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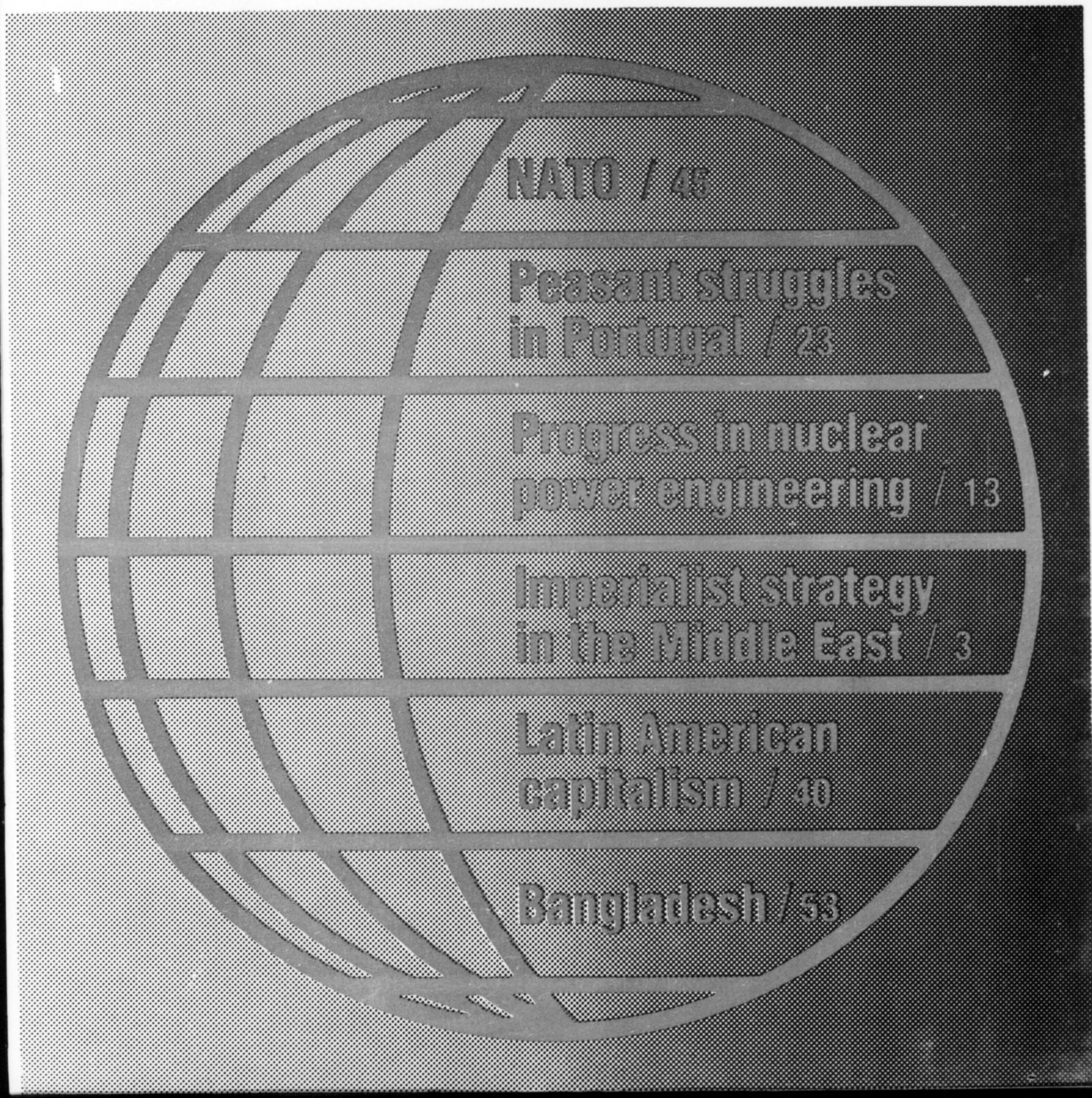

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NOTE TO READERS

This issue of *World Marxist Review* introduces a new format made necessary by the rising costs of publication. We are pleased with the changes and hope the readers will find the new format equally satisfactory.

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feature

Imperialist strategy and the Middle East problem

Nicolas Chaoui
General Secretary, CC Lebanese CP

During major social upheavals there is a certain logic to imperialism's behavior on the world scene. It uses military or both military and political means to resist every advance of the revolution. It has done so in the case of many anti-colonial revolutions. Wars provoked by colonialists in the late 40s and in the 50s and 60s involved Southeast Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Hardly had Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, thereby setting the course of the Egyptian revolution, when Britain, France and Israel attacked his country. No sooner had the people of the Congo won freedom, with their leader, Patrice Lumumba, showing his resolve to achieve genuine independence by going beyond neo-colonial 'decolonization' (a fate that befell many African countries at the time), than a fratricidal war was provoked in the country.

Nor are the 70s, marked by a powerful upswing of social liberation movements, an exception to the above rule. Moreover, the stronger these movements are in some regions of Africa and Asia, the more pronounced becomes the trend toward greater tensions. The interconnection is direct. Revolutionary developments in South Africa have forced imperialism to change its neo-colonialist maneuvering tactics. At the same time, imperialism has intensified its military and political presence in Africa, and instances of imperialist aggression using mercenaries and of other provocations against the liberation movement on the continent have gained in frequency. Immediately after the revolution in Ethiopia, imperialism's trans-Atlantic impresarios tried to create a flashpoint in the Red Sea area. At the moment tensions are being built up in the Persian Gulf — a reaction to the events in Iran. To counter the growing cohesion of the progressive forces of Arab countries exemplified by the formation of the Pan-Arab People's Congress and the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, attempts are being made to impose Pax Americana on the Middle East, aggravate the situation in Lebanon, and precipitate local conflicts between the two Yemens and between Algeria and Morocco.

Imperialism has no intention of renouncing its tough line in regard to revolutions seeking national and social liberation. Henry Kissinger, for one, makes it plain enough. 'I believe,' he said, 'that it's not possible to have a relaxation of tensions while the geopolitical balance is being shifted against us. The complex of events in Angola, Ethiopia, Southern Yemen and Afghanistan creates a geopolitical pattern which, whether intended or not, has the objective consequence of outflanking the Middle East and demonstrating U.S. impotence to affect events. It therefore demoralizes those leaders around the world whose security has depended on friendship with the United States.'*

However, the policy of aggravating the situation in areas of revolutionary ferment does not rule out but, in fact, implies the parallel use of other, non-military means. Speaking generally, imperialist policy in the 70s has probably displayed greater variety than ever in the use of new methods of influencing some developing countries in our region and elsewhere. In this period, the Arab East has not been an object of direct acts of imperialist intervention comparable to those mounted against Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan in the 50s. But it is precisely in the past decade that an imperialist and neo-colonial offensive unprecedented in strength and complexity has been going on against Arab countries. Its military aspect has been entrusted to Israel, which systematically resorts to aggression. More extensively than ever, the imperialists have used pressure on progressive Arab states from reactionary Arab regimes, primarily the Saudi regime. Methods of destabilizing progressive governments, that is, of undermining them from within, have been applied not only against Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia but against Syria, Iraq, Algeria, Libya and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In collaboration with Israel and home reaction, imperialism provoked a civil war in Lebanon intended to deliver crippling blows to the Lebanese patriotic movement and the Palestine Resistance Movement, and made ample use of the services of Arab quislings. A statement released by our party notes that Lebanon's isolationists, who closely coordinate their activity with the United States, Sadat, Israel and Saudi Arabia, are now trying to turn our country into an arena for new U.S. conspiracies.**

Imperialism tries to deal with the relative dwindling of opportunities for a counter-revolutionary offensive not by the crude methods of the

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**International Herald Tribune*, December 6, 1978.

***On April 18, just before this issue went to press, Saad Haddad, the South Lebanese reactionary leader, declared that the border area occupied by his followers with Israeli aid was henceforth an 'independent state.' — Ed.*

past, but through increasing coordination of the policy of the big capitalist powers. At the moment the Carter administration is doing its best to talk the EEC countries and Japan into paying part of the price of Sadat's treason. Synchronized and coordinated action by the imperialists and Maoists is another line.

The policy of the imperialist powers and that of China's Maoist leadership toward the national-liberation movement have much in common as to principles and follow an almost identical course. In pursuing its hegemonist aims, Peking does not at all hasten to the aid of progressive forces showing real patriotism at home and independence in international affairs, but aids those whom the Maoists can bribe and on whom they can impose at least some of their views, principles and propaganda sterotypes, taking advantage of the pseudo-revolutionary sentiments of certain sectors. No wonder that in some cases the imperialists and Maoists bank on the same type of politician, such as Roberto or Savimbi of Angola, Pinochet of Chile, or Mobutu of Zaire, whom Peking undertook recently to help in the training of commando units. Nor should one discount the Peking leaders' friendship with the ex-shah, any more than their support of Nimeiri's repressive measures against Sudanese communists.

Foreign-inspired attempts to foment in the Afro-Asian liberation movement, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, and hatred for the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, have assumed unprecedented proportions. Imperialism and Peking are at one in this. While the fierce imperialist-Zionist-Sadatist campaign under way in the region is one part of the general imperialist offensive in the world, its other part is, as our party sees it, China's aggression against the SRV, its preparations for an attack on Laos, and its campaign of hostility against the Soviet Union.

In our region home reaction, directly abetted by both Washington and Peking, likewise banks on anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. But as they cannot ignore the square-dealing attitude of the socialist community to the liberation struggle in Asia and Africa, the reactionaries endeavor to discredit the class character of this attitude. They allege that the Soviet Union's active support of the legitimate demands of the peoples of our continents is prompted by 'rivalry between East and West' or between the 'superpowers,' and by the 'selfish interests' of the Soviet Union, which they thereby equate with U.S. imperialism.

Reaction, especially in Moslem countries, is carrying on equally vicious propaganda over the atheism of the communists, whose unrelenting struggle for the interests of their people and nation cannot be denied. Realizing the iron-clad invulnerability of the communists, who are disinterested and staunch patriots, it fights them from religious positions. As this is a matter of special importance, we must clarify it.

Islam is often seen, at least by the masses in many Moslem countries of Asia and Africa, as patriotism incarnate and renunciation of religious oppression — witness the struggle for independence in Algeria and the recent events in Iran. Indeed, colonialism has often used missionaries, whose task was to convert the indigenous population to Christianity, for carrying on its 'divide and rule' policy. This is why the less enlightened masses regard Islam as a haven helping them preserve national traditions. By identifying themselves with Islam, they are virtually rejecting imperialism and the West with its 'values' while upholding their independence and distinctiveness. For people to whom the scientific world-view is alien, Islam is the banner of struggle for independence, against imperialism.

Bourgeois ideologists cannot take an open stand against this interpretation of Islam, and so they do their utmost to strip Islam of its positive message and to mislead the masses. They resort to the aid of obscurantist fanatics to ensure that nothing is left of Islam as a weapon of the anti-imperialist struggle save religious fanaticism, which would enable them to turn it against this struggle. Now what the anti-imperialist forces, including the communists, oppose is not Islam but this manner of using it, the effort to prevent it from playing an anti-imperialist role. An illustration of the foregoing was last spring's events in Afghanistan, where agents of imperialism and Peking engineered acts of rebellion against the democratic government on the pretext of 'defending Islam.'

Imperialism's current offensive has affected the Arab liberation movement. The withdrawal of Egypt, one of the largest and most influential Arab countries, from the anti-imperialist front was a hard blow to the entire movement. Sadat's signing of the Camp David agreements, an unprecedented act of betrayal of the Arab peoples' national interests, was the logical outcome of the policy he has been pursuing ever since he came to power, a consequence of his renunciation of the progressive changes carried out in Egypt, and a case of unconditional surrender to imperialism. The signing of the disgraceful separate treaty with the Zionist government of Israel on March 26, 1979, coupled with documents that are shackling for Egypt, was the logical culmination of Sadat's degradation. By taking this step, Egyptian reaction exposed itself as an ally of imperialism and Zionism against the Arab national-liberation movement.

A joint statement released on April 8, 1979, at the conclusion of a meeting in Aden between the LCP and Yemeni Socialist Party, notes that the traitorous Camp Daivd accords and the Washington treaty are something more than a separate deal between the Sadat regime and the Zionist enemy, especially in view of the supplementary protocols and the guarantees given to Israel by the United States; they imperil all the achievements of the Arab national-liberation movement and the independence of a number of Arab countries. This dangerous collusion means rejecting the struggle of the Arab people of Pales-

tine for a return to their lands, and for the right to self-determination, and the establishment of a national state on their territory. It directly encourages the Israeli rulers' aggressive ambitions and is aimed at perpetuating Israel's occupation of Arab lands and, moreover, at expanding it.

Added to all this is a circumstance fraught with the most serious consequences. This circumstance is that the signed agreements sanctify the new role which U.S. imperialism intends to play at this decisive stage, the stage of direct confrontation with the Arab liberation struggle. Its distinctive feature is the attempt to form imperialist blocs on the pattern of the traitorous agreements formalized in Washington. Indeed, these agreements added up to a military, political and economic alignment controlled by the United States, with Israel and Egypt as rank-and-file members. The bloc is directed against the independence of Arab countries, the Arab peoples' fight for progress and unity, the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia, the forces of liberation and progress throughout the world, and the vanguard of these forces, the Soviet Union. Through this bloc the United States wants to make good for the losses resulting from the events in Iran and the disintegration of the aggressive CENTO pact and to counter the national-liberation movement. In this new alliance, *Le Monde* comments sarcastically, Israel aspires to the role of 'sole defender of the free world' in the Middle East while Egypt will have to content itself with the banal role of 'policeman of the region.'* It is most revealing that *Hsinhuu*, China's official news agency, hailed the Washington treaty.

In these circumstances, our party stresses that the signing of the capitulationist agreements by Sadat the traitor opens a new stage in the Arab peoples' struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, a stage requiring a clear-cut demarcation of the contending forces, the drawing up of an action program to achieve national-liberation goals, and the choice of ways and means of carrying on the struggle.

The LCP considers that the Arab progressive forces should take a firm stand against U.S. imperialism, which has organized the conspiracy against the Arab nation. Moreover, we call on the Arab peoples to strengthen their alliance with the socialist community and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, which plays a chief role in the fight against imperialism and is the mainstay of the Arab peoples' struggle for national liberation and social progress.

In the present situation, it would be wrong to limit oneself to vague resolutions and fiery speeches denouncing Sadat's treacherous behavior. There is a need for action. Imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, which makes common cause with them, are a serious opponent. This tripartite alliance can be defeated only if all the forces of the Arab national-liberation movement rally together. A united people cannot be vanquished.

It is necessary to establish a front of the patriotic and progressive forces of the Arab world without trying to conceal distinctions and differences of opinion, some of which go very deep, between the diverse components of the anti-imperialist movement in Arab countries. The problems that may crop up between various contingents of the Arab national-liberation movement should not be settled forcibly. The alliance of embattled Arab peoples will not be strengthened by trying to force this or that member of it off its independent path. Squabbling cannot possibly win the sympathy of the oppressed masses fighting for a better future.

The greatest danger threatening the Arab national-liberation movement is internal discord. It might paralyze the movement, with the result that it would bog down in conflicts of secondary importance demoralizing the masses and giving free rein to reaction, which, in turn, would enable it to carry out its conspiracies with the aid of imperialism and Zionism.

The task is, therefore, to set aside secondary issues and advance specific and realistic slogans making it possible to step up the fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. United fronts having a common program agreed to by all anti-imperialist forces must be set up in every Arab country and throughout the nation. After all, unity on the main issues is a more common phenomenon than disunity. This is an objective of the 11-point action program put forward by our party on the eve of the signing of the treaty (March 17, 1979). Similar views are held by other progressive forces, as the joint LCP-YSP statement mentioned earlier indicates.

The Arab national-liberation movement is as viable as ever, its main contingents retain their strength, and the revolutionary process is continuing in spite of the heavy blows dealt by imperialism, Zionism and reaction since the 1967 Israeli aggression and the gains made by this tripartite alliance, particularly after the Amman bloodshed (September 1970) and the death of the outstanding national leader Nasser; in spite of the stepped-up imperialist counter-offensive 'all along the line,' exhaustingly analyzed in the November 1970 statement of our Central Committee; in spite of, above all, the apostasy of Egypt, which Sadat has turned from a standard-bearer of the Arab, African and world national-liberation movement into one of the mainstays of imperialism in the Middle East and Africa; and hence in spite of some obvious gains by imperialism in the region.

For all its efforts, for all the sham good will displayed by it, the United States was unable to subdue the protest wave in the Arab world against Pax Americana, the Camp David agreements and the Washington treaty of Sadat, Begin and Carter. Even rulers enjoying imperialism's greatest trust, even its most loyal allies and the most rabid opponents of the Arab liberation movement, could not bring themselves to subscribe to this docked, frau-

**Le Monde*, April 8-9, 1979.

dulent 'peace' accord, which is even less than a substitute for peace. Much as they long to see the formation in the Middle East of a new bloc capable of bolstering their tottering power, they cannot disregard the scale and impact of the national-liberation movement, cannot shut their eyes to reality.

That the regimes modestly called 'moderate' denied Sadat their blessing, supported the joint decisions of the Baghdad summit (November 1978), and then agreed to extensive sanctions against Sadat's Egypt at the conference of Foreign Ministers of Arab Countries and the PLO late in March 1979 should by no means be attributed to anything like a surge of patriotic sentiment or mere intransigence to the Jews on the part of the Saudi rulers. After all, the Hashimite rulers (in Jordan and, prior to 1958, Iraq) entered, long before Sadat, into a tacit alliance with the Zionist rulers of Israel against the Palestinian people. Meetings between Hashimite and Israeli leaders, including summits, had taken place regularly since Palestine was under a British mandate. The King of Morocco mediated between Begin and Sadat and was the godfather of the 'peace' talks. This also goes for the rulers of Saudi Arabia and other countries, who do not hesitate to arm, finance and back fascist units (as in Lebanon), which are at the same time openly armed and trained by Israel and get military aid from it.

And so these rulers censure Sadat not so much for his alliance with the United States and Israel as for disregarding appearances. This is why, in condemning him and speaking of political and economic sanctions that are carefully balanced to create the impression of firmness without really hurting the Egyptian President, they are prompted not so much by political convictions as by fear of the masses. We are in the presence of vice praising virtue.

Thereby the most intransigent adversaries of the Arab national-liberation movement confirm against their will that the movement, far from weakening under the impact of the tripartite alliance of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, has grown stronger. Another, equally forceful proof of this is the staunchness of the Lebanese patriotic movement, which for four years has held its own against separatist rebels and prevented agents of imperialism, Zionism and reaction from imposing their 'settlement' of the Lebanese crisis. The rebels are unable to achieve their goals in spite of the huge funds put at their disposal and the unqualified aid of Israel, which did not scruple to overrun part of Lebanese territory so as to turn it over to armed fascist and separatist bands known as 'Christian militias.' Indeed, the influence of the patriotic movement continues to grow.

Lately we have witnessed powerful popular actions in the Arab world against Sadat's policy of betrayal. They included protest demonstrations on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip against the Camp David accords and their implications and against the separate treaty between Israel and Egypt. The administrative psuedo-autonomy envisaged by the accords and the treaty were rejected in no uncertain terms by both the Palestinians and other Arab peoples. Anger at the deal also found expression in mass actions in Lebanon that added to the staunchness of the Lebanese patriotic movement and the Palestine Resistance Movement and strengthened cooperation between them and Syria in defending the interests of the Lebanese people and the unity and territorial integrity of their country. There were large-scale actions in other Arab countries as well.

The ideas of anti-imperialist solidarity are winning increasing recognition in the Arab East, as the results of a series of major Arab meetings indicate. The Damascus summit of the Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation described the United States as an enemy and not a mediator in the Middle East and reaffirmed the need for a strategic alliance with the Soviet Union. A new important step toward anti-imperialist unity was the meeting between Syrian and Iraqi leaders, which resulted in the adoption of the Joint National Action Charter. The participants in the Baghdad summit unanimously rejected U.S. attempts to impose on them the Camp David agreements clinching Egypt's surrender. After the disgraceful Washington treaty was signed, sanctions were adopted against Egypt.

The Arab national-liberation movement is by no means on the defensive; it does not restrict itself to staunch resistance to imperialist plans and intrigues, but pushes on, winning new positions.

Socialist ideas are gaining ground among the masses in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The founding of the YSP was a historic turning point in the life of democratic Yemen and the Arab world as a whole.

The struggle of the Arab people of Palestine is becoming more radical as it expands. Demonstrations that are almost a daily occurrence in the occupied areas; the steadily growing militancy of the masses, which regard the PLO as their sole spokesman and reject any solution other than a just and durable peace recognizing the Palestinians' national rights; active solidarity of the Arab masses with the Palestinian people; the enhanced world prestige and influence of the PLO; and relations linking the PLO and the Arab national-liberation movement with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world have thwarted attempts to split the PLO or replace it by puppets claiming the role of spokesmen of the Palestinians.

The U.S. press and then Carter himself had to admit indirectly that the PLO cannot be ignored any longer. While this is no more than a ploy, which was immediately exposed by the PLO, the very fact that the U.S. President resorts to ploys of this kind is most significant.

Progressive forces in other Arab countries are undaunted by difficulties as they fight on. They often succeed in wresting appreciable concessions from their reactionary rulers.

The domestic situation even in Egypt hardly gives cause for only pessimism as far as the interests of the social revolution are concerned. There is perhaps no other country in the Arab East where the people's objective disaffection with reactionary rule — a direct consequence of the abandonment of Nasser's progressive policy — is so widespread and diversified. The poles of class differentiation in Egypt today stand out more sharply than ever since the 1952 revolution, with the domination of a clique of speculators and big bourgeois at one pole and the poverty of disinherited masses at the other. The authorities cannot silence the patriots who know what is going on. Braving repression, the Egyptian Communist Party and National Progressive Party continue to spread among the people the truth about Sadat's rule and to champion national ideas.

More and more actions are being taken by workers, students and other opponents of the regime in Tunisia, Morocco and Somalia, which Washington now includes in the 'crisis zone,' as it does Egypt.

Revolutionary ferment has reached neo-colonial preserves that until recently were isolated from the rest of the world. In Bahrain the struggle of students and trade unions has reached its highest level in ten years. In 1975 the authorities were compelled to dissolve parliament and impose martial law. Strikes also occur in Saudi Arabia, where clashes and other incidents bring whole oilfields to a standstill for weeks. In Qatar thousands of workers stopped new steel mills in 1978.

Last but not least, the Iranian revolution has introduced a fundamentally new element into the Middle East situation. The unprecedented upsurge in the anti-imperialist struggle in that country, which is close to the Arab East geographically and in culture and religion, has undoubtedly given a powerful spur to the Arab liberation struggle. The movement against the shah in Iran has openly identified itself with the Arab cause by resolving to stop oil deliveries to the Israeli aggressor and severing relations with him. The anti-Americanism of the Iranian and Arab peoples today has a common root — hatred for the policy of imperialist plunder and neo-colonial domination. The Iranian people are now a reliable ally of the Arabs in the struggle for national liberation, against imperialism.

The gains of the liberation struggle of the Middle East peoples on the anti-imperialist front are not an isolated fact.

The revolutionary battles unfolding in Africa form an impressive panorama. There, tens of millions who want to shape their destinies by themselves and are resolved to win social emancipation have rallied together under revolutionary banners. Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, the Congo, Algeria, Libya and other progressive African states have become a strong, dependable basis for increasing popular action all along the line against neo-colonialism and racism.

The peoples of southern Africa, too, have risen and scored notable gains. Their struggle was greatly stimulated by the tragic events at Soweto in 1976 and the subsequent outbreak of popular anger. In South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the masses derive inspiration from the new gains made by the resistance forces on the military and other fronts. Puppet regimes installed by colonial powers are tottering. Imperialism, primarily French imperialism, is forced to resort more and more often to direct interference, but even this is proving insufficient as a means of crushing popular struggles. In Djibouti, Chad, and other countries, the French imperialists are compelled to retreat and compromise so as not to lose everything.

The heroic Vietnamese people's victory over the world's number one imperialist power, which had to pull its troops out of South Vietnam, was a great historic event. This outstanding success — a result of staunch, unrelenting struggle — was followed by notable victories of the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, although in the latter case final liberation did not come until after the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique, which had acted unquestioningly on Peking's orders.

The working-class movement in other countries of Southeast Asia has assumed unprecedented dimensions. The youth movement is gaining in militancy. The imperialist umbrella has been unable to shelter the region from the social storms raging in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and other countries. In the mid-70s, Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, was the scene of a huge popular demonstration under anti-imperialist slogans.

Social and political struggles are intensifying in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Turkey. They were stimulated by the downfall of the regime of exploitation and oppression in Afghanistan, whose people took their fortunes into their own hands and are building a bright future with disinterested aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

I had no intention of painting an idyllic picture of the national-liberation struggle and passing over the betrayal committed by China, the apostasy of Somalia, or the militarization of many regimes. But the defeatist tendency to advertise the slightest gain of imperialism and ignore the growing struggle and radicalization of the masses, and the feverish impatience shown by a number of organizations in which petty-bourgeois elements predominate and ultra-revolutionary talk and 'leftist' adventurism are succeeded by disillusionment and dejection at the slightest setback, made it necessary to take an objective look at developments over the past years and dot the i's.

It is not 'revolutionary' impatience that can serve as a catalyst to bring the struggle of our peoples to a successful close but continuous, everyday work by their vanguard, the communists. With the deepening of the social content of the national-liberation movement, the communist parties of Arab countries will have to show increasing initiative and to advance slogans mobilizing the masses. This is the purpose of all our joint efforts.

Stages of economic progress

György Lazar
CC PB member, HSWP; Chairman, Council of Ministers
Hungarian People's Republic

The 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in 1975 thoroughly analyzed the profound socio-economic changes in Hungary over the decades of socialist construction. On that basis, the Congress worked out and adopted a party Program Statement which said, in particular: 'In the next 15-20 years, we are faced with the task of taking another stride forward in socialist construction, creating a developed socialist society in the country, and so moving even closer to communism, the historical goal we have set ourselves.'

The HSWP's long-term economic strategy has an especially important role to play in this matter. It is based on a thorough consideration of our achievements and the use of tried-and-tested principles, and also reflects the new requirements which stem from the present period. These requirements are different, more complicated and in many respects more difficult to realize than those which arose at the previous stages. But we have everything we need to fulfill our program for building up the material and technical basis of mature socialism, so transforming Hungary into a country with a highly developed economy.

That these tasks will be fulfilled is ensured by the creative powers of the Hungarian people, who, in a period of just over three decades since the country's liberation, have overcome many difficulties and done away with their age-old backwardness. The revolutionary transformation of the relations of production, the planned socialist economic activity, and the growing economic cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries have markedly accelerated the development of our productive forces and have given our country a new face.

Before the Second World War, Hungary had one of the most backward economies in Europe, with a peculiar interlacing of feudal and capitalist relations and extremely acute class contradictions. In the inter-war period, its economy was, in effect, stagnant: the national income increased by an average of 1-2 per cent a year, with no more than 5-6 per cent of it going into accumulation.

Industry was embryonic, with a lopsided structure, and, with the exception of a few large enterprises, its technical standards fell short of contemporary requirements. Roughly 30 per cent of the gross industrial product came from the food industry, which was directly linked with agriculture. Crop yields lagged markedly behind the European average. The people lived on the brink of poverty, unemployment was permanent and high, and the working people had no confidence in the future. No wonder, Hungary was known as a country of 'three million beggars.'

Add to this the heavy material and human losses during the Second World War, into which Hungary was driven by its reactionary rulers: almost one-third of its national wealth was destroyed, its transportation system was at a virtual standstill, and there was an acute shortage of food and raw materials. Those were the exceptionally hard conditions in which the working class got down to righting the dislocation and rehabilitating the country. The Soviet Union, which liberated Hungary from fascism, gave it invaluable material and technical assistance in restoring the economy. Assistance which the Hungarian people remember with gratitude to this day.

Simultaneously, the working class in alliance with progressive sections of the population started a struggle, under the Communist Party's leadership, for social transformations and for a restructuring of the relations of production. This helped rapidly to rehabilitate the economy and made it possible — in 1947 (when we got down to fulfilling the first three-year plan) — to go on to economic planning. The political unification of the working class was completed in 1948. The question of power was decided once and for all, and the Hungarian people resolutely and irrevocably took the road of socialist development.

The people's assumption of power, and the successful and complete rehabilitation of the economy provided the basis for carrying forward socialist industrialization, and so also for a radical transformation of the country's economic structure. A start was made on the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, modernization of the transportation system and the building industry, and elimination of the disproportions in the location of the productive forces. Even then, economic, scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), which now marks its 30th anniversary, and the steadily developing bilateral economic ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries had the crucial role to play in implementing these plans. This started our accelerated economic progress.

However, there were contradictions in our economic development. Serious political and economic tensions were produced by the

stepped-up pace of industrialization, which was out of proportion with the country's potentialities, the disproportionately large share of accumulation, the unjustified urge, coming from the top, to speed up the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and the ever more pronounced voluntarism in economic policy and planning. The dynamic of development was disrupted, living standards declined, and the ties between the party and the masses were weakened. In 1956, making use of the political deformations and the serious mistakes of the personality-cult period, class enemies inside the country mounted a counter-revolutionary revolt with the support of imperialism. This jeopardized the power of the working class and the Hungarian people's socialist gains.

In that period of grave crisis, a revolutionary center, headed by Janos Kadar, took shape. It reformed and strengthened the ranks of the Communist Party with the internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, put down the counter-revolutionary action, and ensured the conditions for the Hungarian people to advance along the road they had chosen after liberation. For nearly a quarter-century now, the HSWP's Marxist-Leninist policy has enjoyed the support of all the working people, and this has ensured our historic successes in building socialism.

Our party has worked out and implemented an economic policy many of whose principles are of abiding importance. Among them are: development of the economy on the basis of the country's actual potentialities and existing traditions, combined with the use of the potentialities inherent in the international, primarily socialist, division of labor; the formulation of goals which mobilize and induce the people to act, goals which can actually be attained; a steady increase in the profitability of production through the application of scientific and technical achievements and the use of the principle of material incentives.

The policy of uniting the nation's creative forces and consistent pursuit of an economic policy whose correctness has been confirmed by life have created the conditions for effecting historic changes. In the early 60s, when agriculture was restructured on socialist lines, the laying of the foundations of socialism in the country was completed. Once a backward agrarian-industrial country, Hungary has become an industrialized state with a sophisticated agriculture.

In just over 30 years, Hungary's national income — 98 per cent of which is produced in the state and cooperative sectors — has multiplied roughly fivefold. Our industry is now a sophisticated socialist complex turning out ten times more goods than it did before the war. Agriculture is based on large-scale socialist enterprises with a modern organization of labor allowing a high level of mechanization. With half the number of people, as compared with the pre-war period, it turns out roughly 70 per cent more produce than it did in 1938. The people's living standards have markedly improved, the uncertainty in the future is a thing of the past, and full employment has been provided for the whole of the able-bodied population. The consumption of goods and services is now three times higher than it was before the war, housing conditions have been radically transformed, and all the classes and groups of society enjoy social security. Major successes have been scored in raising the level of the people's culture and education, and the process of urbanization has been accelerated.

All of this shows that quantitative and qualitative changes have been effected in our economy in the course of socialist development. In the early 70s, the sources of extensive growth were exhausted and the economy's switch to intensive development finally became imperative.

At about the same time, important developments occurred in the world economy: the so-called price explosion, and the aggravation of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries. This resulted in changes in the external economic conditions for the development of Hungary's economy, which virtually defied our influence. These factors proved to be so substantial that they produced a totally new situation in many areas, including economic planning, and brought out new aspects.

The new elements relating to the internal factors of economic growth stand out most clearly in an examination of the problem of manpower. Considering the level of employment (48 per cent of the total population), which has been achieved — and this is very high according to international standards — the nature of our demographic processes and the insistent need to develop the non-production sphere, we can no longer expect to have a further growth in the number of those employed in the sphere of material production. Whereas in the past there was a possibility — and at a definite stage, the need — to expand production largely by increasing the number of jobs, at present, to say nothing of the foreseeable future, production can be expanded solely through higher labor productivity.

The rising assets-to-worker ratio helps to solve this problem. This is partially caused by the emergence of a tight manpower resources balance, which increasingly calls for a substitution of machinery for manual labor. On the other hand, the assets-to-worker ratio has been growing as a result of the fact that the intensification of production, technical progress, and modernization of technology involve the installation of costly plant with ever higher technical standards, and remodelling of production on a large scale. At the same time, we do not have (or have only limited) potentialities for increasing the share of accumulation to cover the growing inputs into the development of production. One must also bear in mind that an ever larger share of the accumulation fund has to go into the development of the infrastructure, whether directly or indirectly connected with production, and not least importantly into measures for protecting the environment.

All of this explains the need for bringing to the fore the task of enhancing efficiency and rationality in our economy as a whole, and in the sphere of production in the first place. But, as I have already said, equal importance attaches to external economic factors.

