts to operate at full capacity, oxygen-converter steel will make up 42 per cent, as compared with about 22 per cent at present. Poland's metallurgy will catch up with the most industrialized countries.

'Another feature of developed metallurgy is the big share of so-called sheet products. Katowice will also reach a very high standard in this line. In the early 80s, when it turns out 4.5 million tons of sheet iron a year, the share of all sheet products in our metallurgy will increase to 53 per cent.

'Finally, the production of section steel, such as heavy rails, which help to increase train loads and speeds, is also very important. In 1980, Katowice will produce 2 million tons of section steel.'

In the middle of last year, while Katowice was still gathering momentum, the country felt its impact. After many 'lean years,' the rolling shops of many Polish steel mills no longer had to face the old difficulties in the supply of steel. Our foreign trade was able to slash high-cost imports. The first few export agreements were signed: Katowice began to sell steel, in modest quantities as yet, to the Belgians and the Swiss.

Addressing the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the Seventh Congress of the PUWP in December 1975, Edward Gierek said: 'From 1976 to 1980, thanks to your personal contribution, Comrade Brezhnev, we shall be able, with reliance on Soviet technical assistance and deliveries of Soviet machinery and equipment, to continue construction of our Katowice steel mill, technically our most modern project.'

There is good reason to say that Katowice is the supreme symbol of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation. One-third of the equipment for its first section came from the Soviet Union, including blast furnaces, converters, a blooming mill, sintering furnaces, turbine units, compressors, oxygen units, and many other things. Katowice has been using Soviet ore to produce its pig iron.

Everywhere at the construction site you will meet Soviet specialists, whose dedicated labor effort and exceptional professional skill have won the hearts of Polish workers.

You will also meet our friends from Czechoslovakia (as I write this, a continuous billet-rolling shop, with equipment from the famous Skoda Works, has been started), the GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria, all of which have variously made a contribution to building the mighty mill, the steel support of socialist Poland's national economy.

NEW TRADITIONS OF OLD CRAFTSMANSHIP

Jiri Stano,
Czechoslovak journalist

Some of the world's cities have come to be associated with their chief products. Plzen in Czechoslovakia is associated with beer and the famous Skoda Engineering Works. It is the fifth largest of our cities and is renowned throughout the world for these two things. But this report deals with the Skoda Works, which is a much younger Plzen enterprise than its beer-brewing.

Almost everyone knows that toward the very end of the Second World War U.S. bombers virtually razed the works to the ground. The U.S. monopolies wanted a dangerous rival out of the way. But although three-quarters of the factory lay in ruins, the first new locomotive emerged from the first rehabilitated shop as early as 1945.

Today, the Skoda Works is a cluster of plants named after V.I. Lenin, the largest heavy-engineering works in this country. It turns out equipment and machinery for more than 40 industries and maintains trade ties with 60 countries. It manufactures a broad range of machinery and equipment, from giant marine shafts for ocean-going ships and turbines for electric-power stations to the most modern electric locomotives. It is also the leading contractor for Czechoslovakia's first and second atomic-power plants. It was Skoda's atomic program which once again took me to Plzen.

I walked to the western tip of the works, a place called 'v Karlove,' where nothing is being made at all just now, but where the Skoda Works has its largest building platform. This is where, on May 1, 1975, building was started on a reactor shop, which this year is to begin making reactors for atomic-power plants.

Looking down on the platform from the roadside, the first thing you see are the mobile huts of the builders, the auxiliary structures and the busy movement of mighty building machines. The giant steel frame of the shop towers before you. This is a unique structure, the heaviest ever erected in this country. When you enter the building platform itself, you feel like Gulliver among the giants.

On one side is a deep pit for the 35-metre shaft furnace, and alongside of it, rise structures which dwarf everything else. Their presence is revealed only by the bright flares of the welding guns.

The shop was designed by 'Project' in Prague, with 'Armabeton Praha' acting as the general contractor. The current building operations are carried on by Plzen's 'Armabeton.' The mammoth size of the project can be judged from the capital investments: the reactor shop will cost 1,500 million crowns to build. The Project indicates that Czechoslovakia is among the eight countries in the world capable of making technological equipment for atomic-power plants.

No one at the Skoda Works seems to have been surprised when it was awarded the contract for the atomic program. In a conversation with Engineer Zdenek Petr, who has worked in atomic power-plant engineering for decades, we had a look back at the beginnings. The Turbines Works has a tradition of more than 70 years behind it, the Gear Wheels Works and the Electric Motors are 60 years old, the Electrotechnical Works is 50, the Metal-Working Machine-Tools are 40, and the Metallurgical Mill is 100 years old.

The point is driven home by Engineer Petr, who says: 'Just imagine all the experience this adds up to!'

Indeed, the Skoda Works has always been an enterprise turning out powerful equipment tooled with clockwork precision. This applies to turbines, powerful locomotives, machines and machine-tools of unique size, all of which require a high standard of precision treatment. From generation to generation, the men of the Skoda Works have handed down their skills in the high-precision treatment of metal. Most of the units produced were 'individual,' that is, not batch-produced. This was like producing custom-made suits. Technology requirements laid down by their customers had to be scrupulously followed.

When the prospects for developing Czechoslovakia's atomic-energy industry were first considered, there was no doubt in anyone's mind that the Skoda Works would be the general contractor for the technological equipment and would do the research to develop the making of reactors in which heavy water is used as the moderator. Such a reactor was to be installed at Czechoslovakia's first atomic-power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice, known for short as the A-I. The decision to build it was taken in 1956, that is, two years after the Soviet Union started the world's first atomic-power plant. In cooperation with the Soviet Union, Skoda supplied for the A-I the reactor body, which was 20 metres high, had a diameter of 5 metres, and walls 150-650 mm thick. Like the whole A-I conception, it is still unique, which is why specialists from all over the world come to inspect it.

Skoda's past design and technological experience and its advanced production facilities, which are up to the highest standards, explain why it became the general contractor for atomic-power plants not only in this country but in other CMEA countries as well. Skoda also represents Czechoslovakia in the CMEA's Interatomenergo association.

The building of the A-I was the first stage in the development of Czechoslovakia's atomic-energy industry; construction together with the Soviet Union of commercial atomic-power plants and the making of atomic-plant equipment were the second stage, while the third, present stage is marked above all by Czechoslovakia's participation in multilateral cooperation in developing atomic-energy engineering.

The inter-governmental Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement on the two countries' production cooperation in this field, signed in 1974, gave Czechoslovakia's engineering and metallurgy not only a long-term program for making atomic-energy plant, but also provided the basis for one of the most important integration measures within the CMEA framework. In the 80s, once the construction of the reactor shop here is completed, it will make four to five sets of equipment every year.

The CMEA's 29th session in Budapest in 1975 approved a conception for further developing the CMEA countries' fuel and energy base and meeting the energy-equipment requirements for these countries' atomic-power plants. Measures were outlined for the further accelerated development of atomic engineering, including cooperation and specialization of production in this field. The CMEA's international economic association, Interatomenergo, and the Skoda Works, whose production facilities for developing atomic-energy engineering are involved in the CMEA countries' multilateral production cooperation, have an important part to play in putting through these measures.

Those were the factors behind the decision to build the reactor shop. Let me say in this context that in 1990 one-third of the electric energy in this country will be generated by atomic-power plants. Czechoslovakia's atomic-energy program is a component part of the overall integration program for its development within the CMEA framework.

Eleven units designed to realize the atomic program are now going up at the Skoda Works. Three of these, including the reactor shop, are ready. Technologist Jan Zamiska described the unique equipment being made for the shop. Indeed, many unique machines are being built specifically for it. Among the more than 100 sub-contractors are several foreign firms, and they are all working to meet their deadlines. The Chief Work Superintendent Jan Hörting, who represents the

general contractor of Armabeton's building section, is satisfied with the progress of the works. He says that they now have a good team of young engineers, who regard their work on the reactor shop as their 'baby,' and all have a personal commitment to the unique project.

'What is important in the course of this construction,' Hörting added, 'is that the good contacts between the customer and the contractor have made it possible to use modern technological methods in this project. Special credit goes to the socialist-work teams which have done much to complete the 1977 building plan ahead of schedule.'

The construction site is a giant beehive, and everyone has been working with great élan. The builders are eager to give the engineering workers a shop that will be up to the highest world standards and whose products will continue and enhance Skoda's good name.

ERDENET — A TREASURE-HOUSE

N. Myatav,
Mongolian journalist

We tried hard to reach Erdenet before sunset, but got there only after the stars had sprinkled the skies. There had been an endless stream of heavily laden trucks on the hard-top that winds its way along the Orkhon River Valley. At last, Erdenet lay before us in the misty glare of arc lamps. The following morning revealed a panorama of soaring tower cranes, which seemed to vie with the surrounding hills, the starry flashes of the welding guns, and again the flow of powerful tip-trucks across the building sites and along the streets of the new town.

When I first came here in summer some three years ago I did not find the place remarkable in any way, except perhaps for the wooded Hangai Hills with their bright splashes of wild flowers, the shepherds' white felt-tents and their great flocks in the green valley. At that time, there was only a 16-flat clapboard house and a small workship — no sign yet of the town that was to rise on the spot. Since then, the changes have been many. The buildings of the rising copper-and-molybdenum plant and the apartment blocks of the young town of Erdenet, which now has a population of more than 30,000, are one of the tangible results of socialist integration, a living symbol of Mongolian-Soviet friendship, and the fruit of intense and creative work.

In the morning, Comrade Banzragch, First Secretary of the Erdenet Town Party Committee, took us to the top of the hill which gave its name both to the plant and the town.

'We are now standing at a height of 1,600 meters,' he told us.

'Erdenet means precious, and the name is very apt, because the subsoil here contains five of the nine precious elements traditionally held in esteem by the Mongols. Its chief wealth is copper and molybdenum. Mongolian and Soviet geologists have estimated that the store of copper and molybdenum ore here will last into the next century.'

The decision to set up this copper-and-molybdenum enterprise jointly with the USSR was taken up by the Mongolian government about five years ago. G.G. Gorbachyov is the party leader of the Soviet workers here. He is an economics engineer by training and also an experienced organizer, who took part in building the Bratsk and Ust-Ilim electric-power plants, the largest construction projects in Eastern Siberia. He shared his impressions with us: 'The remarkable thing in our work here is the pace. It's unprecedented for this type of project. We are often just as surprised as our visitors at how fast Erdenet has been growing. It's like the Mongolian fairy tale: as much done in a month as in a twelve-month.'

I discovered that the investments converted into facilities here every day amount to 30 per cent more than the country's total investment in industrial construction in the whole of 1940. The town has 12 neighborhoods, each with the required cultural and service establishments. There are secondary schools, nursery schools and crèches. As much attention is being given to providing the builders with the best working and living conditions as to the actual construction. The overriding law here is concern for the human being.

Gorbachyov told us that the builders try to synchronize their efforts with milestones in the life of the two fraternal countries and peoples. The laying of the foundation of the main building of the ore-concentration mill was started on the opening day of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, while the first 32-metre reinforced-concrete beam was erected on the opening day of the 17th Congress of the MPRP. The vast construction project is a testimonial to the power of friendship and the skill of the working people.

I watched the 8-cubic metre bucket of an excavator biting into blasted rock and loading it onto 40-ton tip-trucks. When I went up the narrow ladder into the excavator cabin I met two men, a Russian and a Mongol, P.S. Ivanchenko, and his mate Dalkhazhav. Ivanchenko is a Hero of Socialist Labor and came here from the Sorsk molybdenum plant. They told me they had been working together for some time, had become fast friends and were doing fine.

Meanwhile, more tip-trucks had driven up and their drivers were tooting their horns, eager to be on their way again with another load of ore. I made my excuses, wished the two friends every success and went on to the concrete-reinforcement plant. There again I found the

same picture, with Soviet and Mongolian builders working side by side.

'Tutor' and 'trainee' are popular and meaningful words at this construction site. The Soviet Union has been sending highly skilled and experienced specialists, while most of the Mongolian builders are beginners. Thousands of young men and women have been trained at the local school and technical trades college. Now the young specialists are learning the finer points of their trade with the help of the old hands.

I had many talks with tutors and trainees. Bricklayer Ochirbat recalled that his tutor, a woman, A.V. Rabina, had always insisted, but with tact, that he should do again any less-than-perfect brickwork, with the result that he is now regarded as a fine mason. The tutors are also satisfied. Excavator operator V.N. Narochny said that his trainees — Dambasurma and Orso — are now as good as he is. Welders Bavu and Oyunbat have high praise for their tutors, and recall that the Soviet specialists have always been willing to help them, to share all their knowledge, experience and skill. 'They taught us how to beat the clock by saving minutes and seconds.'

Men and women of many Soviet nationalities have come to work in Erdenet and there are members of our Revolutionary Youth League from all over the country. They all work together in the same crews and teams, making up a well-knit, friendly working-class family. Mongolian-Soviet friendship is the bond that runs through their hearts and minds in a thousand intimate strands. This friendship has stood the test of time. In 1921, our Soviet brothers helped us to leave our felt-tents and enter upon a new life; in 1934, they helped us to start building our national industry; together with them in 1939, we scored the victory of Khalkhin Gol, and in the 60s put the plough into our virgin lands. This fine tradition is now being carried on at Erdenet. It has brought together men and women of various nationalities, big and small, and the friendly atmosphere helps each to display his capabilities. At Erdenet, many of them have found a new way in life by acquiring skills and knowledge, and above all the proud name of worker and the respect it brings. Bricklayer Ochirbat was elected by his comrades as a delegate to the 17th Congress of the MPRP; the team led by Soviet specialist Temchenko was awarded the gold medal of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League.

International friendship ('Nairamdal') crews and teams are a popular form of joint work at Erdenet. In the course of a socialist-emulation campaign started to mark the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, 15 Mongolian and Soviet organizations and more than 100 friendship groups fulfilled their annual plans and commitments ahead of schedule.

Those who have come to work at Erdenet do not want to leave. Electric-welder Palam says: 'I have no intention of leaving, unless, of course, my husband's work makes it necessary. He has a job that entails transfers from place to place all the time.' L.G. Melnikova, who has gone home to the Soviet Union, wrote to her Mongolian friends: 'I want to return to Erdenet.' To show their attachment to this town and construction project some parents have named their children after them: Erdenet, Erdenetbulgan and Erdenechimeg.

It is no exaggeration to say that Erdenet's treasures have been augmented by the fraternal friendship and the atmosphere of socialist work, which now shapes the men and women of our working class and the new face of socialist construction in Mongolia.

Within less than a year, the first few trainloads of ore will be dispatched from the concentration plant at Erdenet, which has no equal in Asia. With an annual capacity of 16 million tons of concentrated ore, Erdenet will be one of the 10 biggest plants of its kind in the world. Of the enterprises which are to be built during the current, sixth five-year period, with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries, Erdenet alone will help to double my country's export potential.

That is why Erdenet, the chief construction project of the current five-year period, has become the pride of our modern industry, the pride of thousands of Mongolian and Soviet builders who work here shoulder to shoulder, with great dedication.

Organize resistance to the schemes of neo-colonialism

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

The Commission on Problems of the National-Liberation Movement in Asian and African Countries has been discussing current imperialist expansion in Africa and the adjacent areas of the Middle East. The participants in the discussion, representing 16 communist and workers' parties, revolutionary-democratic and national-liberation organizations and movements of African and Middle East countries, expressed deep concern over the intensification of imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues in these regions and focussed attention on the new features in imperialist strategy and tactics. Here we publish in abridged form the speeches of the participants and their remarks during the discussion.

It was stressed that imperialism has reacted to its massive defeats in Africa and the failure of its efforts to subvert the progressive regimes of the Afro-Arab world by stepping up its aggressive and neo-colonialist actions. Speakers described how the revolutionary forces are organizing resistance to the counter-offensive of imperialism and reaction.