Ours is an open-ended economy. Considering that we have a territory of only 93,000 sq. km., and a population of just over 10.5 million, one will realize that it is vital for our country to be meshed in — and very actively — with the international division of labor. This point is driven home by Hungary's relative poverty in raw materials and energy resources. To go on developing our production and adequately meeting our energy and raw-materials requirements, we must have considerable international commodity exchange. The following figure gives an idea of its scale: our annual foreign trade is equal to roughly 30 per cent of our consumption fund.

For all these reasons, the price explosion in the world market in 1973 and 1974, and the trends it has generated (and there is every indication that these will be sustained) have had a telling or, to be more precise, an unfavorable effect on our economy. Under the impact of external factors, the terms of trade have been radically altered in a way that is extremely undesirable for Hungary. Let us recall that raw materials and energy resources make up a sizable part of our imports. Because, on the one hand, the prices of these have markedly increased, and on the other, the world prices of the products which constitute a large share of our exports have relatively declined, we now have to export — in order to maintain our foreign-trade balance — nearly 20 per cent more of the same products per import-unit than we did before 1973, or to offer more valuable goods on the world market. This explains many of the current difficulties our economy faces, and it will take some time to eliminate them.

Those were essentially the most important developments on the strength of whose analysis the 11th Congress of the HSWP drew its conclusion about the need slightly to reduce the pace of our economic growth. The Congress said that higher efficiency and the re-establishment of equilibrium in the national economy have to be the main requirements of economic policy over a long period. In concrete terms, this means accelerating the intensification of production, setting in motion new sources of growth, and vigorously modernizing production with reliance on socialist economic integration. This should enhance the export potentialities of our economy. Of course, until the economy is brought back into equilibrium, the growth of consumption will be slower than that of the national income.

The subjective factor has a big part to play in the HSWP's formulation and implementation of its economic policy. We attach primary importance to raising the level of management, developing general and special education, enhancing conscious discipline and organization within the framework of society as a whole, and at the enterprises, and faster use of scientific achievements. Our party will continue to rely on the creative initiative of the working people, the industrial workers, the cooperated peasantry and the intelligentsia, on the inexhaustible wellsprings of socialist emulation.

The documents of our party's Central Committee emphasize that fundamental renewal of the structure of material production and of its technical and quality characteristics is of key importance for Hungary's economic progress. This is a task on which equally depend the efforts to enhance the economic efficiency of social production as a whole, and the expansion of the country's export potentialities, both of which will tangibly help to bring the national economy back into equilibrium.

Industry now has and will continue to have in the future the leading role to play in the sphere of material production, which also means in solving the problem of modernizing its structure. We believe that the main line of its development should involve the use of the latest scientific and technical achievements and the potentialities of the international division of labor, leading to a development primarily of sectors and industries which help to improve the product mix, markedly to increase the share of profitable products and to enhance their competitiveness on the world market.

The task is to make use of the appropriate economic instruments, including centralized financing, to create conditions paving the way for a regrouping of material, labor and research resources in production, stimulating their transfer to sectors and enterprises capable of holding their ground in face of the unfavorable external-market conditions, and of developing profitability.

To do this we have adequate potentialities, chiefly in manufacturing. We have in mind sectors like transport engineering and means of communication, electronics, vacuum facilities, instrument-making and the making of heavy-current electrical machines. In the chemical industry, similar potentialities are available mainly in pharmaceuticals and the production of aluminum, and some sectors of the light industry. But, while emphasizing the primary development of manufacturing, we also plan to make large-scale investments in the extractive industries and the development of our own energy industry.

Agriculture, the second basic sector of material production, is also a central element of our plans and in the whole of our economic strategy. Hungary has favorable resources for developing this sector. Roughly 70 per cent of its territory consists of lands fit for cultivation or use in agriculture, and it has a favorable climate and natural conditions. Already Hungarian agriculture and the food industry not only meet our internal requirements but also make an important contribution to our export. That is why we have continued to pursue the agrarian policy worked out by the HSWP and tested in practice, and seek to develop both forms of socialist economic activity: state farms and agricultural producers' cooperatives, with the main

effort going into the still fuller use of reserves for boosting the efficiency of farming.

We believe that agriculture should develop, now and in the future, first, on the basis of the production of food and feed grain, and of feed protein crops, and second, on stock-breeding. But we also pay attention to horticulture, above all those of its sectors whose produce is not only in demand at home, but is also competitive on external markets. The state has made sizable outlays for developing horticulture, raising yields and improving the quality of the fruit, and has encouraged appropriate scientific research and selection work.

The party and the state display constant concern for strengthening intersectoral and inter-industry agro-industrial associations, an important form for the rational integration of resources and higher profitability. But let us note that while large-scale socialist farms have long since come to play the crucial role in our agricultural production (and their role is bound to grow) we intend to go on assisting farming on household plots and ancillary farms.

In the recent period, we have been working vigorously to have a growing share of agricultural produce reach consumers (including consumers on external markets) in a processed form. That is why we have given considerable attention to modernizing and building up production capacities in the food industry, chiefly meat-packing and canning, at refrigerator plants, and at enterprises producing vegetable oils.

We have many skilled specialists in our agriculture, on the state farms and in the producers' cooperatives. A high level of mechanization has been achieved, and the use of mineral fertilizers and plant protectors has multiplied many times over. Industrial methods are being widely used in farming. Consequently, as in industry, appropriate conditions for raising efficiency have taken shape in agriculture as well.

The important tasks in developing industry and agriculture and boosting efficiency cannot be fulfilled without accelerated technical progress in capital construction, with higher economic returns and a higher level of organization in the investment process. We regard this as a prerequisite for fulfilling our plans for remodelling or enlarging production capacities much faster and at a higher technical level. An equally important plank of our program is to raise to the level of current demands the sectors of the infrastructure catering for production, ensuring the uninterrupted flow of supplies, and profitable marketing of produce without waste. We have been developing our transport and marketing network and the system of communication, enlarging our storage areas, and improving the system of technical services to make it possible to carry out repairs and overhaul of equipment with greater economic efficiency than before.

External economic ties have a growing role to play in our economic strategy. This is quite natural because the impact of the above-mentioned internal and external economic factors, and our policy of modernizing the structure of production make it imperative for our country to take an ever more active part in the international division of labor.

Hungary's multilateral economic, scientific and technical cooperation with socialist countries, the Soviet Union and the other CMEA members in the first place, is the decisive factor in its external economic relations. They account for more than one-half of our foreign trade. Cooperation with them has already become invaluable in overcoming the difficulties I have mentioned. What is most important is that a considerable part of our raw-materials and energy needs are satisfied through imports from the CMEA countries, mostly from the Soviet Union.

To lay a solid groundwork for Hungary's future development we must make still better use of the opportunities offered by the close cooperation with the socialist countries. We shall not be able to raise the efficiency of our industry and farming, speed up their modernization and augment their export resources, unless we use the sources of growth provided by international socialist specialization and cooperation of production and division of labor. This means that we should increasingly direct our scientific and material potential toward developing the industries and manufacturing the goods which best meet our economic conditions. Such an approach is in keeping with the spirit of the Comprehensive Program, which is being successfully implemented, and this approach is fully in accord with our common urge to deepen socialist economic integration. We are sure that the solution of the modernization problem and our entire policy in the sphere of production, science and technology will, in future as well, be inseparably linked with economic, scientific and technical cooperation within the CMEA.

The joint elaboration and planned realization of long-term goal-oriented cooperation programs open up new vistas for socialist economic integration. These programs are based on the mutual-advantage principle and their purpose is, as Leonid Brezhnev pointed out at the 25th Congress of the CPSU, 'to meet by common effort the rapidly growing needs in energy, fuel and basic primary materials, and to satisfy more fully the demand in food products and manufactured consumer goods, to raise the level of engineering, and expedite development of transport.' Like the others, we are greatly interested in the joint implementation of the long-term goal-oriented programs, for they add to the validity of our plans and broaden the prospects for cooperation with the fraternal countries.

The steadily growing multifaceted economic cooperation with the socialist countries, far from hindering Hungary's trade and other mutually beneficial relations with developing and capitalist countries, has, in effect, been facilitating their expansion. While boosting trade, we intend to proceed along lines that will help modernize production. Therefore we lay stress on cooperation in production and on purchasing licenses and pa-

tents that will prove instrumental in mastering advanced technology. Our economic cooperation with capitalist countries often — and through no fault of ours — meets with all kinds of restrictions that hamper business contacts, whereas their free development would benefit both sides. It is natural, therefore, that we oppose any kind of discrimination in international economic relations.

Planned economic development, the raising of efficiency, the use of the advantages offered by the international division of labor, and the economy's rapid and flexible adaptability to new conditions demand our constant attention to production management and material incentives. Comprehensive combination of planning and economic instruments is an essential feature of the economic management system (in operation in Hungary since 1968) which enables us to employ simultaneously direct and indirect methods of management. The operation of this system places a higher responsibility on executives at industrial enterprises, while leaving a broad scope for initiative. Experience shows that this system has proved its worth in our conditions. Therefore, while keeping its basic principles intact, we are trying to perfect it so that it would better meet the interests of society, stimulate more productive economic activity of the enterprises, and help enhance efficiency and quality.

While steadily improving the planning methods and the finance and crediting activity, we concentrate on bettering the prices and wages system to enable it fully to perform its functions, that is, to precisely reflect actual inputs, give more exact reference points for current and future evaluation of production, and encourage rational management practices. Proceeding from the principle of socialist distribution, we have scrupulously defferentiated wages in accordance with the work done; and we seek to make the working people take a greater personal interest in raising productivity and efficiency of production. Practice suggests that we should continue to tie in the improvement of the prices and wages system with the plans for raising the living standard in order to achieve the most appropriate combination of the interests of society and the individual interests of the working people, of all the citizens of socialist Hungary.

The Hungarian people are now working to implement the fifth five-year plan covering the period till 1980. Our party's Central Committee met in April last year, at the half-way stage between regular party congresses, to see how the decisions of the 11th HSWP Congress were being implemented. It stated that the five-year plan correctly determines the lines and character of the main internal and external economic processes, and the economic tasks before us.

The facts show that the Hungarian economy, based, as it is, on the sound foundation of socialism, can advance in the planned direction even when the conditions are complicated in many ways. In the past few years, the country's national income has risen substantially; its national wealth has grown. Progress has been achieved in modernizing production. Our economic cooperation with the socialist countries has acquired new dimensions, and there has been a marked increase in our foriegn trade. We have achieved meaningful results in every sphere of socio-economic progress: the livings standard has continued to rise, though at a somewhat slower pace; housing has grown, and the network of social and cultural establishments has been expanded.

These are important achievements. Nonetheless, the analysis of what has been done shows that there still are weak points in our work which will take some effort to overcome. In many key sectors of the economy, efficiency has been growing slower than it could and should have grown. Inadequate use has been made of the available reserves. We cannot be content with the rate at which the structure of production is being modernized, with the lag in capital construction, the slow pace of improvement in labor organization, and with the less than thrifty use of energy and raw materials. In other words, we are not content with the way qualitative changes are being effected in some areas, changes that are needed to overcome the negative consequences of the altered situation in the world economy. Hence our resolve to continue our effort to improve economic activity and mobilize all the forces of our society to fulfill the economic tasks set by the 11th HSWP Congress.

We have good reason to attach primary importance to the economic tasks in building a developed socialist society. To create the material base for sustained improvement of the working people's living conditions and well-being is the purpose of socialist construction and of all our efforts. We have always considered this to be the general line of all our activity. However, economic tasks cannot be accomplished unless there is active cooperation of all the sections of socialist society. The profound qualitative changes needed to bring our economy to a higher level are inconceivable without all the creative forces of the nation being brought into full play. We shall have effective economic developments, provided the achievements of science are fully used, the level of general education and vocational training is raised, and socialist democracy steadily developed.

The developed socialist society that our people are now building is an inspiring goal. We are going through a hard stage on our way toward this goal. But the Hungarian people are optimistic about their future, for they have laid a sound foundation for a new society. We have a powerful economy, considerable resources and equally sizable reserves. We have true allies like the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, with which we maintain relations of growing friendship and all-round cooperation. We have a realistic program of creative effort, our people are gifted and industrious, and they are prepared to tackle large-scale socio-economic tasks. We are fully confident that we shall reach our goal and build a developed socialist society in Hungary.

Scientific and technological progress and nuclear power engineering

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The October Revolution made scientific progress in the USSR a realm not only of scientists. It involves the entire people and the Communist Party. In the developed socialist society built in the USSR science is increasingly becoming a productive force. At the 25th Congress of the CPSU Leonid Brezhnev said: 'It is the party's policy to continue showing tireless concern for the promotion of science and for its headquarters, the Academy of Sciences.' This is the foundation for the development of science in our country.

As a result of the Great October Revolution and the building of a developed socialist society we now have an unbroken front of science. An unbroken front does not imply research in every conceivable direction, for this would be unreasonable waste, to say the least. Modern science has an extremely broad front, and for that reason resources and manpower must be concentrated in the most important areas. We should therefore have a scientific system that would allow scientific institutions to spot every new 'point of growth' of science or technology in any field of knowledge and make an expert assessment of its possible significance. Where necessary, scientific institutions should also be in a position to join without any additional preparation, in the elaboration of new trends generated by this 'point of growth.'

Many 'points of growth' of world science are springing up as a result of research by Soviet scientists. Cosmonautics, nuclear and thermonuclear power engineering, quantum electronics, and radiospectroscopy are only a few examples of the significant directions in which the initiative of Soviet scientists has played an outstanding part. In the vast majority of directions Soviet science is on the level of science in the most highly developed nations and in many cases it is breaking new ground. Today our scientists can cope with any task in their field. Their achievements reaffirm the might of the socialist system.

The epoch of developed socialism makes new demands of Soviet science. In Leonid Brezhnev's report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU and in other documents of the congress note was made of the great importance of the work being done by academic institutes, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and ministries and government departments on the draft of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technological Progress and its socio-economic effects. This program is part and parcel of current and long-term planning in our country. The 25th Congress commissioned scientists to continue analyzing the main orientations of economic development up to the year 2000 and to take into account their impact on social progress in our country. The work on the Comprehensive Program goes on uninterruptedly. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the optimal proportions for economic development, and the work in this area is of great significance to the state.

Uninterrupted work is also proceeding in drawing up a comprehensive plan for the development of our country's fuel and energy resources, including nuclear energy. Economic growth must be balanced with the potentialities of the fuel and energy base, with the use of new technologies and new materials. This work, which involves scientists of many specialities, is taken into account when our economic development is planned.

The Guidelines for the Development of the USSR National Economy for 1976-1980, adopted by the 25th Congress of the CPSU, accentuate the importance of power engineering as a leading branch of the national economy 'with the purpose of accelerating scientific and technological progress, particularly the development of . . . existing and the elaboration of new methods of converting energy, and developing and broadly introducing a fundamentally new technology.'

The immense importance of fundamental scientific knowledge was underlined in Leonid Brezhnev's report. It is extremely noteworthy that the accent is placed on the development of fundamental scientific problems. This shows that the party and the government clearly see the logic of scientific development, the mechanism of scientific and technological progress. 'Nothing is more practical than a good theory.' Progress in fundamental views is what changes seemingly hard and fast viewpoints, opens up new areas in science, and basically modifies technology. Until the 1930s the overwhelming majority of scientists regarded the physics of the atomic nucleus and astrophysics as areas of knowledge far removed from practical use. But a decade later their development led to the discovery of the chain process of fission and also of thermonuclear synthesis. These discoveries are perhaps the best confirmation of the enormous benefit of outlays on the development of the fundamental sciences.

Thanks to the party's concern for the people's material and intellectual culture, the USSR now has a huge scientific potential — a large army of highly trained scientists, engineers and techni-

cians with a vast arsenal of modern technical means enabling them to carry out the most intricate research into the fundamental laws of nature and resolve the most difficult technical problems. The growth of the Soviet Union's economic might is determined by the extent its scientific capability is realized. Here a major role is played by power engineering, for labor productivity in industry, construction, agriculture and transport depends on the energy available in these branches. During the past 30-40 years the pattern of world energy resources consumption has shifted considerably toward oil and natural gas. These fuels account for approximately 70 per cent of the world's energy output because they are the most convenient and universal. But the exhaustion of oil and gas resources is inescapable. As for coal, although there are adequate resources for another two centuries, it is not a universal fuel. The only way to solve the energy problem, parallel with a growth in the use of coal, is inevitably to promote the rapid development of large-scale nuclear power engineering. Moreover, the broad and diverse application of nuclear energy is a long-term economic policy aimed at preserving oil and gas resources for as long as possible by using them more expediently than for combustion (as raw materials for the chemical industry). This makes the development of the enormous resources of nuclear conversion energy a major duty of scientists to humankind.

Nuclear power engineering permits using nuclear fuel resources on an unlimited scale and covering any deficit in the fuel balance with natural or manufactured reserves of nuclear fuel. Moreover, mankind has yet to develop the practical possibility of using the unlimited thermonuclear resources.

Various methods of obtaining energy through the combustion of nuclear fuel are possible. The approach to the use of fuel for nuclear reactors is an indication of how the fundamental sciences can radically change technology and economic notions.

Practically all the currently operating nuclear power stations run on reactors using thermal neutrons with uranium-235 as the fuel, burning a little of the more widespread uranium-238 and producing a small quantity of plutonium, which is a new fissionable substance. These nuclear power stations are the first extremely important and necessary stage of nuclear power engineering. But in the shape it was originally conceived, nuclear power engineering is not a panacea that can deliver mankind from the fuel shortage. It is now believed that the world's reserves of the more or less cheap uranium suitable for the generation of power are not very large — 4 or 5 million tons. These resources, as those of oil, may be exhausted in the next 20-30 years. There is thus no simple way out of the difficult energy situation within the framework of the first stage of the development of nuclear power engineering.

The second stage consists of the broad use of breeder-reactors using fast neutrons, in which the output of energy with the burning of uranium or plutonium is accompanied by the production of larger quantities of plutonium, the secondary nuclear fuel. Power engineering can combine reactors using slow neutrons and reactors using fast neutrons, that produce plutonium, which would then be employed for enlarging the scale of power engineering. In this case, power engineering would not be restricted to natural cheap uranium and would develop without hindrance — regardless of its scale — for hundreds and even thousands of years, because the resources of oceans and acid rocks running to billions of tons would then be economically accessible.

The speed of the output of new fuel depends on the design and calorific intensity of the nuclear reactors. By combining the burning of uranium and newly-produced plutonium we can obtain 20-30 times more energy per kilogram of natural uranium than in conventional nuclear reactors operating on thermal neutrons, and for that reason we can start using the more expensive uranium.

The principle of fuel reproduction basically influences the possible scale of nuclear engineering. In turn, this determines the possibility of enlarging the field for the operation of power engineering. Of course, in addition to physical and technical substantiation, the utilization of nuclear energy resources must be economically expedient so that they can be competitive relative to conventional resources. But sight should not be lost of the inevitable rise of the price of oil and gas in proportion to the diminution of reserves of these fuels.

The output rate of new fuel in nuclear reactors should ensure the development of power engineering. For that reason we have always emphasized that the short time (about six or seven years) that it takes to double the fuel in breeder-reactors is the decisive factor. The USA has adopted a misconceived tactic on the development of breeder-reactors in which the doubling of plutonium takes between 15 and 20 years. At this rate of new fuel production it is impossible to create a nuclear power engineering industry that would develop over a long period of time and ensure itself fuel. In the USA the time for doubling fuel in such reactors should be less than ten years, i.e., in keeping with the period in which the nation's energy capacities are doubled. We are now working on the development of fast reactors in which fuel is doubled within less than six years.

However, despite these optimistic forecasts, which are on the whole quite well-founded, the situation is not at all simple. We are being confronted with a huge spectrum of scientific and technical problems.

The development and utmost extension of types of technological processes that could be adapted to the user of nuclear energy resources is one of the crucial practical tasks facing our generation. The appearance of the possibility of using the energy of nuclear fission determined the first general orientation for its use as a source of producing electric

power. But even if all electric power stations were to be transferred to nuclear fuel, the effect would not be very significant: the use of natural fuel would be cut back by only 20 per cent, while the consumption of oil and gas would be reduced even less, by only 10 per cent, because about half of the electric power stations use coal.

The time has therefore come to think of other areas for the application of nuclear energy. The output of industrial and household heat and the inclusion of nuclear power engineering in the metallurgical and chemical industries are a task of a much greater magnitude than that of electric power engineering. In the next few years mankind will certainly witness nuclear power engineering penetrating these spheres. For instance, existing types of reactors could be used for generating low-potential heat for towns. Nuclear power engineering is opening up promising possibilities also for the technology of the direct restoration of ore, which is gradually replacing the traditional furnace technology of ferrous metallurgy due to the increasing shortage of coke and the pollution of the environment. For these purposes it is now possible to develop reactors producing waste gases with a temperature of about 1,000°C that could be very profitably used for generating electricity and heat. Considerable importance is attached to the development of nuclear powder metallurgy and generally powder technology, which leads to a qualitative improvement of the output of the engineering industry because it reduces losses caused by corrosion, enhances resistance to wear, and increases machine resources 2-4 times or even more. This is tantamount to increasing engineering output to the same amount. Already today it would be expedient to use existing reactors for the development of powder metallurgy.

The fact that nuclear power engineering has a dependable fuel base creates new possibilities for extending electro-technologies. Nuclear power stations of equal economic efficiency can be built in any part of the world, while their proximity to sources of raw materials would result in a further acceleration of the electrification of technological processes. Some new technological processes will be developed, for instance, the breathtaking project of desalinating sea water in regions where fresh water is scarce. At present new, economical methods of obtaining hydrogen from water are being developed. In the future, a large part of transport will possibly use hydrogen, which is a non-polluting fuel. The production of cheap hydrogen is one of the key prospects for nuclear power engineering, and a way of introducing it into the chemical and metallurgical industries, and transport and, at the same time, using it for the regulation of the load schedule of reactors of all types.

The significance of nuclear power engineering is not confined to the fact that it removes the threat of a fuel shortage for practically all time to come. Its social impact will also be very great. The blunting of the edge of the fuel problem will unquestionably lead to a mitigation of its importance as a factor of political tension. Regions and countries that nature has not endowed with conventional fuel resources would be in a position to obtain relatively cheap nuclear energy resources and thus to achieve more rapid technological progress. The extremely high energy-intensity of nuclear fuel makes the cost of transporting it to any place in the world relatively cheap.

An exceedingly important effect of the broad use of nuclear energy is the substantial downgrading of environmental pollution by the products of combustion (carbonic acid, ash, sulphur, and so on). Besides, in many industrialized countries much less oxygen is reproduced than is consumed. These countries live solely at the expense of oxygen from oceans and from equatorial regions. The oxygen consumption problem will be considerably eased with the development of nuclear power engineering, because nuclear power installations do not need oxygen.

All industries bring not only benefits but also harm. Nuclear power engineering is no exception. It has brought mankind a new concern — how to prevent environmental pollution by radioactive products of the fission of uranium and plutonium nuclei. In many countries experts engaged in designing, building and running nuclear power stations have done much to reduce this danger to a minimum. We can now say with certainty that proper precautions ensure the safe development of nuclear power engineering. The safe disposal of radioactive waste is of the greatest significance. In recent years considerable experience has been accumulated of concentrating and storing fissionable products and there is no doubt that there is a reliable engineering solution for this difficult problem.

Unlimited energy supply is a vital condition for the successful solution of problems linked with the imminent shortage of natural resources. It will allow obtaining mineral resources from poor ore, increasing the output of synthetic products, and helping to restore natural resources. Only the broad development of power engineering can make it possible to feed the world's population, which is expected to number between 6 and 6.5 billion by the year 2000.

On the pretext that there is a threat of radioactive pollution, opposition has lately been mounting to nuclear power stations in some capitalist countries, chiefly the USA. The intention of Sweden's social-democratic government, which was in power for more than 40 years, to develop nuclear power engineering was even one of the factors that brought about its downfall. But the vocal campaign over the building of nuclear power stations is due not to much to any actual danger of radioactive pollution, which can be removed by the power engineering measures, as to side-effects springing from the specifics of capitalist economic management. The people drawn into the protest campaigns are in many cases unaware that actually all this reflects the policy of the oil monopolies who fear that competition from nuclear power sta-

tions will undercut their revenues. A curious situation obtains: on the one hand, in order not to lose a major political lever — control of energy — the oil monopolies have begun to acquire uranium deposits and, on the other, to prevent losing current revenues they are for the time being obstructing the expansion of nuclear power engineering.

It should be borne in mind that the oil monopolies control the power engineering industry of practically all the capitalist countries and of many developing nations, and their drive for maximum profits contravenes the interests of oil-producing countries and also, in many cases, the interests of oil-consuming countries.

The inconsistent stand of the U.S. authorities on questions concerning the development of power engineering is due to their helplessness in the face of the oil monopolies, to pressure from the power engineering companies and public opinion, and to their understanding that broad development of nuclear power engineering is inescapable and that this will inevitably involve the reproduction of plutonium both in nuclear fission reactors and in combined-type thermonuclear synthesis reactors.

U.S. President Carter recently halted the building of a fast neutron nuclear reactor, declaring that his action was motivated by the desire to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons because with the production of plutonium there was the danger of it being stolen. Actually, everything is much more simple. Although it was given out as principled policy, this action was taken only when it was found that the nuclear reactor in question had fallen short of set technical tasks and that its output of new fissionable material was unsatisfactory. The USA is now heavily funding a new fast neutron reactor program. This is inevitable, as for many countries it is inevitable to produce plutonium as a key fuel. Without nuclear power engineering countries like the USA, the FRG, France, Italy and Japan will quickly lose their economic importance.

Soviet scientists and technologists have registered good results in building nuclear power installations for various purposes. The Kola and Leningrad nuclear power stations and also new units of the Voronezh plant have become operational in recent years. The 1,000,000 kw new units of the Leningrad, Kursk and Chernobylsk nuclear power stations are among the most powerful reactors in the world. 1,500,000 kw reactors are under construction. The building of a large number of nuclear power stations has been planned in accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU. By 1990 nuclear power stations will account for nearly one-third of the electricity generated in the European part of the USSR. Big new nuclear-powered icebreakers have been built: the *Arktika*, which reached the North Pole, and the *Sibir*. This has made year-round navigation possible in the Western Arctic. Nuclear technology is now being used at thousands of factories to check the quality of the output, in medicine, agriculture, space technology, meteorology, chemistry and other fields.

The technology of fast neutron breeder-reactors is now at the stage of experimentation and search for the best engineering solutions. The Soviet Union's first experimental industrial station of this type (350,000 kw) has been built in the town of Shevchenko on the shore of the Caspian. It is being used for two purposes: the production of electric power and the desalination of sea water. A 600,000 kw fast neutron station is under construction at Beloyarsk for other scientific purposes. The experience of operating it will be extremely valuable to power engineers. It may be expected that the optimal type of reactor will be developed during the next five years.

Another trend in the use of nuclear energy with practically unlimited resources — the synthesis of light atom nuclei — has been developing successfully in recent years. Soviet thermonuclear physicists have won a leading position in the world. They have come forward with key ideas and fundamental experiments. Many countries now use the Tokamak-type plasma reactors, the laser and electronic heating of thermonuclear targets, and other processes developed in the USSR. It is beneficial that international cooperation is proceeding normally in this field, which is of crucial significance to all mankind.

Judging by the speed of research into guided thermonuclear synthesis in the USSR, it may be expected that this problem will be resolved on the physical level within the next few years. The foundation for the transition to the next complicated and responsible stage — engineering and technological — is being laid today. However, it should be borne in mind that a thermonuclear reactor with magnetically held plasma can be effective only with a super-conductive magnetic system.

We have made an important breakthrough in research into super-conductivity, which is important to power engineering as well. Worldwide recognition has been won by the Tokamak-7, the largest super-conductive installation in the world. Designed by Soviet scientists, it is vital for the development of thermonuclear research. But super-conductivity is used not only in thermonuclear power engineering. For instance, the process of enlarging units is now to be observed in technology. By the end of the century the capacity of generators will probably reach 2-3 million kw. With capacities as large as this it will be necessary to go over to super-conductive generators. We now have an industry manufacturing super-conductive materials.

The general program that we have charted envisages the gradual transfer of many energy-consuming industries to nuclear power engineering. For instance, we are developing methods for the safe use of low-potential nuclear energy heat for towns. We have begun building thermal nuclear power stations that will meet all safety requirements producing no gas or liquid radioactive waste requiring no frequent reloads of fuel elements, and may be sited in direct proximity of

residential areas. The first units of such stations are already under construction in Gorky and Voronezh, and in the next five-year period it may be expected that many others will be built. By 1990 it will become expedient to build stations of this kind in hundreds of towns in the USSR, for they will allow saving a large quantity of oil equal to one-third of the country's present output. This will be a tangible contribution to the national economy, but the main thing is that the cost of nuclear heat will be half that of heat from boilers using organic fuel.

The question of building the first nuclear-metallurgical complex, which will supply products for large-scale powder metallurgy, is now being considered.

Power engineering is one of the key areas of scientific and technological creativity. This is essentially a collective process, involving scientists, engineers, workers and industrial executives of many countries cooperating or competing with each other. In this scientific and technological creativity the intellect is equal to a technical potential. For that reason all countries, big and small, are making a contribution, in some cases a very tangible one as the history of power engineering has shown, to this collective creativity.

Soviet scientists consider that concerting the efforts of scientists of the world is a demand of the times. Research and development in many new areas should be made the object of international cooperation.

The scientists of the world are confronted by many global problems without whose relatively speedy solution mankind will make no progress. We are constantly reminded of this by the gradual inevitable exhaustion of resources, the first signal of which is the acute oil and gas situation in the Western world, by the prospect that richer minerals will be exhausted, and by the anthropogenic influence on the natural environment. Large-scale nuclear power engineering meeting the requirements of most types of power consumption would be a great boon for mankind and would resolve some acute problems.

However, the distraction of scientists and colossal resources to the arms race is bringing enormous harm to humanity and, moreover, increases the danger of a suicidal war. Regrettably, World War II stimulated the solution of the nuclear problem for military purposes. However, the dialectics of the development of science and technology is such that the discoveries of our age, which have raised the Damocles' sword of thermonuclear war over mankind, can today become a factor helping to preserve peace. Nuclear energy is science's extremely timely gift to mankind and a great boon, and it would be madness to use this boon for mankind's destruction. Soviet scientists warmly support the only possible policy of détente, of excluding wars from the life of mankind. This policy has been proclaimed by the CPSU.

Soviet science's international contacts are developing successfully. A growing mutually enriching role is played by cooperation with scientific organizations in socialist countries. The Kurchatov Nuclear Energy Institute developed a number of experimental reactors, which were then built in most of the socialist and in some developing countries. This allowed organizing research into nuclear physics and into reactor technology in these countries. Today the socialist-community states are cooperating in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and on the basis of bilateral agreements. On many questions concerning reactor technology, particularly, fast neutron reactors, we are cooperating with scientists of other CMEA countries under a common coordinated plan. This work is yielding important results and it will unquestionably prove to be extremely useful in the long run.

Nuclear power stations have been built in a number of countries with the assistance of the Soviet Union and largely thanks to the work of Soviet scientists. For instance, such stations have been in operation for a long time in the GDR, Bulgaria, Finland, and other countries.

GDR scientists have made a large contribution to the development of water regimes, and they are testing fuel elements. A critical assembly of large reactors has been built in Hungary. It has been used to develop the physics of the active zone of reactors with a capacity of a million kw. The results of this important work have been utilized for the units of the Novovoronezh power station and also for power stations that are to be built in the USSR and other countries. These researches were conducted jointly with Hungarian scientists.

We are continuing the practice of helping scientists of developing nations to build nuclear reactors and conducting research jointly with them. It is a source of satisfaction that Soviet science always served human progress and the preservation of peace.

Only recently, in the early 1970s, cooperation with scientists of capitalist countries in the field of nuclear power engineering consisted mainly in mutual acquaintance with each other's work. But even this yielded some positive results. For instance, in Canada they are using zirconium alloys developed by Soviet scientists. For our part, we are using some of the research developed in capitalist countries and which became known to us through exchanges of information.

There are other forms of cooperation, for example, systematic work on fast neutron reactors. Jointly with their foreign colleagues, Soviet scientists are to make these reactors highly economical and resolve some difficult technical problems involved in the exploitation of these reactors. As we have already noted, these reactors allow resolving long-term energy problems. For that reason international cooperation among scientists is extremely important and useful to all mankind.

However, the development of this cooperation constantly encounters resistance. This resistance is

seemingly inspired not by governments but by individual scientists. But when from some American, French and FRG scientists we receive written refusals to take part in various of our conferences, we find an interesting regularity. These letters are frequently identical word for word, and it is hard to believe that this is accidental. These are, of course, organized campaigns such as we have witnessed in the past.

Early this year some agreements were signed on cooperation with the National Academy of Sciences in the USA. Three days after these agreements were concluded, the U.S. press carried articles by scientists urging a rupture of cooperation with the Soviet Union. However, all the signs are that this is the view of only a small segment of researchers in the USA. It seems to me that in our dangerously tense world it is important to maintain scientific, cultural, and commercial contacts, for they draw nations closer together and reduce the possibility of confrontation. Soviet scientists hold that any aggravation, even on secondary issues, are today extremely dangerous. They believe that it is the duty of all the scientists of the world to do their utmost to strengthen peace. It must be remembered that a world thermonuclear war would spell out the extermination of mankind.