Francisco Romao de Oliveira e Silva (member of the MPLA Political Commission, Luanda District).[1] 'The struggle goes on' is still the watchword of the Angolan revolution. During one of its decisive stages we defined imperialism as the main, and colonialism as the immediate enemy. But the same enemy, although in different guise, is still operating today after the collapse of foreign domination. We cannot affort to relax our vigilance for a moment in a situation when the imperialist circles are resorting to all kinds of subversive activity against Angola. Led by Comrade Agostinho Neto, the leader of the Angolan revolution, our country is fighting with great determination to crush the schemes of the imperialists.

Maurice Rakotobe (Bureau member, Tananarive Federation of the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar). After being thrown back by a series of major defeats, imperialism is now trying to entrench in our regions. The people of Madagascar have achieved quite a lot in their anti-imperialist battles: the denunciation of the unequal agreements on cooperation with France, the evacuation of French military bases from Ivato and Diego Suarez, the closing of the U.S.-owned satellite tracking station in Interintsiatosika; rejection of the policy of dialogue with the racist regime in South Africa, and the withdrawal from OCAM[2] and the franc zone. But — and this is a reality that has to be faced — the dismantled French bases in our country are now deployed on Réunion (one hour's flight from Madagascar), French imperialism has maintained its positions by force on Mayotte,[3] and the USA has expanded its military base on the island of Diego Garcia. The NATO powers are building up the military strength of South Africa, and U.S. and also French naval squadrons are in practice constantly patrolling the Indian Ocean. There have been several violations of our coastal waters and air space. Imperialism is preparing and carrying out operations designed to destabilize our revolutionary regime.

Abdul Razzak al-Safi (Political Bureau member, CC Iraqi Communist Party). In the Arab world there are no colonies in the old sense of the term. But this has not made the problems of fighting imperialism any easier. Every day brings fresh complications because of the ever more sophisticated methods employed in imperialist expansion. Imperialism is now increasingly guided by the principle 'let Asians kill Asians, and Africans kill Africans.' This is in line with the policy of

egging on the reactionary elements against the progressive forces in every Arab country, the policy of subverting and crushing the revolutionary movement if it takes power into its own hands. The above principle is also applied by creating a hostile environment around the progressive Arab regimes and by whipping up discord in the Arab anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist front with the aim of dividing its contingents and attacking each one separately. Imperialism is trying to make life difficult for the progressive national government of Iraq by encouraging the reactionary circles operating under the mask of religion to take counter-revolutionary action. The imperialists and their internal allies are trying to create national dissension by inciting the Kurdish masses against the regime. But our people are taking resolute steps to counter these schemes.

The Iraqi Communist Party advocates consolidation of the national-patriotic alliance and a bigger role for the National Front in political life. This is essential to repel the attacks of imperialism, strengthen the autonomy of Kurdistan and build up reliance on the masses in the work of overcoming the obstacles and difficulties in the progressive development of Iraq.

Manuel Delgado (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands—PAIGC). One of the most acute problems of our time is the contrast between the peoples' urge for freedom, progress and peace embodied in the great range and sweep of the national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and the neo-colonialist plans and intrigues of the imperialist powers, on the other. The struggle will not cease even when we acquire our own national flag and national anthem, as our late leader Amilcar Cabral was never tired of saying, and life has proved the truth of his words. The victorious outcome of the struggle of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies, which tipped the balance of forces in Africa, has brought nearer the hour of its complete liberation and, above all, the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa from the shameful system of racial oppression and apartheid. But no one could fail to see that the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers have no intention whatever of reconciling themselves to the situation. On the contrary, they exhibit a growing appetite for exploitation and oppression. There is still a constant threat of an imperialist-inspired invasion of Angola and Mozambique. South Africa is building up its armaments. International reaction and its African flunkeys are planning conspiracies and fanning the trouble spots all over Africa.

Today it is quite obvious that imperialism has a wide-ranging plan of neo-colonial 'pacification' for Africa. The sharp edge of this plan is turned against the countries where the processes of anti-imperialist national-democratic revolution are forging ahead. Its aims are as

follows: to weaken the liberation movement and thus prepare the internal conditions for imperialist penetration; to keep every region where there is a progressive Africa country in a state of tension and constant threat of invasion; to build up all-round cooperation with the main bastion of racism and colonialism — the Republic of South Africa; and ultimately to break up our continent into two hostile blocs, using as a battering ram the aggressive actions of imperialism's lackeys and accomplices against the genuinely independent states.

Imperialism's present offensive is all the more dangerous. Like a wild beast at bay, as it loses ground it becomes more aggressive. This means that we must keep perfectly calm and launch a counter-offensive, making full use of our advantages and gains.

The prime task of the victorious national-liberation movements and, at the same time, the decisive aspect of the struggle against the offensive of neo-colonialism is to develop production and culture, to make fuller provision for the material and social needs of the peoples waging anti-colonial and anti-imperialist battles. The PAIGC pursued this policy during the armed struggle and is still pursuing it today.

Resisting imperialism and neo-colonial penetration in the current situation also entails waging a persistent struggle to reinforce the recently acquired political independence. This means that along with economic, social and cultural transformations a new political and state apparatus must be set up to carry out the will of the people.

Finally, resisting the far-reaching plans of imperialist expansion in Africa means closing all possible roads by which it could penetrate our countries, our national movements and parties for purposes of subversion and division. It means strengthening the solidarity of the liberation movements of the continent, supporting the idea of African unity, and avoiding the formation of new centers of tension. It should be remembered that the decisive factor in resisting the imperialist offensive is the solidarity of the democratic national-liberation movement with the socialist countries and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries. The immortal Amilcar Cabral pointed out the permanent value and importance of the alliance of these great revolutionary forces of modern times.

Much attention was given to the role of the internal (social, etc.) factors that make imperialist penetration possible not only under a capitalist-oriented, but also under a socialist-oriented regime. Speakers also discussed the practical aspects of consistently anti-imperialist and progressive development, singling out the basic elements that, in our view, determine the success of the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Amath Dansoko (Political Bureau member, CC, African Independence Party of Senegal). The imperialist counter-attacks in Africa

and other countries of the 'third world' sometimes have an effect because there is still a social base for imperialist penetration. In recent decades it has been considerably 'modernized' and now comprises not only colonialism's traditional intermediary, the feudal-landlord or tribal nobility, but also the new parasitic strata, bureaucratic capital and sections of the national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois circles. These elements all stand together on the platform of capitalist development depending on imperialism and do everything they can to check the spread of socialist ideas. Although the system of imperialist domination in Africa is being shaken by convulsions that permit one sometimes to speak of our continent as the weak link in imperialism, it is also obvious that in the African (as in the Middle East) countries there are still social, political and ideological factors that promote the realization of neo-colonialist plans and imposition of 'dependent' capitalism.

Simon Levy (Political Bureau member, CC Progress and Socialism Party of Morocco). In our country there is a particular drive for cooperation with imperialism on the part of the social forces that we call the oligarchy (the symbiosis of local big capital, the feudals who have undergone bourgeois evolution, and the upper crust of the bureaucracy). The ranks of the oligarchy are also being swelled by recruits from the national-bourgeois strata. Anyone who belongs to the oligarchy is able to acquire shares in foreign companies and this strengthens the alliance between big Moroccan capital and foreign business. The policies of the ruling circles also tend to draw Morocco into the orbit of Western influence.

On the other hand, there is the pressure of the masses demanding the realization of democratic transformations, the policy of nationalization, and striving to make the national wealth the property of the people, the motherland. This evokes certain contradictions in the actions of the government. As experience has shown, the masses can insist on nationalization (in one form or another) being carried through.

To resist imperialist expansion effectively one must mobilize the energy of the masses. This is one of the basic problems confronting us. The struggle for broad democracy and freedom, which allows a wider mobilization of mass energy against reaction and imperialism, is essential in all respects. In other words, anti-imperialist action in Morocco is organically linked with the struggle for democracy.

K. Tahar (Tunisian Communist Party). It may happen, as has happened in Tunisia, that a government formed on the social base of the petty nationalist bourgeoisie will choose a capitalist orientation serving the interests of the growing bourgeoisie and trying to realize its aspirations. And the inability of the local bourgeois class to de-

velop independently, the mounting disturbances and contradictions in economic and social life drive such regimes toward surrendering their economic independence. In the first half of the 70s, Tunisia carried out a series of economic and legislative measures that gave a new impulse to the interpenetration of local and foreign capital, an impulse wholly in favor of the latter. In 1976 the government carried a Bill allowing foreign financial institutions and banks to establish themselves in the country.

Such a policy undermines independence. It invalidates or makes purely demagogic such measures as the Morocconization of companies in Morocco or the Tunisianization of companies in Tunisia. It provides rich soil for the growth of parasitical social groups working entirely for foreign capital, and ultimately creates a danger of countries like ours becoming appendages of state-monopoly capitalism. Nationalization, no matter how extensive, does not save the situation if it does not become the basis for independent economic development.

The actual economic effect of concessions to foreign capital is usually minimal. Despite government expectations, after the passing of the 1972 law granting broad opportunities for foreign investors, between 1972 and 1975 only 9,000 jobs were created, an increase of 8 per cent instead of the hoped-for 20-30 per cent.

The economic policy pursued by the ruling circles today is increasingly regarded by the public as a blatant attack on national independence. More and more social strata are becoming aware of the need to choose a different, independent orientation. We face the task of evolving a democratic and progressive alternative for Tunisia.

Michel Kamel (representative of Egyptian democratic opinion). Egypt's experience offers much that is instructive for a study of the negative factors whose timely exposure could help to prevent the emergence of an economic and social base for neo-colonialist penetration at the stage of progressive national gains. Despite the importance of these gains in the time of Nasser, the regime of those days had major inherent weaknesses, which afterwards made it possible for a counter-revolution to be carried out, as we see it, quite easily. Such weaknesses were the reliance on the former, fundamentally unchanged state apparatus, the negative attitude to democracy and even legal democratic organizations, the constant tutelage over all forms of mass activity, the general effect of which was to encourage concessions to and compromises with reaction. The regime did not abolish the traditional exploiting classes, although at various times it did strike some telling blows against them. The processes of the accumulation of capital, the enrichment of certain social strata, including the

class that was the target of the main blow, the agrarian bourgeoisie, continue to develop.

The coup carried out by Sadat after Nasser's death pivoted on this most powerful of Egypt's exploiting classes. Another bulwark of the new leadership was the parasitic bureaucratic bourgeoisie corrupted by the private sector, which currently dominates the bloc of the ruling forces, thus determining the orientation of the present regime.

Since the October 1973 war, with considerable financial support from abroad and overcoming the resistance of the patriotic circles to the 'open doors' policy in respect of foreign capital, the Egyptian leadership has actively set about carrying this policy into effect. This was done under pressure from the American monopolies and the International Monetary Fund, which sought to impose a financial policy tying Egypt to imperialism. Major foreign commercial firms have acquired branches in Egypt, and this has opened yet another channel for the link-up with international capitalist finance. Today nearly a half of the Egyptian firms engaged in foreign trade work in close cooperation with foreign capital. This is the social and economic background to the mounting neo-colonialist pressure under the present regime.

Saleh Hasan Mohammed (alternate member of the Political Bureau, United Political Organization — National Front of the PDRY). A most important condition of removing the danger of imperialist penetration is unquestionably consistency in effecting progressive changes. After overthrowing the right-wing regime in June 1969 and taking a socialist-oriented road of development, we set out to strengthen the home front so as to ensure revolutionary unity on a reasonable and solid basis. This goal was achieved by merging our three revolutionary contingents and founding the United Political Organization — National Front.[4]

Furthermore, we carried out deep-going and radical changes in the economy, agrarian relations and the very nature of the state existing at the time and of its apparatus in the interest of the people, whom we guaranteed ample democratic and social rights. We replaced the military machinery of the previous regime by a strong people's army and eliminated the 'fifth column' of neo-colonialism.[5] In implementing this policy, the left-wing forces were guided by the theory of scientific socialism and took a class approach, never trying to perform a 'supra-class' balancing act between reaction and the working people but solving all urgent problems in the latter's favor.

Lastly, we founded a vanguard party. The experience of numerous Afro-Asian countries had taught us that fighting imperialism on the basis of bourgeois and pro-bourgeois concepts or trying to build

socialism without socialist ideas could only benefit home reaction and its imperialist patrons.

Sekou Kaba (Democratic Party of Guinea, Director, Administrative and Legal Service under the Presidency of the Republic of Guinea). The Guinean revolution has successfully held its ground against imperialist attacks for many years now. It has gained considerable experience which helps it to organize the fight against imperialism. The success of any revolution, says our party's General Secretary, Ahmed Sekou Toure, depends on the correctness of the line chosen by the leading revolutionary party, on its ability to adapt its organization to the diverse phases of social change, and lastly, on its loyalty to the chosen line. Unfailing discipline within the party and the renunciation of all compromise when the interests of the masses are involved are an earnest of continued struggle.

We in Guinea attach particular importance to the people's ideological and political education; we expose Senghor's ideology of *negritude* and the policy of dialogue with the South African racists adopted by Houphouët Boigny. The activity of the Socialist International poses a serious threat to Africa.[6]

Fighting against the 'fifth column' of neo-colonialism and imperialism on the ideological front alone is not enough, of course. We need far-reaching changes in our countries and a consistently progressive economic policy. For example, in emphasizing the need to advance agriculture and reshape public life in the countryside, we directed our efforts toward ending dependence on food supplies, which imperialism continuously exploits as a means of blackmailing young states.

It is also important to remember that the hierarchically structured armies inherited from the colonial past, being the most organized force in young states, often become an instrument of coups against democratic regimes. In an army of this nature, you cannot always rely on the ideological loyalty of all high-ranking officers. We tackled the problem by setting up at every troop station a military unity committee elected by the rank and file. The ranks' general assembly meetings are attended by officers but steered by ordinary soldiers.

Whenever we defeat our enemies' schemes, we help peoples fighting for their freedom. The support given by the Republic of Guinea during liberation struggles on our continent and in other regions was no sacrifice on Guinea's part, for it was merely doing its natural class duty. Nor has our country any intention of standing aside when it is necessary to demonstrate its solidarity with champions of a just cause.

The meeting discussed the new methods of subversion and expansion used by imperialism. Speakers pointed out that reactionary

Afro-Asian regimes commanding a major military-economic and material potential are being actively drawn into neo-colonialist policies.

Vasizwe Seme (South African Communist Party). In pursuing a subversive policy against our countries, imperialism takes advantage of tribalist and religious sentiments and exploits the national aspirations of some peoples. More and more frequent attempts are made to present national, tribal or religious factors as something that is decisive everywhere and at all times. In this manner imperialism deliberately treats the national struggle as the antithesis of social struggle, and religious communal interests as the antithesis of the overall interests of the nation and the state, while at the same time disguising its interference in the affairs of sovereign states.

Western propaganda is playing up these factors in commenting on events in Ethiopia, for example. The bourgeois press describes the ethnic problem there as a key issue and, indeed, as the only one, and tries on this ground to justify the claims of Eritrean and other separatists. The important thing for the imperialists is to obscure the fundamental issue in the current period of the Ethiopian revolution, namely, the social issue, whose settlement will ultimately condition the solution of ethnic problems which that ancient country has inherited from feudalism and capitalism.

At the same time imperialism has with the help of its trusted allies, Saudi Arabia and Iran, developed an ambitious program of support for separatists and annexationists and for the aggression launched by Somalia's chauvinists. In short, it is doing its utmost to tip the balance of internal forces in Ethiopia in favor of imperialism and its agents, and to destabilize the country's progressive regime. The imperialists are deeply alarmed by the Ethiopian revolutionaries' uncommon energy and their resolve to persevere in their socialist orientation.

Another example is the tragedy of Cyprus, which imperialist politicians persist in presenting as the consequence of an alleged historical hostility between the Greek and Turkish communities of the island. They accentuate the internal ethnic aspect of the problem to conceal its real roots. Yet these roots lie in the policy of undermining the independence and interfering in the sovereign affairs of Cyprus which NATO circles have been pursuing ever since the 60s. The Cyprus problem today is not — any more than it was in the past — chiefly one of relations between the island's Greeks and Turks. The essential problem stems from the foreign invasion and occupation of part of the country.

Imperialist propaganda described the struggle which developed in Angola shortly before it won independence as a strictly internal conflict so as to legitimize the FNLA and UNITA tribalists backed

from without. Moreover, the myth of a 'civil war' in Angola, invented in imperialist ideological centers, was to have served as a suitable smokescreen for extensive interference by South Africa and imperialist mercenaries. The Angolan people refuted the myth by exposing both the foreign initiators and the executors of the aggression against their country.

Hassan Rifai (Political Bureau member, CC Lebanese Communist Party). The protracted Lebanese crisis is instructive in terms of laying bare the latest devices and methods of imperialist policy. In our country, too, we are faced with a foreign-inspired conflict which is not a civil war in its well-known classical sense, not a war resulting from the internal contradictions of Lebanese society.

The national progressive forces, primarily the communists, have always held that the class antagonisms in Lebanon have not yet reached a point where they could prompt revolutionary or reactionary forces to use arms. Incidentally, we think even Lebanese reaction did not believe shortly before the crisis that it was faced with such an alternative. Subsequent events showed that the crisis was primarily the product of a vast imperialist conspiracy whose objectives were not limited to our country and in which our internal contradictions played a purely technical role. The aim of imperialism was to remove certain obstacles so as to safeguard its long-term economic and political interests in the Middle East.

Why did it pick Lebanon? The reason was not only that the anti-imperialist forces in our country had gained very noticeably in strength and influence. By spearheading their blow against our country, the imperialists wanted to abolish the Palestine resistance, whose main forces were concentrated in Lebanon and which is now a highly important factor in the Arab national-liberation movement.

There were repeated attempts in the past to do that through Lebanese reaction. But the scope, duration and outcome of the latest crisis defy all comparison with those attempts. Even the big bourgeoisie of Lebanon, which took its cue from imperialism, had no inkling that things would go as far as two years of bloody war or that the war would cause it so much material and even political damage. Hence a certain vacillation on its part and even dissatisfaction with the fascist policy of its own parties (Kata'eb, National Liberal), for their direct links with imperialism have begun to endanger the very foundations of bourgeois society in Lebanon.

Atif Abu-Bakr (Palestine Liberation Organization). It is a fact that imperialist expansion in our region assumes more and more often a new guise. This is confirmed by the 'Arabianization' of hostilities, as in Lebanon, by attempts to dampen the class struggle by diverting it into a religious, confessional channel, by moves aimed at dividing the

Arab peoples, by the policy of setting up axes and reactionary alliances against patriotic Arab regimes, and much else.

However, despite the introduction of these essentially neo-colonialist forms, the traditional methods of international reaction are still in use. There is the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which are part of our Palestinian territory, as well as the occupation of the Sinai and the Golan Heights. The United States is increasing its military presence in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran. Iran not only controls the access routes to the Persian Gulf but the territorial waters of Oman, and it has sent troops there.

Special mention should, of course, be made of Israel, a bridgehead of imperialism, which is out to defeat the Arab national-liberation movement and nullify the gains of the Arab national-democratic revolution.

Vasizwe Seme. The problem of reactionary regimes being used by imperialism is much broader today than ever before. Previously, imperialism allowed them only a subordinate role, preferring to look upon them as extensions of their own boundaries in 'defending' the so-called free world against the 'red menace.' But, the situation changed radically when the revolutionary processes in the national-liberation zones grew to such proportions that they became a danger to the very existence of the exploitative regimes in the emerging countries, to their relations of oppression, feudal and capitalist alike. Reacting to changing realities, imperialism turned to the formation of a new counter-revolutionary front within the so-called third world, in those countries with reactionary regimes and the largest deposits of raw materials and other resources, allowing them a relatively independent role in its global strategy. These countries include South Africa, Brazil, Saudi Arabia and Iran and the list continues to grow. It can safely be said that neither neo-colonialism nor imperialism could exist without such pivotal centers in key regions.

One example is South Africa, which our party and the African National Congress regard as a neo-colonialist bastion on the continent. It is capable of playing this role because it is a highly developed African country rich in natural resources and with a tremendous economic and military potential. Relying on its military and economic capabilities, the racist regime tries either to bribe, intimidate or neutralize any opposition to apartheid and imperialist penetration of African states. International imperialism and South Africa are backing the Rhodesian racists who are attempting to force neo-colonialist alternatives on the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and others in the south of the continent.

Even more dangerous today are the growing U.S.-sanctioned economic and political bonds between South Africa and Israel, and

particularly their military cooperation. Israeli military specialists were sent to South Africa with the blessing of the United States to help prepare the intervention against Angola.

Today, this cooperation extends to the production of modern naval vessels, armor and military electronics. Israel supplies the racists with military hardware for their notorious anti-guerrilla war while South Africa sends Israel enriched uranium ore which provides the basis for their joint efforts to produce nuclear weaponry. Israel also receives coal from South Africa.

Zahi Karkabi (CC secretary, Communist Party of Israel). The most trusted allies of imperialism in Asia and Africa serve its global expansionist plans in a dual manner.

First, whenever possible, they relieve imperialism of its police functions. The aggressive policy of the Israeli Zionist rulers is a classical example of how the imperialists use other states against the national-liberation movement. Another example is Iran, which sent its troops to Oman to crush the revolution there, and which aspires to being the regional policeman in the Persian Gulf. This is highly satisfactory to the United States, which supplies Iran with ultra-modern weaponry.[7] Imperialism was able to use reactionary Arab regimes against the Ethiopian and Libyan revolutions and other national-liberation movements.

Second, imperialism uses its reactionary allies to penetrate African and other developing countries and a good deal of the credit for this goes to Israel. More and more often Saudi Arabia is eager to do this. Working closely with U.S. imperialism and banking on its oil dollars, the Saudi regime has already done great harm to the Arab liberation movement and is extending its economic, political and ideological expansion in Africa.

Jeremiah Mosotho (Communist Party of Lesotho). The South African racists are crudely pressuring our country, attempting to force Lesotho into the neo-colonialist game. When Lesotho refused to recognize Transkei's notorious 'independence,' the South African government, taking advantage of Lesotho's complete economic dependence on the RSA, which supplies it with all its basic needs and draws on Lesotho for its labor power, closed its eastern border. Our people, however, refused to give in to this blackmail and the reactionary wing in our government was unable to change its foreign policy line. Lesotho remained faithful to its policy of supporting national-liberation movements.

Ali Malki (Socialist Vanguard Party of Algeria). The practice of involving reactionary regimes in Asia and Africa in its operations is not the only characteristic of imperialism's global strategy today. There is an increasing tendency among imperialist circles to divide

their work and rely on closer coordination. U.S. imperialism, which has lost face (particularly after its shattering defeats in Vietnam and Cuba), is forced to turn to other 'national' imperialisms. The neo-colonialist policy of French imperialism, which is becoming more and more aligned with the United States, is displaying a growing aggressiveness in Africa. For instance, foreign interference in Zaire in support of the reactionary regime during the popular uprising in Shaba Province (spring 1977), had the material, military and political backing of France. Imperialism is making ever wider use, particularly on our continent, of the Socialist International and is actively attempting to form reactionary alliances on a local or regional scale. With French blessing, the President of the Ivory Coast, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, suggested creating an 'Afro-European' military pact which would, in effect, be used to prevent any national-liberation or progressive ideas taking root on the continent. And, after all, it was imperialism that invented the 'institution' of mercenaries so widely used for aggression against African progressive regimes. Recall the invasion of Benin where, as the investigation by the UN, OAU and missions showed, imperialism successfully involved two African states — Gabon and Morocco.

These are and other acts of sabotage against the national-liberation movement, particularly against its leading detachments, have invariably been accompanied by deliberately false anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda, willingly broadcast by local reactionaries and governments.

Recent years have seen some new forms of imperialist economic expansion in the developing countries. Emerging nations are often attacked by the multinationals which, as a rule, are backed by U.S. imperialism.

It should not be forgotten, that although today imperialism has lost the historical initiative and the balance of forces has shifted toward socialism, toward national and social emancipation, it is possible that on a local scale the initiative is still in the hands of imperialist circles.

The spearhead of imperialist intrigues is aimed today at the growing Afro-Asian solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for national independence and social progress. Many of the participants in the discussion spoke of the actions calculated to undermine the joint struggle of the African and Arab peoples and their solidarity with other detachments of the world anti-imperialist front.

Abel Haba (CC member, Iraqi Communist Party). Imperialism, with its local allies, has done a good deal to undermine the solidarity of peoples fighting for national and social emancipation and this policy has been widely used in recent years in the Arab region. It is often

turned against the African liberation movement and, with the help of Arab reaction, mainly the Saudi regime, imperialism is concentrating on Afro-Arabian solidarity as a particularly important target. The fact that among the patriotic forces there are those who sometimes take narrow nationalistic attitudes particularly at critical stages of the national-liberation and social struggle in their regions, plays into the hands of the imperialists. And the events in Ethiopia today are a serious test of the strength of Afro-Arabian anti-imperialist solidarity.

Amath Dansoko. The roots of Afro-Arabian cooperation go deep. To a large extent their foundation was laid by Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was invariably guided by a policy of solidarity with the progressive countries of the continent, with Nkrumah's Ghana, Keita's Mali and Sekou Toure's Guinea. For their part, the progressive countries of Tropical Africa broke off relations with Israel long before the 1973 oil embargo. Guinea did this as far back as 1967.

In recent years, however, especially since Egypt changed its orientation, there have been deliberate attempts to shift the center of Afro-Arabian cooperation toward the right,[8] this emptying it of its popular content. The Saudi regime was particularly zealous in this respect.

As the liberation struggle spread in the south of Africa, imperialism concentrated on breaking down or paralyzing any solidarity with those fighting against racism, apartheid and colonialism. The interstate conflicts on the continent, inspired by imperialist circles were intended to weaken and undermine progressive regimes and take the attention of Africans away from the problems in the south. As in the Middle East, imperialism's main task is to destroy the solidarity front which is demonstrating, on a continental scale, its unanimity with the struggle of the peoples in the south of Africa. At the same time we see how under cover of anti-communism attempts are being made to create a 'security belt' around Africa.

Michel Kamel. Today, President Sadat speaks of the 'communist menace' in Africa while insisting on Egypt's new role in African affairs. Explaining his requests for American arms Sadat refers to the so-called 'Soviet menace' on the continent. In reality, this well-worn device is needed because of the serious alarm felt by the present ruling circles in Cairo over the growth of radical tendencies in Africa, particularly since the former Portuguese colonies won their independence and the start of the revolution in Ethiopia. And this is what is behind Egypt's redoubled efforts to stop the development of revolutionary processes,[9] especially in neighboring countries.

Sadat has said many times that this regime could be a barrier to 'communist penetration' of the continent. He needs this anti-communist screen to take attention away from urgent national prob-

lems and to cover up the removal of Egyptian armed forces from the front lines of confrontation with the Zionist enemy. Part of these troops have now been dispatched to the Libyan border (in preparation for a military venture against that country). Another large contingent is in Sudan on the Ethiopian border, threatening to intervene against the revolutionary progressive government. The Egyptian regime plays a growing role as an obedient weapon in the hands of Saudi reaction, carrying out its dangerous plans in Africa, particularly in the eastern part of the continent.

However, there is opposition in our country. On the insistence of these forces and as a result of a broad campaign in the press, Egyptian troops sent to aid the Zaire regime during the popular uprising in Shaba Province, were soon recalled.

Hassan Rifai. Modern imperialism is bent not only on weakening the solidarity of the Afro-Arabian peoples. It is creating as a counterweight regional blocs and alliances, whose formation it secretly controls, and where the tone is set by reactionary regimes. In our region they are popularizing a formula for ensuring the security of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. In both cases nationalistic slogans hide attempts to consolidate reactionary regimes and forces. And these plans are coordinated with imperialism's global military and political strategy, which is aimed against the peoples of the Near and Middle East, of the whole world and against the socialist countries.[10]

Saleh Hasan Mohammed. Past experience shows that any regime trying to shed the disastrous legacy of colonialism and turning its back on cooperation with the socialist world, inevitably finds itself under the heel of neo-colonialism, which pursues its own ends whenever it is able to isolate one or another country from the socialist community. Tht is why for us the socialist countries are indispensable allies and our relations with them are strategic relations.

Abdul Razzak al-Safi. In the light of the growing escalation of imperialist intrigues in the Middle East, special importance attaches to the question of unity of the independent Arab states and the creation of a broad front uniting participants on the basis of such common goals as liquidating the Zionist-imperialist aggression, liberating Israeli-occupied Arab lands, stopping plunder of the natural wealth of countries by foreign monoplies, and using this wealth to build up independent economies, to promote peace and establish an equitable system of international economic relations. It is important that economic cooperation among the Arab countries be strengthened, thus creating favorable conditions for economic integration. The latter could and must become a platform of progressive anti-imperialist Arab unity, founded on a democratic basis and furthering the progressive development of the Arab countries and peo-

ples, their prosperity and social progress. A deep solidarity between progressive Arab states, anti-imperialist forces and parties on the basis of the goals just mentioned, is also the only correct way of overcoming differences.[11]

Stressing the mounting danger of imperialist sabotage against the national-liberation movement in Africa and the Middle East and the need to persistently expose and recognize in good time the new methods and devices used by imperialism and neo-colonialism, speakers noted the exceptional importance of the anti-imperialist unity of the revolutionary and democratic forces on both a national and international scale. Those convictions expressed by the majority of speakers are founded on accumulated experience, which shows that if, on the national plane, the decisive condition for the success of the anti-imperialist fight is a strong home front and internal unity on a progressive basis, the decisive factor on the international plane is the growing alliance and interaction with the world socialist system, the international workers' and national-liberation movements.

The solidarity of all revolutionaries, patriots and democrats, it was pointed out, is a tremendous force capable of thwarting the plans of the imperialists and neo-colonialists and bringing about their defeat.

1. The posts held by participants in the discussion and the names of their organizations are quoted as of the time of the discussion. — *Ed.*

2. Joint Afro-Mauritian Organization — economic union of several African countries, most of which are of capitalist orientation. — *Ed.*

3. Island in the Comoro group which after the proclamation of its independence remained under French control. — *Ed.*

4. Founded on October 13, 1974, as a result of the merger of three parties: the National Front, People's Democratic Union and People's Vanguard Party. — *Ed.*

5. For details see *The Great October and the Contemporary World*. Prague, Peace and Socialism Publishers, 1977. — *Ed.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. According to the U.S. Defense Department, in 1976 Iran purchased $1.6 billion worth of American arms, while in 1977 the sum was equal to more than half of the total spent by Near and Middle East countries for similar purchases ($5.8 billion). These were primarily Saudi Arabia ($1.8 billion) and Israel ($552 million). See *International Herald Tribune*, January 20, 1978.