The adversaries of scientific cooperation neither have nor could have halted the advance of Soviet science. Regrettably, a number of our scientific conferences were not attended by some foreign scientists on whose presence we had counted. But this did not and could not influence the efficacy of these conferences, and the many foreign scientists who attended them were pleased with their results.

We are prepared to consider all scientific questions linked with an improvement of cooperation, but if conditions that have nothing to do with science are made in the form of an ultimatum and contacts are threatened, we obviously will not tolerate it. For instance, when American specialists participating with us in joint projects in the field of the theory of information made demands that had no relation to science, we had to reply that we would cease cooperating in that field.

Our position is that no one stands to gain from threats to break off scientific contacts. Experience shows that the Soviet Union resolves and is quite capable of resolving the most intricate problems of our day, instances of this being the development of nuclear and space technology, the organization of space exploration and the development of new industries. We continue working on tasks of this scale. Our immutable stand is that we unquestionably favor the expansion of scientific contacts, but we refuse to be intimidated by threats to cut off these contacts. These threats can only harm everybody. They can only shake the already fragile peace under which we live today.

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the Party

Ideological and educational work of the PUWP

Jerzy Lukaszewicz
PB alternate member, CC Secretary, PUWP

SOME SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE WORK OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Our party's point of departure is that the economic, political and ideological work of the communists is closely interrelated. In formulating the principles of its work in ideological education the PUWP takes into account the processes going on in the country and international factors. The present requirements of building a developed socialist society, in the process of which the tasks that are being fulfilled are of a larger scale and more complex than before, and the fact that a more intensive struggle has to be waged against international anti-communism, which has in recent years significantly stepped up its attempts at influencing our society ideologically, make it imperative to enrich and invigorate ideological education. To this end our party draws upon its own experience, the history of the Polish working-class movement, and the vast experience of the international communist and working-class movement.

During the 35 years of Poland's experience as a people's state fundamental changes have taken place in all areas of life. These changes have bound Poland's historical destiny once and for all with the new social system. The cardinal results of its development is that social justice has been ensured and the conditions have been created for uninterrupted and rapid economic advance in an atmosphere of peace and security. In parallel, profound changes have taken place in the public consciousness, which today combines the ideals of socialism and the principles of humanism, collectivism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. We can now speak of qualitatively new features of the Polish people. In this transformation the decisive role was played by the

Polish United Workers' Party, by its purposeful work in educating the people ideologically, which laid solid foundations for the moral and political unity of Polish society.

The social attitude of people, the ideological and moral incentives for work, and the ways and means of fully asserting the principles of socialist social justice remain in the focus of the party's attention. 'Socialism's purpose,' Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, said at the Second National Conference of the PUWP, 'is man, who develops his personality, acts creatively, and realizes himself in public activity, the ideologically committed man with lofty morals, devoted to the cause of the people, and conscious of his responsibility for the destiny and development of his country. The education of such a man is the principal task of our social policy, of our educational efforts in the family, at the school, and at the place of work and residence.'*

We regard the shaping of a socialist consciousness as one of the key conditions for building the new society. In this we are guided by the postulate of historical materialism that while it is the product of social life, consciousness actively influences it, generating, depending on its content, progressive or, on the contrary, conservative, reactionary trends of socio-political development. As Lenin noted in his *Philosophical Notebooks*, 'man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 38, p. 212).

This truth is borne out convincingly by the practice of socialist transformations and historical experience. All our achievements — from the restoration of the cities destroyed by the fascist invaders to the creation of sophisticated industries, from the abolition of illiteracy to socialist Poland's advance to the front ranks of world culture — are the result of the conscious creative work of the people under the leadership of the PUWP.

The principal aims of ideological education, formulated in the decisions of the Seventh PUWP Congress, boil down to three basic points:

— fostering in our citizens a sense of commitment to the program for socio-economic development and the interests of the socialist motherland, consolidating the sense of belonging to the socialist world system, and strengthening the bonds of fraternity and friendship with the first socialist state — the Soviet Union;

— Disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideology and explaining the party's social program;

— moulding a Marxist world outlook in keeping with science and the laws governing the development of nature, society and mankind.

In its day-to-day practical work the Polish United Workers' Party closely ties in ideological education with the strategy for the nation's socio-economic development. This close tie helps to identify society's aspiration with the party's program, with the interests of the socialist state. More, it allows involving growing numbers of people in the country's administration. Naturally, the better we implement the program for socio-economic development, the more effective will be the party's ideological influence; the more effective the party's work in ideological education is, the easier will it be to achieve the goals set in the program for socio-economic development. This applies in equal measure to the general strategic aims springing from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and to the concrete aims of specific stages of socialist construction.

The decisions of the Sixth PUWP Congress, and the strategy charted at that congress and enlarged on at the Seventh Congress are of inestimable significance for socialism's prospects in Poland. The current ten-year period witnesses a particularly broad and vigorous utilization of the socialist system's potentialities for Poland's development and modernization, for satisfying social requirements, and for strengthening Poland as a dependable link of the socialist community, and asserting our country's worthy place in international life as a whole.

Under present conditions society's economic education and the explanation of the aims of development and of the laws governing these aims are an important task of the PUWP's work in promoting ideological education. This task and the conditions for carrying it out are growing increasingly more difficult, because the high dynamics of development creates complex problems and, in many cases, strain. Some of these problems are the result of crisis phenomena in the capitalist countries. Others are due to objective and subjective shortcomings. We draw the people's attention to the following problems: efficiency of economic management, rational use of raw materials and production and manpower resources, the tightening of socio-professional discipline, and enhanced efficiency in implementing plan guidelines in all branches of the national economy. These are factors on which depend the fulfillment of the party's daring plans and initiatives. Our economy has many potentialities, whose utilization creates a healthy political climate in the country. The people appreciate the substance of the party's thesis that 'to live better we should work better.'

In promoting ideological education we have always underscored the social aims of our strategy and, at the same time, impressed upon the people that the question of public welfare is now being resolved in the sphere of industrial production, agriculture, the output of food, capital investments, resources of primary and other materials, and foreign trade. Through our political propaganda and mass political work we concentrate the attention of work collectives, of engineers and technicians, of all the links of management on key tasks that are of decisive significance for resolving fundamental economic problems. Economic development is now an indispensable condition

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* Edward Gierek, *Referat na II Krajowej Konferencji PZPR*, KiW, 1978, p. 44.

for the development of all other spheres of life.

The PUWP constantly focusses public attention on its program, showing the people the necessity of carrying out the tasks of socialist construction. It is unflagging in its effort to enlist the support of the broadest sections of society for its policy and work. In ideological education we stress the need for speeding the fulfillment of economic tasks and for moulding features such as conscientious discharge of duties, industriousness, respect for order and discipline. This implies the ability to think in political terms and, consequently, to think in terms of state interests.

The complexity of society's structure poses us with its own problems. In the drive to consolidate the moral and political unity of the people we still have to surmount survivals of the past in the public consciousness.

We take into consideration the fact, to quote words spoken by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, at the CC's 16th plenary meeting, that 'as headway is made toward placing the productive forces on a higher level meeting more fully society's requirements in machines that stimulate human activity, the center of gravity gradually moves to knowledge, to ideological views ... ideological and moral incentives will become an increasingly more important prerequisite of socio-economic development.'*

Drawing upon the Marxist-Leninist teaching and its own historical experience, Poland is building a socialist system of social justice, shaping a new system of moral values, democracy, civil rights and freedoms. It is convinced — this conviction is shared by the entire nation — that with its system of values socialism is a higher and better system than capitalism. The propagation of the socialist system of values is one of the main tasks of the PUWP's ideologico-educational work.

In moulding a socialist way of life our party has in mind what may be called a way of life of all society: this concerns the character of social relations delivered from class antagonisms and all phenomena linked with class inequality and the exploitation of labor, and chiefly, the strengthening of socialist democracy and justice in the distribution of material goods according to work.

When we speak of the way of life we mean the influence that social conditions have on the life of every person. This implies the shaping of the personality, the satisfaction of people's requirements, aspirations, and interests. The socialist way of life, which we propagate through our ideologico-educational work and for whose realization we are creating the necessary economic conditions, signifies a rich cultural life and hierarchy of values in which moral and social values take precedence.

In its documents the party stresses that the way to developed socialism lies through the enlargement of the new society's material and technical basis, the improvement of all social relations, and the promotion of socialist social consciousness. Hence the growing significance of ideological education.

At the same time, as we have already noted, the anti-communists are not abandoning their hope of reversing or, at least, slowing down the rate of social transformations in the socialist countries. In its efforts to adapt itself to the new balance of strength in the world, which has, essentially speaking, nullified the possibilities for the forcible extirpation of socialism, imperialism is counting on socialist society distintegrating from within, on the infiltration of ideas and moral and ethical stereotypes alien to it. This is leading to a basic reappraisal of the tactics of anti-communism. While keeping strategic aims intact, these tactics are today undergoing perceptible changes in content, form and scale.

First, in the ideological struggle the anti-communists formerly concentrated on discrediting the ideas of socialism, but today they are shifting the accent to giving a distorted interpretation of the practice of socialist construction. Anti-communist propaganda is becoming more specific, orienting itself on the national features of the given socialist country. An analysis of the ideological subversion conducted against People's Poland shows that it is based on expert assessments of Polish reality, that it takes into account the problems we are working on and the specific features of our society. Attention is concentrated on some key problem: tendentiously commented problems of marketing and supply, or speculation on the subject of the state and the church, or the problem of socialist democracy. Alongside crude and slanderous forms of anti-communism, increasing use is made of subtle methods that combine truth with fiction, lies with half-truths, and thereby create a semblance of objective information about Poland's development problems. The anti-communists frequently adopt the pose of 'well-wishers,' use socialist terminology, and try to give the impression that all they want is an 'improvement' of socialism, which — and we are well aware of it — would spell out the ideological and political erosion of our society.

Second, present-day anti-communism strives to capitalize on Poland's expanding economic, cultural, scientific and technological contacts with capitalist countries as a channel for the infiltration of anti-socialist ideology, stirring proprietary instincts, and encouraging indifference to politics and other sentiments alien to our society.

Third, the quantitative parameters of anti-communist ideological activity have widened considerably with the aid of the mass media. Anti-socialist propaganda centers are mushrooming in the USA, the FRG, Britain and other caitalist countries. The anti-communists are going over from individual acts of ideological subversion to systematic campaigns corordinated on an international scale. Reactionary elements grouped around the journals *Kultura* and *Aneks*, published in France and Sweden respectively, have grown more active. The

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* 'Przemowienie I sekretarza KC PZPR tow. Edwarda Gierka,' *Nowe Drogi*, No. 2, 1975, p. 17.

subversive Radio Free Europe has stepped up its efforts.

Without exaggerating the significance of this subversion, we are unquestionably aware that all this makes higher demands also of the ideologico-educational work of the communists.

Our party has placed this work on the solid theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism, basing it on scientific research. Broad sociological and other scientific studies quite accurately show society's main trends of development and bring new phenomena to light. The institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the PUWP Central Committee's Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism are working on an extensive program of research that covers key problems such as the theoretical foundations of building a developed socialist society in Poland, social transformations in the Polish countryside, the role of the party in social development and so forth. The study of these problems is combined with empirical research into the social condition and consciousness of the people.

Since ideology is a sphere of struggle between socialism and capitalism, we systematically analyze the actions of the enemies of our system. The Institute of Research into Contemporary Problems of Capitalism analyzes the anti-Polish and anti-socialist actions of propaganda centers. The conclusions of these analyses are used in current and long-term ideological education and political work.

The conditions for building socialism change constantly. It is important for the party to note these changes and the laws governing them, because to get the masses to appreciate the scientific ideals of socialism and communism is not a matter of a single day but a long-term task requiring persevering work that takes account of new conditions, the specific features of the rising generation, and also the changing forms of ideological subversion by centers hostile to socialism.

In developing this work today, our aim is to strengthen and deepen society's socialist consciousness and make it immune to the influence of ideology and morals hostile and alien to socialism. The propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas combined with the explanation of the party's program, of its present and long-term tasks is the fundamental way of achieving this aim. The PUWP gives much attention to the dissemination of the works of the classics of scientific communism. Publication of the *Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels is nearing completion. The publication of the *Collected Works* of V.I. Lenin has greatly facilitated the deepening of ideological education. Popular series of works by Polish theorists of socialism are at the stage of compilation. The party's work in theory and ideology is reported regularly by the party organs *Nowe Drogi*, *Ideologia i Polityka*, and *Trybuna Ludu*, which devote considerable attention to ideological education and the present-day ideological struggle.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching is disseminated and deepened by a large network of scientific and educational organizations and institutes, and also by the mass media. Party education embraces 2,500,000 people, 120,000 people attend party activists' schools, and 60,000 study at evening universities of Marxism-Leninism. The party holds that the study of Marxism-Leninism should not be purely academic, that it should be closely linked with the fulfillment of urgent tasks, that it should help not only to give shape to the socialist world outlook, way of life and social attitudes, but also enhance political activity.

In order to make ideological education effective, the party applies differentiated forms of work, depending on the situation and the consciousness level of different social groups. We study and take into account the specific interests and requirements of young people. The party conducts a constant dialogue with the intelligentsia, responding to its social and cultural requirements. All this and also broad discussions of problems of culture, freedom of creativity, and the role of art in society enhance the party's role and influence among the intelligentsia. The PUWP consolidates its firm links with workers in Polish culture, art and literature, inspiring them to create works that are not only of great artistic value but also extremely effective instruments for educating the man of the new society.

In view of the distinctions in the social status, consciousness, psychology of the rural population working in the socialized sector and also those still working individually, we adopt a differentiated approach to ideological education in the countryside, its principal aim being to draw the entire rural working population into the building of socialism, into the fulfillment of the tasks stemming from the party's comprehensive program, namely, promoting the growth of production and satisfying all social requirements.

Ideological education among believers poses the party with specific tasks. In our country believers enjoy all the rights and freedoms afforded by socialist democracy, including, of course, freedom of conscience and religion. In accordance with the humane policy of the party and the government toward religion, it is our constant aim that believers and the clergy of the Catholic Church, which is predominant in our country, and other religions should be united by the common purpose of ensuring socialist Poland's development and prosperity. This policy disrupts the attempts of international anti-communism to engineer a split in our society over the issue of the world outlook. This is a major success of the party and it is due to the consistent policy of subordinating problems of the world outlook, problems that are common for the entire nation, to the aims of socialist development.

Ideological education alone is, of course, insufficient for moulding a socialist consciousness. Man's status in production, his real rights, and his possibilities of influencing the solution of the problems of his enterprise and country are of immense significance. In this context the party dis-

plays special concern for young people, giving them every possibility for showing their mettle in work, for demonstrating their creative potentialities and their capacity for management. Moreover, the party has always striven to give people a clear idea of what current tasks it is most important to carry out on the state and the local level. We thus regard education as an integral system of socio-economic measures and ideological influence.

This applies fully not only to production but also to social relations as a whole, to the problem of educating the conscious and active members of society. The party is taking steps to ensure that not only propaganda and agitation but also the specific forms and institutions of socialist democracy should draw the people into the management of all the affairs of society and production.

In promoting and deepening socialist democracy, we make every effort to improve the functioning of existing institutions and enlist ever larger numbers of people into their work. The new forms of democracy introduced into the practice of our political life in recent years have been written into the Constitution. Regular consultations with large sections of the population on social programs, the development of workers' self-management, and various forms of public control have created new possibilities for citizens' participation in the solution of social and political problems.

We are on the offensive against anti-communist ideological subversion and propaganda subterfuges, correspondingly gearing the public consciousness. Our propaganda's principle of anticipating the ideological adversary is applied also to information about the nation's achievements and to explaining our difficulties and shortcomings. In the press, by radio and television, and in the pronouncements of party and government officials, we speak candidly of our problems and reply to questions from the people. Polish society has every opportunity of getting competent replies to the questions worrying it. There is a broad public response to the quarterly press conferences held by Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee. He and members of the Political Bureau systematically meet with workers in industry and agriculture, and teachers, scientists and workers in culture. The Central Committee maintains direct contact with 164 large enterprises, 40 institutions of higher learning and 100 gminas (communes). These and other contacts and the day-to-day work of the communists among the people express the unity between the party and the people, a unity whose consolidation is the basis of the success of ideologico-political education. We spoke openly of the problems worrying young people at frank comradely discussions during a broad campaign under the slogan of 'the party speaks with young people,' in which political personalities, scientists and representatives of the public participated.

The principle of unity between patriotism and internationalism has, from the very outset of the Polish revolutionary and working-class movement, been a mobilizing factor in the struggle for social and national liberation. During the first half of the 19th century this principle was expressed in the slogan of the Polish revolutionaries: 'For your freedom and ours.' Socialism has enriched these traditions with new values, with a new ideological and class content. They are becoming an important and durable element of the Polish people's social consciousness.

The steady promotion of fraternal relations with the USSR and other socialist countries is a fundamental and unbreakable principle of our foreign policy. The subject of fraternal Polish-Soviet relations and the cohesion of the socialist community holds a key place in our ideological education. One of our most important tasks is to explain the internationalist substance of these relations and the fundamental significance of the community's unity for the consolidation and development of socialist Poland and for strengthening peace.

Economic cooperation between countries, including the work of international collectives at large projects, joint action in defense of socialism's gains, and other forms of fraternal relations among socialist states incontrovertibly demonstrate that socialist solidarity is now a powerful material factor of the development of all the socialist-community countries and of each of them individually. The participation of the people in the various forms of this cooperation is itself an exceedingly important educational factor.

We devote much attention to educating Polish society in a spirit of respect for all nations, for their traditions and culture. In exposing the slanderous inventions of the anti-communists that socialism is a 'closed society,' we show by the practice of cultural exchanges that our citizens are not isolated from Western culture, that, on the contrary, it is the citizens of capitalist countries who have much fewer opportunities of getting to know our cultural achievements. Let me give a few examples. In 1970-1975 a total of 325 titles of English and 243 titles of French works of fiction and children's books were published in Poland, while only 12 and 20 Polish titles were published in Britain and France respectively. There is a totally unjustified imbalance also in literary exchanges with other developed capitalist countries. The number of Western films shown in Poland is incomparably larger than the number of Polish films shown in capitalist states. The same pattern is to be observed relative to our television broadcasts, the theatre, and the volume of information about capitalist countries.

The PUWP attaches special significance to consolidating fraternal internationalist relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union. The CPSU and the Soviet Union have made the largest contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the strategy of the international working-class movement and socialist construction. The Soviet experience is of key significance for all countries taking the road of social revolution. Ideological cooperation and the coordination of ideological

actions with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have enriched our work in ideological education and enlarged the possibilities of utilizing the experience of fraternal parties. There has been a series of joint meetings, consultations and conferences devoted to various fields of ideological work; Party mass media have evolved many interesting forms of cooperation. There has been an extension of the sphere of joint action of many PUWP ideological institutions with the relevant institutions in fraternal countries and it is now established practice to exchange documents.

We tie in the propagation of the foreign policy of peace of the Polish People's Republic and other socialist countries with the patriotic and internationalist education of the people. An indication of socialism's consistent striving for peace was Poland's initiative at the 32nd UN General Assembly; the Polish document adopted at that session calls upon all countries to strengthen peace for the welfare of the present and future generations, to be guided by the principle that each nation and every person, regardless of race, convictions, language or sex has the inalienable right to live in peace. This document vividly symbolizes socialist humanism, which manifests itself in the consistent struggle of the socialist-community states against the threat of war.

Our party closely ties in the solution of problems of ideological education with argumented criticism of the social and political vices of capitalist society, with the exposure of the myths circulated by anti-communist propaganda. We want the whole of society, particularly young people, to regard capitalist reality critically. This aim is served by, among other things, the popular daily radio broadcasts on the life of bourgeois society, by the books and pamphlets brought out in the 'Close-up of Capitalism' series, and by articles in the press under the heading 'The Face of Modern Capitalism.'

Today an essential aspect of ideological work is that the party lays bare the essence of Maoism and the guidelines of China's great-power policies. We expose the policy of Maoism, which stems from extreme nationalism and chauvinism, the subversive attacks of the Maoists on socialism, and their alliance with revisionists and extreme rightist forces.

Our party thus uses all available forms and methods of ideological education in all vital spheres of social development, taking into account the need for vigorous counteraction to anti-communism in each of these spheres. The people's successful fulfillment of the party's program for socio-economic and political unity, and the growth ot the people's labor, social and political activity are the most dependable criteria of the efficacy of the ideologico-educational work conducted by the communists.

A force committed to the revolutionary process

Vasco Paiva
CC alternate member, PCP
Agostinho Lopes
Leadership member, PCP Northern Regional Organziation

EXPERIENCE OF PEASANT ORGANIZATION AND STRUGGLE IN PORTUGAL

A broad movement of tillers of the soil, steadily spreading to new areas and enlisting growing numbers of small and middle peasants, is now unfolding in Portugal, particularly in the north and center. A multi-faceted front of struggle for the solution of problems most vital to the peasants is taking shape.

In view of the structure of land tenure in the nation, it has always been the contention of the Portuguese Communist Party that there must be two types of agrarian reform.

One, now being implemented, is for the latifundia zone, chiefly in the south (Alentejo and Ribatejo provinces). Its aims are to expropriate the latifundia, remould the relations of production, and set up collective producers' units (CPU) and cooperatives managed by agricultural workers. Despite the attacks on the agrarian reform and the offensive of the reactionaries with the object of restoring the latifundia, there are at present 550 CPUs with 1,075,000 hectares of land.

The second type is for the minifundia zone (north and center, and the Algarvio coast). This type of reform envisages primarily the solution of the most vital problems of small and middle peasants with scrupulous respect for their interests and private property. Its implementation would have stimulated and developed a spirit of association and cooperation, led to changes in the relations in the marketing of produce, and allowed beginning significant transformations and then steering toward the cooperation of production in these regions.

The Portuguese revolution did not result in a policy that could satisfy the aspirations of the

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This article continues the exchange of views on the allies of the working class in the struggle against the monopolies (see *WMR*, November 1978, p. 4 and May 1979, p. 16).

peasants and give a start to transformations in the minifundia zones. This shortcoming of our revolution is due mainly to the lack of the pertinent legislation and government initiatives, the nonfulfillment of decisions passed earlier, the weakness of the peasant movement at the initial period, and strong resistance from the right-wing forces and the local reactionary leaders to any changes in the countryside.

However, important socio-political changes took place gradually among the small and middle peasants in the minifundia zones. To a large extent, these changes were facilitated by the persevering explanatory and organizational work of our comrades and also by the principled steps taken by the party. Further, these changes were demanded by the problems that had grown acute in this sector and by the practice and day-to-day struggle of the peasants that showed who were their friends and who their enemies, and helped to expose the demagogy of the right-wing forces.

This change in the countryside gave rise to a massive movement that resulted in the peasants gradually ceasing to serve as the tool and social base of reaction. The small and middle peasants are increasingly asserting themselves as a force committed to the revolutionary process, as an ally of the working class in the struggle against the monopolies.

Unresolved problems

The character and development of the peasant movement are determined by the objective situation in which it is unfolding, in other words, by the situation in agriculture today. In effect, the existing structure of ownership, the individual status of the peasants relative to the means of production, their exploitation through the marketing network, their isolation, and illiteracy, the aging of the rural population, and also the decapitalization, backwardness and stagnation of our agriculture are factors that continue to generate the striving for unity and the development of the cooperative experience.

In the minifundia zones agriculture in most cases bears the stamp of subsistence family farms. The land on these farms usually does not exceed two hectares, which are in turn divided into several plots (which is a glaring contrast to the fuedal latifundia in Alentejo, where some of the estates measured 20,000 hectares).

About 45 per cent of the peasants are tenants, who, as such, are perpetually hounded by the threat of seeing their contracts annulled, pay an exhorbitant rent, and are subjected to feudal forms of exploitation, for instance, metayage, which is screened by a law proposed by the People's Democratic Party, now the Social-Democratic Party (SDP), with the support of the Social-Democratic Center (SDC) and the Socialist Party (SP).

Denied technical and financial assistance, plagued by a low level of mechanization, and exploited by those who amass wealth and capital through the marketing network and industrialization, our agriculture remains, compared with other countries, extremely backward in peasant labor productivity and in the annual growth rate of the gross agricultural product. Beginning with the 1950s this rate, especially as a result of colonial wars and emigration, has remained the lowest in Europe and among the lowest in the world — roughly 1.2 per cent. The productivity of our agriculture, especially of crop-farming, is about half of the average world level.

As a result, there has been a general impoverishment of the rural population and a further deterioration of the living conditions of the small and middle peasants (both owners and tenants).

The last few governments have done nothing to solve the problems of the peasants. More, they have voided even those few measures that had made it possible to improve the situation in this sphere. At the same time, the price of means of production is rising, middlemen are increasing their commission for marketing produce, the discount rate is growing, the peasants are encountering more and more difficulties in selling their produce and setting a price for it, and reaction is continuing its drive to restore the positions of capitalism, to restore the power of the monopolies and latifundia owners in the interests of the big merchants and industrialists. The policy of the last few governments has ruined small agricultural producers and led to a certain concentration of capitalist property in land.

A mass movement

While combating backwardness, isolation, ignorance and other rural ills, the movements of small and middle peasants and tenants have withstood the onslaught of the reactionaries and, as is emphasized in a document adopted by the PCP Central Committee at a plenary meeting on January 15, 1979, have become 'a powerful and influential force in defending the interests of these working strata, in furthering the development of agriculture, and in safeguarding democracy.'

Unique in that they have organizational features of their own that differ from the organizational forms of other social strata, the peasant movements sprang from the peasants' struggles inevitably linked closely with their most urgent problems and demands. This link is, unquestionably, one of the basic factors guaranteeing the viability and representative character of the movements. They organize innumerable actions (meetings, gatherings, canvassing for signatures to petitions, demonstrations and so on) to protest the rising prices of means of production and the difficulties of marketing, demand compensation for damage caused by floods and other elemental calamities, irrigation projects, and credits, organize a national system of agricultural insurance, ensure technical assistance, increase old-age pensions, provide allowances to families and improve the medical service. Many examples may be given. Frequently these actions involve all the inhabitants of a given village or district. This, and the fact that they are conducted

openly and on a large scale give the peasant movements a truly *mass character*. Such movements and organizations today attract many thousands of people into their ranks and into participation in their struggle. With their broad unitary base they make it possible to articulate the basic problems and aspirations of the peasants.

A cardinal feature of the unitary peasant movements is their diversity of forms and aims. Their organization falls into several types:

(a) *organizations of struggle for specific class-economic and socio-professional demands.* In most cases they are not confined to any clearly-defined area, but unite the peasant masses in large regions around some fairly concrete problem. Such, for instance, is the Tenant Farmers' Movement of the North (TFMN), which encompasses the entire north and center of the country and concentrates on tenancy problems: struggle for new legislation, written formalization of contracts, guarantees for their fulfillment and automatic prolongation, a fair rent in accordance with an official tariff, abolition of metayage and so forth. This organization has conducted several demonstrations and rallies, for example, in Oporto (where 3,000 tenant farmers participated), Braga, Fundao, Lamego, Viseo, Coimbra, and many other big and small towns. All these actions took place against the background of a nationwide discussion of draft laws, proposed by the Communist and Socialist Parties, containing amendments to operating legislation on agricultural rent. The purpose of these amendments is to prevent the eviction of the peasants from their land. Moreover, the TFMN has upheld tenants' rights in court, appointing defense attorneys for them (professional or lay) and holding protest rallies in front of the court houses.

An analogous organization, which operates on a different front, is the peasant movement for an improvement of social security in the countryside. It unites all peasants, giving its attention chiefly to the aged and to those living in the poorest areas. It fights for larger old-age and disability pensions, the granting of family allowances, and improved social insurance and medical services. Further, mention must be made of the Tenants' and Farm Laborers' Movement of Almeirim, which is confined mainly to the region of the Tejo River, and also the Tenants' Union of Madeira Island.

Thus, each of these organizations embraces some definite social stratum of peasants in usually a large region and, as a rule, unites them around a specific demand.

(b) *class organizations aiming to resolve all the social and professional problems in a specific region.* These are peasants' leagues and unions usually operating in a definite administrative district and seeking to unite all small and middle peasants (owners or tenants) to fight the rising prices of means of production, establish fixed prices for farm produce, ensure the marketing of this produce, secure credits and technical assistance, win social insurance and so on. These organizations are usually set up at general meetings of all the peasants of a district, which elect the leadership and sometimes form coordinating bodies for a definite agricultural district or region.

(c) *economico-commercial organizations.* These are agricultural cooperatives that provide peasants with means of production and in some cases process or market produce, and offer services (machine-and-tractor cooperatives). They encounter competition from merchants and industrialists and function with practically no support from the government. On top of this they feel the effect of the policy of the last few governments that did everything to undermine them on the grounds that Portugal might enter the Common Market. Thereby these governments revealed their aims, showing that they were championing the interests of the middlemen. Not infrequently agricultural cooperatives go beyond purely economic activities and head the struggle for the social demands of the peasants.

(d) *economic organizations managing large areas of virgin land on a community basis.*

In the 1930s the fascist regime began taking over virgin land mainly in mountainous areas, forbidding the rural population to use this land as pasture or to gather firewood. Private forest plantations were laid out in the interests of the state. The rural population was always opposed to this plunder. The revolution of April 25 finally restored justice: a law was promulgated prescribing the mandatory return to rural inhabitants of virgin land confiscated by the fascist regime or private individuals.

Councils are elected at general meetings of local inhabitants to manage this land. At present there are 600 councils, which exercise supervision over hundreds of thousands of hectares of land. On the initiative of some of these councils, which have set up an organizational commission, it has been decided to hold a conference on the question of virgin land. All councils and technical specialists can participate with the purpose of discussing the ways and means of increasing output and making better use of virgin land.

Unitary peasant movements appear in various forms in different parts of the country and handle a large range of problems. Although they are concentrated mostly in the north and in the center, where the rural population consists predominantly of small and middle peasants, they spring up, gain in strength, and enhance their influence almost everywhere. From the tiniest villages to large agricultural districts, the unitary peasant movements organize exchanges of experience and coordinate their actions and efforts. They have secured nationwide representation, when, after generalizing the accumulated experience, they held a congress which set up the National Confederation of Agriculture, that represents the most diverse peasant organizations.

It may seem that this multitude of organizations, in some cases operating in one and the same district, where peasants are in many instances members of several of them, is unjustified and may even

lead to some sort of competition. But nothing of the kind occurs. This is the natural result of the complexity of the problems and the diversity of the aspirations and social status of the peasants. The diversity of organizations gives rise to an abundance of initiatives and forms of struggle that enable the peasant masses to resolve their problems.

The unitary peasant movements are asserting themselves as a force in their own right, articulating the aspirations of the masses, acting with restraint and a sense of responsibility, and providing a realistic alternative to the putchists, demagogic, destabilizing and counter-revolutionary actions of the CAP, the so-called Confederation of Agriculturists serving the political parties of the reactionary right-wing forces and circles that express the interests of the middlemen and industrialists.

Turn in the peasant movement

The unitary movement of small and middle peasants is thus a large and ramified complex of organizations embracing the entire country. Each of these organizations has its own content, form and aims, and mobilizes thousands upon thousands of peasants.

Having achieved a certain degree of coordination and interaction, these unitary organizations steer a largely progressive course, pursuing social, economic and technical aims that meet with the interests of the development of agriculture and the national economy, and acting against the interests of the monopolies and the latifundia circles, which hope to restore the positions of capitalism and abolish the democratic system.

What is taking place in the peasant movement today is the result of unremitting effort and a long process, in the course of which experience was accumulated, errors were corrected, and seemingly insurmountable difficulties were surmounted.

After the revolution of April 25 the right-wing forces took advantage (as they continue to do to this day) of the atmosphere of isolation and obscurantism left by half a century of fascist rule to whip up anti-communist feeling. Along with other monstrous inventions, they used the old bogey that religion and the family were threatened and that the small peasants would lose their land. Propaganda of this sort found particularly fertile soil in the small-holding regions of the north and the center. It was orchestrated by the local reactionary leaders, the right-wing parties and some sections of the clergy.

The right-wing forces attempted to use the small and middle peasants as a social base for their designs. At the same time, they hastily set in motion the Confederation of Agriculturists, which unites chiefly expropriated latifundia owners, middlemen and some sections of the technical specialists. For some time the CAP managed to confuse the small-holders, who were justifiiably disaffected with their conditions. It attracted them to its meetings at which demagogic discussions of vital problems were interlaced with attacks on the democratic system, the armed forces, the Communist Party and other democratic organizations. The CAP concentrated on denigrating the agrarian reform and on destabilizing, putchist and counter-revolutionary actions.