This same paper underscores the ability today of Persian Gulf states (read reactionary regimes) to carry out a broad range of 'geostrategic' goals that were previously the responsibility of Britain and the United States. In November 1976 Iran suggested creating joint armed forces of the Gulf countries, to include air and naval forces, not only to 'protect' the existing regimes, but also to ward off any possible threat from inside (*IHT*, Special Report, December). — *Ed.*

8. One more such attempt was made at the 1977 Afro-Arabic top level meeting in Cairo. However, on the insistence of the progressive states, the meeting formulated generally positive principles of Afro-Arabian cooperation. — *Ed.*

9. The Western press even claims that the so-called 'Egyptian-Israeli' dialogue with its anti-Arab and anti-Soviet bias, which has been a heavy blow to Arab solidarity, simultaneously aims at checking the spread of revolutionary processes in the Afro-Arabian region. — *Ed.*

10. The American military are simultaneously drawing up plans for overt armed intervention in the Persian Gulf zone. According to press reports, the Persian Gulf is regarded as a region of active U.S. strategic influence. The Pentagon intends to set up a special military formation that could be used at any moment for 'defense' of the oil resources in the event of an 'emergency.' — *Ed.*

11. The 1977-78 top level conferences in Tripoli and Algiers contributed greatly to such solidarity. — *Ed.*

'Trilateralism' — U.S. imperialism's new scenario

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'Trilateralism' is a new term in imperialism's vocabulary. The Trilateral Commission which coined it was inaugurated on Washington's initiative as recently as July 1973. According to the explanatory notes in its publications, the Commission sets for itself no less a task than 'renovation of the international system.' It concedes, however, that a renovated international system 'will require a process of creation . . . in which prolonged negotiations will have to be engaged and developed. In nurturing habits and practices of working together among the trilateral regions, the Commission should help set the context for these necessary efforts.'[1]

What are the 'trilateral regions'? What steps are envisaged for 'nurturing habits and practices of working together' among them? Who are the members of the Commission? What do they mean by a 'renovated international system?'

The explanatory notes designate the trilateral regions as Japan, North America and Western Europe. They are characterized as 'industrialized democratic regions' which are said to be 'an identifiable community and a vital core' of a global effort to establish a renovated international system. Readers, however, should have no difficulty in identifying these 'regions' as countries of state-monopoly capitalism. Unquestionably they are a 'vital core' of international imperialism, but the conspicuous absence in all of them of social equality contradicts their claim to democracy.

As for 'nurturing habits and practices of working together,' the Commission describes itself as a 'policy-oriented organization' striving 'to develop practicable proposals for joint action' based 'on

analyses of major issues facing the trilateral regions.' The analyses of major issues are drafted by trilateral teams.

The teams are briefed by officials of the Commission's permanent staff, or secretariat, and by consultants representing trusted agencies, institutions and think-tanks of monopoly capital in the three regions. The teams confer in meetings held in countries of the three regions, and one or more drafts of the analyses are prepared and discussed at these meetings before completion and publication as 'Triangle Papers.' These reports are addressed to the ruling circles of the trilateral states, and their argumentation and terminology are attuned to the thought processes and attitudes of these circles. Proposals for joint action incorporated in the drafts are viewed as recommendations for state action by the trilateral countries' governments.

The Commission also calls itself a 'private North American-European-Japanese initiative on matters of common concern.' And the explanatory notes of its Triangle Papers state that it was formed by 'private citizens' — 'more than two hundred distinguished citizens from the three regions, drawn from a variety of backgrounds.'

But 'private citizens' and 'drawn from a variety of backgrounds' are classless, designedly innocuous characterizations conveying the impression of non-partisan and supra-class interest. However, the credentials of its membership contradict this impression. As of August 15, 1975, the Commission had 216 members (North America, 73; Western Europe, 79; Japan, 64); an executive board of 34 comprising 3 representatives of finance capital, 11 of national and transnational monopolies, 11 officials of governments or imperialist international institutions, 7 intellectuals and two trade unionists. This composition corresponded to a similar delineation of the membership as a whole: 32 financiers and bankers, 58 national and multinational monopoly executives, 54 officials of governments or inter-governmental organizations, 57 intellectuals, and 15 trade union or labor officials.

Moreover, a scrutiny of the composition of the Commission's membership and its mode of operation makes clear that trilateralism for all its trappings of inter-imperialist inspiration, bears a 'made-in-the-USA' trademark.

Trilateralism is the progeny of the second largest concentration of financial and industrial power (next to that of the J.P. Morgan interests) in the non-socialist world, namely, the interests of the Rockefellers.[2] Its exact moment of birth is not recorded, nor are there authenticated details of how David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board of Chase Manhattan Bank, presided over the natal rites of his family's offspring. He is said to have begun agitating for a trilateral community in 1972.[3] Explanatory notes in the Triangle Papers assert that 'the historical roots of the Commission can be traced to serious

strains in the 1970s in relations among Japan, North America and Western Europe.' Yet, if these 'serious strains' signalled the time for the Commission's delivery, its conception and gestation occurred much earlier.

In the 1950s the Rockefellers initiated and promoted a prototype of trilateralism in the form of quadrennial meetings of financiers, bankers and monopolists under the soubriquet of International Industrial Conferences. 'Time, Inc.' was an initial sponsoring 'front,' but this function was taken over later by organizations in which the Rockefeller connection was less evident.

The fifth quadrennial meeting in September 17-21, 1973, was sponsored by the Conference Board and the Stanford Research Institute. It drew 'more than 650 senior executives of the biggest banks and industrial firms in 70 countries, along with a rich sprinkling of government and international agency officials,' as one commentator notes.[4] Remarking on the participants' panegyrics on 'freedom,' 'peace' and a 'one-world' orientation, he observed that 'it was hard to remember that many of these new enthusiasts had earlier championed the cold war,' and summarized their remarks as follows: 'The theme of this year's IIC was "Business Enterprise and the Public Interest," which translated into a spirited celebration of the multinational corporation . . . and a defiant defense against its many critics.'[5]

Almost simultaneously with the IIC meetings, senior bankers and political figures of Europe and the United States began gathering at Bilderberg in the Netherlands at the summons of Prince Bernhard. It was at the 1972 Bilderberg Conference that David Rockefeller broached the establishment of a trilateral community, 'where it found immediate acceptance.'[6]

The 'made-in-the-USA' stamp on trilateralism is also apparent in other hallmarks of the Rockefeller imprint. David Rockefeller presides over the Commission's executive committee, and handpicked the key members and the staff experts who direct the production of the Triangle Papers.[7] The initial proposals for such papers and the first briefings of the handpicked teams are conducted in Washington. Until his assignment in 1976 as an advisor to Carter in his campaign for the Presidency, the executive director of the Commission and coordinator of all its activities was Zbigniew Brzezinski, who is a Rockefeller protégé.

Most significant, however, is the disquieting circumstance that trilateralists in the executive department of the U.S. government include the President and Vice-President of the United States, the Secretaries of State, Defense and the Treasury, the Deputy Secretaries of State and the Treasury, the National Security advisor to the President, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the Director

of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Under-secretaries of State for Security Affairs, Economic Affairs, and East Asian and Pacific Affairs. This suggests that initiatives and proposals of this association of 'private individuals' have at least the semi-official imprimatur of the U.S. government.

What the trilaterialists have in store for humanity is set forth in Triangle Paper No. 14, a 68-page booklet entitled "Towards a Renovated International System.' Richard N. Cooper, one of the four authors, is now U.S. Under-secretary of State for Economic Affairs. Harvard University Professor Robert R. Bowie, who completed the final revision of the Draft before its publication in 1977, is now Deputy Director of Central Intelligence for National Intelligence of the U.S. government. The other two authors are Cologne University Professor Karl Kaiser, now Director of the Research Institute of the (West) German Society for Foreign Affairs, and Kyoto University Professor Masataka Kosaka, whose qualifications as co-author included earlier work at Harvard University and at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. The scenario projected in this pamphlet, its authors assert, draws on the work of a dozen Triangle Papers issued earlier on specific subjects,[8] and is a 'broad overview of the process of renovating the international order'[9](p. vii).

Its two main premises are: first, that 'the international order created after World War II is no longer adequate to cope with new global problems and processes of change'; and, second, that 'the most pervasive characteristic of the current situation is the steady expansion and tightening of the web of interdependence.' From these premises it concludes that 'management of interdependence has become indispensable for world order. ...' (p. vii). This requires a strategy for action which will provide 'essential goals for the long term — for the next decade or two,' and 'a set of guidelines for specific actions and decisions' (p. viii). 'The essential goals for a global strategy,' the authors continue, 'include keeping the peace, managing the world economy, contributing to economic development and the satisfaction of basic human needs, and promoting human rights' (p. viii).

It is characteristic of ideologues both of pre-monopoly capitalism and of imperialism that they strive to conceal the narrow class interests of their patrons and to identify them with the common aspirations and goals of the masses. This tendency is pronounced in present-day conditions, and the Triangle Papers exemplify its 'modernized' versions. Thus, the premises and goals projected in this scenario are presented in classless generalities. They promise all things to all classes of all peoples in the non-socialist world in language painstakingly purged of any allusion to antagonistic class in-

terests and the class struggle either in the national or in the international arenas.

However, there is a difference: if the rising bourgeoisie's promises of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' corresponded to the desires and aims of the exploited classes of that day, the same cannot be said for imperialism's promises today. They fall far short of the needs and demands of the working people and the movements of national liberation and national independence. The trilateralists profess awareness of and allowance for 'the revolution in expectations and concern' (p. 7). But they appear to have grossly underestimated the 'revolution's' scope, depth, and potential for restructuring international relations in conformity with the interests of the exploited. The trilateralists disregard two other 'pervasive characteristics' of the present moment. These are the advance of the working class to the forefront of history-making, and the ever growing participation of the formerly colonized and oppressed peoples in the shaping of events.

These new processes are propelled by the interaction of the powerful socialist community of states, of the less developed states which are inhabited by 60 per cent of the world's population, of the working class in the developed capitalist states, and by the numerous international organizations and movements with a progressive orientation. The peoples motivating these processes define the generalities of the trilateralists' scenario in keeping with their own interests. And their definitions are different indeed from those of the trilateralists.

The latter disavow intentions of focussing on the preservation of the economic, political and social status quo. They profess concern for increasingly embracing the less developed countries in a 'cooperative endeavor to secure a more equitable world order,' according to their self-explanatory information. But the specific measures elaborated in their scenario do not meet the requirements for accomplishing this task.

For instance, it should be instructive to consider their specific measures for realizing their stated goal of contributing to 'economic development' and the 'satisfaction of basic human needs' in the 'poorer countries' of the world. The task, as the trilateralists see it, is one of stabilization, and structural changes.

Stabilization, they say, begins at home, that is, in the trilateral countries so that their own economies can 'ensure a stable and vigorous demand for imports which are the major source of foreign exchange earnings for developing countries' (p. 24). Supplementing this could be 'schemes for stabilizing both export earnings of developing countries and prices of certain primary products of special interest to developing countries, either as importers or as exporters,' with

'special loans to countries whose export earnings have fallen below *certain historical norms*' (p. 25, emphasis added).

This translates into making 'a more equitable world order' contingent on economic stabilization in the countries of state-monopoly capitalism — a prospect never consummated in all the past centuries of capitalism and no more realizable today. At present the best laid plans of state-monopoly regulation have failed to overcome the 'stagflation' that grips these countries. This is small assurance indeed for the less developed countries.

The reference to export earnings of the less developed countries falling below 'certain historical norms' is implicit recognition of the inequitable terms of trade and the certainty that their consequences will stimulate the demand for loan capital and foreign investment. This portion of the scenario should surely be acceptable to the multinational financial and industrial monopolies of the trilateral regions, especially those based in the USA and controlled by the Rockefellers.

Likewise with the measures envisaged for changing the structure of production. The suggestions are for the trilateral countries to encourage the establishment of 'early-stage processing industries' for raw materials in the less developed countries 'where the raw materials originate.' Tariff structures should be revised to provide open markets for the growing volume of manufactured products from these countries. And the less developed countries are advised 'to welcome foreign firms on appropriate terms,' which the World Bank will help them negotiate (p. 26).

No searching analysis is needed to detect in these proposals a *carte blanche* for the U.S.-based multinationals, whose subsidiaries in the less developed countries in 1974-75 — according to the *Survey of Current Business,* Washington, March 1976 — repatriated $23,300 million in profits, dividends and interest, besides investing in their own enterprises $13,000 million drawn mainly from undistributed profits obtained in those countries. This proposal is combined with an overture to the indigenous bourgeoisie in the less developed countries — potential clients of trilateral lending and investing institutions.

The measures suggested to alleviate poverty include 'closely-monitored' increased grants of aid, and shifts from 'big capital projects in the industrial sector' toward 'improving food production, providing simple health care delivery (including healthful water supplies, sanitation, and help in family planning), and extending literacy.' These actions should be complemented 'by policies that remove some of the impediments still confronting developing countries in their efforts to borrow abroad' (p. 28).

But such measures, for all their philanthropic pretensions, are a prescription for maintaining the existing division of labor in the non-

socialist world and for perpetuating the less developed countries as raw material and industrial appendages of the trilateral powers. Moreover, the suggested relaxation of credit is an invitation to these countries to go deeper into debt, although their present indebtedness is estimated by some sources to exceed $200,000 million (p. 7).

Such are the trilateralists' specific proposals for economic relations with the less developed countries. They call to mind the fable of the mountain that labored and produced a mouse. One cannot fail to notice in these reports the trilateralists' contemptuous disregard of the activities of the masses and the pervasiveness of élitism: '... the responsibility for stabilization of the world economy falls overwhelmingly on the trilateral countries and, especially, on the United States, Germany (sic!) and Japan' (p. 17).

This non-too-veiled appeal to Great Power chauvinism and the 'civilizing mission' variant of racism is ill-designed for obtaining the cooperation of the less developed countries which the trilateralists claim to be essential for ending the 'North-South confrontation.' Even such a term obstructs cooperation, since it is used to obscure the class aspects of the relationship between the trilateralist states and the less developed countries, and to absolve the former of responsibility for the latter's colonialist legacy of underdevelopment by including in the so-called 'North' the countries of the socialist community, four of which — the USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland — rank among the ten leading industrial countries. This semantic strategem is fully in accord with the trilateralists' aim of subverting the alliance of the socialist community and the less developed states.

It seems more than coincidence that these initiatives of monopoly capital appear at the time when nationalizations of foreign-owned property have assumed wave-like dimensions in the less developed countries. This is also the time when these countries, despite differences in background and development and their diversity in political orientation, have achieved a high level of unity and joint action for a radical restructuring of relations with the trilateral countries.

Overcoming the reservations and opposition of trilateral states, and supported by the states of the socialist community, they laid the foundation for a new economic order at the Sixth Special Session in April 1974 and the Twenty-Ninth Session in September-December 1974 of the UN General Assembly. The struggle for adoption of the basic resolutions — the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the Program of Action, and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States — made it clear that these countries understand 'interdependence' altogether differently from the trilateralists.

The trilateralist view of 'interdependence' for which they desire to make the world safe, conflicts with the real state of affairs in our time. By failing to take into account the changing nature of dependency, they absolutize an exaggerated estimation of their own self-sufficiency and under-evaluate the economic and political capabilities of the less developed countries. Yet, it is well known that the less developed countries supply from 75 to 100 per cent of such critically vital raw materials consumed by the trilateral regions as tin, tungsten, iron, aluminum, chrome, cobalt, copper, natural rubber and petroleum. Moreover, far from declining, the dependence of the trilateralists' industries on raw material imports from the less developed countries will increase.

However, under existing non-equivalent terms of trade, in which the trilateralist monopolies' price-hiking and price-fixing policies play a crucial role, the changing structure of trade does not reflect the changing nature of dependency. As the less developed countries see it, equality — equivalent terms of trade — is mandatory for genuine interdependence. But neither this nor their unchallenged control and dispositions of their natural resources is provided for in the trilateralists' scenario.

The specific measures proposed for attaining two other goals of trilateralist strategy illustrate another characteristic of capitalism. The goals are managing the world economy and protecting human rights. The characteristic is manifested in the gap between promise and performance.