The formation and growth of the unitary movements of the small and middle peasants mirror a quantitative and qualitative turn in the struggle of the peasants. This has become particularly pronounced since 1976 mostly as a result of four interrelated circumstances:

1. *The actual deterioration of the economic condition of the peasants,* who felt that their unresolved problems were growing more acute, particularly since the formation of the sixth government (end of 1975 — beginning of 1976). The few steps that were taken in the interests of the peasants following the revolution of April 25 were nullified by the succession of governments under the Socialist Party, which, with the support of the SDP and the SDC, launched an offensive to restore the positions of capitalism. This nullification affected the law on agricultural rent and some measures that gave the peasants certain benefits in the marketing of their produce and in obtaining means of production and credits.

2. *The circumstance that the peasants increasingly saw through the demagogy and purport* of the policy pursued by the Socialist Party and the right-wing SDP and SDC. This exposure was brought about mainly by the political practices of each of these parties, by their stance in parliament, their responsibility for the adoption of measures and laws that clearly contravened the interests of the peasants, and also their close links with those who exploit the peasants.

The demagogy and actual class character of the CAP were exposed at the same time, or perhaps earlier. After joining hands with the right-wing parties and essentially supporting them, the CAP stepped up its political attacks on the agrarian reform. It supported or attacked one minister or another depending on whose political interests were at stake and increasingly departed, both by word and by deed, from the true interests of the peasants.

The CAP leaders, placed by the right-wing parties in organs for the coordination of the national economy and other links of the state apparatus, went to all lengths to inflict the greatest possible harm on the small and middle peasants. This activity by the CAP and also the fact that this confederation, as it transpired, was linked with or even directed by big merchants and industrialists, increasingly discredited it in the eyes of the peasants. To this was added the narrowing of its base consisting of expropriated latifundia owners, absenteeists, entrepreneurs, rich proprietors, some categories of technical specialists, importers and retailers of farm machinery, livestock-dealers and retailers of meat products. This was the keynote of the recent so-called Congress of Economic Action, at which the CAP was amalgamated with the Confederation of Portuguese Industry (a union of the

monopolists) and the Confederation of Portuguese Commerce (association of big merchants).

3. *Improvement of the PCP's work* in defense of the interests of the peasants through an increase of the number of cadres in this sector and the implementation of a series of organizational measures, particularly after our party's Eighth Congress (November 1976), which analyzed and criticized some shortcomings in this sector of the work.

4. *The harmonious and natural development of the class activity of the peasant movement* expressed in the creation of organizations and in actions closely linked with the most vital problems of the peasants. In practice the class activity of the unitary peasant movements is leading to a clash with the political activities and influence of the right-wing parties and the Socialist Party itself. As a result, the right-wing forces are increasingly losing their social base, while the class and political consciousness of the peasants grows.

Despite the fact that in rural areas the right-wing parties poll more votes because they have many of their henchmen among the local leaders and, possibly, activists, they feel that they can no longer do what they like in the peasant movement and that they are losing their influence in that movement.

The movement of small and middle peasants preserves its unitary character, which is inherent in its class nature. It does not close itself in party frameworks but rather takes the form of a mass movement consisting of peasants belonging to the most diverse parties or having no political commitment.

In this conglomerate of forces we should single out the tenant-farmers as the most militant contingent. Their condition relative to the means of production, particularly to the land, in fact makes them the most revolutionary force among the peasants.

Another noteworthy point is that the peasant movement has demonstrated flexibility and the ability to unite diverse forces, whose interests do not always coincide, and sometimes even come into conflict, true, on secondary issues. Class interests are what induce the peasants to unite and form their own movements. By broadening and improving their work they can play an even larger role in the mass popular movement and give concrete form to the worker-peasant alliance.

Divisive maneuvers

The right-wing forces are endeavoring to prevent the peasant movement from gaining in strength and breadth, to split and break it up. For these forces it is now common practice to use local leaders or their domination in the media, to label the most prominent peasant leaders as communists, and magnify the significance of the measures taken by the CAP, which does not express the interests of the masses. Moreover, they are seeking to create an atmosphere of intimidation, of physical, economic and moral pressure on activists, leaders, or rank-and-file members of the peasant organizations. They are trying to erect new hindrances to these organizations in addition to those being created by the reactionaries, and disrupt the free realization of the right of assembly.

So-call democratic unions of agriculturists, acting openly under the aegis of the Socialist Party, have sprung up recently. They are being formed on funds provided by the SP to transport peasants to their meetings, and on funds received from the European social-democratic movement. They are founded on the initiative of the SP technical specialists linked with the Ministry of Agriculture, and since their formation they have done practically nothing. However, having been set up as instruments of the Socialist Party's line of splitting the mass popular movement, they perform a divisive function that should not be underrated, for they aim to give the peasant movement a definite party orientation.

The unitary movement of small and middle peasants is surmounting divisive trends and the difficulties encountered by it. The experience gained by the peasants in the day-to-day practical work of their organizations will unquestionably make it increasingly clearer that they can count on success in their struggle only if they are united. Unity is the sole guarantee that nothing will come of the divisive maneuvers either today or in the future.

New experience

This section deals with the forms and methods of the work of communists. Our interviews, extracts from party documents and press items, readers' letters and brief reports reflect new developments in day-to-day party activities.

OUR INTERVIEWS

PRACTICE REQUIRES KNOWLEGE OF THEORY

Alvaro Delgado
Alternate member, CC Executive Committee, CP Colombia

Q. Have there been any new developments lately in the theoretical education of cadres in your party?

A. Our party has always given the matter much attention. Typical of the present period is that theory is studied more profoundly and that efforts are being made to ensure that our cadres not only have a general idea of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism but are conversant with the writings that form the theoretical basis of this doctrine, and know how to link theory with present-day struggles. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, 'Left'-Wing Communism — an Infantile Disorder* and other works by Lenin are of the utmost importance, for they help us find the correct answers to problems posed by practice.

A few words about the forms of theoretical education used by the party. We have three types of party schools: zonal, district and national. The term of study varies from one or two weeks to one or two months. Every year we draw up a curriculum for these schools. The latest was drawn up in anticipation of the party's 50th anniversary next year. We set guidelines for each course according to changes prompted by life.

Our national school, which under our conditions provides the highest standard of education, functions in three cities. This makes attendance easier for party members from the provinces and helps solve financial problems, which is important in organizing the education system. We plan to open branches of the national school in some other cities by late 1980. Moreover, we have a system of short-term courses, generally in rural areas or in remote regions, where it is very important for the party to win influence. One of our objectives is that every district should have its own lecturers.

Education committees at Central Committee and local level deal with all problems relating to the organization of studies, the drawing up of curricula, the compilation of manuals, and the coordination of the work of party schools and youth schools and schools run by trade unions. Theoretical education benefits greatly from the work of the Center of Social Studies, which has branches in several cities. Apart from research, it circulates Marxist-Leninist classics and runs day and evening courses on social subjects. These are paid courses open to anyone seriously interested in social, economic or legal problems. They are attended by, among others, workers, students, and men and women of the liberal professions. The courses are planned according to the knowledge standard of the people attending them. Philosophy, for one, is taught at three different levels, and political economy, at two, and these differ in subject matter.

Courses on particular subjects have lately gained significance. They are set up by the Center of Social Studies in accordance with the situation in the country. In September 1977, for example, when preparations were under way for a major national strike, the courses dealt with the history and theory of the question at issue. Other courses, organized immediately after the strike, analyzed its lessons. Many of the lectures on particular subjects are published and used by the party in its work among the people. Last year, for instance, such publications were devoted to May Day, the day of working people's solidarity, to the history of the strike movement on the banana plantations, and to the general strike.

Mention should also be made of the big role which our periodicals, including the Colombian edition of *World Marxist Review*, play in the theoretical education of our cadres.

Practice requires knowledge of theory, and one of our main tasks is to train people in accordance with present-day requirements.

A LIFE-LONG CAUSE

Jakoub Garro
CC member, Syrian Communist Party

Q. For a long time your party had to operate under the stern conditions imposed by illegality. The situation is different now. Has that also affected the terms of admission of new members?

A. Naturally, as time passed, there have been changes in the approach to the admission of new members, but they do not affect the substance of the matter. In other words, those who join the SCP are people who have been tested in joint work and struggle and enjoy the complete trust of the communists. This does not mean that any particular social group is barred from the party. Workers and peasants are, of course, given priority but members of the bourgeoisie, too, may join, provided they share our convictions and prove this in practice.

New members are admitted on an individual basis. A person who wants to join our ranks may apply for admission to a territorial or factory organization of the SCP or direct to the Central Committee. He may do so in writing or orally. However, he must be recommended by at least two members. If the recommendations are convincing enough the application is considered without delay. But if the organization concerned feels it must know more about the applicant — say, find out what people think of him where he lived or worked before — it tries to get that information.

For every new member there is a six-month probation period during which the organization gets to know him and assesses his class consciousness, discipline and attitude to the tasks assigned him. In some cases this period has to be prolonged. Occasionally those on probation are formed into groups led by steeled communists. We think this is a very good way of educating new members.

I would say that we admit people we know well because we do a good deal of preliminary work among those whom we regard as prospective members. It has become traditional in our organizations to tell one another about people in one's immediate surrounding, about the interests they have in common, about what they read and discuss, how they react to various social developments, and what their attitude to the party's policy is. Occasionally an organization brings together friends of the communists to discuss politics, problems of theory or culture, or calls on them to take part in this or that activity. In the end some of them are invited to join the party.

We benefit largely from the activity of communists in residential neighborhoods and various mass organizations, above all among young workers and students. Lately, the party has admitted many people from the Democratic Youth League.

We treat admission to the party as a matter of special importance, for membership should be regarded not lightly but as a life-long cause. This is why there are some restrictions. If, say, an applicant comes from another party his application is considered by the regional organization concerned, which subsequently informs the Central Committee of its decision. In the case of an applicant who has held a leading post in another party, the decision is taken directly by the Central Committee. Moreover, the period of probation is lengthened to one and two years respectively. Difficult conditions of work have taught us vigilance. We believe that the party must not admit people promiscuously.

KNOW THE MOOD OF THE MASSES

Peter Boychuck
Alternate member, CEC, CC CP Canada

Q. Which specific aspects of the effort to strengthen the party's ties with the masses would you emphasize today?

A. We have started to give greater attention to analyzing the mood of the masses, of public opinion, having realized how important this is today. Let me give you one example which I think is highly characteristic. By 1974-75, unemployment in Canada was approaching the figure which was disastrous for the 30s. Being aware of the decisive role we played in the struggles of the unemployed in the 30s, our party made efforts to mobilize such a struggle today. However, not a single area succeeded in doing so. The old slogans and old methods failed to work, because the conditions had changed, and so we had to change our tactics. It is hard to give the details in a few words, but this case and daily practice convinced us how necessary it is to have a good knowledge of the mood of the masses and their probable response to the various political events and slogans.

However, for the time being we do not have a great many possibilities for studying public opinion. The party does not have any special center or institute for such research. Understandably, we seek to make the utmost use of all the other channels. For example, in our country the bourgeois mass media frequently take public-opinion polls on various subjects. Of course, we cannot put full trust in their information, but it is not in our interest to ignore these either, because elements of truth are brought out in most polls. The important thing, we believe, is how the results of such polls are interpreted and used. The party draws its own conclusions from the information it obtains. For the same purposes, we analyze the material published by the trade unions and other mass bodies. But the main thing, of course, is our own work and the effective use of our own sources for evaluating the mood of the masses.

Much in this respect is produced by the party members' day-to-day activity in the trade unions. the young people's, women's and neighborhood organizations, in the various ethnic and immigrant groups, participation in the peace movement, and so on. Their analytical observations of and conclusions from direct contacts with the masses are highly valuable for the party.

We devote much attention to information from the localities, from the provincial party organizations. When submitting their reports to the Central Committee, their leaders give their own assessments of the mood of the masses. Many of the questions they raise are discussed by plenary meetings of our Central Committee. Letters to the editors of party periodicals are undoubtedly very important in studying the mood of the masses. Unfortunately, this source of information is still a weak side of our work, which was noted by speakers at our last party congress. Measures are being taken to overcome this shortcoming. Certain issues of the *Canadian Tribune* are devoted primarily to a given industry — auto, steel construction and others. They carry a deeper and fuller examination, by experts and workers on the job, of problems with which workers in that industry are concerned. The results are encouraging.

It is well known that many problems are best clarified in direct contacts and friendly conver-

sations. We believe that it is important to use every such opportunity. All members of our Central Committee are members of basic party clubs, in which they play an active role. Most of them are members of provincial, and/or regional and local committees of the party. On their tours of the country, party leaders meet with local clubs, as well as with higher committees, where lively discussions are held.

There is a growing realization within our party of the need to establish organs, under the Central Committee, for the study of public opinion. For the time being, special CC commissions have been set up to assess the present state of the people's consciousness and attitudes in such areas as the labor movement, ethnic groups and higher schools, among others.

We are clearly aware that the more complicated the problems we face, the better should be our use of every opportunity for studying the mood of the masses, for whose benefit we are carrying on our struggle.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

NEPSZABADSAG

Communists in research centers

To show how the party guides science, *Nepszabadsag* cities the work of the communists of a district of Budapest where there are many research centers. In answering its questions, Gabor Borbely, First Secretary of the District Committee of the HSWP, stresses the importance of the atmosphere in which a scientist works, adding that party organizations can and must do much to create in every research center an atmosphere conducive to productive effort.

Party organizations do not ignore such matters of importance to every research center as current and long-range planning, application of the results of research, the establishment of closer links between science and practice, or the condition of young scientists. What can communists do to help in this respect? The aim, Borbely says, is to enable research workers not only to investigate this or that problem but to advance their field of activity as a whole. Much attention is given to training and upgrading, without which there can be no progress, especially in science. It is most important, in the communists' view, that in selecting subjects the professional interests of each researcher should be brought into line with the interests of society. Accordingly, at research centers the party organizations see one of their fundamental tasks in ensuring that scientists know the requirements of society, the purpose of research, and the way in which it can benefit the state.

The party organizations at research centers, Borbely says, educate research personnel ideologically and politically in accordance with current requirements. In some institutes there are social councils, whose recommendations are very helpful to communists.

UNSERE ZEIT

The economy closely examined

The German Communist Party devotes much attention to economic analysis, whose purpose is to use facts and figures to ascertain the forms and degree of exploitation of the working people and unmask the strategems of the capitalists, who try to conceal their profits and put the burden of a crisis situation on the working people's shoulders. This analysis is carried on by factory party groups, while for larger-scale studies, groups are set up generally comprising specialists and factory workers, as well as teachers and students of economics. The findings of research are published in the party press.

Unsere Zeit reports, among other things, that the GCP newspaper at Springer's Hamburg printing works has gone over ('with a fine comb,' as the paper puts it) the company's balance sheet for the past fiscal year. It appears that in 1977 the annual turnover per employee rose to DM 151,000 as against DM 78,000 in 1970. Showing how this substantial growth was brought about, the paper also makes it clear that the employers were concerned only with their own interest, because the proportion of wages in the gross product of the enterprise is diminishing and the gap in pay between managerial personnel and the workers is widening. Summing up the results of its research, the paper gives the following figures: whereas the company's employees are paid an average of DM 10 to DM 13 per hour, the hourly salary of members of the Board and other echelons of the management exceeds DM 259; the growth rate of wages in the fiscal year under survey was half the rate of increase in the overall productivity of the company.

QUESTION — ANSWER

FOCUS ON WORK AT FACTORIES

WMR has already told readers about the work of Finnish communists at factories. We would like to know more about how they combine the production and territorial principles in forming party branches and what are the main difficulties encountered by them in the process.

The following answer is by *Erkki Kivimäki*, Acting General Secretary, CC Communist Party of Finland.

The Communist Party of Finland has branches of three types: city, rural, and factory. The first two are more numerous, comprising 80 per cent of the total. This is due, among other things, to a tradition of the Finnish labor movement, which carries on its work on the territorial principle, and to the actual opportunities for work. But, in extending its activity in recent years, the party has been intensifying its work at the factories to form new organizations there and increase their membership and the proportion of young communists in them.

This is not to say that we underrate the importance of territorial sections. We try to improve their

work as well and to increase their number, particularly in new residential areas. Speaking generally, their experience is positive and encompasses all the tasks set by the party, including those assigned to members of these branches at their place of work.

Nevertheless, the very trend of development — substantial changes in the social composition of society, labor migration to the cities, the merger of enterprises, and a considerable growth of the scope and influence of the trade union movement — prompts the party to lay special stress on the effort to strengthen factory organizations. The working class certainly cannot succeed in the struggle for its interests and rights without broad unity of action. And it is primarily the factories and trade unions that form the basis for joint action by the workers and their parties in Finnish society today.

However, in the production sphere party organizations come into being at a slower pace than we would like them to. In recent years most of them have sprung up at large factories, chiefly in the metalworking, woodworking and paper industries. It has proved more difficult to form party organizations at small factories and at factories where female labor predominates, and also in the services industry, although conditions for political activity are much better now than in the period of cold war and rampant anti-communism.

The difficulty of forming factory party organizations is due to a number of causes. One of them is the attitude of those workers who dread the prospect of joining in the activity of a communist branch 'under the employer's eyes.' Some people, who are used to working in a territorial organization, cannot prove their worth in a different environment. In the services industry, the formation of party branches is also made difficult by the small size of the enterprises and the fact that they are scattered over a large area. Besides, such organizations are not always led efficiently enough, nor are they always led with an eye to the peculiarities of production in the given industry. A further problem is that the Central Committee and district committees are short of people who can work in the enterprises.

It must be said, however, that none of these causes can weaken our basic orientation. Some consider that it might be worthwhile to make factory branches the main form. But we must first make a careful study of the effect this would have on the general trend of party work. We have already suggested to the secretaries of some area committees that they try this on the scale of the area and we know that the experiment will undoubtedly take a few years. But the idea has drawn no real response so far.

Even so, we try to step up party work at the factories. And we can put it on record that the number of factory branches is growing as is their numerical strength. The party has favorable prospects for establishing itself at other factories.

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exchange of views

Political system of developed socialism

At the end of 1978, the *WMR* Commission on Problems in Socialist Construction sponsored an international symposium on Current Problems in the Political System of Socialist Society. Among the scientists and party functionaries from socialist countries attending the symposium were *Vladimir Zakharov,* division head, Institute of Contemporary Social Theories, Presidium of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Professor *Jozsef Halasz,* department head, Higher Political School of the HSWP CC; Porfessor *Wolfgang Weichelt,* Director, Institute of Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences; *Jose Felipe Carneado*, CC member, CP Cuba, head of the CC's Department of Education, Science and Culture; *B. Ligden,* division head, Institute of Party History at the MPRP CC; *Adam Lopatka,* CC alternate member, PUWP, corresponding member, Polish Academy of Sciences, department head, Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, PUWP CC; *Wojciech Nosek*, heading staff member, Ideological Education Department, PUWP CC; Professor *Alexandru Sesan,* Scientific Director of the Institute of Finance, Prices and Credit of the Central Institute of Economic Studies, Higher Council of Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Rumania; Professor *Igor Ilyinsky,* department head, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Assistant Professor *Josef Mecl,* Director, Institute of State Administration of the Government of the CSSR and *Jaroslav Matejicek,* consultant, Department of Propaganda and Agitation, CPCz CC. The symposium was attended also by members of the Commission on Problems in Socialist Construction: Professor *Girgin Girginov,* CC member, Bulgarian CP, Editorial Board member of the Journal; Assistant Professor

Karoly Lipkovics, HSWP representative on the Journal, member of the Editorial Board; *Manuel Dias Menendez,* the CP Cuba representative on the Jounal; *Wieslaw Klimczak,* CC alternate member, PUWP, Editorial Board member of the Journal; *Barbu Zaharescu,* member, Central Auditing Commission, Rumanian CP, corresponding member, Academy of the SRR, Editorial Board member of the Journal; and Assistant Professor *Pavel Auersperg,* CC member, CP Czechoslovakia, Executive Editor of the Journal.

The symposium concentrated on the following:

— methodology in analyzing a socialist society's political system;

— ways and means of improving the socialist political system and extending socialist democracy;

— status and role of the Communist Party in the political system of socialism.

The opening speech was delivered by K. Lipkovics, Chairman of the Commission on Problems in Socialist Construction. Below is a summary of the statements at the symposium.

The general and the specific

What does the 'political system (organization) of socialist society' mean? What are the distinctive features of its development at the stage of building mature socialism and communism? Do these features have a common intrinsic content suggesting general uniformities in the formation and development of the political superstructure of socialism, or does practice fail to provide reliable criteria for this assertion?

The concepts of 'political organization' and 'political system,' *G. Girginov* said, were generally used as complementary or as being very close to each other. But the term 'political system' has lately been given preference. I think that this is a reflection of the changes in the political realities in socialist-community countries: the political superstructure corresponding to the stage of building and perfecting developed socialism is marked, first, by a large degree of organic interconnection between its constituent institutions and relations, and second, by its much more active and efficient functioning. 'Political system' is a concept expressing these features of the political sphere of socialism — its coherence and dynamism — inasmuch as it reflects the components of the system as 'operating.'

In accordance with this approach, I think, would be a definition of the political system of socialism as a set of political relations of which the subjects are the working people, led by the working class, and the institutions expressing their will and interests: the Communist Party, the socialist state and social organizations.

The actual political role of the Communist Party and the socialist state is immensely greater than that of all the other elements of the political system, and in this sense they constitute a key element of the latter, the core of the mechanism of administration of socialist society.

According to *W. Weichelt*'s definition, the political organization of socialist society is a ramified system of social and state organizations and institutions and also of the relations between them, which are regulated by definite standards and traditions. Through the medium of this system, the working class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, exercises its political power, strengthens its alliance with the other classes and sections, balances the development of socialist society as a whole, ensures its reliable protection and shapes socialist relations among men.

The political organization of socialist society in the GDR includes: the SUPG, the party of the working class and of all the other working people, which is the core of the organization; the state, the chief instrumment for building developed socialism and advancing toward communism; the friendly parties which accept the leading role of the working class and the SUPG, and which do much to bring definite sections of the people into socialist construction; the mass organizations of working people (Association of Free German Trade Unions, Free German Youth League, etc.) expressing the interests of their members and providing an important school for their political education; the GDR National Front, a socialist popular movement involving members of the parties, mass organizations, and all the other categories of the population; voluntary associations of working people in accordance with their specific occupational interests, especially in the field of science and culture (creative unions, etc.); labor collectives at enterprises and offices, other voluntary organizations of working people (parents' committees at schools, etc.)

The socialist political organization is in a constant state of development, and this process is determined by the degree of maturity of the socio-economic basis. While being a reflection of the latter, the political organization simultaneously plays an active role in improving the relationship among its elements, and influences the further shaping of the entire spectrum of socialist social relations. The political organization of socialist society in the GDR is a stage of the development of the system of proletarian dictatorship, which is ceaselessly perfected in accordance with the general laws of socialism.

The dialectico-materialist view of history, *P. Auersperg* said, is the key to understanding the nature and the development laws of society's political system, for it holds that the mode of the production of material values is the main factor influencing the whole political system of society.

Of course, Marxism-Leninism in no way ties in, directly or unilatarally, any changes in the political system with economic processes. First, let us recall that the classics of Marxism-Leninism lucidly showed that the operation of any given country's political institutions is powerfully influenced not only by the economy but also by many other factors, including established traditions of political life, the ethnic make-up of the

population, the prevailing morality, legal consciousness, and the international situation. Without taking these factors into account, it would be impossible to explain many phenomena in the kaleidoscopic and rapidly changing political picture of the world today.

Second, Marxism-Leninism stresses that both in theory and practice it is vital to take account of the relative independence of the state and other political institutions and the active influence which they, for their part, exert on socio-economic life. Lenin wrote: 'Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 32, p. 83). This Leninist proposition has nothing in common with the voluntarist thesis of the 'leftists' about politics being in command. What it means is that while expressing the requirements of economic development, politics actively influence it.

What are the distinctive features of the political system at the stage of building and perfecting developed socialism?

As a result of harmony of fundamental socio-economic, political and ideological interests of all the classes and groups of socialist society, which has been achieved, the emphasis in politics at the given stage is shifted to coordination and integration of the interests of these classes and groups. This, for its part, leads to a corresponding restructuring of forms and methods of political leadership. In the state sphere, this is expressed in a gradual transition from the state of the proletarian dictatorship to the state of the whole people and the latter's perfection.

Political direction of social development increasingly combines direct, directive methods of influence with reliance on the creativity of the people, because political decisions can be fully realized only if there is conscious and active participation by the broadest sections of the population. Hence, the clear tendency toward the promotion of socialist democracy, which is the only form of organizing socialist society fully in accord with its nature. This embraces both the political and the economic sphere.

Finally, note must be made of another important feature. It is the growth of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, which increasingly concentrates on defining the long-term and immediate goals of social development and their priorities, and on formulating ways of attaining these goals.

The historical method, too, *K. Lipkovics* emphasized, plays an important role in scientifically understanding the political system of society. Bourgeois science, it will be recalled, takes an idealistic, metaphysical approach to problems of social development. In any study of the political system this tends to separate the superstructure from economic and class relations, and to obscure the fundamental, qualitative distinctions between the socialist and the bourgeois political system. This is expressed in a search for and construction of 'universal models' of political systems, of democracy in general.

Historical approach is an inalienable feature of Marxist-Leninist methodology. The communists, Marxist-Leninists, regard political systems and processes not as something immutable, but as a phenomenon originating in concrete historical conditions and bearing their imprint. Every political organization is determined by the character and level of society's development, so that essential changes within it are always connected with the changes in other sectors of society, chiefly its basis. But because the political system is relatively independent it may, in certain conditions, run ahead of reality, or conversely, lag behind the requirements of social development. This is fraught with political and social convulsions. Confirmation of this is to be found in the experience of some socialist countries, where mistakes in the political sphere were made after the working class had won and consolidated power. An especially complicated situation arose in Hungary in 1956, when dogmatic, revisionist and nationalistic deviations got the upper hand in politics and led to serious distortions in the political system and the whole of social life.

There is also a need to consider the fact that today the new society is being built under extremely difficult international conditions. On the pretext of championing human rights, reactionary circles in the West are virulently attacking the socialist countries, extending their ideological subversion, and giving every support to elements out to erode socialist society from within. Our party takes all of this into account when deciding matters of political organization. The development of socialist democracy cuts the ground from under the numerically few elements who still exist and oppose the building of the new society, and at the same time helps to enhance the appeal of socialism throughout the world and to strengthen the positions of the progressive, revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries.

The historical method, *J. Matejicek* said, helps to ascertain the general laws governing the shaping and development of the political system of socialism as expressed in the practice of political construction in Czechoslovakia, the USSR and other countries of existing socialism. I should like to draw attention to the following laws: consolidation of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and other sections of the working people as the social basis of the political system; enhancement of the role of the socialist state, the chief instrument of socialist and communist transformations, the increasingly fuller and more efficient use of the state apparatus for managing the economy, science, education and culture; harmonious development of all the elements of the political system of mature socialism; the growing political importance of the individual, if one could put it that way, namely, the creation of much broader opportunities for the individual's participation in every sphere of socio-political life. This is expressed in the marked extension of the rights and duties of the individual, as written into the

constitutions of the socialist-community countries and the much greater material guarantees of these rights.

The enemies of the Cuban revolution, *J. Felipe Carneado* said, claim that the socialist road along which our country has been advancing is inconsistent with Cuba's character, that it has been forcibly imposed on it, or that its experience allegedly refutes the Marxist-Leninist political theory. The resolution on ideological work passed by the First Congress of the CP Cuba says that an important task before the party is to expose such inventions and provide scientific evidence that 'our revolution is the result of conscious activity in accordance with the laws governing historical development.' and that 'its socialist character is a consistent expression of these laws.'* The society which we are building in Cuba is not some kind of special 'model' of socialism, but a practical embodiment of scientific socialism and further confirmation of the unfading viability of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

This idea was supported by *P. Auersperg*, and *K. Lipkovics*.

Of course, there can be no ideal 'model' of a political system suitable down to the minutest detail for all the socialist countries and all the stages of their development, *P. Auersperg* declared. But one should not go to the other extreme and deny the universal significance of some features of the political system of socialism. Such features exist, and they have been brought out in the international experience of existing socialism, including the experience of Czechoslovakia. Let us recall that departure from these features in the period of crisis development in 1968 and 1969 on the plea that a 'specific Czechoslovak model' of socialism had to be worked out led in our country to a weakening of the positions of the working class within the system of political power and jeopardized the people's socialist gains. This shows that it is possible to strengthen the new system and consolidate the leading position of the working class ideologically and theoretically only if 'national socialism and communism' are overcome.

One can well understand, *K. Lipkovics* said, the urge of the revolutionary forces of the capitalist world to work out a form of political organization that would best accord with the national specifics of this or that country, with its political traditions, and level of economic, scientific and technological development. But practice has shown that whatever the concrete form a socialist revolution assumes in a given country, fundamental changes in the structure of power that actually transfer power to the working class and the rest of the working people are an essential component part of that revolution. Far from hindering the elaboration of new theoretical and political conceptions, the experience of the socialist countries in effect helps to fulfill this difficult task.

Primer Congreso del Partido Comunista de Cuba. Tesis y Resoluciones (Havana, 1976), p. 231.

Ways of improvement

The participants in the symposium noted that in the socialist-community countries processes are at work today whose nature makes it possible to speak of the formation of the political system of developed socialism. What is the gist of these processes? How are they reflected in the political system of the different socialist countries?

The extension of socialist democracy, *I. Ilyinsky* said, is the leading trend in the development of the political system of socialism. It is also reflected in the functioning of the socialist state, which, because it is profoundly democratic, acts as the fundamental instrument enabling the working people to take part in running the country. Today, state power is the chief form of socialist democracy, i.e., the power of the working people led by the working class.

The profoundly democratic character of the socialist state led Lenin to the conclusion that it is no longer a state in the proper sense of the word, but a 'semi-state,' a 'state which is withering away' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 396-7, 419, 441). Now and again, this conclusion is interpreted in the sense that after the victory of the socialist revolution and the consolidation of its gains, the state should develop toward the diminution of its role and the folding up of its functions. The experience of our country and other fraternal socialist countries shows that this approach is wrong. Leonid Brezhnev says: 'There is much in history to show that wherever the role and power of the socialist state is weakened, anarchy supervenes and socialist gains are jeopardized.'*

Considerable harm is also done to the cause of socialism by those who seek to 'postpone' the development of democratic principles in the activity of the state for an indefinite period.

Does not the line of strengthening the socialist state contradict the prospects for its withering away? Marx, Engels and Lenin assumed that only with the building of the higher phase of communism does the state wither away and a system of communist social self-administration take shape. For socialists, Lenin wrote, 'recognition of the fact that the *state* will exist until victorious socialism develops into full communism' is indisputable (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 323). The practice of existing socialism bears out this conclusion. It also shows that the main line of development of the socialist state in the present period is toward the further unfolding of democratic principles in the work of state institutions and establishments, active participation by the working people in managing them, and in directing economic and cultural construction, improving the work of the state apparatus and enhancing people's control over it.

We know from practice, *V. Zakharov* said, that the creation of the new, socialist state and the shaping of a coherent political system of socialism is a long process ranging over decades and deter-

*WMR, August 1969, p. 3.

mined by internal and external factors. The new state has to grow up, develop and pass the stage of maturity before it begins to wither away. What 'withers away at once' is not the new, proletarian, but the old, bourgeois state. The state of the proletarian dictatorship evolves naturally into a state of the whole people, while the system of the proletarian dictatorship develops into the political organization of the whole people.

One can hardly accept the view that the withering away of the state is a process in which state functions are transformed into public functions, a process in which the state is, so to speak, absorbed by social self-administration. In this way, public self-administration is unwittingly counterposed as a higher and more progressive type of social organization to state administration as the lower, less developed type. Understood in this way, public self-administration emerges somewhere away from the state and develops at its expense. It appears to draw on the moribund state organism for its vitality, gradually taking over more and more of its functions.

I believe it would be wrong to counterpose the state apparatus to the people's self-administration, to direct democracy. The development of socialist democracy is the essence of the state system's evolution into communist public self-administration.

In Cuba, *J. Felipe Carneado* said, all power belongs to the working people, who exercise it directly through the assemblies of people's power and other state organs, of which the assemblies are the basis. The people's power rests on a sound alliance of the working class and the peasantry and other sections of the people in town and country. In this alliance the leading role is played by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Communist Party of Cuba.

In its activity, the state relies on mass public organizations, which, among other things, directly perform some state functions vested in them by the Constitution and the law. These organizations unite various sections of the population, represent their specific interests and involve these sections in the tasks of building, strengthening and defending the socialist society.

The work of the state organs is based and develops on the principles of one-man management in the economy, socialist democracy and democratic centralism, and this is expressed in the subordination of lower to higher state organs, freedom of discussion, criticism and self-criticism, and submission of the minority to the majority in all the collegial state organs.

As in all the other countries of socialist democracy, our deputies and delegates to the assemblies of people's power at every level are accountable to their electors, and the latter have the right to recall them. The people control the work of state organs, while the deputies and delegates, who are not career parliamentarians, are not paid for their work in the representative bodies.