It is indicative that the trilateralist theorists emphasize the length of time needed to implement even their promises. Thus: '. . . the effort to get at the roots of many of these problems will take a long time indeed . . . it will take a very long period to remove the sources of conflict and rivalry (between East and West) . . . Similar is the goal of meeting basic human needs of the poorest billion or more people. Even with immediate and energetic efforts, it will take decades to achieve substantial progress on a large scale.' And so on (p. 10).

This tune, repeated again and again, has the all-too-familiar ring of 'pie-in-the-sky, bye-and-bye.' Such insistence on the need for time to perform on their promises could be interpreted as an appeal for patient understanding, something they firmly deny the developing socialist states, lumping them together as 'communist countries' irrespective of the variations in stages of socialist development, the better to attack their dissimilarities from mature communism.

That the trilateralists assume they possess the capability of managing the world economy, not to speak of renovating it, is itself an indication of their unwillingness to recognize realities. One would think that the failures of their deliberations at Rambouillet in

November 1975, at Puerto Rico in June 1976, and at London in May 1977, would have tempered their pretensions with a tinge of modesty. Notwithstanding all their pledges to work together to promote the recovery and growth of their economies, and notwithstanding the expertise of their learned savants and think-tanks, they are quite unable to come up with a cure for the inflation and mass unemployment that afflict their countries. Yet, here they are again proclaiming their intentions of coordinating 'macroeconomic policy' and matching 'coordination at the policy level' with 'integration at the market level,' as if Bonn is ready to comply with Washington's demand that it increase its growth rate, and Tokyo will agree to the Common Market's demand to reverse instantly the trade balance in its favor. Moreover, all talk of 'free trade' among these monopolistic goliaths is, as Lenin characterized Kautsky's nostalgic yearnings for this relic of a bygone era, a 'reformist swindle' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 289).

As for promoting human rights, it is noteworthy that the trilateralists have at last recognized the necessity of at least expressing concern for human freedoms 'in their midst' (p. 30). But this section of their scenario also brings into focus the boundless gulf between word and deed.

Their screeds in praise of pluralism are belied by their policies of destabilizing non-conformist regimes (as in Chile), and of maneuvering to thwart evolutionary constitutional processes that would bring communist parties into governments (as in Portugal, France and Italy). These concrete manifestations of trilateralist pluralism should be contrasted to their support of regimes which deny basic civil and political liberties to their populations (as Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay, Haiti, Guatemala, South Africa, South Korea, Iran and Indonesia, to name only a few).

Their present invigoration of policies that reinforce the racist division of labor and the perpetuation of racist ghettos in the USA does not square with their professed dedication to individual freedoms. Moreover, in their scenario on human rights there is no mention of the right to work and freedom from exploitation, without which the exercise of all other rights and freedoms is precluded or restricted.

No part of the trilateralist scenario is more indicative of the contradiction between what they say and what they do than the section on 'keeping the peace.' Here again it is noteworthy as a sign of the times that some of these commanders of finance and industry who directed the cold war and kept the world on the brink of disaster for a quarter of a century appear to have had second thoughts. Consequences of the changed relationship of world forces and the loss of imperialism's military superiority are evident in their recognition that 'the use of nuclear weapons could bring about worldwide destruction;

there would be no victors in such a conflict.' They seem also to recognize that 'localized arms races threaten not only regional peace but world peace also, because of the potential involvement of the superpowers.' They point to the 'diversion of scarce resources from more productive purposes' resulting from present military budgets around the world.

And they recommend 'utmost efforts . . . (1) to achieve limitations on and eventually reductions in the deployment of strategic nuclear weapons; (2) to reduce forces and de-escalate confrontation in conflict areas, such as Europe and Korea, where the use of nuclear weapons could threaten; and (3) to prevent other parts of the world, such as Africa or the Middle East, from becoming battlegrounds among big powers even when local conflicts erupt' (p. 20). Yet, for all these fine words, the script of the scenario leaves loopholes for circumventing them, while the truism holds that actions of the trilateral powers in all these suggested areas of keeping the peace speak louder than words.

Actually, on the pretext of 'maintaining a basic balance of forces (which) must have top priority' (p. 20), the trilateral powers are inflating their military budgets, developing ever more destructive arms, both nuclear and conventional, expanding the export of arms to client states, and engaging in none of the 'utmost efforts' for implementing their recommendations.

At the same time, there is little encouragement in their assessment that 'despite slow progress and setbacks, there is no constructive alternative to seeking to stabilize and gradually reduce East-West tensions, which, more than any other set of tensions in the modern world, endanger the survival of mankind as a whole if they erupt into war.' This prospect is derogated, however, by the assertion that 'East-West tension will remain high for a long time' because of the different systems (p. 21).

Such a contradictory approach to the problem of keeping the peace naturally places limitations on the trilateralists' activities to strengthen détente. This reveals their failure to understand that détente and the arms race are incompatible.

The basic aim of imperialist ideology has always been to defend and prolong the life of imperialism. Insofar as it reflects the common class interests of the financial oligarchies of the countries of state-monopoly capitalism, this is also the aim of trilateralism. Its proposals for coordinating the policies of these states are designed to dampen the centrifugal tendencies and direct their policies into a crusade for making the world safe for their conception of interdependence. This is basically intended to defend the social and economic status quo against the revolutionary world processes and the interests they represent. But trilateralism is also imbued with the determination of

its founding fathers to obtain preferential advantages for U.S. monopoly capital.

In this, as in so many of its unrealistic assessments of present-day conditions, it is out of step with the unevenness of development in the non-socialist world and the growing vitality and power of the alliance of socialist and less developed countries. Significantly, the trilateralist ideologues unwittingly deflate the pretensions of this aggregation of exploiters to set up a new world order. They studiously avoid referring to capitalism as though fleeing from the plague it is.

1. Trilateral Commission Task Force Reports: 1-7, New York, 1977, p. 4 of the cover.
2. Victor Perlo: 'U.S. finance capital,' in *WMR,* April (No. 4) 1978.
3. Jeremiah Novak: 'The Trilateral Connection.' *Atlantic Monthly,* July 1977, p. 58.
4. Steve Weissman: 'A New Ruling Class for the World.' *The Nation,* October 15, 1973, pp. 358-360.
5. *Ibidem.*
6. Novak, *op. cit.,* p. 58.
7. Christopher Lydon: 'Jimmy Carter Revealed.' *The Atlantic Monthly,* July 1977, p. 52.
8. Triangle Papers published earlier are: 1 — Towards a Renovated World Monetary System (1973); 2 — The Crisis of International Cooperation (1974); 3 — A Turning-Point in North-South Economic Relations (1974); 4 — Directions for World Trade in the Nineteen-Seventies (1974); 5 — Energy: The Imperative for a Trilateral Approach (1974); 6 — Energy: A Strategy for International Action (1975); 7 — OPEC, the Trilateral World, and the Developing Countries: New Arrangements for Cooperation, 1976-1980 (1975); 8 — The Crisis of Democracy (1975); 9 — A New Regime for the Oceans (1976); 10 — Seeking a New Accommodation in World Commodity Markets (1976); 11 — The Reform of International Institutions (1976); 12 — The Problems of International Consultations (1976); 13 — Collaboration with Communist Countries in Managing Global Problems: An Examination of the Options (1977).
9. Here and further, unless indicated otherwise, the quotations are from: The Triangle Papers: 14. New York, 1977.

Letter to the Editor

WASHINGTON'S UTTER HYPOCRISY

Dear Editor:

I would like to inform readers of *World Marxist Review* of a case which exposes the fraud of the Carter Administration's human rights campaign. It is the case of the Wilmington Ten, framed up by racists. I am well informed about the case, since my brother, Rev. Ben Chavis, is one of the ten civil rights fighters and acts as their spokesman in communication with the outside world.

In a recent appeal to the Belgrade Conference on European Security and Cooperation Ben Chavis exposed the true state of human rights in the United States by documenting many violations of these rights.

In 1966-71, he points out, an open campaign to repress the civil rights and peace movements was started by the Nixon Administration. One of its thrusts was to tacitly support racist efforts to resist the peaceful integration of Afro-American and white students in public schools, made possible as a result of the hard-won Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Such resistance was also developed in Wilmington, North Carolina, where a successful court battle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had forced authorities to proceed with school desegregation.

Since racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan reacted with violence to peaceful integration, the town's community leaders asked for help. In February 1971 Rev. Chavis was assigned to work with them by the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ to which he belongs. Two peaceful marches and demonstrations held in support of Black students' demands for equal and quality education triggered extensive armed terrorist attacks by racists against the Afro-American community.

A year later Rev. Chavis, eight Afro-American student leaders and a white woman civil rights fighter were arrested and accused of criminal activities allegedly perpetrated a year earlier. Among the charges on which they were framed and eventually convicted was that of burning a store in Wilmington, the city where, in 1898, a massacre of more than 200 Black elected officials had been committed by southern white racists. Those who framed the Wilmington Ten are the descendants of those bigots.

Despite more than five long years of court appeals during which

three prosecution witnesses recanted their original testimony and admitted that they had lied under threats, coercion and secret deals by the state prosecutors aided by Federal Treasury Agents, a local judge refused to overturn the convictions or to grant a new trial.

So, although the frame-up had been exposed, my brother Ben Chavis, Marvin Patrick, Jerry Jacobs, Joe Wright, Connie Tyndall, Wayne Moore, Reginald Epps, Willie Vereen and James McCoy remain in prison. Mrs. Anne Shepard Turner has been freed on parole.

Since the courts of North Carolina refused to act on the innocence of the Ten, the prisoners' fate was in the hands of North Carolina Governor James Hunt. His verdict on January 24, 1978, was that, in his opinion, the Ten 'received a fair trial, the jury made the right decision and the Appellate Court reviewed properly and ruled correctly.'

Having thus upheld the racist frame-up, Hunt made a mockery of justice by reducing the 25 to 29-year sentences to 17 to 21 years. Even the conservative *Washington Post* (January 25, 1978) called Hunt's decision 'an unsatisfactory solution' and said that 'valid claims persist that this group was railroaded.'

In response to the Governor's speech Rev. Chavis said: 'We remain innocent victims of racism, punished for our civil rights activity. We remain political prisoners — prisoners of conscience.'

Therefore, freedom for the Wilmington Ten and other political prisoners lies not in the courts but in the hands of the masses of people. The specific demand being made is for a pardon on the ground of their innocence. That is why it is necessary to bring pressure on President Jimmy Carter to use his powers to secure a full pardon for the Ten and their immediate release.

As Ben Chavis points out in his letter to the Belgrade Conference, theirs is not the only case. In North Carolina alone there are hundreds of victims of racist and political repression and many more in other states of the union.

My brother wrote to the delegates in Belgrade, 'I appeal in the name of millions of oppressed, of the Wilmington Ten and all political prisoners as well as all victims of racist justice in the United States of America; I appeal for human liberation, justice and freedom; for an end to racism, apartheid and genocide; for an end to hunger and misery in the world; for an end to exploitation and imperialism; for the strengthening of détente; for total nuclear disarmament and world peace and for international solidarity, respect and love.'

Yours in struggle,
Francine Chavis
Wilmington, North Carolina, USA

A REVOLUTION OF GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS

Fidel Castro. *La Revolucion de Octubre y la Revolucion Cubana. Discursos 1959-1977* (The October Revolution and the Cuban Revolution. Speeches 1959-1977). Havana, 1977, 448 pp.

This book was issued by the Institute of the History of the Communist Movement and the Cuban Socialist Revolution, CC CPC, to mark the 60th anniversary of mankind's first victorious socialist revolution. It consists mainly of speeches and reports by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and Chairman of the State Council, covering a period from the victory of the Cuban revolution till April 1977, in which he assesses the significance of the Great October Revolution, the noble ideals of Leninism and relations between socialist Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The speeches and reports are grouped into three parts, each pertaining to a certain period of the Cuban revolution: from 1959 to 1962, from 1963 to 1969 and from 1970 to 1977. The book contains a list of events highlighting the progress of Soviet-Cuban relations in the political and economic fields and a supplement of joint communiqués, agreements, government statements, messages by the leaders of the two fraternal parties and other major Cuban-Soviet documents. It also includes a speech made during a visit to Cuba by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who together with Fidel Castro, has contributed so much to the promotion of friendship between our two countries.

The book gives a profound assessment of the significance of the October Revolution and Lenin's immortal ideas not only for the emancipation of the working people and nations of tsarist Russia but also for the national and social liberation of the oppressed and exploited the world over; for the collapse of colonialism and the successful advance of newly-independent countries; for the

emergence of the socialist community and its outstanding achievements; and for achieving a just and lasting peace.

The First Secretary of our party gives a true picture of the USSR, a socialist state which was built and defended against the counter-revolution and international reaction by the workers and peasants of Russia at the cost of heavy sacrifices; a state which ushered in a new era for the whole of mankind and materialized the historic concept and revolutionary ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin; a state of emancipated working people, in which the economy, culture and science are advancing at an unprecedentedly rapid pace.

The speeches by Fidel Castro reflect the deep admiration, respect and love of the Cuban people for Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state and leader of the world proletariat. Castro exposes the arguments of those who, from 'left' positions, try to minimize the role of Lenin in history, to pare down his significance and to dispute the major role played by the Soviet Union and the CPSU in the world today. Castro states that Lenin rightfully holds an outstanding place in history and his noble ideas have become the common heritage of revolutionary fighters in every part of the world.

The book brings out the significance of proletarian internationalism, which is a key factor underlying the relations between the USSR and Cuba, and other socialist countries, and the peoples and states fighting against oppression and exploitation and building a new life. Castro cites numerous facts to describe the foreign policy of peace pursued by the Soviet state since its inception. He speaks of the immense moral support and material aid given by the USSR to Cuba in the economic, military, scientific and technical fields, in education and public health, in everything that facilitates the development and defense of our socialist homeland. Fidel Castro emphasizes that relations between the Soviet people, who accomplished the world's first socialist revolution, and the small country, which carried through the first socialist revolution in the Americas, relations that already have their own history, are growing stronger and wider every day and have become a symbol, an example of fraternal ties between nations. 'There has been no just cause in the world,' he notes, 'which has not been backed by the solidarity of the USSR and the whole socialist camp' (p. 253).

The Soviet Union, says Castro, has steadily pursued a policy of peace and the CPSU has faithfully adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He states: 'We support the foreign policy of the USSR, its recent decisive efforts to consolidate peace and eliminate the threat of world war. The idea of starting a new war may occur only to out-and-out reactionaries, the hotheads who, unable to reverse the inexorable march of history,

would rather destroy humanity than give up the exploitative system, an inhuman and degrading system imposed on the world by capitalism. Never before has humankind needed the peace effort so much, because never before have weapons been so destructive and the risks of annihilation so great. Capitalism has no future. The future belongs to socialism. To defend peace is to defend the future' (p. 260).

In many of the speeches Castro hammers the ideologists of imperialism and their pseudo-revolutionary servants, the right or 'left' opportunists who are ready to exploit any lie, absurd though it may be, and to produce anti-Soviet concepts. Drawing on numerous examples from life in Cuba and other countries, he shows that the economic power of the USSR, its great scientific achievements and defense potential provide a guarantee of peaceful and creative development of nations, of their independence from every kind of imperialist, neo-colonialist and racist enemies.

'Some people lament the fact that the world's first socialist state has become a strong industrial and military power,' Castro writes. 'We, the countries that are poorly developed or are being robbed, should not lament this. Cuba rejoices over this development. The rout of colonialism by so many peoples in the course of their liberation struggle would have been utterly impossible if it were not for the October Revolution and the immortal feat of the Soviet people who first stood out against the intervention and imperialist blockade and later defeated the fascist aggressors at the cost of 20 million lives; and who, by their unprecedented efforts and heroism, have advanced technology and the economy without exploiting the labor of a single worker in any country' (p. 235).

The book gives a clear picture of the USSR's history, of the scope of the fraternal support it renders to any just cause in any part of the globe. The USSR has always been solidly with the Cuban revolution, in the hardest days of aggression, blockade and imperialist threats and today, in the period of peaceful socialist construction. Here we have clear evidence of the Soviet people's boundless loyalty to the cause of peace and proletarian internationalism, the cause of the peoples' struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism.

The book's value is enhanced by the fact that these speeches and reports on the Great October Revolution and the Soviet Union were made by Fidel Castro, a man enjoying deserved prestige, the leader of the Cuban revolution, the founder of the first socialist state in the Americas, one of the most outstanding and respected leaders of the peoples that today are fighting for a free and happy future. It is impossible to comprehend the history of the Cuban revolution by examining it in isolation from the struggle waged by other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, and particularly the Soviet Union. As

Fidel Castro put it, 'our revolution is part of this powerful world revolutionary process which commenced with the historic revolution of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, the revolution of Lenin, the revolution of Marx and Engels' (p. 128).

Recalling, as it does, one of the most important lessons of history, this book will be an indispensable aid in the political and ideological education of the Cuban people, especially the young. It will certainly contribute to the close friendship that binds the peoples of Cuba and the Soviet Union, their fraternal communist parties and states.

Jose Canton Navarro

THE PARTY LEADS YOUTH INTO THE COMMUNIST FUTURE

Erich Honecker, *Zur Jugendpolitik der SED*. Reden und Aufsatze von 1945 biz zur Gegenwart (Youth Policy of the SUPG. Speeches and Articles). Berlin, Verlag Neues Leben, 1977, 644 pp.

The history of existing socialism since the dramatic events of the October Revolution has provided ample proof that the overthrow of the outdated system exploitation and, even more, the building of socialist and communist society demand the active participation of the young people in revolutionary change. Today, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, Marx's prediction that the future of the working class, and therefore of the whole of mankind, would depend on the upbringing of the rising generation of young workers, proves unmistakably correct.

The collection of speeches and articles by SUPG General Secretary Erich Honecker on the youth policy of the party presents an impressive panorama of what the GDR's communists have done to solve this important task. Issued by the Central Council of the Free German Youth and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the SUPG Central Committee, this well-documented book covers the period from 1945 to 1976.

Liberation from fascism by the Soviet Army and the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition and anti-fascist forces in May 1945 enabled us to direct our society along the path of peace, democracy and socialism. Communists, like all true anti-fascists, used that opportunity to get about building a new life.

Erich Honecker was active for years in the Communist Youth League of Germany. He was persecuted by the nazis and for his revolutionary activities was sent to a hard-labor prison. Following the events of May 1945, he headed the organization of anti-fascist youth committees, which later formed the backbone of a 'united and free

German youth movement' (p. 14). The united Free German Youth Organization was formed in March 1946. Honecker was elected its chairman and remained at that post till 1955.

The book opens with an article 'New Life, New Youth,' elucidating the youth policy. Written in the hard days when the country was rising from the ruins (it is dated July 7, 1945), it called for 'eradicating all kinds of reactionary chauvinistic rubbish from the minds and hearts' of the German youth, and for a concerted anti-fascist effort of all who wished to join in building the new life. 'The participation of young people in making a new economic and cultural life throughout the country . . . signalled the rise of the young generation' (p. 13). In their youth work the communists were guided by truly humanist motives. Honecker writes: 'The young person, our comrade, should never feel that he is alone in this world. On the contrary, he should be sure that people are ready to help him, that he is looked upon as a man of worth' (p. 18).

The German Democratic Republic was proclaimed on October 7, 1949, marking a turning point in the history of the German people and Europe. The progressive youth welcomed the event with a massive torch-light procession in the Republic's capital, Berlin. 'The new state formed right now is a state of the youth,' Honecker declared in October 1949. 'The important task for our league is to educate the younger generation in the spirit of love for, and loyalty to, the new Democratic Republic . . .' (p. 134).

The Second Conference of the SUPG in 1952 passed a resolution on building the foundations of socialism in the GDR. This had a far-reaching effect on the youth policy. 'By its active participation in building socialism,' said Honecker at the time, 'the youth of the German Democratic Republic is joining the young builders of socialism in the countries of people's democracy, for whom a shining example of creating a new social system is set by fine young Soviet people who have been tested in combat. Never before were the young people in our country faced with a task of such magnitude. I have no doubt that they will accomplish this task with flying colors' (pp. 191-192).

One of the final items in the collection is Honecker's speech at the Tenth Congress of the Free German Youth (June 1976). In this speech he stressed that the decisions of the Ninth SUPG Congress on building a developed socialist society and providing basic preconditions for a gradual transition to communism gave the young people a militant program of action. The continuity factor in the SUPG's youth policy stands out in bold relief: 'When we formed the Free German Youth 30 years ago, life was different. . . . We now have firm positions . . . in the socialist world. . . . What seems self-evident today was achieved by

strenuous effort, struggle and sacrifice, it demanded confidence and dedication to our cause. Now we have every right to be proud of what has been achieved, of our socialist German Democratic Republic' (pp. 622-623).

The youth policy of the SUPG is part and parcel of the continuous revolutionary process which starrted with the anti-fascist democratic revolution, and which ensured the building of the country's socialist foundations and now goes on in the creation of developed socialist society. This policy has shown over the past decades the powerful effect of the creative application of the general principles of socialist construction. Only by exercising political power can the working class, under the guidance of its Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other working people, fulfill the wishes of the people, the wishes of the youth (pp. 136, 195, 223).

Socialism rests on the public ownership of the means of production. The efficiency and development of people's enterprises 'are of decisive significance for the continued advance of young people in social life' (p. 169). The socialist planned economy provides for the future of the younger generation for a long period ahead. The youth, in its turn, facilitates this process by innovation drives (pp. 90-91, 309). FGY members have always been where the struggle was especially hard and where successes were vital for advancing socialsim. 'The significance of this stand taken by the young people exceeds calculable results by a wide margin. . . . Although young people often sacrificed their personal interests, they became politically mature, experienced and staunch in the process' (p. 367).

Socialist production relations gave rise to relations of comradeship and mutual assistance, which continue to flourish. 'We should create an atmosphere of comradeship between our party and the Free German Youth, which will spread to the entire adult population, to our younger generation,' said Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl back in 1952 (quoted from p. 390.) This goal has been attained. The youth policy of the socialist state is largely determined by the atmosphere of trust and responsibility. In this policy 'we not only made great demands upon the younger generation, but provided ever better conditions to promote their efforts' (p. 416).

'The views of the classics of Marxism-Leninism on the youth question,' Honecker says, 'provide the firm scientific foundation for the well-tested and effected youth policy pursued by our party' (p. 493). In 1954, in his lecture on Lenin's speech at the Third Congress of the Komsomol (pp. 222-230) he shows how the main ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism have been creatively applied and developed in the youth policy. In a foreword to the book 'Lenin on

Youth' Honecker wrote that the speech may be rightly called 'the most important theoretical document of Marxism-Leninism on the role of youth in building a communist society' (p. 424).

Guided by the party, the FGY has done much to make socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism increasingly instrumental in guiding the activities of the younger generation (see pp. 196, 227, 350, 620). Our youth regards the promotion of cooperation with the other nations of the socialist communinity as an important task set by the party, as an inspiring goal. Therefore, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union have always been for the GDR, and continue to be, the source of strength and the basis for development.

The book reflects the sincerity of Honecker's call to youth to regard the development of their socialist motherland as part of the world revolutionary process and always to display anti-imperialist solidarity (see pp. 94, 178-182, 470-471).

The 70s have proved to be the most successful period in the history of the GDR. As the developed socialist society is built, the basic preconditions for a gradual transition to communism are provided in accordance with the decisions of the Eighth and Ninth SUPG Congresses. The party sees its main task in raising the living and cultural standards of the people by speeding up the rate of socialist production, enhancing the effectiveness of scientific and technical progress and increasing labor productivity. We have started work on the broadest socio-political program in the GDR's history.

The Report of the SUPG Central Committee to the Ninth Party Congress in May 1976 appealed to the youth: 'Young people, you are destined to be the builders of communism. Put all your young energies, audacity, also your wisdom and discretion, your endeavor, knowledge and gifts, your vitality, staunchness and tenacity into the drive for accomplishing this greatest and noblest task the young generation has ever faced' (p. 620).

Through the socialist youth organization the party addresses all young people. At the same time the SUPG takes into account the fact that various categories and social groups of young people, young workers being the nucleus, are developing in different conditions. 'Now as before,' Honecker stressed, 'this simple truth holds good: young workers and school pupils have different problems, young married couples and unmarried young people have different needs, and different demands are made of young engineers and students' (pp. 633-634).

The SUPG lays much stress in its youth policy on work with the cadres, encouraging the activity of the more than 100,000 young party members and candidate members holding elective posts in the FRG. At the same time it is of the opinion that all communists, without

exception, are responsible for bringing up the younger generation. In ideological and political work among the masses the SUPG strives to bring home to all citizens of the Republic, including, of course, the youth, the class meaning and humanitarian essence of the struggle against the threat of nuclear war, and for universal peace.

These collected speeches and articles show how the younger generation in the GDR matured, what tasks have been set before it by the Ninth SUPG Congress and the Tenth Congress of the FGY, and how it is carrying out these tasks. It reveals Erich Honecker as a man who spares no effort to implement a Marxist-Leninist youth policy in our country. It shows us that the communists will continue to do everything in their power to encourage the young people in the GDR to think and act as staunch fighters for social progress, for socialism and communism.

Wolfgang Herger,
Siegfried Ransch

RACISM IN THE USA AND BRITAIN

David H. McKay, *Housing and Race in Industrial Society.* London, Croom Helm, 1977, 193 pp.

In the last few years there has been almost a flood of large and small books printed in the U.S. and Britain on what is described as the 'race relations' problem. The problem in itself is not new. It existed in the U.S. long before it became so evident in Britain. But in Britain, too, the problem is generating difficulties that are now more serious than ever.

There are now about two million Black people in Britain, most of whom came there after their countries won political independence in the past 30 years. The British government, faced with a labor shortage in Britain after the war, appealed for immigrants to come to Britain from India, Pakistan, the West Indies, and elsewhere. True, for most of them life in Britain was better, but still they were faced with all forms of discrimination — in employment, wage rates, housing, culture, and so on.

A serious investigation of this shameful phenomenon is made in this book, which gives a comparative study dealing with civil rights and urban problems of Black people, their common features in both countries, and their contrasts.

Official government figures for 1972 show that 23.4 million Black people lived in the U.S., 11 per cent of the total population. There were also 9.2 million people of Spanish origin, and 2.6 million (1970

figure) of 'other races' (see p. 22), apart from white-skinned European immigrants.

This is in contrast to the situation in Britain, where Black people are only 4 per cent of the population. Of these the 1971 census gave 53.6 per cent as Asians, 32.1 per cent from the West Indies and Latin America and 11.7 per cent Africans (see p. 23). About a half of all these Black people were born in Britain,[1] and rightly claim their full rights as British citizens. Unless they get equal rights no one should be surprised that they are active in a movement of revolt.

As for the USA, the author points out, the problem of race relations has existed for many generations. When the report of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorder was published in 1968 it declared that 'our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal' (p. 12), and this was *after* the last civil rights law against racial discrimination in housing had been adopted.

The author compares the legislation of both countries on this problem. He states that 'British civil rights laws were in many ways similar to the U.S. variety, and indeed were partly modelled on the American example' (p. 13). That being so, it confirms the views of many social commentators that in Britain too '... the social and economic position of the Blacks seemed not to have improved since the enactment of the laws' *(ibid.)*.

This conclusion is backed up by numerous official figures on the position of the minority nationalities in both countries. One investigation revealed that roughly 31 per cent of the U.S. Black population in 1971 were below the official low income level[2] (see p. 25). In Britain too the minority population is poorer than the white population. For instance, in 1974 statistics gave £36.70 as the average weekly wage of Black immigrants in Britain, compared with £40.20 for white workers (see p. 25).

Thus, although the difference in the incomes level of Black and white workers in Britain is not so great as in the USA this is mainly due to the power of the trade unions in Britain who demand 'the rate for the job.' This principle is now embodied in the 1976 Race Relations Act. But this difference still exists, and affects workers employed by private employers who resort to all kinds of devices to ignore the Act.

However, the author notes, the difference in the wage levels of the Black and white population in the USA and Britain is determined mainly by the fact that Blacks are used as unskilled labor. Suffice it to say that 40 per cent of America's Black population are unskilled workers, whereas the proportion of unskilled white workers is only half as many (see p. 26). In 1971 only 29 per cent of Black people in America were in the so-called white-collar category. In Britain this

category included only 8 per cent of the men from the West Indies and Pakistan and 20 per cent from India. At the same time 58 per cent of the Pakistanis were employed in unskilled physical jobs (p. 25).

Clearly, unemployment too hits the Black population of these countries harder. In the United States, for instance, there are twice as many jobless among Blacks as among whites.[3] In Britain the non-white population is affected by unemployment also to a greater extent than the white population (see p. 26).

As regards provision of the Black population with housing the author claims that the housing conditions of the non-white population are equally bad in both countries (p. 26). Most Black people in the U.S. are concentrated in the big cities. In the 20 years between 1950 and 1970 their total number rose from 6,608,000 to 13,097,000, nearly double. In all these cities there is a high level of racial segregation, with ghettos in many of them.

The situation in Britain is somewhat similar. Most Black people are concentrated in or near large industrial towns and cities, and there is already the danger of the ghettos arising in some places, as in parts of London and Liverpool. The figures cited in the book demonstrate that both countries practise discrimination and violation of the human rights of the non-white population as regards the choice of the place of residence, renting private houses or municipal houses.

The author claims that race and housing is an issue more 'politicized' in the U.S. (with its sway of inhuman racist activity) than in Britain. He maintains that the 'ability of the state to change existing patterns' is much greater in Britain than in the U.S. However, the cancer of racism is also strong in Britain, where the situation is being aggravated due to rising mass unemployment and government economies on housing and other social services. Racists and the forces of reaction exploit this situation. They try to divert the anger of ordinary people against the government and the big employers and to direct it against the Black people, claiming that the shortage of houses and mass unemployment are due to Black people 'stealing' their jobs and houses. Foremost among the racist organizations in Britain which make these vile accusations is one with the title of the 'National Front.' It was formed in 1966 and demands that all Black people should be sent back 'where they came from.'

It must be said that the tendency within the leadership of the trade unions and other organizations has far too long been one of underestimating the struggle against the National Front. This is now changing. In the U.S. the struggle against racial discrimination has been conducted for a long time and has acquired large dimensions. It is growing rapidly also in Britain, having become of late an important issue within the trade unions and the labor movement as a whole, and

in many other organizations. Big campaigns have been organized against the racist, pro-fascist National Front. The campaigns are actively joined by the Communist Party of Great Britain, which is carrying on a large-scale and vigorous struggle against this serious menace.

The author does not deal with the struggle against racism. Nevertheless, the book is undoubtedly of great value because it gives a wealth of useful information about racial discrimination in the U.S. and Britain. It reveals some of the facts of the unequal situation of the minority nationalities and the violation of human rights in these countries, and shows up the undemocratic nature of their legal and political systems.

I.C.

1. See, Sidney Bidwell, *Red, White and Black Racial Harmony in Britain.* London, Gordon and Cremonesi, 1976, p. 15.
2. In 1977, as reported by the Washington Bureau of Statistics, among the 25 million Americans subsisting below the 'poverty line' there were 7.6 million Black people, i.e., more than 30 per cent (excluding other representatives of the Black population).
3. A similar picture was presented by the magazine *U.S. News & World Report,* which pointed out that in October 1977 unemployment among the able-bodied Black population stood at 15 per cent, compared with 6.1 per cent among white Americans (*U.S. News & World Report,* December 5, 1977, p. 23).