B. Ligden spoke of the specific features of the formation of the socialist state and political system in Mongolia. In practice, it began with the establishment and consolidation of superstructural elements: the people's state, the revolutionary people's party, and some public organizations. This political structure was qualitatively new compared with the backward economic basis and social structure of Mongolian society in the early post-revolutionary period. But thanks to the strong support given to the MPRP by the broadest masses of the people and its masterful policy, the advanced political organization of Mongolian society, far from breaking away from the social and economic basis, became in effect a powerful instrument for their reconstruction on socialist lines. Of course, this was a fairly long process and it unfolded gradually. The existence of different sectors in the economy was overcome when the cooperation of the peasant households was completed in the late 50s. Two friendly classes — the working class and the cooperative farmers — and also the people's intelligentsia now constitute the social basis of society.

These radical changes led to important modifications in the operation of the political organization. The state's function of suppressing resistance on the part of the deposed exploiting classes, for instance, has disappeared, and the state of the working peasantry, as a type of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, is gradually evolving into a state of the dictatorship of the working class.

New characteristic features and properties of the political system are emerging at the present stage of completion of the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. First, it is gradually becoming a system of the whole people, because the changes in Mongolia's class structure tend to draw the classes and social groups closer together. Second, the rising cultural standards and the consciousness of the masses lead to a deepening of socialist democracy.

W. Klimczak raised the question of the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on the political system of socialist society. For instance, one of its consequences is the rising cultural level of workers and other persons engaged in manual labor and their ever broader and more active participation in the management of social affairs.

On the other hand, the scientific and technological revolution requires a marked rise in the skills and professional standards of those taking administrative and economic decisions, which in a sense runs counter to the above-mentioned trend of involving the masses in the decision-making process. The experience of our countries shows that it is wrong to insist on the either-or alternative — democracy or competent management — which some bourgeois theorists and revisionists suggest. But this does not mean that it is absolutely clear to us how we are to enhance the quality and efficiency of managing society at the present, higher stage in the development of socialism and democracy. We must frankly admit that our science has

yet to work out sufficiently solid and effective recommendations for overcoming this contradiction consciously, instead of empirically.

Perfection of the system of the organs of popular representation, and enhancement of their role in the management of state and social affairs was indicated at the symposium as one of the most essential trends in the development of the political system of socialism.

Local representative organs, which in the CSSR are known as national committees, have become an important element of this system, *J. Mecl* said. In socialist society, they act both as organs of power at local level and as organs of state administration, combining collective discussion and adoption of decisions on key matters with control over their implementation by the executive apparatus, which is fully responsible to the elected people's deputies.

The economico-organizational and cultural functions tend increasingly to come to the fore in the national committees' extensive and diverse work. As many as 1.5 million men and women, one-half of whom are employed in the national economy, work in the organizations and establishments managed by the national committees. The fixed assets of the national committees make up one-third of those of the national economy as a whole, and they realize a quarter of all the investments in the economy. This strong material base underpins the growing democratic participation by the people in the management of state affairs in the localities.

The 15th Congress of the CP Czechoslovakia put forward a number of task whose fulfillment is designed to enhance the authority and role of the national committees, especially in the matter of controlling the execution of government directives, strengthening socialist legality and law and order, fuller satisfaction of citizens' requirements, protection of the environment and rational development of territorial units. The starting point in the fulfillment of these tasks is, as the CPCz sees it, the strengthening of ties between deputies and their electors, and constructive participation by the working people in the democratic administration of the state.

J. Halasz said that the role of the socialist parliament, the highest representative body, has been growing significantly. Today, the State Assembly of the HPR may be said to be operating without interruption. In the recent period, it has been meeting four times a year (the Constitution provides for at least two annual sessions), and in between the sessions its standing commissions are very active not only in drafting bills but also in exercising their right to hear reports from the heads of any state organs.

The role of the Patriotic People's Front has been enhanced by amendments to the Constitution. Close cooperation has been arranged between its central organs, regional, city and local committees, on the one hand, and deputies of parliament, on the other. In contrast to the old practice, the Front's committees now function not only in the period of electoral campaigns but constantly: they help the deputies to fulfill their duties in parliament and in the constituencies, organize discussion of bills among various sections of the population, and explain the meaning of adopted laws and key government decisions.

Parliament's growing attention to the interests of the constituencies and to problems of the economic, social, cultural and other development of the territories represented by the deputies, is an important feature in the promotion of socialist democracy in Hungary. Let me say that at first this practice was welcomed by some, while regarded by others as being fraught with the danger of local interests prevailing over those of society. Having made a close study of the accumulated experience, the HSWP Central Committee reached the conclusion that the growing attention being paid by the representative organs of power at every level to local interests should on the whole be given a positive assessment because it helps to deepen the democratic character of these organs.

The electoral reform of 1970 likewise helped to improve the work of the parliament and local representative bodies. Its purpose was to increase the representation of local, territorial interests, and to take fuller account of the will and desires of citizens. Accordingly, two important changes were made in the old electoral system. First, the nomination of two or more candidates for every seat is not only allowed but is, in fact, encouraged; second, indirect, two-stage elections were introduced in the formation of regional councils: their deputies were not elected by citizens directly, but by the deputies to local (rural and city) councils. As a result, the latter have their own representatives on the regional councils. Regional-council deputies now directly express the interests of terreitorial collectives of working people — of towns and villages — and also coordinate these interests in the light of broader social requirements. In the HPR such an electoral system helps adequately to reflect various interests and effectively to resolve any possible contradictions between them.

The symposium also considered the specific experience gained by the socialist countries in the optimal harmonization of representative and direct democracy, in the quest for the most effective forms of mass participation in the administration of society. Speakers noted that two main lines of development have crystallized in this field: on the one hand, there is ever broader participation by the people in the management of production, planning, control, etc., at enterprise level; on the other, there is more varied activity by the institutions of socialist democracy through which the people take part in deciding the most important state and social matters.

In people's Poland, *A. Lopatka* said, workers' self-management at enterprises has been in effect since 1956. In 1976, the Sejm passed amendments to the Constitution, one of which provides for the right of the collectives of state enterprises to take

part in managing these enterprises. The Political Bureau of the PUWP CC recently outlined measures for the further development of workers' self-management, designed to enhance the role of its organs in decision-making bearing on working conditions and everyday social problems, and in the exercise of workers' control. We are now developing a system of legal norms defining the statute of workers' self-management, which now covers virtually all state enterprises and establishments, with a few exceptions. Representatives of this institution meet regularly for national conferences.

B. Zaharescu and *A. Sesan* set out in detail the measures taken by the Rumanian CP for developing workers' self-management in Rumania, including more economic and financial independence for enterprises.

Worker self-management, *B. Zaharescu* said, is becoming the main principle of the organization and functioning of economic units and government bodies at all levels. With the growth of the productive forces and economic progress in recent years, the working class increased numerically and its professional and political standards rose to a higher level. This made it necessary to extend the organizational framework of participation by the working class and the people as a whole in the management of all economic and social activities. The result was the constitution of working people's enterprise councils and economic units as a form of managing the lower echelons of the economy. The first congress of these councils, held in 1977, established the National Working People's Council.

In March 1978, a plenary meeting of the CC RCP passed a decision providing democratic managerial bodies with the financial and economic levers needed to ensure that the methods of planning and managing the operation of enterprises and economic units leave as much room as possible for the people's initiatives. It introduced a principle of economic and financial autonomy of production units and their self-management.

Speaking at the meeting, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that 'we must ensure guidance of society's entire economic activity both on the principle of democratic centralism, resolutely eliminating excessive and rigid centralism in the process, and on the principle of self-management. . . . At the same time, however, we should not overlook anarchist tendencies or manifestations of parochialism but take steps to remove them. . . .'

Worker self-management in the SRR is a comprehensive system of forms and methods of collective management corresponding to the spirit of socialist democracy, a system encompassing every echelon of such management from top to bottom. Under worker self-management, socialist property is the property of the whole people, which means that it is not fragmented. Each work collective is assigned means of labor belonging to society and is responsible to it for their use and increase. The plan of each production unit is part of the overall economic and social development plan. However, it is not shaped bureaucratically but on the principles of democratic centralism, by coordinating the plan targets of the lower echelons with those of the national plan. Employee-sharing of the profit of enterprises is a new stage in the application of the socialist principle of distribution according to work, for it makes possible a more specific assessment of the economic activity of each enterprise and each employee. Lastly, self-management enhances the role of the party as the leading force of all socio-economic activity.

Under worker self-management, *A. Sesan* said, every employee and the enterprise staff as a whole have additional incentives to work better, produce more, and maximize profit. This benefits both the employees and the enterprise. In this way the principle of combining the interests of the individual with those of society — a principle maintained by the RCP — is put into practice.

Enterprises and industrial complexes have been empowered to use (within the framework of the plan and budget) all the funds they require to insure steady production and pay the employees. Furthermore, after the state has deducted the part of the surplus product that covers public expenditures, the rest is put at the disposal of the staff. One part of the net earnings of the enterprise goes into accumulation and the other is included in the fund from which the working people receive their share of the earnings.

Along with the national economic plan, the budget, drawn up at all levels of economic organization, plays a special role in guaranteeing coordination between centralized planning and planning at the level of the economic unit. It is the main instrument of managing financial activity and the principal means by which each enterprise performs the functions assigned to it by the law. Through the budget, general meetings of the employees and collective managerial bodies make sure there is a proper balance between income and expenditure in economic activity, determine the profitability standard and other indices of efficiency, the size of the enterprise's own funds, and so on. The budget also helps supervise the fulfillment of plan assignments on which the collective managerial bodies must report to the general meeting.

In addition to the democratic principle, the centralizing function performed primarily by the socialist state is very important, as *V. Zakharov* sees it, in harmonizing the interests of society, the collective and the individual. At the stage of building a developed socialist society, the interests of work collectives, whose number is growing, become increasingly more complex. For a number of objective and subjective reasons, there are discrepancies between the aspirations of certain sectors. Account must also be taken of such important circumstances as differences in the diverse population groups' social consciousness, and underestimation of the public interest. As far back as

1922, a resolution on the role and tasks of the trade unions passed by the 11th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in line with Lenin's theses pointed out that the state should meet the aspiration of various groups of workers for maximum benefits only if 'these benefits can be provided without detriment to other groups and without injury to the development of the workers' state and its economy as a whole.' This is why the problem of coordinating the interests of work collectives, social groups, and individual citizens, on the one hand, and society, on the other, cannot be settled without a certain degree of centralized decision-making.

At this stage of development of the socialist political system in our country, we see the main task in perfecting the forms of representative and direct democracy to make it more effective, *W. Weichelt* said. The SUPG attaches great importances to such forms of mass participation in administration of society as consultations with the people, broad preliminary discussion of important problems concerning the state and society, draft laws, and so on, before a final decision is taken. These discussions take place in the party at all levels beginning with the branches, in the people's representative bodies, their commissions, work units and public organizations.

We hold such consultations when, for instance, national economic plans are drafted. In recent years, virtually all the more important bills have been voted into law only after a nationwide discussion. In this context, I would also like to mention the trade unions' right to propose legislation, a right which they exercise actively. It was on their initiative that the Labor Code was adopted.

Our Constitution, approved in a referendum, contains provisions for greater participation by the people in the management of public affairs. There are provisions regarding cooperation among parties and mass organizations, the rights of the trade unions, whose role in government has been substantially increased, the rights of cooperatives, and lastly, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. The people's representative bodies of the GDR comprise delegates from every component of the political organization of our society: the trade unions and youth, women's and other organizations.

The ultimate criterion of democracy, *W. Klimczak* pointed out, is the criterion of conditions for actual participation by every citizen in shaping the destiny of his country and people. While bourgeois democracy lacks humanist principles in the true sense of the word, and serves the selfish interests of a tiny minority of society and is therefore limited, nominal and hypocritical, socialist democracy is expressive of the real humanism of our system and its political structure. Experience shows, however, that the presence of all the attributes of a socialist political system does not in itself fully guarantee their normal functioning. In some conditions the nature of political practice and that of the political system as a whole may change considerably even though its institutions outwardly remain intact. This indicates that political leadership must have a definite trend to guarantee harmony between the character of the functioning of the political system, that is, political practice, and the socialist character of the social system. The decisive role in this respect is played by the party, by its policy, as we know from the experience of the socialist community.

The PUWP considers it very important to heighten the social activity of citizens in carrying out socialist and communist construction tasks. It also does much to promote the system of upbringing and education, which prepares the individual for an active role in democratic life, and to utilize factors establishing closer links between the individual and the work unit or public organization. Socialism creates immense prerequisites for integrating professional work, a full-blooded cultural life, and political activity.

The humanism of the socialist system and its political institutions finds expression in the legal status of the individual and the extensive rights and freedoms enjoyed by the citizens of a socialist state, *A. Lopatka* said. In 1976, when Poland had set about building a developed socialist society, important amendments were made to its Constitution. They extended the rights (as well as duties) of citizens and added to the substance of many of them, especially economic, cultural and socialist rights. At the same time, the amendments removed some restrictive formulations, which were perfectly justified when we were laying the foundations for socialism but are out of keeping with present-day conditions. The Constitution of the PPR fully guarantees political, personal, economic, social and cultural rights which are steadfastly put into effect. 'We have always attached and will attach the greatest importance to those gains of the socialist system and those principles of our policy which provide equal opportunities of choosing a career, social security, and confidence in one's future,' Edward Gierek has said. 'They are the basis for the working people's standing in society, their influence on politics, and their participation in management.'*

Socialist society's possibilities of determining the extent of materializing human rights depend objectively on the balance of forces at home and on the international scene, on its scientific, technological, economic and cultural potential, and factors such as the level of social consciousness, traditions and dominant habits of the population in maintaining discipline, respecting the law and moral standards, etc.

The achievements of existing socialism in materializing human rights and freedoms are increasingly influencing the non-socialist world. The force of socialism's example is particularly great where the task is to really guarantee rights and freedoms in the economic, social and cultural

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**Trybuna Ludu*, July 1, 1977.

spheres, that is, the spheres determining the fundamental conditions for human existence.

Core of the political system

The participants in the symposium were unanimous on the point that the leading role of the Communist party is the decisive condition for the effective functioning of the socialist political system.

Under socialism, the guiding and leading role of the Communist party is an objective necessity, *J. Matejicek* said. It manifests itself in the fact that the party understands the laws governing social development and the objective needs of the working class and other working people, and harmonizes the interests of classes, social groups, and nations; evolves a scientific program of development for all basic spheres of public life and coordinates the activity of the various parts of the political organization of society to accomplish common tasks; carries on organizational and political work and ideological education to draw ever larger numbers of working people into the management of state and society and into political decision-making.

The experience of Czechoslovakia has shown that the leading role of the Communist Party is a key condition for the victory of the socialist revolution and the progress of socialist society. This is why Gustav Husak had every reason to say at the 14th Congress of the CPCz that 'the party's leading and organizing role is an absolute prerequisite of successful advance to socialism ... Any slackening of the party's leading role is a step back to crisis. The historical necessity for the leading role of the party is growing as new tasks arise in the building of socialism.'*

Bulgaria's communists, *G. Girginov* said, regard the party's leading role as a universal law of socialist revolution and socialist construction, as a development law of socialism's political system itself. The Marxist-Leninist party joins together all the components of the political organization to form a harmonious whole and ensures its coordinated and smooth functioning.

What is it that makes the Communist Party's leading role grow logically in the course of building developed socialism? This growth, the BCP Program points out, is due to the following factors: the growing scale and complexity of socialist construction; the acceleration of social processes under the impact of the scientific and technolgoical revolution; the increasing intricacy of social relations and the growing role of social management in the functioning of society as a whole; the growing creative activity of the people and the continuing development of socialist democracy; the increasing significance of the theory of scientific communism, the generalization of new practice, and the tasks involved in the communist education of the people; the worldwide class struggle between socialism and capitalism; and the need to evolve a correct line in international relations.

**XIV. Sjezd Komunisticke strany Ceskoslovenska.* Prague; Svoboda, 1971, pp. 64-65.

Democratic centralism is the main principle on which the Communist Party is built and operates. This has nothing to do with bureaucratic or authoritarian practices. But the Communist Party does not confine itself to promoting democracy only in its own ranks. It sees the purpose of its activity in fostering democracy also in the other components of socialism's political system, in socialist society as a whole. An offspring of the new system, socialist democracy is in a sense a distinctive continuation and large-scale social realization of inner-party democracy.

The working-class party cannot exercise its leading role outside the mechanism of socialist democracy, *W. Weichelt* said. Its role cannot be subordinated to this mechanism or put above it. It is a decisive factor lending democracy a socialist character, a factor for its creative substance and development.

The growth of the party's leading role, *B. Ligden* said, does not imply that the party increasingly substitutes itself for represntative bodies, for administrative, economic or public organizations. In practice, especially in the early years of socialist construction, when experience and established forms and methods of party and government activity are lacking, there may be such phenomena as direct interference by party organizations in the work of other political institutions. However, this is a transient phenomenon, whereas the decisive trend consists in the party providing social development with general political guidance and seeing to the increasing autonomy and high level of activity of every component of the political system.

J. Felipe Carneado: I would like to quote Raul Castro, Second Secretary of the CC CP of Cuba. 'Party organizations,' he said, 'must guide the activity of administrative bodies but under no circumstances must they try to substitute themselves for these bodies or strip them of their individuality. The lack of a strict delimitation of functions and incompetent interference lead to a lack of strict and exact responsibility on the part of each organization for the task assigned it. They add to red tape in the party organizations themselves, with the result that they do everything without really doing anything, and hamper serious specialization of administrative personnel, a thorough study of problems and the acquisition of real political experience. In short, they make it difficult to organize work properly.' This is, in our party's view, what makes it so important to clearly delimit the functions of party and state. It is a decisive condition for their efficiency.

Today, *J. Ilyinsky* said, considerable progress had unquestionally been made toward optimal interaction of party and government bodies as well as public organizations. The main criterion in this case may be put briefly as follows: the party exercises fundamental, political leadership and the state does the everyday directing. Party committees do not command; they do not revise decisions

adopted by other political institutions but concern themselves with political organization, ideological education and the selection and placing of personnel.

It is the party that encourages the promotion of socialist democracy. We must do more to show up the untenability and dangerous character of allegations that under socialism democracy can develop only if party influence over public life decreases.

I believe the concept of so-called pluralism, which envisages competition between the 'ruling' and 'opposition' parties under socialism, tends to undermine the political pillars of the socialist system, *J. Mecl* noted. What force is likely to oppose the Communist Party under socialism? Evidently, it can only be those who reject socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as the experience of existing socialism, including the experience of our country, has revealed on more than one occasion. But then there are very few people of this kind in our countries today, whereas the overwhelming majority of the people, all the classes and strata of socialist society, fully subscribe to the communists' world outlook, strategy and tactics.

However, non-acceptance of a pluralism that implies freedom of action for organizations hostile to the interests of socialism and the people does not at all mean that the Communist Party is totalitarian or had usurped all power. Many socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, have a multi-party system. In these countries non-communist parties which, however, have adopted socialist ideals, take an active part in politics and in decision-making. It follows that we are by no means against a multi-party system in principle, but are definitely against a pluralism that tends to reduce the leading role of the Communist Party.

This symposium, *K. Lipkovics* said, closing the discussion, has shown that scholars of the socialist countries are not marking time. They are generalizing new processes and phenomena in the political superstructure of a society building developed socialism and communism. They are doing this in a creative spirit, from Marxist-Leninist positions. Speakers here showed again that these processes take various forms arising from the historical and national peculiarities of the given fraternal countries. On the other hand, they all agreed that the socialist political system would have been unable to function so efficiently had the communist and workers' parties not proceeded from the general laws of the formation and development of this system. Taking into account such general laws governing the development of the socialist political system as the growing leading role of the communist and workers' parties, the improvement of the institutions of direct and representative democracy and the activity of the state, the continuous extension of individual rights and freedoms, and other factors helps our countries to advance to higher stages of maturity. There can be no doubt that the example and experience of existing socialism in this sphere will be useful to all countries and peoples that are embarking on socialist changes or may do so subsequently.

Relative maturity, absolute dependence

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CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN MODEL OF CAPITALISM

An exchange of views has been held at the *WMR* on a cardinal question in the practical and theoretical struggle of the revolutionary and progressive forces in Latin America: an assessment of the development of the productive forces and the relations of production in the region, and the specific features of the capitalist society there. Among these who took part in the discussion were representatives of the Communist parties of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela, and also researchers from the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The *WMR* Commission on Problems of Latin America and the Caribbean has drawn a thematic publication plan, and in accordance with it has asked participants in the discussion to prepare material on the basis of the exchange of views. We start the series with an article considering the various approaches to this question. The editors invite readers to join in discussing this problem.

In the recent period, there has been a lively discussion of Latin America's place within the present-day capitalist system. This is natural because changes both in the world and in Latin America are highly substantial and require in-depth analysis. In the 30s, the region was characterized by traditional agriculture and extraction of mineral raw materials, but today industrialization is the prevalent process. According to indicators widely accepted in international statistics — Gross Domestic Product (GDP), consumption of power, number of cars, etc. — some Latin American countries have edged up to the South European countries. Relative maturity of capitalist relations is the main outcome of their development: wage-labor has become the dominant form of production,

while commodity-money relations involve a majority of the population even in the most backward countries. Virtually everywhere there is now an industrial proletariat with its advanced ideology.

But all these changes have taken place against the backdrop of the rapidly changing world scene, and the task is to determine to what extent they have changed Latin America's position within the capitalist system, and what the political consequences of this could be.

A part of the exploited world

The crucial impact of foreign capital on the continent's whole course of development has been in evidence ever since the origination of capitalism in that region, as will be seen both from official data on that period and present-day studies by competent economists.[1] Here is the conclusion drawn by the UN Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA): 'Up to now, the pace of expansion by the multinationals in Latin America has, in effect, exerted the crucial influence on the rate of growth in the whole of industry, and their policy has largely determined its structure. . . . Foreign enterprises in the manufacturing industry have had and continue to have a central role in the model of Latin America's industrialization.'[2]

The dependence of the various countries is measured above all by the power of the capital controlling them, and the extent to which they are tied to the imperialist states through economic, scientific, technological and banking channels. Here we find that Latin America is the main base of U.S. corporations in the developing world. In 1976, the region accounted for over 80 per cent of direct U.S. investments in Asia, Africa and Latin America.[3] The available statistics (which are far from full) warrant the assertion that for the monopolies of the FRG and Japan, the continent has become the chief objective of exploitation.

The relative scale of Latin America's dependence is much greater than that of Asia and Africa. This will be seen from the 1975 direct private foreign investments per head of the population ($132 as compared with $16 and $29, respectively).[4] At the same time, their volume in relation to the aggregate GDP shows that these magnitudes are highly correlated on all the three continents. With the relatively low per-head indicators in Asia and Africa, this means that a model of economic development directly dependent on the imperialist centers which is roughly similar to that in Latin America, but one which is at an earlier stage, operates in those two regions.

Another trend to note is the growth of foreign control over Latin America. From 1961 to 1977, its GDP increased by 130 per cent, while U.S. assets in the region went up from $13.5 billion to $60 billion, including direct private investments, from $8 billion to $23.5 billion.[5] In that period, the officially registered sales of U.S. subsidiaries increased from $10 billion to $60 billion, or the equivalent of 25 per cent of the aggregate GDP of 26 Latin American countries. In 1976, U.S. corporations had direct control of 59 per cent of Latin America's exports, as compared with 40 per cent in 1966.[6]

In addition, foreign capital has a stranglehold on the leading industries and frequently also exercises global financial control. Suffice it to say, for instance, that in 11 of the weakest Latin American countries, there is virtually no national monetary system, and the U.S. dollar is in free circulation. But even in Brazil, the strongest state, there is an ever faster process of denationalization of the local big bourgeoisie. In the mid-70s, only 11 of the 53 monopoly groups with assets of over $100 million each were national groups although even these had already entered into some kind of partnership with multinationals. Groups controlled from abroad held 83.2 per cent of the aggregate assets of all the associations.[7]

Of course, foreign capital prefers countries which fling open their door, like Brazil, but then bourgeois nationalism does not present a formidable obstacle either. For instance, in Mexico, which seeks to pursue an active policy of limitation, multinational control over industrial sectors of the economy has increased from 37.5 per cent of the enterprises in 1962 to 44.7 per cent in 1970.[8] We find a similar picture in other Latin American countries.[9]

Latin America's external debt has also grown sharply: from $2.2 billion in 1950 to more than $68 billion in 1976. In 1976, the officially registered net outflow of debts, profits, interests and other payments to foreign capital totalled $18.4 billion, or the equivalent of 43 per cent of the export earnings of all the countries in the region (in 1950, 15.5 per cent).[10]

Now and again, the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses has dealt palpable and frequently even heavy blows at the positions of the multinationals in various Latin American countries, but within the framework of capitalism there can be no long-term or important effect from any government measures, however good the intentions by which they are motivated. The monopolies find new chinks in the wall, make new breaches, and everything ultimately ends with a transfer of capital from one sector to another. The experience of Mexico, Venezuela and other countries provides eloquent evidence of this.

Development of capitalist relations

One of the most intricate problems is to assess the level of capitalist relations, and not only because these are not adequately reflected in bourgeois statistics, but also because it is fairly hard to establish criteria and indicators that could be taken as a starting point. Considering capitalism in historical terms, one finds that its evolution has run from the primitive accumulation of capital through a period of free competition to the monopoly stage. At the turn of the century, the monopolies became the dominant force in the world economy, penetrating into every country to impose their own goals,

terms and procedures. The onset of the epoch of imperialism found Latin America in an early phase of capitalism: only in the biggest and relatively advanced countries — Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil — had the primitive accumulation of capital ended or was under way. The massive intrusion of the monopolies sharply slowed down the growth of the national bourgeoisie in these countries, while accelerating the development of commodity-money relations and the use of wage-labor. In its capitalist evolution, Latin America has, in effect, bypassed the period of free competition. Its industrialization began, proceeded and is going on under the domination of foreign monopolies.

That is the basic feature of Latin American capitalism. The strength of capital, even in the most developed countries of the region, is a far cry from that of the imperialist concerns: Latin America accounts for only 4 of the 500 major industrial monopolies of the world (and even these are down at the bottom of the league). All four are state oil companies (in Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil and Argentina). Thus, in 1974, Brazil's 426 leading corporations, including government-owned, had sales worth $3 billion less than those of Exxon, the U.S. giant.[11]

It is also hard to compare indicators like the concentration of capital and production. The emergence of one or two foreign subsidiaries in the midst of a great many small and tiny enterprises at once raises the index of concentration of production to a very high point because of the low starting level. But a closer look will show that even the most developed countries of Latin America have yet to reach the intermediate level for the capitalist world in terms of the percentages commanded by big enterprises.

The use of wage-labor is an important indicator of capitalist relations of production. But here again it is virtually impossible to determine the world average, because statistics are either incomparable or unreliable. Let us note that, according to UN statistics, the share of wage-labor in agriculture in the developed capitalist countries is smaller than it is in the leading countries of Latin America and continues to diminish.[12] But these data do not provide a basis for what appears to be an obvious conclusion about a higher degree of development of capitalism in Latin American agriculture. This is not only because the indicators do not in any way reflect the level of labor productivity, its equipment with machinery, skill standards, etc., but also because statisticians usually include under the head of wage-labor everyone receiving remuneration in cash, which is sometimes no more than symbolic, like farm-hands with a strip of land, share-croppers, tenants who sell their crops to the landowners, etc.

But other important factors also need to be taken into account. First of all there is the multi-sectoral make-up of the social structure in the overwhelming majority of the Latin American countries, resulting from the longer development of capitalism (as compared with that in other regions) on the basis of backward social relations and colonial feudalism. This applies not only to the countryside, where latifundism is still broadly in evidence with its attendant subsistence farming, corvee, debt indenture, share-cropping, etc. The range of sectors, in 16 Latin American countries, at any rate, runs from tribal relations and through the Indian commune. Despite the massive ruin of handicraftsmen, the role of the small-commodity and small-capitalist sectors in industry is still very great.

It is altogether impossible to compare Latin America's multi-sectoral make-up with the social structure of European countries at an intermediate level of development. On many parameters, it can perhaps be compared with that of Asia and Africa. Indeed, one could only say that in the various developing countries the individual sectors can have a different significance that is undoubtedly due to the duration and intensity of capitalist evolution within the framework of similar models.

Growth of productive forces

It has long been possible to express the development of the productive forces in statistical terms on a world scale. The only point is to find the correct methodological approach to establishing its level. For instance, one cannot regard as convincing indicators like the number of cars or radios, etc. In the number of cars, some 'rich' oil-producing countries have already outpaced many highly developed countries, while the abundance of transistors in the world today easily neighbors on a high rate of illiteracy. Indicators like GDP per head will not do either, because the latter is frequently shaped under the impact of the world market outlook, the level of mining rent, or earnings from monopoly superprofits, tourism and so on.

The sectoral distribution of the GDP is an index which is frequently used to estimate the level of the productive forces, and some have suggested on the strength of this that the Latin American countries, once agrarian, have already become agrarian-industrial or industrial-agrarian. But this does not bring out the structure of GDP production. In 1977, Latin America's tertiary sector (trade, finance, services, state apparatus, etc.), which produces virtually no new value at all, accounted for 48.6 per cent of the GDP, of which nearly 40 per cent, according to the most cautious estimates, was produced in the sectors of material production and subsided in the services sphere.[13] However, the origin of this part of the product could not be established from the statistical data.

Nor can the share of manufacturing in the GDP provide a reference point, as will be seen from the following example: in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil, it is higher (26-32 per cent) than it is in the United States (about 25 per cent).[14] But on the strength of this hardly anyone will assert that these countries are more industrialized than the United States. This 'superiority' has a different explana-

tion: the giant, mainly foreign, corporations which dominate these countries' economy have a sizable cut from the incomes of other, more backward enterprises, making a profit on cheap raw materials, on the monopoly marketing of the finished product, on the sale of technology, and so on.

Nor does the overall per-head consumption of power reflect the real level of the productive forces. It is clearly hypertrophied in the oil-extracting countries, and is rather a reflection of their backwardness than of any progress. It is also heavily dependent on factors like the climate, the availability of energy resources, the pool of personal cars, etc. What is much more important and more adequate for establishing the desired level is the energy-per-worker (or power-per-worker, which is even better) in manufacturing or energy inputs per unit of production. But when taken one at a time, these indicators may suggest incorrect conclusions.

The simplest synthetic, and most convincing, criterion is provided by the new manufacturing product per head, as compared with the world average. According to UN data, Latin America accounted for 3.7 per cent of conventional net product of the capitalist countries' manufacturing industry in 1938, and for 4.7 per cent, in 1975. But in the intervening period, its share of the capitalist world's population went up from 8.5 per cent to 11.9 per cent, which means that the industrialization coefficient (the share of world industrial product for every percentage point of the Latin American population) dropped from 0.41 per cent to 0.39 per cent.[15] These figures show very well that Latin America is still a long way off from the world average of development of the productive forces. Besides, these figures are mainly made up of indicators for the biggest and most advanced countries — Argentina, Mexico and Brazil — which have two-thirds of the region's population, and over three-quarters of the conventional net manufacturing product.

Argentina alone comes close to the world average of industrialization for individual countries. Mexico, which comes next, falls short of half that level, and Brazil, of one-third. Industrialization in most other Latin America countries is quite comparable with that of countries in Asia and Africa.

Labor productivity is undoubtedly the crucial indicator. An analysis of UN statistics shows that Latin America — and even its most developed countries — is still a long way from the world average. The important thing to note here is that the labor productivity index in the region has been steadily lagging behind that of the industrialized countries and the gap between them has been constantly growing (for manufacturing in 1975, it was, respectively, 133 and 168 of the 1960 base of 100).[16]

However, the ultimate question is not whether industry is or is not developing in Latin America. If imperialism manages to stay on for a sufficiently long period, one could theoretically envisage a situation in which many countries that are now agrarian could develop industrialized economies consisting of labor-intensive, dirty, hot and arduous industries working for the metropolitan country, which would enable the latter to become the brain trusts and major producers of foodstuffs on which the rest of the world would depend. Let us recall what Marx said about capitalism beginning with the development of industry and its separation from agriculture, and ending with the transformation of the latter into industry.

Latin America is still a very long way from industrializing its agrarian sector, and many of its countries have to expand their import of foodstuffs.

Place in capitalist division of labor

The division of labor in the capitalist world is determined and regulated by the system of multinational monopolies which dominate the external market. Under this system, Latin America, Africa and Asia are assigned the role of agrarian raw materials appendages of the developed countries, and consumers of finished products. The slight acceleration in the industrialization of the Latin American countries has resulted mainly from the needs of the domestic market. The export of machinery and means of transport is the most important indicator which determines the nature of production and the actual degree of industrialization, and in 1975 it came to the insignificant figure of 3.7 per cent for the region, or 0.8 per cent for the world. The continent continues to be a supplier of foodstuffs, raw materials and fuels for the developed capitalist countries: in 1970, these accounted for 80.8 per cent of the region's exports, and in 1975, for 83 per cent. This is much higher than the figure for the capitalist world as a whole, especially for its developed regions, and very much higher than the figure for all the developing countries taken together. Latin America's share of world exports comes to only one-half of that of the capitalist countries when reckoned in terms of population. One must note than in 1950 their shares were equal, and the decline of the former shows the falling efficiency of Latin American production and a reduction of export resources.