Understanding Marxism

A CANADIAN INTRODUCTION

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Neo-nazism and neo-fascism today

Thirty-three years ago Europe heard the final shots of the Second World War. Amid the ruins of defeated Berlin the representatives of Hitler's High Command signed the act of nazi Germany's unconditional surrender. In the third of a century that has passed since then the people of Europe by their hard work work have wiped out the traces of that murderous and destructive war. The trenches and anti-tank ditches have gone under the plough. Cities and villages have risen from the ruins. The leaves are rustling again where once the forest roared with flames. A generation that has never heard the rumbling of advancing tanks or the scream of artillery shells has grown up and set out on its road in life.

The wounds of war have healed. But the memory of it has not healed, and should not heal. Those who today recall the millions who died in the fight against fascism are not moved by a desire for revenge. Their motive is to put an end to all attempts to resolve international conflicts by force of arms, to prevent a new and even more terrible disaster.

The danger of such a disaster is still very real. And one of its sources is the desire of the most reactionary imperialist circles, faced by the deepening economic, political and moral crisis of capitalism, to turn for salvation to the experience of Hitler and Mussolini, to bring back nazism and fascism — in new forms, perhaps, but with all its inherent hatred of humanity intact.

'Fascism is still alive,' the Danish journalists Xenrik Krüger and Niels Levinsen write in their book *Fascism's International Network Today*. 'It has merely changed its clothing and adapted to the new situation.' Echoes of a sinister past are awakened by the bombs planted by fascist terrorists, by the political provocations of the neo-nazi organizations, by the turbid flood of literary and cinema 'documents' whitewashing fascism, Hitler's war, and the nazi atrocities, by contemporary racist theories and the actual practice of genocide. But no matter what forms nazism and fascism may take today, they are still based, as ever, on diehard anti-communism. The

very same anti-communism that Thomas Mann, the German humanist, rightly described as 'the greatest folly of our epoch.'

In this article we do not claim to analyze the causes that are regenerating fascism and nazism. We have set ourselves the more modest task of illustrating by what seems to us the most striking examples the organizational forms in which this is happening at present in countries of the capitalist world. We want to draw attention to the activities of the right-extremist organizations that threaten democracy and peace. That this danger really exists is attested by the statement made by Herman Santa Cruz, a member of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which stresses that 'in recent times influential forces that support, spread and in some cases practise an ideology similar in many respects to that of nazism have made their existence felt in various parts of the world.'

The facts cited below fully confirm Cruz's fears. They also confirm the relevance of his proposal to set up a commission that would 'make a special investigation of the question of the revival of nazism and fascism.' There can be no doubt that if this commission were set up, its files would rapidly be filled with data testifying to the activization of the 'influential forces' preaching and practising the ideas of nazism and fascism.

Since for objective and subjective reasons the nazi ideology is making itself particularly felt today in the FRG, and also because the right-radical and fascist-type groups operating in many countries of the capitalist world are spiritually if not organizationally linked with analogous West German movements, we shall begin with the *Federal Republic of Germany*.

Neo-nazi trends in the FRG are to be found at various levels and manifest themselves in all kinds of ways. It is not just a matter of the organizations involving former members of Hitler's National Socialist Party (NSDAP) or led by the tail-enders of nazism. There are several groups of the 'new right,' whose supporters even reject some of the elements of the nazi programs. But their political guidelines are essentially still based on the fascist ideology. Admittedly, they camouflage themselves. For example, instead of Hitler's call to set up a 'new order' in Europe they promote the idea of a 'national Europe.' The inhuman theories of racism are masked by talk about the 'biological values' of this or that people. The revival of nazism is also encouraged substantially by some parties on the right of the political spectrum (the Christian-Social Union headed by Franz Josef Strauss, for instance), and also by several mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, especially those belonging to the Springer Concern.

The monthly *Internationale Politik and Wirtschaft* (IPW) reported in September 1977 that there are 300 such organizations in the FRG

which must be classified as neo-fascist. A report of the Department for Protection of the FRG Constitution stated that in 1975 right-radical fascist-type organizations were distributing 121 periodicals with a total circulation approaching 250,000.

The biggest of these organizations, set up in 1964, is the National-Democratic Party (NDP), which in 1975 had about 15,000 members. Its program is so close to the ideology of hitlerism that even a West German court classified the NDP as a neo-nazi organization. And no wonder, since 60 per cent of its foundation members had in the past been members of the NSDAP.

According to some observers, the federation of neo-fascist groups known as the Deutsche Volksunion (German People's Union) is extending its influence. The union's ideologue and organizer is Gerhard Frey, publisher of the *Deutsche National-Zeitung* with a circulation of 160,000. Besides spreading virulent anti-democratic and anti-Semitic views that paper goes all the way in backing Franz Josef Strauss and advocates formation of a new, ultra-conservative party around him. This is a way of building a bridge between the Christian-Social Union and right-wing extremism.

Of the groups trying to revive and perpetuate the militarist spirit of Hitler's Wehrmacht first mention should be made of HIAG (Mutual Assistance Association of Soldiers of the SS), which has about 300,000 members. It is based on a wide net of organizations in the FRG itself and in many other countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Holland). These former SS men spread their views through the newspaper *Freiwillige* and the magazines *Deutsche Nachrichten* and *Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung,* which are edited by the former SS man Erich Kernmayer. Incidentally, Kernmayer is an active contributor to the paper put out by the above-mentioned German People's Union. HIAG is closely linked with the Soldiers' Associations that have been proliferating of late. There is no denying their arrogance. They are even registered under the names of their former SS formations — Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler, etc.

The next big revanchist-type group is the Federation of Expellees, which is made up of the Landsmannschaften and has financial and political backing in Bonn. Their political orientation is shaped by former Hitlerites and those who in pre-war years and during the war organized nazi 'fifth column' operations in various countries of Europe. Their chief and perhaps their only aim is to revise the results of the Second World War. The most numerous and most aggressive of these organizations is the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft, notorious for its revanchist provocations against the socialist countries (it is headed by Walter Becher, a former high-placed nazi and now a CSS member of the Bundestag). The Landsmannschaften

belonging to the Federation of Expellees claim a membership of two million. The circulation of their publications runs to one and a half million.

The ties between the neo-nazi groups and the state apparatus, including the Bundeswehr, have aroused justifiable concern among West German democratic opinion. For instance, 98 per cent of the senior officers of the present West German armed forces served at one time in Hitler's Wehrmacht. We shall mention only Bundeswehr general Franz Josef Schulze, who received the nazi 'Ritter Kreuz' (Knight's Cross) in 1944, and is now the NATO Commander-in-Chief in Central Europe, and Karl Schnell, who held high command posts during the war, and is now a state secretary in the FRG Ministry of Defense. The West German democratic press has often protested fiercely against the participation of Bundeswehr servicemen in SS gatherings, and also the presence of HIAG representatives at maneuvers of the West German armed forces.

According to well documented reports, there are former nazis working in the FRG today as teachers, judges, and civil servants. Many ranking West German policemen in the past held leading posts in the SS troops.

The canker of neo-nazism is to be found on other soil besides that of West Germany. It has sprung up since the war in many parts of the capitalist world. The present economic and political crisis has created a macro-climate favorable to its rapid growth. Here is a brief run-down on neo-nazism and neo-fascism in several countries.*

Fascism in *Italy* is still alive and presents a serious danger to the country's democratic development. The most influential fascist grouping today is the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), although in recent years its influence has tended to decline. For instance, in the 1976 parliamentary elections it polled 2.5 per cent less votes than in the previous elections (6.12 per cent and 8.68 per cent respectively) and lost 32 seats. Following that there was a split in the MSI, resulting in the emergence of what is known as the Democrazia Nazionale, claiming to be a 'democratic' and 'constitutional' party. (Last March this party voted for confidence in the Andreotti government, which was supported by the communists and other democratic parties.)

It should be borne in mind that fascist elements are also active outside Parliament, operating illegally. The situation is complicated by the fact that some terrorist gangs, hiding behind 'left' rhetoric, actually link up with the right extremists. Recent times have seen intensified activity of the Red Brigades, Groups of the Armed Proletariat and other such organizations with pseudo-revolutionary names. In the first three months of this year alone 815 terrorist acts

*For information on fascism in Latin America see *WMR*, April 1978, p. 103.

were recorded in Italy, resulting in 13 dead (including 6 police) and 205 injured.

Both black and 'red' terrorists, and those who are behind them, have one and the same goal: change the existing structure of the state and the political situation, a feature of which is the growing influence of the working class and all working people and the emergence of a real opportunity for the working class to come to the leadership of the country. This conclusion is borne out by the kidnapping of Aldo Moro, the CDP leader, just at a time when the communists had joined the government's parliamentary majority, which had been in no small measure due to the political realism of that politician.

Many right-extremist groups operating in the *United States* actually call themselves 'National Socialist,' deliberately emphasizing their spiritual ties with hitlerite fascism. There are about 100 such organizations in the USA. The most influential of them (the American Nazi Party, the National Socialist Party of America, the National Socialist White Workers' Party, and the United White People's Party), coordinate their actions and infiltrate the major political parties, the political lobbies, Congress and business circles, and recruit supporters in the CIA and FBI.

After a long lull the rightist forces in *France* have become active again. For example the OAS, which plotted the overthrow of the government in 1961 and was disbanded in 1962-63, has started operating illegally. New groupings have been built up on its basis, notably the extremely aggressive 'New Order.' Banned in 1973, it re-emerged under the name 'Faire Front.' The Citizens' Action Service, which is said to enjoy government protection, has between five and 10 thousand well-trained members stationed all over France. It has its own telephone and telex communications network, which can operate even in the event of a general strike, and a training camp in the neighborhood of Nice. It has enough weapons to arm not less than 50,000 people. Reuters reports that in all there were 30 neo-fascist groups operating in France at the end of 1977.

Neo-fascism and right radicalism in *Austria* are closely associated with the chauvinistic idea of 'Greater Germany.' Naturally, the Austrian organizations of this kind are mostly branches of the West German neo-nazi groups and parties.

The Austrian Gymnastics Union, which has about 75,000 members, is the focal point of elements professing various 'Greater German' aspirations, which the neo-fascists and right extremists do all they can to cultivate. A no less powerful organization with a following inspired by German nationalism is the 'Serve Carinthia' movement. Its activities are directed mainly against the Slovenes living in southern Austria.

In 1974, a National Ideological Center was set up in Vienna. As its organizers have declared, its purpose is 'to become a spiritual center for all national groupings and organizations supporting the idea of a common nation.' In other words, it advocates a new Anschluss of Austria. It is headed by former prominent nazis, and also by some notorious neo-nazis.

In *Belgium* the extreme right forces have a traditional stronghold in Flanders. This is encouraged to a considerable extent by the policy of the Belgian big bourgeoisie, which aggravates Flemish-Walloon contradictions. Neo-fascist views are openly advocated mainly by the Flemish National Party and the Flemish Republican Party, which at the close of 1977 broke away from the People's Union, the leading Flemish nationalist organization. The neo-nazi group 'Defend Yourself!' operating in the Flemish regions is headed by former SS man Bert van Boghout. The 'Flemish Military Union' is built on the pattern of the Hitler stormtrooper detachments.

Neo-fascist activity in Belgium, however, is not limited to Flanders. The 'movement for the return of Degrelle' was launched in Belgium in the 50s. It was made up of members of the 'Walloon Legion of Former SS Soldiers.' (Leon Degrelle, the former leader of the Belgian fascists, who fled from Belgium after the defeat of hitlerism, had during the war commanded a volunteer unit of the SS.) In the mid-60s the Belgian neo-nazis set up the Belgian Section of the World-Wide National Socialist Union. It consists of three sections — the Flemish National Socialist Union, the Walloon National Socialist Union and the National Socialist People's Union.

Extreme right-wing organizations have stepped up their activity recently in *Britain*. A vicious racism is their most typical feature. The leading fascist-type organization, set up in 1966, is the National Front. Organizationally it consists of 64 autonomous sections and 125 local groups. At the general election in June 1970 its 10 candidates polled only a little over 11,000 votes; in February 1974, it put up 54 candidates, who won over 76,000 votes, and at the emergency election in the October of the same year nearly 115,000 votes were cast for the 90 National Front candidates. At the next election the Front expects to field 318 candidates.

Right now the National Front is trying to extend its influence over the young people. A pamphlet for members of the Young National Front, which it recently founded, tells students how to spot a 'red teacher' and how to counter 'indoctrination with Marxist thought.' Formation of a trade union group is also under consideration. Its object, as Front leader John Tyndall has stated, will be 'to oppose the red element in the unions.'

Political parallels are naturally liable to over-simplification, but the

relationship between the National Front and some of the British Tory leaders significantly resembles the already mentioned ties that the neo-fascist forces in the FRG and Italy have with the conservative circles in those countries. This is noticeable in the present line taken by the Conservative leader Margaret Thatcher. In anticipation of a general election she is trying to consolidate the positions of her party by unscrupulously exploiting the deliberately fanned racist prejudice against immigrant workers from Britain's former colonies. As Merlyn Rees, the Home Secretary, said recently, Thatcher in this respect is 'moving toward the attitudes and policies of the National Front.'

In *Turkey* the fascist-type elements are rallied around the Nationalist Movement Party. The Grey Wolves, groups directed by that party (and their membership exceeds eight thousand), are responsible for numerous terrorist acts against progressives not only in Turkey, but also outside it.

Special mention should be made of the situation in the countries that until not long ago were bastions of fascism in Europe. Although fascism has been defeated there, its roots have still not been removed. The situation in these countries is most clearly illustrated by the reluctance of the bourgeois governments to eradicate the remnants of fascism, particularly in the administrative machinery. In *Portugal,* for example, the activities of only 4,177 of the more than 200,000 officials of the fascist state have been investigated, and only a few of these were removed from their posts. The state apparatus in *Greece,* despite pressure from the democratic forces, has not been cleaned up either. Many fascist criminals who had been condemned to life imprisonment are now at liberty. The government has allowed former supporters of the 'Black colonels' to set up the extreme right-wing National People's Party. In *Spain* about 100 pro-Franco groups are operating openly.

Neo-fascist leaders of all shades are becoming increasingly determined in their drive to coordinate their actions on the international scene. 'Judging by everything,' writes the magazine *Afrique-Asie,* 'the fascist international, which is deepening and strengthening the long existing ties between the most aggressive reactionary forces of Europe, seems to have embarked upon the path of organizationally strengthening and intensifying its activities.'

One of the key tasks confronting the ideologues and practitioners of neo-fascism is to create a more favorable moral and political climate for their subversive activity. They would like to whitewash the discredited images of nazism and fascism, and persuade the public to forget their atrocities.

Western Europe and the United States have been hit by a wave of adulation for everything connected with The Hitler period. Publishers

specializing in memoirs of the bosses of the Third Reich, their colleagues and families, have mushroomed in the FRG and several other countries. At the October 1977 Frankfurt (Main) book fair literally hundreds of nazi-nostalgia books were displayed. This shady campaign has been augmented by firms producing discs of SS Military Music, 'German Documentary Recordings,' the speeches of the leaders of the Third Reich, and so on. A craze is being fostered for fascist badges, buttons, the belongings of the former nazi leaders and other 'relics' of hitlerism.

More insidious are the 'scientific studies' claiming historical impartiality. The biography of Hitler by the West German historian Joachim Fest is only one example. The main thesis of this 1,190-page book and the 'documentary' film based on it ('Hitler — A Career') is that Hitler's fascism was by no means the logical consequence of the policies of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, but an aberration from that policy. This falsification of political history has been picked up enthusiastically by certain individuals in the West. Educational authorities in West Berlin, for example, made the showing of this film a compulsory part of the curriculum.