Latin America is now a net and major importer of the instruments and means of production, without any prospects for a change in the situation in the foreseeable future. Let me say, by way of example, that in 1974-75 Brazil and Mexico, the biggest countries in the region with the most diversified industry, imported 7-10 times more machinery and equipment than they exported.[17]

Another important fact is that in terms of manufacturing as a share of exports Latin America lags behind other developing regions. The establishment of labor-intensive industries in some countries in Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Singapore) with exclusive orientation upon the external markets, has long since changed the region's share in the world export of manufactured goods. We find phenomena of this kind in Latin America as well: in many of its countries, the drive

for import-substitution industrialization has given way to demands for boosting the export of manufactures (at any price). But even when exports grow, it is no indication of an improvement in the country's economic condition: the development of capitalism leads to polarization in the distribution of the already low incomes, to a contraction of the domestic market of prime necessities, and to some expansion of the luxury-goods market. A 'barefooted' country becomes a supplier of footwear, a 'naked' country, an exporter of fabrics and garments, and a poor country, a maker of cars and TV sets.

Latin American type of capitalism: prospects

Latin America's long development in economic dependence has been attended with a distortion of its every aspect, and above all with a constant slow-down in the process of accumulation as a result of the fact that the lion's share of the surplus-product has been exported by foreign capital or immobilized by the big landowners, with only a small part of it distributed among the oligarchy's consumption and accumulation. Foreign capital has tended to grow mainly through some reinvestment of local earnings. From 1957 to 1965, according to ECLA, 59 per cent of U.S. investments in the region was financed by the multinationals' local subsidiaries, 24 per cent from loans and credits obtained in the host country, and only 17 per cent from foreign sources and parent-company funds.[18] The Argentinian journal *Panorama* has estimated the latter figure at 6 per cent. Meanwhile, nearly 80 per cent of all the foreign profits were repatriated.[19]

The operation of this accumulation mechanism has produced mature capitalist relations in Latin American countries which became dominant within the framework of economic backwardness. Some analysts have identified the relative maturity of these relations with an intermediate level of development. But these are two different concepts. Latin America's advance along the road of dependent capitalism for more than a century shows that the pyramid is so structured that it does not, as a rule, allow those who are at the bottom to rise to the intermediate stages, to say nothing of the top. That is why the substance of the crisis of dependent capitalism consists precisely in the fact that Latin America's development along this road has led it into a dead end, into a vicious circle of inter-related subjugation and backwardness. So long as the continent remains within the framework of a world capitalist economy dominated by the giant corporations, independent development becomes absolutely unfeasible, for the stronger capital will always subordinate the weaker. Dependence inevitably entails the plunder of the weak, and a slowdown in the growth of their productive forces. The process of expanded capitalist reproduction within the framework of economic underdevelopment becomes a process of expanded reproduction of relative backwardness and dependence.

That is precisely why Lenin said that it is possible to escape from dependence and backwardness 'as a general rule, only under socialism; under capitalism it is practicable only by way of exception or at the cost of a series of revolts and revolutions' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 338).

Of course, the potentialities of Latin American capitalism are not yet worked out. It seeks to adapt itself in every way to the present realities, feverishly seeking ways of accelerating development and overcoming backwardness, trying to grow in breadth, and strengthening its positions with the help and at the expense of the state. But speaking of capitalism's decay in the imperialist epoch, Lenin also warned: 'It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of those tendencies' (ibid., p. 300). Examples of this will be easily found in Latin America: one need merely indicate the postwar 'boom' in Mexico or the recent 'economic miracle' in Brazil. But the whole point is that these exceptions had occurred in Latin America even in the past, and ultimately they merely go to confirm the rule. Argentina's upswing in the first quarter of this century was the most powerful in the history of the continent. In his *Notebooks on Imperialism*, Lenin remarked that Agentina's share of world trade in 1905 came close to 2 per cent. In 1926 and 1927, it reached 2.6 per cent. But in 1975, it came to only 0.3 per cent. Today, Argentina is in the grip of the gravest and most protracted structural crisis in the whole of its history.

The objective uniformities of dependent capitalism are expressed precisely in the fact that the faster a country develops under the impact of the imperialist monopolies, the greater the accumulation of retarding elements and unresolved contradictions within its socio-economic structure, and the more insuperable the barrier of dependence and backwardness. Argentina's upswing under the impact of foreign capital at the turn of the century transformed it into a 'trade colony' of Britain and then also of the United States, and it is this fact that made for the conservation of precapitalist relations in the countryside, the 'bridling' of national capital, the intensified extraction of profits and the slowdown in the growth of the productive forces. Brazil's accelerated development in the 60s and 70s under the control of multinational corporations has now taken the form of a growing crisis in its society.

To sum up the examination of the specific status of the Latin American countries in the capitalist world system, one could define them as economically underdeveloped countries with a relatively mature dependent capitalism. Of course, this definition, like any other, cannot claim to reflect all of the specific features and connections of Latin American capitalism. But it does show the key factor — economic dependence — and the main

result of development — the fact that the economy is peripheral and backward in the worldwide context.

Some analysts object to 'dependent capitalism' as a term, on the one hand, because it is a term that has allegedly been introduced by the 'new left,' filling it with an incorrect content and drawing the wrong conclusions from it; and on the other, because the call to struggle against dependent capitalism could be taken as an urge to achieve independent capitalism. This is quite obviously an argument about words, rather than about the substance of the matter.

Marxist studies of dependent capitalism can and must help to formulate the correct revolutionary strategy and tactics of the working class. But that is a question which calls for a special analysis. The national specifics and the alignment of social and political forces are bound to have a tremendous impact on the course of events. Still, I feel that it is necessary to state the main things, that which follows in this context from the relative maturity and dependence of Latin American capitalism and that which, we believe sets Latin America apart from all the other regions of the capitalist world, from all the other types of its constituent countries. Especially favorable conditions are taking shape in the region for advancing the liberation process, because it is here, to a greater extent than anywhere else, that the two revolutionary streams of our day — the national-liberation movement and the proletariat's class struggle — merge into a single tide.

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15. *UN Statistical Yearbook, 1976*. New York, 1977; *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, March, November, 1978.

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viewpoints

The purposes of NATO

I. Bilen
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It is 30 years since NATO was founded and for 27 of these Turkey has been a member of the aggressive bloc, which is one of the main obstacles in our country's way to independence and a happy future for our people.

The arguments used all these years by Turkey's ruling circles to justify this policy of subordination to NATO now increasingly cease to be relevant. The socialist countries' consistent policy of peace, and the struggle of the Turkish working class and the whole of our people force bellicose anti-Sovietism to retreat. That even Turkey's official circles reject the myth of a 'Soviet threat' will be seen from the political document on the principles of good-neighbor and friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey signed in Moscow in the summer of last year. All this is evidence of the crisis which has hit the policy of subordination to NATO.

At the same time, while collaborating with imperialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie, the reactionary forces and the circles which depend on NATO seek to invent fresh arguments to justify the continuation of their old policy. The Turkish Prime Minister, for instance has argued the need to maintain a 'balance between the blocs' in the interests of détente. Opportunist trends in Turkey have simultaneously suggested that the country

should take an 'equidistant position with respect to both blocs,' and so on.

This policy and such arguments spring from the urge to equate NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization and to ignore the fact that in class terms they are opposites. Here, the stand taken by the Turkish bourgeoisie and the opportunists is in harmony with that of the imperialist circles. In the recent period, similar ideas have been ever more frequently spread about by Western mass media.

In this context, it seems to be politically important to examine the class character and class goals of the existing military-political alliances, and their place in international relations.

Historically, the responsibility for the emergence of two opposed military alignments in Europe and for the division of the world into military blocs undoubtedly falls on imperialism. These blocs came into being as a result of the aggressive policy pursued by the leading Western powers, the United States in the first place, which could not accept the victory of socialism in a number of countries of Europe and Asia after the Second World War, the emergence of the socialist-world system, and the growing momentum of the national-liberation movement.

In setting up its system of military-political alliances, imperialism sought to pool the economic and military potentials of the participating countries to produce a preponderance of forces in its own favor and to hamper the socialist-community countries' successful development. At the same time, the imperialist military blocs were to become an instrument for combating progressive, democratic and revolutionary movements throughout the world.

The leading imperialist powers regarded the growing strength, might and international prestige of the USSR as the main threat, and soon after the Second World War mounted plans for military operations against the Soviet Union. In 1949, for instance, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff began to draw up in top secrecy — on the orders of the U.S. President Harry S. Truman — plans for a war against the Soviet Union code-named Dropshot. This was recently made public, and we find that under the plan Turkey was to have been used as a pawn in a war in which 300 atomic bombs were to have been dropped on the USSR within the first month alone.

As everyone knows, nothing came of these plans. The end of the U.S. monopoly of nuclear weapons, the socialist-community countries' growing economic and military might, the growth of the international communist and working-class movement, and in consequence, the changed balance of forces in the world, all of these forced imperialism to amend its plans. Having abandoned the idea of waging instant war against the USSR, the ruling circles of the United States and Britain concentrated on coordinating the capitalist countries' foreign policies, building up a powerful strike force and formulating a common strategy for fighting the socialist world. Simultaneously, the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, seriously concerned with the aggravation of class contradictions at home and along the periphery of the capitalist world, and being in need of mutual support to avert social revolutions, sought to set up a common class front of capitalists against the working-class, democratic and national-liberation movements.

The imperialists saw the way to fulfilling these tasks, above all that of ensuring the continued existence of capitalism itself, in the establishment of a system of military-political blocs. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) became the central element of this system.[1]

An analysis of NATO's activity over its 30 years shows that the main function of this military-political alliance is struggle to maintain the capitalist system as a whole. No wonder then that NATO's Alexander Haig, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, said that NATO was a guarantee for the whole capitalist system.

NATO fulfills its key class task of being the guarantor of capitalism in a twofold manner: on the one hand, by building up its military strength, stepping up the arms race and producing plans for military operations against the socialist countries with the use of nuclear and conventional weapons, and on the other, by concentrating efforts on suppressing progressive, democratic forces and movements in the capitalist countries and in the developing countries.

NATO's class face is clearly outlined by these main lines of its activity: the foreign-policy line, or the line of fighting the socialist-community countries and the national-liberation movement, and the domestic-policy line against the class adversary in its hinterland.

The NATO circles adopted a policy of military confrontation with the socialist countries as soon as the bloc arose. The fanning of war hysteria, the intimidation of the man-in-the-street with the bogey of the 'communist peril,' and anti-Sovietism were to have been the overture to war, the main act.

The imperialists frustrated the peace initiatives of the USSR and the People's Democracies and opposed all of the USSR's proposals for reducing armaments and banning the atomic bomb. While the USSR enacted a law prohibiting the propaganda of war, the propaganda of peace was, in effect, prohibited in the NATO and other imperialist countries. Peace fighters were arrested and branded as traitors to the national interests, and as 'Moscow's agents.' The Peace Fighters' Society was banned and its leading members arrested in Turkey, as they were in other capitalist countries.

From the outset, NATO also operated as an instrument in the imperialist powers' joint fight against the national-liberation movement. It helped France in its Algeria war, made available to Britain and France bases and armed forces in southern Europe for their intervention in Egypt in 1956, and supported the direct U.S. armed inter-

vention in Lebanon, and Britain's in Jordan in 1958. During the aggression against Lebanon, intensive use was made of the NATO base at Incirlik in Turkey. NATO has repeatedly tried to convert Cyprus into its 'unsinkable aircraft carrier,' and did everything to help Portugal in its colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. A special committee on African affairs was set up within NATO in 1958. Since its establishment, NATO has carried out abut 130 aggressive acts against socialist and newly independent states.

In addition to NATO, the imperialist circles have set up other military blocs in key strategic areas of the globe, including the Middle East, Southeast Asia and South America.[2]

Inasmuch as the fight against the socialist-community countries was the main strategic task of this system of blocs and military bases, when setting up these blocs Western strategists naturally took into account the factor of territorial proximity to the borders of the USSR. Noting, in particular, the importance of CENTO, *Foreign Affairs*, for instance, laid special emphasis on the fact that Middle East air bases were closer to the main industrial centers at Baku, along the Don, the Urals and in southern Siberia than the territory of any other non-communist country.

This makes it clear why the Western press frequently calls Turkey NATO's strategic 'springboard' in the fight against the USSR, and why its territory is being so intensively used for U.S. and NATO military bases.

The stockpiling at these bases of nuclear weapons intended for use in a war against the Soviet Union and the arms drive imposed by imperialism on Turkey pose a grave threat to its security and convert it into a powder-keg.

Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism are the most typical features of the imperialist military-political blocs, which are aimed against socialism, peace and détente on the 'external front,' and against the communist and working-class movement, the democratic forces and social progress on the 'domestic front.' NATO's ruling circles use anti-Sovietism and anti-communism to build up militarism in the member-countries, including Turkey, and to promote the emergence of reactionary, pro-fascist trends.

The inclusion in the text of the NATO Treaty of a special article providing for consultations between its members 'whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence, or security of any of them is threatened,' is designed to back up NATO's intervention in the internal affairs of its member-countries. The same purpose is served by the bilateral treaties signed by the members of military-political groupings with the United States, which has acted as the unchallenged leader of all the imperialist alliances. These treaties are exemplified by the bilateral treaties concluded in 1959 between the United States, on the one hand, and Turkey and also other CENTO countries, on the other. They regard any manifestation of popular resistance as 'indirect aggression,' and give the United States the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the signatory countries, and to defend and bolster their pro-imperialist regimes.

World opinion is aware that the imperialist blocs and bilateral treaties are used to topple regimes unsuitable for the Atlantic politicians and to suppress the democratic and working-class movement. Thus, the fascist putsch in Greece in 1967, which installed the Black Colonels' junta in power, was, in effect, only a realization of NATO's secret plan code-named Prometheus. U.S.-led NATO's ruling circles, terrified by the growth of the working-class, democratic and anti-imperialist movement in Turkey, also had a big part to play in introducing a fascist-form state-of-siege regime in the country on March 12, 1971. This was made known to the public by Ihsan Chaglayangil, former Foreign Minister of Turkey.

In addition, there are known to exist an 'operative plan 101-1,' which empowers the U.S. command to mount repressive acts in Western Europe in the event of 'internal disorders' in the area, and other similar projects.

In the recent period, NATO generals have been urging the NATO governments to take action against the communist and workers' parties, as will be seen from a special resolution aimed against the communists' possible participation in West European governments, which was adopted by the 22nd North Atlantic Assembly held in Williamsburg, the United States, in November 1976.

In an effort to frighten the democratic and working-class movement in Western Europe and to safeguard the power of monopoly capital in the face of growing class contradictions, NATO has ever more frequently resorted to a show of force, such as the staging of all kinds of large-scale military exercises. Thus, in early 1975, NATO held naval exercises, code-named Locked Gate, near the coast of Portugal, under the pretext of pre-empting a possible 'communist takeover.' NATO's constant exercises in the Mediterranean are also designed to intimidate the progressive movements in the countries in the region, including Turkey.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in Berlin noted 'the urge to strengthen and enlarge NATO as the leading political and military alliance of imperialism and to use it against progressive trends in development in various countries,' and emphasized the vital need to rebuff aggressive anti-communism, which continues to be 'an instrument which imperialist and reactionary forces use not only against communists but also against other democrats and against democratic freedoms.' That is why we regard the call issued by the communists of Europe 'to isolate and overcome anti-communism' also as a task in further exposing the anti-popular, anti-democratic and aggressive substance of NATO and other imperialist military-political alliances.

While the imperialist states conducted their cold

war policy, stepped up the arms drive, cobbled together military-political alignments and set up more and more military bases along the perimeter of the socialist community, the USSR and other socialist countries did everything they could to prevent a division of Europe into opposed military blocs. That was the Soviet Union's purpose in putting before the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the United States, Britain and France, held in Berlin in 1954, a draft All-European Treaty on Collective Security. However, the Western powers rejected it without even stopping to consider it. That same year, they sanctioned the remilitarization of West Germany and its entry into NATO. Only then did the socialist countries take their forced counter-measures in order to ensure their nations' security, peace, and defense against any possible aggression. Their chief measure was the signing in Warsaw on May 14, 1955, of a collective treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, which formalized the establishment of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, a new military-political alliance.

The Warsaw Treaty's goals make it a fundamentally new type of organization. It is exclusively defensive and peaceable, and this is borne out by the readiness on the part of the contracting parties, a point written into the text of the Treaty, to take part in all international acts aimed to ensure peace and security, and to work for the adoption of effective measures for a general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other types of mass destruction weapons. Evidence of this will also be found in its Article 11, which stresses that the establishment of a collective-security system in Europe would invalidate the Treaty.

The Warsaw Treaty countries' defense rests on their common economic and military might, and above all on the military, economic, scientific and technical potential of the USSR, fraternal alliance with which is regarded by the other socialist-community countries as a guarantee of the inviolability of their own borders and security. Socialist internationalism, which is based on close cohesion and concerted action by the working class and all the other working people of the socialist countries for the ideals of communism and peace, and mutual assistance and cooperation in every sphere for the benefit of each individual country and the community as a whole, is the fundamental principle of the community of socialist countries, as it is of the combat community of their armies. It is the socialist countries' proletarian-class solidarity and the harmonization of the national and international aspects in the defense of socialism that make the Warsaw Treaty an efficient mechanism of their political, economic and defense cooperation and coordination of their foreign-policy activity.

The Warsaw Treaty's main strategic task is to ensure — in the presence of the two opposite social systems — complete security for the socialist countries, to defend their nations' revolutionary gains against external encroachments and to create favorable external conditions for the peaceful construction of socialism and communism. The very existence of the socialist community and its members' growing economic and defense potential, and foreign policy of peace create favorable conditions for the struggle of the working class, the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the capitalist countries as well. That is why we believe that the strengthening of the socialist community meets not only the interests of its nations but also those of the other contingents of the world revolutionary movement. The overwhelming majority of representatives of communist and workers' parties attending the international theoretical conference in Sofia in late 1978 emphasized that defense of existing socialism is a condition for world peace and the revolutionary transformation of society. The working class of Turkey regards the existence of the socialist community as a source of strength in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

Since the Second World War, the defense potential of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries has been the crucial barrier in the way of the imperialist plans for starting another world war. The Warsaw Treaty countries have resolutely cut short moves by the aggressive circles of imperialism and stamped out the hotbeds of international tension in Europe. Their measures have helped to paralyze imperialism's subversive activity against the GDR and other Warsaw Treaty countries coming from the territory of West Berlin. In 1968, the Warsaw Treaty countries gave internationalist assistance to the Czechoslovak people in defending their socialist gains against encroachment by internal counter-revolution and international reaction.

The socialist-community countries' support helped the Vietnamese people to drive the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese aggressors from their territory. It is an important role to play in consolidating the Cuban and Ethiopian revolutions, and in the liberation struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Southern Africa.

Their constructive approach to the intricate problems of our day and their sincere urge to strengthen peace and security in Europe have been clearly expressed in the numerous political initiatives consistently taken by the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The socialist-community countries, which oppose any division of the world into military blocs as a matter of principle, have repeatedly proposed the simultaneous abolishing of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, or a mutual reduction, instead of an extension, of their activity, as a first real and feasible step. The Soviet Union alone has put forward over 100 proposals bearing on disarmament.

How has NATO responded? The capitalist West's leading military-political grouping has clearly not been affected by the détente in Europe. As in the past, NATO continues to be a dangerous source of increased international tensions, and the center of the most aggressively minded forces of imperialism.

The trend toward détente is becoming a factor eroding the foundations of the imperialist blocs. That is why in order to protect its own class interests, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been desperately trying to revive the deficient policy of aggression. Witness the NATO circles' efforts to enlarge their sphere of influence by involving other European and non-European countries and increasing NATO's role in putting down national-liberation movements.

The NATO chiefs seek to involve Spain in the bloc, to return France and Greece[3] to its military organization, to force Austria and Ireland to abandon their neutrality, and to subordinate them in military terms to NATO or some other military bloc. They have not abandoned their attempts to convert Cyprus into a NATO base in the Mediterranean, and have intensified pressure on Norway to get it to allow them to deploy atomic weapons and foreign troops on its territory.

While styling itself 'North Atlantic,' NATO has recently been extending its activity to Africa, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, regions which are very far from the North Atlantic. NATO's armed intervention in Zaire shows that its urge to set up special mobile units for use in 'crisis areas' is another new element in its policy which is extremely dangerous to peace.

More and more elements of the chain of imperialist blocs have begun to drop out as a result of the consistent peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries, and the unceasing struggle by the masses for withdrawal from imperialist military-political alliances. In 1975, as a result of the Vietnamese people's victory over the U.S. aggressors and their allies, a decision was taken to close down the SEATO pact. This year, following the withdrawal from CENTO of Iran and Pakistan, that aggressive imperialist bloc has also broken up.

The imperialist circles have been trying to build up their old military groupings and to set up new ones in an effort to bolster their shaken positions and to compensate for the loss of SEATO and CENTO. They have sought to convert the ASEAN regional organization into a military alliance, planned the establishment of a SATO (South Atlantic Treaty Organization), and new blocs in the Persian Gulf area and the Middle East, with an essential role for Israel and Egypt. The imperialists have also sought to induce Turkey to take part in the projected blocs, because its territory lies in an area designated by U.S. strategists as an 'arc of inadequate security.' This fact was, in particular, discussed at a meeting of the Communist Party of Turkey, the Communist Party of Greece, and the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL). They emphasized the fact that 'U.S. imperialism and NATO have been increasing their pressure on the peoples of the three countries' in an effort 'once again to site U.S. military bases in Turkey and Greece and to transfer espionage centers in Iran to Turkey and Cyprus.'[4]

NATO has stepped up the arms drive, which is attended with a colossal increase in military expenditures — already up to the astronomical figure of $178 billion last year — under the pretext of defense against the mythical 'Soviet threat' and of 'ensuring international stability and security' but actually to gain military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty countries, and to protect the interests of the multinationals in face of the working people's growing resistance in the capitalist countries. The NATO Council session in May last year approved an additional armaments program designed for more than a decade, involving an appropriation of $80 billion over and above the planned appropriations.

NATO generals have assigned to Turkey an important role in this lunatic arms drive. According to the London Institute of Strategic Studies, Turkey is close to the top in the growth of military expenditures: from 1960 to 1970, these increased at 10 per cent a year, and from 1971 to 1977, at 33 per cent a year. With military expenditures at 25 per cent of the state budget, Turkey leads the other NATO countries on this score. Turkey also has the largest number of soldiers and paramilitary units under arms of all the other NATO countries. Six per cent of its GNP goes down this bottomless drain.

Turkey's dependence on imperialism and NATO is the main cause of its deep-seated economic crisis. The following data give an idea of its scale: unemployment comes to 20 per cent, inflation, to 60 per cent, and the external debt has reached nearly $20 billion. U.S. imperialism and NATO's ruling circles have used this crisis to intensify their pressure on our country, whose importance as a bridgehead in the fight against the Soviet Union has increased since CENTO's collapse.

The NATO circles' negative attitude to any constructive proposals by the socialist-community countries aimed to reduce the danger of war and halt the arms race is another indication of their aggressive schemes. They seek to complicate the talks on mutual armed forces and arms cuts in Central Europe and to turn them into endless talking-shop. At the same time, NATO propagandists have been spreading ever more widely all manner of fables distorting the USSR's foreign policy, slandering Soviet reality and backing all kinds of renegades. They seek to distort the class substance of socialist democracy and ignore its steady development and improvement.

The aggressive imperialist circles seek to use for their own interests the Peking hegemonists, who have twisted the Marxist-Leninist principles, broken with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries and switched to hostility against existing socialism. China has adopted anti-Sovietism as the only criterion of its policy and has become a close ally of imperialism in the Far East, and in effect NATO's 16th member. A fresh instance of its political degradation comes from the barbarous aggression started by the reactionary Chinese leadership against the Socialist

Republic of Vietnam in an effort to strengthen its collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

The division of the world into military blocs is a reality, and the military confrontation will continue until the plan for a reliable collective-security system, as proposed by the socialist community, is adopted. At the same time, the gulf separating blocs like NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization is there for all to see. It is a wide gulf of class goals, ideology and nature of foreign policy. On the one side are ranged the forces of peace, progress and international cooperation, and on the other, the forces of reaction, aggression and militarism. On the one side are the working class, the other working people, and all the peoples, and on the other, the magnates of the military-industrial complex, the arms merchants and the monopoly bourgeoisie. In the opinion of our party, to fail to see the vast difference between them or to put NATO and the Warsaw Treaty on the same footing is to labor under dangerous illusions and misconceptions with respect to NATO's 'defensive' character, and in effect, to substitute the criterion of bourgeois nationalism for the class criterion in assessing international phenomena and to succumb to the conceptions invented by the anti-communists.

Since Turkey's entry into NATO, the CP of Turkey has been campaigning for a withdrawal from that organization, for abrogation of the enslaving bilateral treaties, for elimination of the military bases of the United States and NATO on our territory, for non-alignment with blocs, and for an active peaceful foreign policy. In an address on March 15, 1979, the CPT Central Committee once again issued this slogan: 'Let's Take the Country out of NATO!' and once again stressed that dependence on NATO and imperialism is the chief factor in the deepening economic crisis, the escalation of fascism and the subversion of our national security.

The struggle for a withdrawal from NATO now involves democratic forces. It is led by the working class. At May Day demonstrations and in other mass manifestations, hundreds of thousands of people join in saying 'No to NATO.' On NATO's 30th anniversary, progressive democratic forces have voiced protests against it even under the state of martial law. The struggle against NATO demands unity of action and establishment of a united front of all the national, democratic forces.

Documents issued by the international communist movement and statements made by representatives of many communist parties in NATO member countries emphasize the importance of the struggle for withdrawal from this aggressive organization and indicate the close connection of this task with the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. They have urged and continue to urge action to confront the internationalization of capital and international oppression with proletarian internationalism, and strong international solidarity of all the contingents of the revolutionary movement.

1. The Treaty on the establishment of the North Atlantic alliance was signed in Washington on April 4, 1949. Three years later, in an atmosphere of wild anti-communism and militarism, persecution and mass arrests of Turkish communists, who led the struggle against the country's involvement in the aggressive war on the side of U.S. imperialism in Korea, Turkey was pulled into the bloc. — *Author.*

2. The Organization of American States (OAS) was the first such alliance to be set up in 1948 under U.S. sponsorship. Three years later a new military-political bloc (ANZUS) was set up by Australia, New Zealand and the United States. In 1954 and 1955, two other military-political groupings — SEATO and CENTO — were established. Turkey, which became a member of CENTO, acted as a connecting rod between NATO and the military blocs set up by imperialism in the Middle East and Asia — *Author.*

3. France withdrew from the NATO military organization in 1966, and Greece in 1974. — *Author.*

4. *Durum.* Information Bulletin of the CPT, Special Issue, February 4, 1979.

African panorama

POWERLESS TO STOP THE STORM

Alfred Nzo, General Secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa, discusses imperialist policy in South Africa and the courageous struggle of the people of that country.

In recent years we have heard the imperialists speak repeatedly of 'big changes' in their traditional policy in Southern Africa. The United States has widely publicized what it calls a 'new course' on our continent, its political conceptions of the future for Zimbabwe and Namibia, and how it plans to settle the racial problems in my own country, South Africa.

What is behind such statements and have the big capitalist countries really made any changes in their policy in relation to our countries and our peoples?

Western planners had to contend with the historical changes that occurred in the south of the continent after the significant victories of the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies. Neither could they disregard the fact that the general situation on the continent was building up in favor of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces. The Nixon and Ford administrations were forced to heed the changing realities and adjust their positions accordingly. The United States proclaimed it was ready to work for majority rule in the racist states. And this was held up as new U.S. policy toward Africa. Subsequent events

would show, however, that this course was no more than a bid for a neo-colonialist settlement in the racist oppressed countries of the South at a time when the revolutionary and patriotic forces were advancing on an unprecedented scale and endangering imperialism's economic and military-strategic interests.

It is equally evident that the revolutionary movement, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, greatly alarmed the United States, Great Britain, and other imperialist states, for it made it clear that the peoples would not stop at winning their independence, but would go on to charting a road of progressive development.

In order to slow down the revolutionary movements in the African South imperialism launched its 'secret' wars against the progressive liberation movements and organized open intervention against Angola — hordes of South African racist troops invaded the territory of this young, sovereign state. The failure of these aggressive plans forced the Western strategists to seek other, neo-colonialist solutions. To isolate the liberation movements in South Africa from their natural friends and allies, the socialist countries, the United States and its NATO partners brought out the bogey of 'communist penetration' more and more frequently. This campaign of intimidation was stepped up at the height of the events in Angola when the revolutionaries received extensive aid and support from socialist countries, particularly the USSR and Cuba.

When the Carter administration took office, the efforts to win Africa over by neo-colonialist means were carried a step further. U.S. politicians believed the time had come to extol majority rule and proclaim themselves champions of human rights, for they were well aware that in many African countries, particularly in the racist citadels, human rights were a sensitive issue. Because of its treatment of the overwhelming majority of the population, a majority denied fundamental human rights, humanity brands racism and the apartheid regime it breeds as an international crime. The peoples of Africa, especially after the OAU was founded, pledged to root out the racist evil and assist the liberation movements in these countries.

In view of the explosive situation in Southern Africa, U.S. imperialism decided it was no longer in its interests or the interests of international imperialism to remain in the background. Consequently, to preserve its positions and interests, it was intent on maintaining control of any possible changes in that area of the continent. The Carter administration counted heavily on the propaganda impact of its assurances of fidelity to 'humane principles and human rights,' certain that the oppressed blacks in our country would believe the Americans were capable of abolishing racism and apartheid. By campaigning for human rights the Carter administration apparently expected that overnight the African people would see the light and exclaim: 'Oh, here is Carter, our savior, our ally.'

But freedom-loving Africa refused to be taken in by this 'new' policy and the honeyed imperialist speeches which were but a new coating on old racism. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy sparked off protest demonstrations. 'Kissinger is buttressing the regime of terror,' said the people. What else could they say when the U.S., British, FRG and French monopolist powers were expanding their military ties with the ruling circles? International capital is directly involved in the racist suppression of the liberation movement. A secret memorandum circulated by General Motors, the U.S. multinational operating in South Africa, states expressly that it is creating its own combat forces to protect its plants in the RSA in case of labor unrest. These units, it says, will fall under the command of the racist regime's armed forces. The memorandum makes it clear that for the military authorities in Pretoria the two General Motors plants are key enterprises that could come under the Defense Ministry, meaning that when the need arises these plants would start producing military hardware.

Are we still supposed to believe that the Carter administration is our ally? Such allegations are obviously meant to lull the vigilance of the revolutionary forces, weaken the movement of oppressed people, bolster imperialist positions in South Africa, and leave the system intact.

The racist-imperialist alliance, enemy of the peace and freedom of the nations, is developing in many directions, one of which — military-nuclear cooperation — would give nuclear weapons to the racist-fascist clique. Work in this area has made considerable headway, as even the imperialist powers acknowledge.

Mounting pressure by the revolutionary forces has compelled the regime to expand its military program and increase its military-industrial complex, to whose existence it largely owes the lavish aid it gets from the multinationals.

The flames of the liberation struggle are spreading. 1976, a year marked by the events in Soweto, ushered in a period of turbulent uprisings and demonstrations against all forms of oppression and embracing virtually all segments of the population — the exploited working class, the youth, and the revolutionary intellectuals. The masses are saying 'no' to racism and are denouncing the alliance between this misanthropic regime and international imperialism.

The struggle has entered a new and higher phase. Government troops are meeting with growing armed resistance from units of the Umkonto Ve Sizwe (military wing of the ANC). A key six-hour battle took place last August only a hundred miles from Pretoria, and though the racists were armed with modern weaponry their losses were high. Our people were able to pull out in time. This was but a forerunner of things to come. So is it surprising that the racist regime is telling the white population to be prepared for what it calls terrorism? The racist Premier Botha and Vorster before him publicly proclaimed that it was no longer a ques-

tion of crushing the ANC, but of trying to contain it. They warned the white population of the danger of 'terrorism' spreading. The widespread resistance organized by the ANC is no longer kept a secret by the authorities.

The regime is now faced with the new problem of having to deal with the white youth who refused to serve in the racist army. Of the 63,000 young men called up in 1976, 37,500 or 59 per cent refused to be inducted. Hundreds have been arrested and tried, while others have slipped out of the country. The result is that for the first time Black people are made to serve in the armed forces. They have already been posted to operational areas, mainly in Namibia against the SWAPO-led national-liberation movement.

What is important, however, is that many white youths are seeking out the revolutionary forces, the African National Congress, in an effort to learn what they should do. The anti-government white youth refuse to support or be a party to a regime that kills innocent people — adults, women and children — indiscriminately, and they are against the regime's nuclear plans. For many, Soweto was a harsh lesson. White students took to the streets in protest against the regime's barbarity. This is a sign that as the liberation struggle in South Africa forges ahead it will be joined by growing numbers of white youth.

Slowly but surely the racist regime is disintegrating, unrest is mounting, the economic crisis is worsening, and unemployment is on the rise. And no maneuvering to climb out of the crisis will save the regime. This is apparent, for one, from the situation in the so-called independent bantustans, where the people have tasted the bitter pill of this infamous 'independence,' which in fact spells out nothing but a further deterioration of their condition and benefits only a small clique of traitors from among the tribal chiefs. The regime has bestowed on them titles of ministers, chief ministers, and the like, and is using them as a buffer to absorb the shock of the growing opposition to racism and apartheid.

So, bantustanization is no solution, for the people refuse to accept this fictitious independence. In a ploy to win over the people the so-called Transkei government headed by Matanzima claimed it was capable of resisting white minority rule, and announced its intention of breaking with Pretoria and assisting the liberation struggle. However, if the situation were normal in Transkei Matanzima would not have had the courage to make such bold statements. This was pure demagogy to dampen the growing discontent. He was trying to convince the people that he had not deserted them altogether. However, he is only a tool of the South African regime.

The situation is equally explosive in one more fictitiously independent bantustan, Bophuthatswana, where an atmosphere of confidence prevails among the people following the successful military operations of the Umkonto Ve Sizwe. They are literally demanding arms to fight the hated regime. They identify themselves with the revolutionary liberation struggle of South Africa and not with the puppet rulers.

The seeds of revolt will mature wherever the administration plans new 'independent' bantustans. In the territory of the Venda tribe, for example, Pretoria's puppets suffered a crushing defeat during the racist-staged elections. The opposition party rejecting bantustanization won a sweeping victory. The authorities were forced to cancel granting this territory fictitious independence. These developments were not a surprise. The authorities were compelled to enforce a state of emergency in the area only a few months before the elections, because of the growing anti-government feeling.

These and other facts are a sign of the mounting opposition among the people of South Africa to the racist-fascist system. The initiative is now firmly in the hands of the revolutionary forces.

Our people's liberation struggle enjoys broad international support. The ANC has invariably expressed its deepest gratitude to socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, GDR and Cuba, for their assistance. With other progressive and democratic forces our organization recognizes the socialist world system's immense contribution to the national-liberation movement on the African continent. This effective solidarity should be welcomed and safeguarded against the unremitting assaults of international imperialism.

The support of the socialist world is important to the consolidation of the progressive African governments in Angola, Mozambique and other countries. Their consolidation would further the national-liberation struggle, helping not only individual countries but also the liberation movement on the entire continent.

It is our deep conviction that our ties of alliance with the socialist world, the national-liberation movement, and the progressive working-class movement in the capitalist countries will greatly benefit the national-liberation movements in Southern Africa.

CORRECTION FOR JUNE 1979 ISSUE OF *WMR*

In the article by F. Muhri, 'The main condition for social transformations,' page 17, third paragraph should read as follows;

— A considerable body in the SPA leadership, with their incomes running into millions, belong to the privileged segment of society. They hold key positions in the state apparatus, the administration of provinces and municipalities, the management of nationalized industry, banking, insurance companies and consumers' cooperatives. In short, the SPA leaders have made common cause with the system of state-monopoly capitalism. . . .

What we want for Bangladesh

Bangladesh, founded about eight years ago, is one of the youngest Asian states. These years have seen an unrelenting struggle between progressive and reactionary forces over development paths and the ways and means of solving acute social, economic and political problems. The Communist Party plays a role of its own in national politics. Early this year our correspondent interviewed *Matiur Rahman*, Secretary of the CC CPB.

Q. What are the general aspects of the situation in Bangladesh?

A. The country's political, social and economic problems have gained in acuteness of late.

After the bloody coup on August 15, 1975, which resulted in overthrowing Mujibur Rahman and his government, our people went through several other coups and abortive coups. In April 1978, the office of President was assumed by Major-General Ziaur Rahman, chief of the Army General Staff, who since November 1976 had been chief military administrator of the country under martial law, that is, the virtual leader of the nation. As a result of the presidential elections held shortly after (June 3, 1978), Ziaur Rahman retained his post, having defeated the Democratic United Front candidate, General Mohammad Ataul Ghani Osmani, ret., who commanded the armed forces during the 1971 liberation fight. The Front was composed of the CPB, then illegal, the National Awami Party, Awami League (Mujibur Rahman's party), Jatiya Janata and three smaller parties. After winning the election, Ziaur Rahman founded the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, a heterogeneous alignment which included numerous members of the privileged classes.

Against the backgound of political instability and the absence of democratic freedoms, the reactionaries, rightists and Maoists tried to reverse the progressive policy adopted by the country on winning independence. In the process many of those who had opposed the liberation fight and collaborated with the occupation army in 1971 were assigned high positions in the government and the administrative machinery. And while the overall effect of the home and foreign reactionaries' anti-national campaign was small, certain retrogressive measures were carried out none the less.

The jute, textile, chemical and other major industries, the banks and insurance companies are still in the hands of the state but some secondary enterprises have been denationalized and the private sector has expanded in recent years. The government encourages foreign investment and has therefore declared the seaport of Chittagong a free trade zone.

Rising prices for necessities have affected the standard of living in town and countryside. About 90 per cent of the population depends on agriculture, yet over half of the peasants are landless. Unemployment is on the rise. Although the national budget depends to a considerable extent on foreign loans, the continuing import of substantial quantities of luxuries has a particularly adverse impact. All this causes a great deal of social tension, as strikes in numerous factories revealed not long ago.

Bangladesh is economically dependent on the United States and other imperialist countries, which put strong pressure on it to change its home and foreign policy. The United States and particularly China try, among other things, to make the ruling circles of Bangladesh adopt a frankly anti-Soviet position (incidentally, China refused to back our liberation struggle in 1971 and did not recognize Bangladesh until after the rightists had overthrown the government under Mujibur Rahman). Those attempts fortunately bear no fruit. Our country is committed to the non-aligned movement. It declares for a new international economic order, disarmament and support of the national-liberation movements in Asia and Africa, and for peace and stability on our subcontinent and throughout Southeast Asia. As regards the Soviet Union, the government seeks closer friendship and cooperation with it in various fields.

Q. The Communist Party of Bangladesh was banned in October 1977. On what grounds?

A. Under the anti-democratic Political Parties Regulations introduced late in July 1976. These Regulations imposed rigid control on all political parties, which could not operate legally without government authorization.

In September 1976 the government legalized the CPB, for it operated entirely in accordance with the Regulations. Subsequently, however, the Regulations were amended to empower the President to ban any party without giving the reason. On October 14, 1977, this amendment was used against our party. That day the authorities jailed CC President Moni Singh and CC General Secretary Mohammad Farhad.

All this took place amid political tensions resulting from an abortive attempt on October 2, 1977, to bring down President Ziaur Rahman. The Communist Party emphatically condemned the disastrous move and called on all patriots to be on the alert and stand together so as to prevent a recurrence of similar anti-national incidents. But in the precarious situation that was created, the re-

actionaries, especially pro-Chinese alignments, put about provocative rumors alleging CPB complicity in the attempted coup. The campaign apparently helped ban the party but it did not shake the party's prestige among the people, who disapproved of the ban. The people have known the CPB, its activity and working methods, for a long time. They know that we communists firmly oppose terrorism and conspiracy.

Ever since it came into being, the CPB has been fighting against all domestic and foreign exploiters. It constantly defends the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population — the workers, peasants and other working people. The communists were in the forefront of the struggle against British imperialism and took an active part in the liberation fight against Pakistani occupation. Many of our comrades shed their blood in that long and difficult struggle. I must say that no other party had to go through trials and difficulties comparable to those that fell to our party's lot. The CPB operated underground most of the time when the country was part of Pakistan. It was not enabled to operate legally until after the victory of the liberation war on December 16, 1971.

In the period of independence the CPB has been doing all in its power to contribute to the country's economic rehabilitation. It has also been working to strengthen the trend toward progressive development and the provision of conditions for building socialism, which the Constitution describes as one of the principles of the state.

Q. How did the movement for legalization develop?

A. Although operating underground, we tried to win public support for the abolition of the ban on the CPB and for the release of our leaders. Preparation for the 1978 presidential elections offered us a welcome opportunity to popularize our demands all over the country. While still illegal, the party joined the Democratic United Front. It took an active part in the election campaign and its spokesmen addressed hundreds of meetings.

In the meantime the Supreme Court ruled that the arrest and imprisonment of CC CPB President Singh and CC General Secretary Farhad was illegal. They were set free in April and June 1978, respectively. That gave a new impetus to the legalization movement. We set out to collect signatures to a petition for the repeal of the ban and had 150,000 signatures after six weeks.

The demand for legalization found support among the whole population. Ten of the most prominent politicians of six parties, including the Awami League, National Awami Party and Jatiya Janata, made relevant statements. Similar steps were taken by some other parties. The demand that the ban on the CPB be lifted in the interest of democracy was supported by numerous noted scientists, writers, journalists, lawyers, trade unionists, youth and student leaders.

The campaign culminated in a press conference on October 14, 1978, or exactly a year after the ban. Moni Singh and Mohammad Farhad spoke at the conference. 'We never made it a secret,' Mohammad Farhad said, 'that we believe in Marxism-Leninism and our ideology is socialism. We believe that in the present-day world socialism is the only road to the emancipation of the people. Stating this viewpoint, we applied to the government in 1976 for legalization of the party and it gave its approval. There is no reason for banning the Communist Party, accusing it of "foreignism". . . . It is a significant fact that socialism is even today recognized as one of the basic principles in the Constitution of our country.'

Two days after the press conference, a petition for legalization (signed, as I have said, by 150,000 people) was handed over to the President's office. After the repeal of the anti-democratic Political Parties Regulations on November 18, 1978, the CPB resumed its activity as a legal party.

I wish to stress that the massive nationwide campaign was not the only thing that made that possible. Widespread international support for the legalization movement played an important part. We are grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Parties of other countries of the socialist community and all other fraternal parties for the solidarity and internationalism they showed our party.

Q. Could you comment briefly on the party's activity since it was legalized?

A. Our Central Committee first met in conditions of legality from December 7 to 10, 1978. The meeting discussed the political situation at home and decided on the party's line for the period preceding the general election, set for December but put off, first to January 27 and then to February 18, 1979.

Needless to say, the generally tense domestic situation had its effect on preparations for the election. Various political organizations demanded an end to martial law, the release of all political prisoners, guaranteed freedom of the press and so on. In mid-December all major parties, including ours, declared that they would boycott the election unless this demand was met. President Ziaur Rahman gave in and announced in the closing week of December certain measures aimed at extending the freedom of activity of political organizations, including the freedom to hold demonstrations. The authorities released a number of prominent leaders. In these circumstances the political parties, the CPB among them, decided to join in the general election.*

On December 13, 1978, our party held a public rally, the first since 1975. It called on the people to unite in struggle for greater national independence and the exercise of democratic, political and economic rights. Leaders of the party said in their speeches that the life of the majority of the popu-

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*Less than half of the registered voters went to the polls, according to press reports. The Nationalist Party won 207 of the 300 seats in parliament and the Awami League, 39. — *Ed.*

lation had not improved in the eight years of independence and that a sound society free of exploitation and oppression could only be built on socialist lines.

The CPR advocates extensive and guaranteed democratic freedoms, the abolition of all exploitation and oppression of the people, a better life for the masses, the preservation of the nationalized industries, the fixing of reasonable prices for farm produce and an end to growing prices for necessities. Our party sees one of the country's urgent problems in calling a halt to corruption, which has spread to vast spheres of public life. On the international plane we champion world peace, peaceful coexistence and better relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Three points on the map

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE WORKING PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE IN PANAMA, MALTA AND MALAWI

The above three countries are situated far from each other, in different continents where conditions are very dissimilar. Nevertheless, they now have much in common, for their peoples are fighting in one and the same liberation front against imperialism and neo-colonialism, a front encompassing many regions of the globe and interlinking its most distant parts.

PANAMA: A NEW STAGE

Felix Dixon
Alternate member, CC People's Party of Panama

The new Panamanian-U.S. treaties on the Panama Canal which were signed in June 1978 and whose implementation is bound to have the most beneficial impact on the solution of social and economic problems of our society, and the elections to the National Assembly of Community Representatives held in August 1978 marked the beginning of a new stage of the Panamanian revolution.

It may be recalled that by the term of the treaties the Canal and its zone are to be put under Panamanian jurisdiction, which means that our people will be able to complete their territorial and political liberation. The financial situation of the republic will improve, for the revenues to be derived from the Canal will run to $80 million annually. The state will take over both the Canal Zone and its property, valued at several thousand million dollars and forming the infrastructure, the ports included. All this will provide conditions for developing the country's economy, promoting its social progress at a fast pace, and carrying out government programs designed to improve the people's condition.

The evacuation will begin of a major imperialist center training military personnel for counter-revolutionary operations, the notorious Escuela de las Americas at Fort Gulick. Graduates of this school take part in the suppression of the national-liberation struggle in Latin America and elsewhere. The treaties envisage the abolition of all the 14 U.S. military bases in Panama.[1]

It is now safe to say that ten years of rule by patriotic military men in Panama have resulted in important changes. The government has eased dependence on foreign capital and improved the people's condition. It has nationalized the power industry, construction, and the banana plantations and enlarged the public sector. It restricts and supervises the activity of foreign companies. Its agrarian policy, particularly the formation of peasant *asentamientos*,[2] has helped to solve many urgent problems of the peasants. The government has, moreover, carried out important measures in the sphere of public health and education.

The radicalization of the national-liberation struggle necessitated democratic changes in the exercise of power. These came about as a result of the August elections. General Omar Torrijos, leader of the Panamanian revolutionary process, and his government had the wholehearted backing of the people; imperialism and the oligarchy suffered a crushing defeat. A constitutional reform has been put into effect. It provides for the transfer of all power to civilians. The structure of people's rule was strengthened by establishing a Legislative Council in November 1978. The Council members are elected by the National Assembly (the members of the Legislative Commission which functioned earlier were appointed by the government). The council is vested with vast powers: it drafts laws, approves the national budget and appoints the leading executives of government organizations and enterprises. Participation in the democratization process by the workers, peasants, and other anti-imperialist forces makes it possible to pursue with greater confidence a home policy aimed at speeding the advance to complete national liberation.

The law legalizing political parties[3] and repealing all anti-communist decrees was an important step toward democratizing public life. Under it the People's Party of Panama (PPP) gained full legality for the first time since the 50s, the law recognizing the party's inalienable right to political activity, The PPP achieved a notable victory in nearly five decades of struggle for the satisfaction of the people's demands and for complete national sovereignty, which was curtailed by the U.S. presence in the Canal Zone. Our party is determined to continue this struggle, using the opportunities offered by its new legal status.

At an enlarged CC meeting last January, the PPP reaffirmed its intention to pursue a policy of alliance with anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic organizations. It declared once again its support for the policy which the forces involved in the process initiated by General Torrijos are following, and expressed readiness to strengthen alliances of this nature, including alliances with the recently formed Democratic Revolutionary Party (DRP)[4] and Broad Popular Front (BPF).[5] However, Panama's communists and these parties are divided by ideological principles, for while the two parties seek greater changes within the framework of the bourgeois system, the PPP wants to go further and calls for a socialist revolution.

The important restructuring of government bodies coincided with General Torrijos' decision to relinquish the office of head of government and refrain from seeking re-election as President in October 1978. However, he retains the post of commander of the National Guard, which he says must guarantee the continuation of the Panamanian revolutionary process.

The 'withdrawal to the barracks' does not imply that the military are renouncing political activity. They go on playing their role and are preparing to assume greater responsibility in the joint administration of the Canal (until it is transferred to Panama) and in defending the country against encroachments from without.

Political authority today is exercised by the government under President Aristides Royo, elected on General Torrijos' recommendation. We consider this government more progressive than its predecessor, for it includes a larger number of ministers in favor of continuing the current process. The PPP regards the Royo government as a government of the center-left equal to paving the way for the consolidation of the democratic and patriotic forces and for complete national liberation. Implementation of the new treaties and the adoption of much-wanted economic measures will, of course, remain particularly important and require the greatest vigilance on the part of Panama's revolutionary forces.

The historic victory over colonialism was made possible not only by our people's revolutionary struggle but by the changed international situation. The forces trying to suppress the national-liberation movement, opposing peaceful coexistence and obstructing the solution of mankind's social problems suffer one political, economic or military reverse after another. Imperialism can find no way out of the crisis.

By contrast, the might of the countries of the socialist community is growing as is fraternal cooperating among them. They are fighting for world peace and an international order under which big and small countries would have an equal right to shape their destiny on the principles of mutual respect and cooperation.

One of the external factors for the success of the Panamanian people's liberation struggle is international solidarity in the form of political support extended to our patriots fighting imperialism, for the elimination of neo-colonialism in the Canal Zone. Another factor is the processes within the imperialist system and which the revolutionaries should bear in mind when evolving their tactics. We mean Carter's policy, which takes into account, among other things, recommendations of the so-called Trilateral Commission[6] and is intended to adapt to the new realities — the strengthening of the socialist community, the offensive of the international working class, and the upsurge in the national-liberation movement. While allowing democratic movements, Carter's policy is designed to keep the developing countries in capitalism's orbit with help from the social democrats of Europe, who try by means of social demagogy to create illusions among the revolutionary forces. This compels imperialism to make some tactical concessions, in this case on the issue of the Canal Zone.

International support contributed to the growth of our national-liberation movement, helped strengthen the more consistent forces of the Panamanian revolutionary process, and facilitated their electoral victory in 1978, with the result that state power was restructured and opportunities were created for far-reaching political changes.

1. For a detailed assessment of the significance of the new treaties, see Ruben Dario Souza, 'For Panama's complete independence,' *WMR*, February 1978, p. 86.
2. Cooperatives. — *Ed.*
3. it gives legal status to the traditional parties and also to newly-founded parties provided these have a specific program and rules and at least 30,000 supporters.
4. The DRP works to unite under its aegis all supporters of the decolonization process. It declares that it will respect democratic principles, promote representative government, and defend civil rights. It advocates defense of the country's independence, and the maintenance of friendly relations with all nations, and condemns colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in any form.
5. The BPF has put forward a minimum program intended to strengthen national independence, deepen and effectively maintain the agrarian reform, develop all three industrial sectors (private, public and cooperative) and foster relations with all countries.
6. Regarding the functions of this body, see John Pittman, '"Trilateralism" — U.S. imperialism's new scenario,' *WMR*, May 1978, p. 104.

MALTA: THE BRITISH FLAG IS LOWERED

Mario Vella
CC member, Communist Party of Malta

Historical background

In spring, on the 31st of March 1979, the last British soldier left Malta, thus ending this country's last connection with NATO. British soldiers first came to this Central Mediterranean island, only 60 miles south of Sicily, in 1798. They came to help feudal reaction crush an attempt (by a handful of local 'jacobin' bourgeois revolutionaries who were politically isolated from their class and the rural masses and whose strength lay only in the

French garrison left behind by Napoleon on his way to Egypt) to start a democratic revolution.

This was not an isolated case: between 1796 and 1799 several short-lived 'jacobin' republics were set up in Italy. If one looks at the most famous and tragic of these republics, the Neopolitan one of 1799, once again one meets the British Royal Navy doing all it could to restore Naples to the King of the Two Sicilies. Britain's interests at the time are clear: her own economic supremacy required economic and political backwardness everywhere else. The interests of the capitalist mode of production in its own social formation required the dominance of the feudal and other pre-capitalist modes in other formations. But one cannot attribute the failure of these early Mediterranean democratic experiments to a mere question of British foreign policy. The internal contradictions of the experiments themselves and of the environment in which they were made doomed them from the start. Gramsci's work is based to a large extent on drawing lessons for the modern working class from the shortcomings of those experiments.

The closing down of British bases in Malta at the request of the Labor government signifies therefore a resumption of history in this small island after a pause of nearly two centuries. During this pause the local economy was transformed from one of relative dependence to one of absolute dependence on British military spending and the international division of labor. The destruction of a flourishing cotton industry by free trade and other factors in the 19th century is an interesting case for study because it reminds one of the present crisis of the textile and clothing industry in Malta and of Britain's cruel decision in the autumn of 1978 to ban all imports of textiles and clothing from Malta. This transformation of the economy discouraged the formation of a national industrial bourgeoisie and, more generally, it discouraged any sizable productive enterprise. On the other hand, it did produce an aggressive commercial bourgeoisie schooled in the entrepot trade of the last century. Local production began to be seen as a threat to the volume of imports. A very interesting case (again because of its similarity to present events) is the protest in 1911 by the Chamber of Commerce to the effect that the increasing volume of wine produced locally was hindering the wine import business. Providentially in that same year a government sanitary ordinance all but destroyed the industry.[1]

The 'Maltese' model of development

Since the 1960s the island has begun to industrialize at a brisk pace. The number of persons employed in manufacturing has more than doubled since 1968 and is now 31,346 (total gainfully employed population was 114,415 in 1977; total population was 309,207). Gross domestic product at factor cost has increased, again for the past ten years from 62.1 million Maltese pounds to 217 3 million;[2] gross manufacturing output from 29 8 million to 164.8 million, of which 101.8 million are accounted for by exports. Given the island's total lack of natural resources, raw material imports have risen proportionately to exports: the country imports 33.6 million pounds worth of goods and services more than it exports.

By far the largest industrial sector is that of textiles and clothing with 34.5 per cent of gross output of all manufacturing industry. This is followed by food preparation with 14.5 per cent; electrical and electronic machinery, 7.1 per cent; and printing and publishing with 6.2 per cent. Of these, textiles and clothing and also printing and publishing are essentially export oriented. In fact two companies alone, one in each sector, account for 28 per cent of total manufactured exports.[3] One of these two companies is Bluebell (Malta) Ltd., a wholly owned subsidiary of a U.S. company. Bluebell, mostly known for its jeans, is the island's largest single employer with approximately 1,500 employees, and the island's most important exporter with total exports of approximately 20 million pounds in 1976 and 23 million in 1977.[4] As to U.S. private shareholding in general, 20.8 per cent of the total value of shares in state-aided firms are controlled by U.S. firms. Next in line comes British shareholding with 12 per cent and the FRG with 7.3 per cent.[5]

State intervention is substantial: total budget expenditures for 1978/79 amount to 109.2 million Maltese pounds, this being 42.5 per cent of the gross national product for 1977. The largest slice of expenditures (74.8 million) is recurrent and goes mainly to wages and salaries and the welfare state apparatus in general. Capital expenditure comes next with 31.8 million pounds, of which about 35 per cent is devoted to direct investment by the state and to a factory building program. A further 14 per cent goes to the dockyards, while telecommunications, housing, port development and hospital modernization account for most of what is left. Predictably, the private sector has demanded a reduction of the state's direct investment and a concentration on infrastructural development.[6] But what angers most a section of the local bourgeoisie, especially the traditional one tied to imports and commerce, is the protectionist policy of the Labor government.

In my opinion the key to understanding the 'Maltese' model of development (dependent capitalist development) lies precisely in the 'protectionist' function of the state. The protected industries are the ones that cater mainly for the internal market and that cannot 'protect' themselves by economic means alone. Protection of these industries keeps prices down and consequently keeps down the price of labor power. This, in addition to the modernization of state services (education, medical research and health service, infrastructure development, security, etc.) amounts to presenting the much more dynamic export industries (almost totally foreign owned and in general not in need of any direct protection) with optimal conditions for the realization of substantial profits.

This very briefly and somewhat crudely, is the 'Maltese' model. In its separation of internal mar-

kets (low priced goods by 'slow' enterprises for the reproduction of low cost labor power) from external markets (high priced goods sold abroad and produced by low cost labor power) this model resembles the Brazilian one as described by Furtado.[7] But whereas the Brazilian model (differences in scale apart!) has to contend with the rising expectation of consumers, the Maltese version has to contend with this problem to start with. Protectionism leads to degeneration of quality and to disinterest in modernization of production processes; not surprisingly the 'import' bourgeoisie, organized within the Chamber of Commerce and waving a free trade banner, has been quick to point out these effects in order to secure the petty bourgeoisie to its camp.[8] The 'industrial' bourgeoisie's social and political role, especially vis-à-vis foreign capital is certainly not the classical 'national-liberal-democratic' one; its weakness and ambiguity reflect its dependence on state intervention and its subordination to neo-colonialist capital.

Class alliances and class struggle

The struggle between capital and labor in Malta is mediated by a struggle between two class alliances. On the one hand, a progressive alliance between the industrial bourgeoisie and large sections of the working class, especially from the shipbuilding and ship-repairing sector. At the political level this alliance is represented by the Labor Party; this alliance is cemented with a populist ideological practice that has a powerful potential for further radicalization in a socialist direction. On the other hand, there is a reactionary alliance between the traditional commercial bourgeoisie tied to imports and large sections of the wage-earning and self-employed petty bourgeoisie. This alliance, represented at the political level by the Nationalist Party, is reacting against the transformation of pre-capitalist state apparatuses, notably higher education and the health service, and more generally, against the further development of capitalism. The reactionary Medical Association has been waging a bitter corporatist struggle against the institution of a national health service as a result of which, for the past 18 months, our state hospitals have been manned mainly by foreign doctors. The assistance of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has been crucial in this respect. The reforms of higher education, in an attempt to restructure the university to conform with the present needs of the economy, have caused widespread reaction among the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. It is interesting to note that this reaction also has its left-wing elements that range from a sterile leftist infantilism to a neo-narodnik current. Even in this essentially reactionary movement however, and predictably so, it is possible to trace some vaguely anti-imperialist positions.

If Malta's policy of progressive non-alignment is to be successfully maintained after March 1979, it is imperative that the island's economy withstands the grave dangers that beset it. To start with, the closure of the British base will mean over 28 million pounds less to the national income. The search for alternative sources of income may result in a greater dependency on neo-colonialist capital. But it may equally well result in greater economic relations with the countries of the socialist community. It is clear that imperialism has already begun a systematic campaign of sabotage. (In addition to this, there is the indifference of the European countries of the Mediterranean to the Maltese government's appeal for security guarantees for the island's neutrality.) This campaign is contributing substantially to the development of the left populism of the Labor Party toward clearer anti-imperialist, and in some cases even anti-capitalist, positions. It is to be expected, therefore, that this tendency of ideological development will eventually clash with the class composition of the social bloc represented by the Labor Party; that is, it will lead to the exacerbation of the contradictions between its working-class base and the interests of the protected and dependent local industrial bourgeosie.

The tasks of the Communist Party

Maltese communists are striving to insert themselves at the fore of the national democratic movements proper to this stage of development, and from there to press for a socialist orientation. The local effects of the economic crisis that has swept across the capitalist world are showing that only a socialist orientation leads to development and that economic growth is not necessarily development. While maintaining the necessity of an autonomous Communist Party within the labor movement, we have repeatedly maintained a non-sectarian position even when obstacles were put in our way. We have consistently taken our distances from and criticized the reactionary opposition to the Labor government even when this took a left-wing form.[9] But above all we are aware that although we represent the most conscious elements of the working class, the solutions we are proposing are beneficial and necessary to the nation as a whole, especially in this national democratic phase of our development. As Dimitrov had said at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, 'We communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are not narrow-minded trade union functionaries, or leaders of medieval guilds of handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society, the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system.'[10]

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against their native exploiters, Dimitrov said, are not in contradiction with the interests of a free and happy future for the nation. On the contrary, the socialist revolution will signify the salvation of the nation and will open up the road to loftier heights. By the very fact of building at the

present time its class organizations, by the very fact that it is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

On the other hand we consider it our constant task to guard against nationalistic rhetoric which, for a country of our size, is downright ridiculous and pathetic. Only internationalist solidarity can bring the Maltese people a free and secure future. Hence we estimate very highly all contacts with the countries of the socialist community and especially the Soviet Union, at whatever level (state, parties, trade, etc.,) they may happen to take place. And finally we must strive to understand the proper relations between national liberation and the world revolutionary process. As Lenin correctly observed: ' ... in the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed toward national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary role than we expect *(Coll. Works,* Vol. 32, p. 482).

1. W.A. Charlton *Trends in the Economic Geography of Malta since 1800.* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Durham, England, 1960.)
2. 1 Maltese pound =£1.35 Sterling.
3. *Economic Survey 1977,* Economic Division, Office of the Prime Minister, Malta 1978, pp. 14-33.
4. *Commerical Courier,* Chamber of Commerce, Malta, August 21, 1978, No. 12, p. 609.
5. *Annual Report,* Malta Development Corporation, 1977.
6. *Economic Independence, an Assessment and a Prescription,* Chamber of Commerce, Malta, 1978, p. 11.
7. O. Furtado, 'The Brazilian "Model",' *Social and Economic Studies,* 1973, March, pp. 122-131.
8. *Commerical Courier,* October 2, 1978, No. 14, pp. 722-728.
9. For a detailed critique of petty-bourgeois 'left-wing' reaction to the Labor government see my articles: (a) 'Reazzjoni jew Rivoluzzjoni,' *Spartakus,* organ of the Progressive Youth League, the party's youth organization, No. 1, November 1977, pp. 6-12; (b) 'Prof. Dahrendorf and the Forthcoming Congress of the CP,' *Proletariat,* the official party organ, No. 6, June-July 1978, pp. 22-24.
10. G. Dimitrov, 'The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International,' *Selected Speeches and Articles,* London 1951.

MALAWI: NEO-COLONIAL PROFILE

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Regime of colonial exploitation

In the colonial period, the people of Malawi[1] were subjected to brutal exploitation by British imperialism. The foreigners destroyed the subsistence agriculture, the source of the population's food and handicraft products. The British colonial authorities issued certificates of landownership to give legal recognition to the land appropriated by the European settlers. The local inhabitants found themselves in quasi-feudal dependence on their foreign masters. Africans were allowed to live on the land which had been arbitrarily taken from them only if they worked without pay on the plantations of the Europeans at the peak of the cultivation period, which prevented the African peasants from growing their own crops. This was known as 'thangata,' meaning 'help.' On the land allocated to them, Africans had to grow export crops and to sell these to the landowner at the latter's price.

The system of oppression was gradually extended to the rest of the country as the land which had not been confiscated was turned into 'crown' land. On these lands, Africans had to pay a poll or hut tax, irrespective of their income.

The African was, in effect, reduced to a slave and found himself in total subjugation and servitude. He had no union, could not strike, was unable to demand higher wages, or leave the estate. All the laws enacted by the colonial regime were aimed to strip Africans of all political rights and intensify the ruthless exploitation of the local population. Under agreements signed with the colonial regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, cheap Malawi labor was exported to work in mines, on farms and at factories in those countries.

The interwar period will undoubtedly be designated by our historians as one of 'economic terror' with campaigns mounted to grow more cash crops, to extend forced labor on the European settlers' farms, and labor recruitment for the South African and Rhodesian mines, farms and factories. The world economic crisis of the 30s had a devastating effect on Malawi's economy, which was geared to the growing of export crops, especially tea and tobacco. The Malawians suddenly realized that they were on a sinking ship. The shortage of paper money in circulation, while commodity production was being increased, forced the peasants to resort to barter, because the prices paid for the crops in paper money were too low. People in the rural areas exchanged their produce for the prime necessities, and this intensified their exploitation by all kinds of middlemen, traders and shopkeepers. The colonial administration responded by confiscating crops from peasants by force of arms.

The people of Malawi resolutely opposed the colonial oppression, the tyranny, the rule of the colonial administrators and the corrupt traders. As early as 1915, John Chilembwe organized the workers within the agricultural sector embracing all tenants in the tea- and tobacco-growing districts of Blantyre, Chiradzulu, Malanje and Cholo. He led a peasant uprising against British colonialism.

For decades, the mass movement against the alien regime gathered momentum. The Nyasaland African National Congress (NANC), which was set up in 1944, demanded the abolition of the hated thangata system and recruitment of labor for enterprises in South Africa and Rhodesia, and the establishment of independent cooperatives con-

trolled by the producers themselves. The authorities were forced to make some concessions, and in some areas allowed the establishment of such cooperatives to market rice, cotton, fruits and vegetables. It is true that they did not succeed in accumulating the resources required for developing farming, and it was the colonial regime which ultimately benefited most from its middleman operations.

In the early 50s, faced with the growing anti-colonial struggle of the Malawi people, led by the Nyasaland African National Congress, the British Parliament enacted laws which forced Malawi into a federal system with Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) and Southern Rhodesia, the colonial Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, commonly known as the Central African Federation. The landowners of Malawi used the federal machinery not only to strengthen their economic positions, but also to bring their land policies into line with those of Rhodesia, where Africans had virtually no land rights at all. Within a decade, the economy of Malawi, already dependent on British capital, slowly fell under the domination of Rhodesian white settlers.

True face of neo-colonialism

In July 1964, following the dissolution of the Central African Federation, Malawi was given flag independence. This was preceded by major events and upheavals. In the late 50s, the tide of action and demonstrations for freedom was so powerful that the colonialists had to use troops against the unsubdued population. Confronted with African nationalism, the authorities were in a state of panic, and the governor himself admitted that his administration had been on the point of abdicating its responsibilities unless reinforced with troops from Rhodesia. A state of emergency was declared and the NANC banned.