Such propaganda is aimed mainly at the young people, who for some years now have been undergoing a process of psychological softening up calculated to wipe out their 'political memory.' The results of this brainwashing of a whole generation that never had direct experience of nazism are seen in the evidence provided in Dieter Bossmann's book *What I Have Heard About Hitler*. It analyzes the answers of 3,000 school-children aged 11-19, in all types of FRG schools about their view of Hitler. Students wrote: 'Adolf Hitler was a leader of NATO'; 'He was something like a king'; 'He was a leader of German democracy.' Some even thought that 'Hitler pursued a communist policy which corresponded with the policy of the GDR'; others imagined that he 'represented the Socialist Party,' and so on.

The conclusion is self-evident: thanks to the efforts of pro-nazi 'educators' the memories of a substantial part of West German youth about the Hitler period in German history have been reduced to a blank page where anything may be written. And the ideologists of neo-nazism are bent on filling that page.

The only answer to the question of whether fascism exists today is that it does. We have described a few of its most blatant manifestations. Often enough it wears a mask and goes to great lengths to deny its spiritual progenitors. But though this may make it difficult to recognize the heirs of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Salazar and their ilk, it sooner or later becomes apparent that any form of right-radical movement has its roots in the most diehard nazism and fascism.

The renewed activity of right extremism today is by no means a chance event. It is viewed with hope and encouraged by the bosses of monopoly capital, who still refuse to recognize the irreversibility of the objective laws of historical development predicting the collapse of capitalism. The monopolists' aims are well served by contemporary fascism with its reactionary theories and nationalism in the sphere of ideology, its advocacy of armed forces in politics, and its social demagogy and terrorism in practice. They calculate that in the context of extreme aggravation of the economic and socio-political situation in the capitalist world the right extremists have fresh opportunities to penetrate philistine circles in town and country, in other words, to create a broad base for their activities. They are banking, specifically, on the philistine's fear of the desire of national minorities for equal rights, on his pathologically acute private property instincts, on his subconscious worship of 'strong government' and belief that only a 'strong personality' can solve his problems.

At the same time we would warn against overestimating the potentialities of fascism today. The emergence and consolidation of the socialist community, and the steadily growing influence of the communist and working-class movement have radically altered the political situation in the world. Now it is something quite different from what it was in the years before the Second World War. Nevertheless, concern for the social and economic progress of humanity, concern for peace, prompts us to be constantly on guard against the intrigues of the ideologues and practitioners of extremism and to expose them. It is not in doubt that the democratic forces and their bulwark, the working class, are capable of isolating these extremists and defeating their reactionary plans.

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According to official sources

WORDS AND DEEDS

Among the numerous promises made by Jimmy Carter during the election campaign, and later, when he became president, was an obligation gradually to cut back American arms deliveries abroad. The President was 'concerned' by the U.S. role as 'the world's leading arms salesman.' His concern was well grounded. U.S. expert Richard D. Lyons writes: 'From Northern Ireland to the Philippines, in thousands of conflicts people were killed by weapons whose manufacture brought profits to American firms.'[1] Between 1950 and 1976 the United States sold abroad more than $110,000 million worth of weapons. In the fiscal years of 1971 through 1975, U.S. arms deliveries to foreign countries shot up almost eight-fold.

Arms merchandise last year again gave the U.S. the 'questionable honor'[2] of being the globe's champion arms peddler. In the 1976-77 fiscal year U.S. monopolies shipped to foreign countries weapons to the tune of $11,200 million. This means that every other deal involving the sale of arms in 1977 was made with the U.S. taking part. Between May and October last year the U.S. government approved about 45 transactions with 18 countries valued at over $4,000 million. In February 1978 Secretary of State Cyrus Vance announced the U.S. decision to sell 90 warplanes to Israel, 50 to Egypt and 60 to Saudi Arabia, total cost $4,800 million.

The Administration has also failed to keep another promise, that the U.S. would no longer be a 'first supplier' of advanced weapons to any region. Recently the U.S. government adopted a decision to grant Iran's request for seven Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft, at a price of $109 million each. *Time* calls the aircraft 'one of the most sophisticated warplanes in the U.S. arsenal.'[3]

In a bid to put himself right with the public the U.S. President placed an $8,600 million ceiling for 1978 on all weapons transfers abroad. But, according to U.S. press reports, the arms transfers are not going to decrease this year but will rise toward an estimated $13,200 million as compared to the 1977 figure. It appears that the figure cited by Carter does not include the transfers to the NATO

allies, contracts on the construction of military installations, agreements on training military personnel and other 'services' rendered to foreign governments. Thus, the actual figure exceeds the official by nearly $5,000 million. One cannot deny the conclusion made in the congressional research service study that 'U.S. arms transfers continue to occur on a routine basis.'[4]

So, who are the main customers of the USA for such a dangerous commodity? First of all, the regimes openly flouting human rights, which Washington so zealously 'protects.' A recent report by the U.S. State Department on human rights in the countries receiving U.S. aid or purchasing U.S. arms puts it straight that Israel violates the rights of the Arab population on occupied territories. Nevertheless, Tel Aviv will receive in the coming fiscal year $1,000 million from the USA for purchasing weapons. All in all, the U.S. has shipped to Israel $7,000 million worth of weaponry in the past six years. Moreover, last year Washington signed contracts on arms transfers to Iran, Saudi Arabia and Israel to the tune of $8,160 million. Among their purchases: a $613 million helicopter base for Iran, a $420 million naval installation for the Saudis and tanks, armored personnel carriers and anti-tank missiles for Israel.

The example of the South Korean puppet regime, this notorious symbol of terror and repression, is most typical. This is recognized to some extent by the authors of the above-mentioned study. Limitation of political freedoms, it says, is at the core of the human rights issue in South Korea, and surveillance of the regime's opponents is as intense as it ever was. By law, both the Administration and Congress should take into account instances of human rights violations when granting aid. But in the coming fiscal year the South Korean regime will get $227 million in military aid and in the next five years the U.S. intends to grant this regime about $2,000 million as credits and free arms supplies.

Although it is admitted in the study that serious human rights violations had been registered in a number of Latin American countries, in particular in Nicaragua, some congressmen are demanding that the Somoza regime get $2.5 million worth of weapons.[5]

The U.S. public knows too well that word and deed seldom tally in the White House. However, more critical voices are heard in Washington on the arms transfer issue. They state that the arms deals whip up the arms race and increase the danger of military conflicts, which can suddenly lead to a U.S. involvement in an armed conflict between foreign countries, with all the ensuing consequences for the cause of universal peace.

N.K.

1. *Der Spiegel*, No. 52, 1975, p. 89.
2. *Time*, February 13, 1978, p. 27.
3. *Ibidem*.
4. *Ibidem*.
5. During the recent anti-government action in Nicaragua the national guard was using U.S.-made aircraft, armored carriers and heavy artillery against the demonstrators. Many people were killed. — *Ed.*

The strike movement in the developed capitalist countries

(1977 — beginning of 1978)

Readers will receive this issue of the *WMR* at a time when working people across the world will be celebrating May Day, the festival of international proletarian solidarity, a day when the working class, all working people take stock of what has been gained in the fight for their rights, for social progress, democracy and socialism. The labor movement is becoming an ever more active factor in international development.

The following figures (taken from the ILO year-book) show the growing scale of these class clashes in which the leading role is played by the proletariat.

*Number of participants in strikes in the developed capitalist countries**

1973	17,409,947
1974	21,540,222
1975	24,154,765
1976	27,511,635

*Figures do not include participants in national protest days.

Summary statistics on the strike movement in 1977 were not available when this issue of the journal was going to press, but the reports on individual countries indicate that last year the strike struggle in the capitalist countries also reached a high level of intensity. At the end of January, 1978, for instance, the *Financial Times* cited the following facts. The number of working days lost in Britain owing to strikes in 1977 was three times the figure for 1976 (9,985,000 in 1977 against 3,284,000 in 1976), and the total number of strikers also increased.[1] In

the USA, between January and November 1977, there were nearly 5,600 strikes with a resultant loss of about 35 million working days. The number of working days lost through strikes also increased in Italy. In January 1978 it was nearly double the figure for the equivalent period in 1977 (3.7 million against 1.9 million).

The scale of the strike struggle varies from country to country, of course. This is confirmed by EEC statistics on working days lost through strikes in the nine EEC countries in 1976. The totals were 1,192 per thousand workers in Italy, 298 in France, 288 in Belgium, 150 in Britain and 111 in Denmark. The clashes between capital and labor in most of the developed capitalist countries show that the monopolies have not succeeded in imposing the much-publicized "social peace" on the working people. Ever broader sections of the masses are being drawn into the movement. They rally round the working class, use its forms of struggle and are receptive to the political assessments of the communist parties.

Some characteristic features of strike action have shown a tendency to occur more and more frequently in these countries in recent years, and particularly in 1977 and the beginning of 1978.

One of the most typical of these features is the making of socio-economic demands containing resolute protests against mass dismissals and the continuing rise in unemployment. The following facts indicate the increasingly massive scale of unemployment in the crisis-ridden capitalist countries. According to statistics published in January 1978, unemployment in the 24 capitalist countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development reached 16.3 million, or 5.4 per cent, in September 1977, compared with 15.6 million in the first quarter of the year. This is twice the figure for 1973. Available forecasts indicate that the trend of rising unemployment will be maintained this year. No wonder the fight for employment, for a policy that would create new jobs and cut down unemployment is becoming an indispensable element in strike action.

Important and timely though they may be, these demands are not the only ones, of course. Commenting on a strike involving 900,000 at state-owned and private enterprises in Italy at the end of April 1977, *L'Unita* noted that "the basic nucleus of the Italian working class poses by its struggle a whole series of problems that coincide with those that have to be solved by the political forces to bring the country out of the crisis." Stressing that this refers not merely to wage claims, the paper states, "There are other fundamental problems that have to do with the organization of labor, creation of jobs, and investment policy."[2]

Another no less important feature of the strike struggle in the capitalist world is its increasingly mass character. For example, at the

end of April 1977 a massive strike involving 3 million workers affected many cities in France, and on May 24, 1977, the whole of France was gripped by a general strike. Factories stopped work, gas and electricity were cut off, postal services and public transport ceased to function and state and municipal offices were closed. Eight million people downed tools. In a comment on this strike CGT General Secretary Georges Seguy stated, "We are in the midst of an unprecedented event for the trade unions of our country both from the point of view of worker participation in the strike and of the unity achieved. Virtually the whole of working France has come out against capitalist France in the name of social justice, progress and democracy."[3] In December 1977 France saw yet another major strike involving millions of French workers with unity as the keynote.

On the other side of the Alps, in Italy, big strikes making for unity and bringing millions of blue- and white-collar workers from many branches of Italian industry into the struggle were organized throughout 1977. The Italian working people demand economic and social policies that would increase investment and boost production. At the same time they expressed their indignation at the attempts of the reactionary and anarchist forces to create an atmosphere of terror and undermine the Italian people's anti-fascist gains.

As we have noted, 1977 was a year of increased strike action for Britain. As an example of one of the most widespread mass actions of the British working people one could cite the March 1977 action in Britain's major cities in defense of workers' rights, which, to quote the *Morning Star,* was "the biggest demonstration of labor movement strength since the 1971 actions."[4] In the FRG at the beginning of 1978 the strike of West German dockers, the biggest for a quarter of a century, paralyzed the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Emden, Cuxhaven, and Lübeck. And finally, in reporting on the mass, unity-makng character of the actions of the working people of the capitalist countries we must note the traditional form of struggle of the Japanese proletariat — their spring offensives. Millions of employees of state and municipal enterprises, of the metallurgical, engineering and chemical industries, transport and other branches of the Japanese economy took part in the strike battles of spring 1977.

Long strikes are another feature of the current strike movement. The strikers often have to fight long and hard for satisfaction of their legitimate demands. In the past year there were many such drawn-out battles between labor and capital. In August 1977, for instance 17,000 workers in the ironfields and ore-enrichment plants of Michigan and Minnesota, which produce more than 60 per cent of U.S. industrial raw material, launched a strike that lasted several months. And in early December of the same year 160,000 coal miners in 22 states of

the USA embarked on a struggle for their demands that was also to continue for many months.

The men of the United Mine Workers' Union had to face the bitter resistance of the coal miners and the open pressure and blackmail of the government, followed up by the threat to apply the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act. In this connection a statement by the U.S. Communist Party points out that this coordinated attack by the administration and the monopolies on the coal miners is part of the general offensive against all organized labor, against the very right of the workers to set up unions.

February 1978 saw the end of the longest and most massive strike in the history of Turkey's labor movement. For eight months 40,000 metallurgical workers had fought courageously for their legitimate demands. The workers, peasants and all of Turkey's progressives, as well as working people and trade unions in other countries, displayed solidarity with the strikers and gave them material and moral support. The strikers' tenacity and the proletarian solidarity on the part of other working people were crowned with victory: the strikers won satisfaction of most of their demands, including a substantial increase in wages.

Two further examples of the working people's long and stubborn struggle come from France. In August 1977 the labor conflict at the *Parisien Libéré,* the longest in the history of the Paris press, ended in victory for the strikers. After 28 months of struggle the workers of the paper's printing plant forced the employers to retreat. The victorious strike of workers at the Saint Malo shipyards, which builds fishing boats, lasted 652 days. In a tough and protracted struggle the strikers relied on the unfailing and versatile support of their class brothers.

Proletarian solidarity, which gives the strikers strength and faith in victory, has been a major feature of the strike campaign throughout the history of the labor movement. The class battles of 1977 and early 1978 provided many illustrations of such solidarity. Film processing workers at the London firm of Grunwick were on strike for many months from August 1976. They were given repeated support by other workers. In June 1977 several unions belonging to the Trades Union Congress organized a week of solidarity with the strikers. The picket lines at the factory gates were manned by workers not only from London but from all over Britain. And the following month working-class Britain again expressed its solidarity with the Grunwick strikers. In London on July 11 many thousands of workers joined in a national demonstration in support of the strike.

On April 8, 1977, a nationwide strike was declared by 18,000 French dockers in support of the port workers of Dunkirk, who had been on strike since March 10, to force the Usinor metallurgical

monopoly to abide by their collective agreements. In all French ports the workers showed their solidarity by refusing to unload ships carrying iron ore and coke for the Usinor factories. The already mentioned strike of port workers of the eight major ports of the Federal Republic, which took place in January 1978, ended in victory for the workers and satisfaction of their demands. They had been supported by the dockers of France, the Netherlands and Belgium. The West German communists' paper *Unsere Zeit* wrote during the strike that the port workers were fighting not only for their rights. If they forced the employers to retreat, it would help the struggle of the Baden-Würtemberg engineering workers and the iron and steel workers of the Ruhr. In many countries of Western Europe there were meetings and demonstrations of solidarity with the working people and patriots fighting the fascist and reactionary regimes in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and South Africa.

The determination and courage of the strikers, their reliance on the solidarity of their class brothers, their refusal to back down in the face of threats and blackmail by the owners and the authorities, are among the chief factors that have brought them success in the class clashes with capital. The victory of the printing workers on the *Parisien libéré* after months of struggle was made possible because, among other things, French printing workers contributed 10 per cent of their wages to the strike fund over a period of two years. Notable successes were also won by strikers in the FRG, Italy, France, the USA, Spain, Belgium, Japan and other developed capitalist countries.

Present-day events show that in the course of these actions ever more resolute resistance is mounted against militant reaction, authoritarian trends, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The communist and workers' parties are always in the vanguard of the class struggle. Indomitable fighters against imperialism, the communists defend the cause of the working class and all working people.

Leone Soroni

1. *Financial Times,* January 27, 1978.
2. *L'Unita,* April 28, 1977.
3. *L'Humanité,* May 25, 1977.
4. *Morning Star,* March 10, 1977.

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