At the same time, efforts of a different kind were made, for the situation clearly showed that the period of direct colonial rule was at an end, and that British imperialism was trying to find a recipe for decolonizing Malawai while maintaining the system it wanted after independence.

Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda was invited to put through this neo-colonialist scheme. At an emergency conference in 1957, the African National Congress decided to invite him to return home after almost 40 years abroad, and to assume the Congress leadership. The Malawians did not realize that this man was, in effect, a reactionary and counter-revolutionary puppet, and that he would demand of the NANC a more moderate policy with respect to colonialism, and that finally, after the proclamation of flag independence, he would head a corrupt and despotic regime. It subsequently transpired that it had been a historical error to have invited for leadership a man who had no knowledge of the Malawian people and who had never shared their aspirations.

Banda did not take long in showing just what kind of order the colonialists intended to set up in Malawi after they gave up their direct political domination. Strikes had been banned even before flag independence, and they were still banned after it. Militant workers were killed, detained or exiled. The Nyasaland Trade Union Congress was completely choked. Banda prohibited the cooperatives, which he saw as a potential source of opposition. Political terrorism became part and parcel of the shaping of the neo-colonial state, with all the attendant consequences.

Malawi has no national economy as such. The economy is owned, controlled and run by foreign monopolies, which invest their capital in projects and sectors holding promise of high profits. They are not interested in enterprises which are important for Malawi's future and which could provide the basis for its economic independence. As in the colonial period, Malawi continues to be an underdeveloped country with a very low GDP per head.[2] And this is quite natural, considering that for more than a half-century, the country's productive forces have been used to enrich foreigners, while national needs and requirements have been simply ignored. The country has good potentialities for developing agriculture, but also proved deposits of coal, bauxites, graphite, mica and so on. The bauxite deposits alone are estimated at 60 million tons, but they are not being worked.

Faced with economic difficulties, the Banda regime always seeks a way out along neo-colonialist lines. Thus, in order to cut the growing trade deficit, it has sought to secure long-term loans from the imperialist governments and racist regimes of Southern Africa, and this tends to tie the country even more tightly to the capitalist-world economy. The available resources are squandered and diverted into the production of luxury goods catering for the appetites of a privileged bourgeois class.

The share of the present sector in the GDP has been steadily shrinking: from 1967 to 1976, it fell from 74 per cent to 48 per cent. One of the reasons is the steady depletion of manpower resources through the export of Malawi labor to South Africa and Rhodesia. The interests of the bulk of the peasantry, which comprises 95 per cent of the population, are being deliberately infringed by the authorities' policy of creating a stratum of rich kulaks (achikumbe) to act as support for the regime and a buffer between it and the rural masses. Considerable World Bank assistance is going to the local kulaks. The processes of class differentiation now going forward in Malawi society lead to the emergence of new landowning groups which team up with the old settler capitalists to exploit the labor of the landless peasants.

Malawi faces numerous problems, including a high rate of population growth, on the one hand, and a high death rate, on the other, excessive exploitation of land for commercial purposes resulting in a sharp increase in the class of landless proletarians and growing unemployment in the towns. The distribution of income between the urban and rural population, between the three re-

gions and districts, and between the races is highly inequitable.

Internally, the regime is repressive and autocratic. Its laws provide for indefinite detention without trial and long-term imprisonment for the slightest expression of disrespect for Banda, who is President for life. Censorship is strict, and there is a wide network of government informers. The death rate among political detainees is highly alarming. This is the result of torture, ill-treatment, bad food and lack of medical facilities. We have proof of the horrible terrorism which reigns in the country: more and more detention camps are being built. We recently discovered a clandestine graveyard where innocent people secretly murdered are buried. It lies near Limbe and is known only to the President and a few of his trusted henchmen within the Young Pioneer Movement (Banda's private army).

The regime's pro-imperialist and authoritarian policies have alienated the peasantry, which is subjected to fierce exploitation by the foreign monopolies and the local privileged class. They have also alienated the workers who are deprived of political rights, the intellectuals and the specialists, who are persecuted and humiliated. Recalcitrant tribal chiefs also have to face brutality: whenever they refuse to bend to the well-tried use of force, they are sent either to concentration camps or have to live under restriction away from their homes. Every Malawian, be he minister, civilian official or ordinary worker, lives in a state of uncertainty and lack of security.

Alliance with racists

Since the colonial period, Malawi has not just maintained but has also extended its wide ties with the white-minority regimes in the South of Africa. While other states in the region have sought in various ways to be rid of such ties, Malawi, despite the advantages of neighboring on anti-imperialist states, and the absence of a common frontier with the racist countries, has continued under Banda to develop economic, political and military cooperation with South Africa.

Malawi's rulers have steadily supplied cheap labor for the mines and farms of South Africa and Rhodesia. The number of Malawians recruited for such work increased from 36,000 in 1964 to 150,000 in 1976.[3] This includes only the officially recruited workers, although the number of Malawians going down to the racist South in search of work is very much larger.

The regime has praised the racists for the 'generosity' with respect to jobless Malawians. Banda has rejected the demands for an end to the recruitment of labor for South Africa. On the contrary, with the approval of the ruling circles the press has carried more advertisements. One of these said: 'South Africa Seeks Malawian Workers. People who work in South Africa's mines and farms earn good wages and also obtain excellent working conditions.... The qualifications of employment are that a man should weight not less than 115 lbs (57 kgs) and be fit to work. Many people are wanted for underground work in gold, platinum, coal and asbestos mines, and also on farms.'

The racist regimes greatly benefit from the exploitation of Malawi labor. First, Malawians, coming from an extremely poor country, accept much lower wages than local workers. Second, the arrival of trained workers is a saving for the racist regimes in terms of training costs, pensions, etc., all of which are borne by Malawi, which also has to bear the social responsibility of the families of migrant workers remaining in Malawi. Third, the contracting of African labor serves the interests of the white regimes in the first place. The short-term contract does not allow time for the Malawian workers to become integrated in local politics as they are segregated in camps where tribal identities are encouraged to keep the Africans divided. And by using cheaper labor brought in from outside, the authorities seek to bridle the local working class.

The Banda regime also has some benefits from this arrangement. The recruitment of Malawi workers for South Africa and Rhodesia gives it some concessions in trade with the racists and helps to reduce any political consequences of the dissatisfaction in the country arising from the widespread unemployment.

The Banda regime has pursued a counter-revolutionary line with respect to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. Of the independent African countries, Malawi was the first to set up an embassy in Pretoria. The relations between the ruling regime in Malawi and the South African rulers are more intimate and better than they are with any other African-led state on the continent. Under Smith's unilateral declaration of independence,[4] our country's ruling circles were among the chief breakers of economic sanctions against racist Rhodesia. Rhodesia's goods found their way on the world markets via Malawi. Rhodesian tobacco, for instance, had been channeled to an international auction floor at Limbe, where it was re-exported as a Malawian product. Thus, the Banda regime received substantial revenues through 'invisible imports.'

Malawi's rulers even fraternized with the Portuguese colonialists, on the plea that Malawi is a landlocked country, and Salazar's Portugal rewarded them for their counter-revolutionary role in the region by allowing them the use of the facilities of the Port of Nacala in colonial Mozambique. Together with Portuguese capital, the regime set up mixed enterprises like the Commercial Bank, in which the Malawi government had a 20 per cent interest. After the revolution in Portugal, the Bank of America rushed in to buy the Portuguese shares.

Goals of our struggle

In 1974, our people, filled with a sense of responsibility for the future of the country laboring under neo-colonial rule, set up their own party, the Socialist League of Malawi (LESOMA). Its long-

term goal is to restructure our society on the basis of scientific socialism, while its immediate objective is to organize the workers, peasants, intellectuals and young people for struggle against Banda's pro-imperialist dictatorship. This regime must give way to a progressive democratic government working for a reduction and subsequent elimination of our economy's dependence on foreign capital, establishment of truly national state enterprises in the key sectors, and development of handicraft production in the rural areas on a cooperative basis. Such a state must have guarantees of free elections, freedom of speech and assembly, and other democratic rights.

The masses support LESOMA's goals and program, and many have joined the ranks of the country's only socialist party working for the people's interests. Although we have been forced to work underground, LESOMA enjoys prevalent influence at the factories, railways and other enterprises, despite the ban on the trade unions. The workers are involved in the anti-regime underground activity, and there is a great demand for LESOMA's official organ, the newspaper *Kuchanso* (Redawn).

Banda and his clique are undoubtedly worried about the growing influence of our organization, but despite the arrests, detentions and murders of our activists, the authorities have failed to destroy it. Members of the LESOMA leadership are now being hunted abroad, with the help of South African intelligence services. Some LESOMA activists have been kidnapped and dragged into Malawian territory from neighboring countries.

However, we have received support from our true friends and allies in African and other countries. LESOMA has been recognized by a number of progressive states on the continent, by the African National Congress of South Africa, by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and by SWAPO of Namibia. A LESOMA delegation attended the World Anti-Apartheid Conference in Lisbon in 1977, and the Ninth World Trade Union Congress in Prague in 1978. Our purpose is to extend and strengthen relations with all the progressive forces of the world.

We believe that Malawi's problems cannot be separated from those facing the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Neo-colonialism has completely exposed itself as an accomplice and ally of the racist regimes. That is why the fight against apartheid in South Africa, against the white-minority regime in Rhodesia, and the occupation of Namibia by the South African racists is directly connected with the struggle against the neo-colonialist regime in our country.

1. The Republic of Malawi, a former colony known as Nyasaland. In the south, southeast and southwest, it borders on the People's Republic of Mozambique; in the north, with the United Republic of Tanzania; and in the west, the Republic of Zambia. It has a population of about 5.5 million, and an area of 118,484 sq. km.

2. According to official data, in 1967, it came to 50.4 Kwacha (1964=100), and in 1974, to 69.3 Kwacha (1 Kwacha=$1.01). See, *Financial and Economic Review*, Reserve Bank of Malawi, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1976, p. 112.

3. As in the colonial period, the recruitment is carried out by two racist outfits: the South African Witwatersrand Native Labor Association, and the Rhodesian Labor Supply Commission.

4. On November 11, 1965, the South Rhodesian government, which expressed the interests of the racist settlers, and in defiance of the will of the African majority, declared Rhodesia's 'independence,' so entrenching the white minority's dominant position. — *Ed.*

March of unfortunates

The massive march of 300,000 half-starved, barefoot farmworkers through the streets of New Delhi on March 20 of this year was an unprecedented event in the history of the Indian toiling people. For several days the marchers travelled to New Delhi from all parts of the country to present Parliament with their Charter of Demands and to proclaim their resolve to struggle for its realization.

The leaders of the BKMU (Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union, The Indian Agricultural Workers' Union), organizer of the march, described the event as indicative of a new awakening among the most exploited and socially oppressed strata of rural India.

Agricultural workers, numbering about 50 million, constitute more than one-fourth of the Indian workforce. It is officially recognized that they are condemned to a life of starvation and destitution. On an average an agricultural worker is employed no more than 200 days a year. Not a single state except for Kerala has any laws protecting the interests of the agricultural workers.* Even the minimum wage law announced by the governments of some states has never been implemented.

Neither is there any hope of getting a plot of land through the much propagated land reform. By July 1977 only 1.29 million acres of surplus land had been distributed (over and above the established land ceiling) out of a potential surplus of 21.51 million acres. The Indian National Congress Party that has been ruling the country for 30 years, stimulated the development of rural capitalism striving toward a compromise with the feudal and semi-feudal landlords. Some leaders of the present Janata Party government are openly against any distribution of land among the landless peasants.** Encouraged by this the landlords have launched a fierce offensive to forcefully take back

* A United Front government which includes the Communist Party has been in office in Kerala since 1969.

** 'There is no land for the landless,' said the Deputy PM, C. Singh.

even that small portion of land which the poor peasants and agricultural laborers won through their struggle.

The majority of these peasants belong to the Harijan community (the so-called untouchables), the lowest stratum in the caste system, and they are subjected to various forms of oppression from social boycott and bonded labor to brutal atrocities by the upper caste who control the levers of economic life in the villages. Incidents of Harijans being shot and killed, burned alive, their women raped and property destroyed by armed hirelings of the landlords have, of late, alarmingly increased. In 1977 approximately 10,000 cases of atrocities were reported while in only the first six months of last year there were about 6,000.

For a long time the lack of a nationwide militant organization had been the main obstacle to any effective movement for human rights and for other basic demands of the Indian farm laborers. However, thanks to the untiring efforts of the CPI over the past 11 years, an independent organization of the rural proletariat, the BKMU, has grown up all over the country. From the middle of 1977 in many union states, the movement of agricultural workers has taken on a mass character as was evident from the rapidly increasing participation in their meetings, demonstrations and picketing, and in their growing resistence to the brutalities of the big landlords. By the middle of last year about a thousand had given their lives in the fight for basic human rights.

On July 20, 1978, the leader of the CPI Parliamentary group and Secretary of the Party's National Council M.N. Govindan Nair went on a hunger strike demanding an immediate enquiry into and punishment of those responsible for the gruesome crimes against the Harijans in the cities of Agra and Patnagar. Prior to this his country-wide tour covering 10,000 kilometres, addressing hundreds of mass meetings in towns and villages, drew attention to the acute social and economic problems of the agricultural workers.

The movement has already achieved important initial victories. The government met the demands made by M.N. Govindan Nair, and it was agreed that an all-party parliamentary committee would investigate any major incident of atrocities against the Harijans and a commission would study the problem of Harijans as well as the tribal people (Adivasis), one more category of unfortunates.

The growing solidarity of the industrial workers and employees, expressed in their moral and material support, has been a great source of strength of the movement of the agricultural workers. The demand for distribution of surplus lands is gaining ever wider popular support and in this context the need for the united effort of all the left and democratic forces acquires paramount urgency. This unity can defeat the rural vested interests and go a long way in fulfilling the demands of the agricultural workers. It is not an unrealizable dream even in the existing Indian conditions, as is evident by the example of Kerala.

The massive march to the Parliament has shown that the struggle has today reached new and important heights.

S.M.

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the press

'Left' radicalism: from 'ultra-revolutionism' to conformism and back

Jürgen Reusch
(FRG)

History often has periods when new experience and the logic of developments reinforce conclusions drawn in the past, further clarifying, as it were, established facts. This applies in toto to the experience of the class struggle over the past decade, which has accentuated the provocative, venomous character of present-day leftism.

The following, based on material from the FRG press, is an analysis of the character, ideology and political views of leftism, the evolution of some left-radical groups and their leaders, tracing how the 'left' revolutionaries seek to vindicate the same theories as right opportunism from a different angle, from the opposite pole.

There is every reason for this

Marx, Engels and Lenin had shown eloquently that opportunism, on account of its petty-bourgeois origin, is not an integral stream, and that whatever its outward form — ultra-left or right, radical in words or conciliatory in theory and in practice — its purpose is to disarm the working class.

Lenin probed deep into the nature of opportunism, including the opportunism arrayed in ultra-left robes, and showed the relationship between 'left' pseudo-radicalism and right opportunism: 'The Economists and the present-day terrorists have one common root, namely, *subservience to spontaneity* ... The Economists and the

terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity: the Economists bow to the spontaneity of "the labor movement pure and simple," while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals, who lack the ability or opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working-class movement into an integral whole' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 418). Further, he noted: 'the instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, and its tendency to turn rapidly into submission, apathy, phantasms, and even a frenzied infatuation with one bourgeois fad or another — all this is common knowledge' (Vol. 31, p. 32).

These hallmarks of 'left' pseudo-radicalism as a petty-bourgeois product of the capitalist system mirror the position held by the petty bourgeoisie, by the so-called middle strata, in bourgeois society yesterday and which they continue to hold today. Marxist scholars had left not the shadow of a doubt that the currently operating set of socio-economic and political factors has logically generated, at least in our country, the FRG, specific forms of the radicalization of petty-bourgeois strata.[1]

Under the impact of structural modifications in state-monopoly capitalism the working and living conditions of innumerable members of the middle strata are undergoing a change; the scientific and technical intelligentsia is being drawn into capitalist production and reproduction directly and on an unparalleled scale; a corresponding differentiation is taking place in professional training that is, on the one hand, leading to the formation of a numerically small élite loyal to the system and, on the other, to the levelling and dequalification of the remaining mass. All this combines with the loss of the former opportunities for advancement and 'privileges,' with unemployment among people with a higher education, and their mounting insecurity. It is, therefore, not fortuitous that today, as distinct from the 19th century, from the epoch of capitalist competition, petty-bourgeois radicalism gets its recruits mainly from the intelligentsia. Although by virtue of its intermediate social position the latter differs in many ways from the traditional petty bourgeoisie, it shares many of its socio-psychological qualities and political guidelines.[2] However, as the GCP Program notes, an important point is that because of its social condition the bulk of the middle strata has drawn closer to the working class and to an anti-monopoly alliance with it.[3] Hence, instead of indiscriminately condemning everybody coming forward with a petty-bourgeois protest, the Marxist party should try to draw the disaffected majority away from leaders blinded by anti-communism, enlist this mass into democratic alliances, and turn it into an ally of the working class.

Needless to say, this is not very easy to do because it would be a mistake to believe that the mass of intellectuals, particularly students, are already now aware of the prospect for an anti-monopoly alliance with the working class. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that in the FRG these processes are taking place under somewhat singular conditions, that proletarian class consciousness and the revolutionary working-class movement are relatively weak, that anti-communism has been and remains a state doctrine, while existing socialism is misrepresented. Of course, this is making it hard for the radicalized petty bourgeoisie to join hands with the organized Marxist working-class movement and prevents it from understanding the true, socialist alternative to crisis-shaken capitalism. This explains the innumerable attempts of the petty bourgeoisie to 'develop' its own 'alternative.' Since the union of the power of the monopolies with that of the bourgeois state in a single mechanism and the exercise of power generally under state-monopoly capitalism are seen by the disaffected petty-bourgeois radical as the isolation of the state in a self-sufficient, omnipotent and ubiquitous apparatus, any state compulsion is regarded as the root of evil, as the cause of futility.[4] This class-unconceptualized, spontaneous opposition to the state is one of the basic causes of the animation of anarchism and kindred ideas. Today this tendency is gathering momentum because the loss of illusions that began with the crisis following the long success of the ideology of social partnership and the 'economic miracle' is due to inadequate experience of class struggles and does not automatically lead to the left, to an alliance with the working class (this is particularly the case with the petty-bourgeois strata).

The petty-bourgeois protest came as a response to the curtailment of democratic rights. It took shape, of course, simultaneously with the militant actions of the working class, as a counteraction to the arms race, nuclear weapons, emergency laws, and the genocide practised by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

However, if it is taken into account that the petty-bourgeois protest movement is beginning to develop its consciousness not from scratch but from an appalling mixture of liberal-bourgeois traditions, élitist notions, individualism, anti-communism and prejudices against the working class, it will be seen why it is fighting shy of the latter and why the bourgeoisie is able to direct the justified disaffection of many members of the middle strata into a channel that in the long run is not dangerous to the existing system.

Confirmation of these conclusions is easy to find in the immediate past and present of the FRG. For instance, in the 1960s the petty-bourgeois protest in our country, as in other capitalist states, culminated in the so-called anti-authoritarian student movement. Objectively speaking, this was what fundamentally contributed to what for the Federal Republic of Germany was a significant upswing of the democratic movement as a whole and gradually awakened criticism in the most diverse political camps.[5] The idea of an alliance with the working-class movement gradually took root among a segment of the students. However, a wide range of petty-bourgeois notions proved to be extremely viable. Appearing again and again, they

were encouraged by bourgeois propaganda and by anti-communism, which nurtured all sorts of utopias, absurdities and vacillation typical of petty-bourgeois revolutionism, obstructed any study of the experience of the working-class movement, and led away from the socialist alternative to exotic theories and models of 'revolution' far removed from reality. Roughly at the beginning of the 1970s the growing isolation, fragmentation and helplessness led to feverish quests for 'renewal' by those who were stuck in the mire of anti-communism. Groups, study circles and organizations, calling themselves 'Marxist' and 'communist' sprang up everywhere. Matters reached a point where new 'communist parties' using the ideology of Maoism and Trotskyism were formed. Anarchism, Maoism and Trotskyism proved to be, as might have been expected, closely interrelated.[6]

It would seem that the failure of the anti-authoritarian movement had made it obvious that it was impossible to square the circle, namely, to combine anti-communism with anti-imperialism, impatience with élitist mentality, revolutionary romanticism with dogmatism, and give all this out as 'new communism.' However, old trends of anarchism-prone petty-bourgeois radical protest, this time in the form of 'basis' or 'sponti' groups, reappeared with the aggravation of capitalism's general crisis and with the crisis in education alongside the dangerous intensification of the use of scientific and technological achievements solely in the interests of capital.[7] These groups are recruited mainly from politically experienced segments of future intellectuals, from former Maoists disgusted with the barrenness of the Maoist groups, and from former supporters of the SDP disenchanted with the inability of the right-wing social-democratic leadership to meet the hopes for reforms. As a result, their protest has turned into negation of reforms generally, into belief that problems will only be resolved 'partially.' We thus observe yet another revival of the philosophy of the bourgeois intelligentsia, which is unwilling and unable to act, and deliberately shuns Marxism because it demands practical actions.[8]

What unites all these outwardly motley groups is that they combine verbal radicalism and rebellious behavior with feelings that in reality bear the stamp of hopelessness and desperation. These feelings are the starting point for a reversal to conformism or ideas of 'improving' society within the framework of the existing system, to ideas preached and championed by right-wing social-democracy.

In this connection the existence of a 'socialist bureau' in Offenbach, FRG, in indicative.[9] This organization, formed in 1969 as a reaction to the founding of the GCP, can hardly be given a clear-cut characterization, for all variants of opportunism, chiefly right with 'left' and 'Marxist' pretensions, are represented in it.

Lastly, small, armed terrorist groups sprang up in the early 1970s in the FRG and almost all other West European capitalist countries. This phenomenon 'may be characterized as anarcho-terrorism, as irrational and pseudo-revolutionary counter-violence of isolated and sectarian groups, as an expression of desperation and hopelessness of the radicalized petty bourgeoisie relative to state manifestations of the violence and power of the capitalist system at the stage of its decline.'[10] Anarcho-terrorism has renounced political action virtually altogether and is objectively working hand in glove with the most reactionary forces.

Despite the heterogeneity of the petty-bourgeois left-radical and anarchist groups, they bear an astonishingly close kinship to the right-opportunist champions of integration with the existing system on basic issues such as the attitude to the working class and its party, to the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to existing socialism, and to the ways and aims of the movement.

To the 'right' and 'left' of the working class

Since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, which marked the birth of scientific communism, the teaching on the historic mission of the working class and its party has been the core of Marxist theory. However, it is this that is ignored or categorically disputed by the left-opportunist currents.

The petty-bourgeois radical movement of the 1960s did not trust the working class, considering it insufficiently revolutionary, oriented excessively on consumption, institutionalized, and integrated into the existing system. It disputed, more or less categorically, the historic mission of the working class. Marcuse spoke of a 'conservative popular basis incorporated into the system with only the actually exploited' declassed and marginal groups being a serious external threat to the system.[11] The entire 'old' working-class movement was flatly proclaimed as finished, 'helpless' and 'crushed,'[12] an example being the views of Rudi Dutschke, a high priest of the anti-authoritarian movement of the 1960s, whose personal disenchantment with the imagined futility of the revolutionary working-class movement was and remains the point of departure of his thinking.[13] At that stage of the petty-bourgeois radical movement the debate focussed on the 'subject of revolution,' the role of the students whose radical organizations were categorically proclaimed the 'vanguard of revolution.'[14] Cohn-Bendit, who came into prominence as an anarchist during the May 1968 movement in France, and subsequently in the FRG as well, called for a 'revival in the memory of the working-class movement of its own revolutionary experience'[15] in the shape he himself saw it. Working-class organizations — the trade unions and the Marxist party — were rejected; the 'new radicalism' left no room for a centralized, 'communist bureaucracy';[16] he condemned 'trade union bureaucracy' as distracting the workers from the struggle,[17] and demanded more spontaneity: not new parties, but entirely 'new forms,[18] which, on closer inspection, proved not so new after all. It

is indicative, however, that all this strident radicalism dovetailed with totally different practice, for, as the GCP quite justifiably noted, the leadership of most of the 'anti-authoritarian' groups was exercised by highly authoritarian methods, and many leaders of these groups were cynical about their own theory[19] and this identified them with the leaders of the bourgeois parties.

The pattern of the present Maoist and Trotskyite groups, which call themselves 'communist,' is only outwardly different. When they were part of the anti-authoritarian student movement most of them scornfully dismissed the working-class struggle for higher wages as a 'purely bourgeois struggle' that allegedly was integrating the working class into the existing system, as worship of base metal that had nothing in common with a revolutionary spirit.[20] The picture is altogether different today. Petty-bourgeois distrust of the working class is now seen as a mystification full of lies and utterly divorced from reality. Savagely competing with and denouncing each other, these groups unsupportably proclaim themselves the 'vanguard of the working class' and lecture it from traditionally élitist positions.

The only 'consistency' here is the fundamental hostility of all these groups for the GCP and the trade unions of the working class, i.e., for the actual organizations of the working class. The so-called Communist Union of West Germany regards the trade unions of the FRG as part of the imperialist system of domination[21] and fulminates against the GCP, charging it with 'betraying the interests of the working class' and submitting to bourgeois policy.[22] Roughly the same is asserted by another group, which with the permission of the higher judicial authorities has usurped the glorious name of the GCP, and also by other Maoist groups.[23]

In contrast to these organizations with their vociferous 'cult of the proletariat,' the 'sponti' groups have returned, in many cases without them realizing it, to the views of the anti-authoritarian movement. The basic elements of their views are accentuated individualism, total discipline, distrust for political organizations, negation of all organizational bonds and bourgeois anti-communism, all of which estrange them from the working-class and also the progressive student movements. These groups labor under the illusion that in 'spheres that are still free,' in the 'housing' and other 'associations' analogous to the 'communes' of the 1960s it is possible to evolve 'alternative forms of life' that would, like a catalyst, ultimately bring about the transformation of all former social structures, and in effect seek to maintain the threatened petty-bourgeois positions in private life at least.[24] They haughtily declare that the working class is possibly a suffering class, but in everything else it is incapable of any movement. They say that one can sympathize with that class but 'we no longer want to wait 50 or 100 years until the working class develops the relevant consciousness ... to help us achieve our aspirations.'[25] Relative to political work, it should be, according to their bizarre political jargon, an 'adventure,' for it cannot be directed 'by traditional power,'[26] by 'traditional' ways and means.

The above-mentioned 'Socialist Bureau,' whose spontaneous negation of the working-class mission leads to non-committal ideas such as the 'self-determination of people,' has likewise remained true to the ideas of petty-bourgeois spontaneity. According to the thinking of the 'anti-bureaucrats' of the 'Socialist Bureau,' a militant Marxist party is not only unneeded but even harmful. Their motto is not a 'bureaucratic cadre party' but 'autonomous self-organization.'[27]

This petty-bourgeois fear of the discipline and militant organization of the working class plays into the hands of the leaders and adherents of right opportunism and is directly related to their ideology. By attempting to confine the working class to spontaneous protests against individual shortcomings of capitalism, the right-wing social democrats are in effect out to prevent the working class from comprehending the capitalist system and are doing everything to integrate it into that system. In their distrust for the working class, they embrace theories maintaining that that class is 'disappearing.' For instance, in the SDP Godesberger Program it is stated that the workers had formerly been poor and exploited, but now they had become equal citizens of the state.[28] In this way Marxism is portrayed as outdated. However, Marxism has never attributed the revolutionary spirit of the working class to its 'poverty.' As a matter of fact, Willi Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, Peter von Oertzen, P.C. Ludz, and other leading proponents of right-wing social-democracy[29] hold that today there is no working class and that society is not divided into classes. In their attacks on the GPC the authors of a brochure, written in the spirit of right-wing social-democracy, have gone so far as to allege that the term 'working class' is nothing more than a 'propaganda expression' of the communists.[30] Little wonder, therefore, that the right-wing SDP leaders declare not only that the GCP should be fought but also that the SDP itself should no longer be regarded as a party of the working class.[31]

In the main thing, in their attitude to the working class and the organized working-class movement, 'left' and right opportunism thus agree, objectively complement each other, confusing and politically disarming the working class.

Roadless aims and aimless roads

Unable to see the main motive force of social transformations and held captive to an élitist overestimation of its own role, petty-bourgeois radicalism rejects long-term strategy and tactics, proclaiming instead unrealistic maximalist demands. This is true of both Rudi Dutschke's idea of 'associations of free individuals' and the analogous slogan of 'abolishing the structure of domination' proclaimed by Cohn-Bendit.[32] This also applies to the 'sponti' groups' 'alternative forms of life,'

which are only a new edition of the Marcusian 'great renunciation.'[33] This leaves all these groups solely with the tactics of 'actionism,' which, for all its dramatics, is not part of a strategy pursuing a scientific aim and is therefore hollow and essentially mirrors Bernstein's principle that movement is everything, the aim is nothing.

It would seem that the Maoist and Trotskyite groups operating with concepts borrowed from scientific socialism and filled with petty-bourgeois revolutionism, differ visibly from them. For instance, the Communist Union of West Germany insists that the immediate task of the West German proletariat is to prepare for and accomplish a proletarian revolution. Another Maoist group, calling itself CPG (Marxist-Leninist) focussed its attention on the 'revolutionary act of smashing the bourgeois apparatus by establishing the proletarian dictatorship.'[34] However, all of them reject the struggle for democratic rights or the attainment of the 'right to work' on the pretext that this cannot be achieved until capitalism is overthrown.[35] In practice, this means that all these groups confine themselves to proclaiming end goals. But they keep away from the actual struggle for democratic rights and, moreover, objectively play the role of provocateurs. This is a cowardly attitude and essentially counter-revolutionary in its consequences.

Speaking of the end goals proclaimed by the 'left radicals,' it must be noted that these aims are formulated on the basis of hopelessly confused notions. Indeed, since petty-bourgeois radical and anarchist criticism of capitalism is always based on personal experience and feeling, without any attempt at scientific analysis, and without solving the main, class issue, its targets have been 'the state,' 'compulsion,' 'oppression,' and 'bureaucracy' in general. Dutschke declared that the root of evil was 'authoritarian society,' not as a society split into classes but as a gigantic apparatus, as a skyscraper with powerful strata at the top and disinherited strata at the botton.[36] As a matter of fact, there is an amazing similarity between these conceptions and purely bourgeois theories. In both cases state-monopoly capitalism is lost in classless, omnipotent, and omnipresent 'technostructures.' We see the same helplessness and protest of the 'individual' against power as a blind, dark force, against 'oppression' and 'repression' as such in the demands and theories of the 'sponti' groups.[37]

For their part, too, although they claim that their stance is anti-capitalist, the Maoists and Trotskyites are unable to transcend their petty-bourgeois origin. For instance, spokesmen of the Communist Union of West Germany allege: 'The whole point is in the right of control'[38] (of the means of production. —*J.R.*). The fact is that solely the 'right of control,' in isolation from the problem of ownership, is nothing more than the 'policy of right-wing social-democracy.'[39] In fact, the SDP leadership's resolution banning cooperation with the communists says that the socialization of the means of production is an outdated demand[40] and that the task is to reshape the 'right of control'[41] and thereby target the existing 'social mechanisms' 'on new aims without disrupting continuity.'[42] Accordingly, the right-wing social-democratic leaders have stepped up their condemnation of everything even remotely reminiscent of working-class rule.

Evidence of the extent 'left' and right opportunism sometimes resemble each other, especially in their renunciation of radical social transformations, is provided by the basic platform of the 'Socialist Bureau.' A key document of this organization states: 'A society with qualitatively new social relations and new social structures cannot result from a single revolutionary act.'[43] However, this does not imply that in the view of the 'Socialist Bureau' a qualitative advance toward socialism will only lay the beginning for the building of a new society. It implies something different, namely, that there must be a set of reforms that would gradually lead to the appearance of individual socialist islands.[44] The 'SB' theorist Oskar Negt, quoting Andre Gorz, calls this 'revolutionary reformism.'[45] There is an obvious similarity here with the idea of the young socialists in the SDP about reforms 'putting an end to the system.'[46] As a matter of fact, the right-wing SDP leadership likewise speaks of 'democratic socialism,' but, in 'enlarging' upon Bernstein, it regards socialism not as 'dogmatic anticipation of the end goal'[47] but a 'standing task'[48] that ultimately preserves capitalism and makes it more effective.

In other words, whereas 'left' radicalism with its accent on end goals does not indicate how they are to be achieved, right opportunism speaks of roads that lead nowhere. In the final analysis, both spell out ordinary reconciliation with capitalist reality.

Whom are they fighting?

Actually, the 'revolutionary ideals' of 'left' opportunism, to quote Marx and Engels, are 'in the misty realm of philosophical fantasy.'[49] 'Left' revolutionism disdains and is hostile to existing socialism, and this brings it into one and the same camp with right-socialist and even ultra-reactionary anti-communism. Bourgeois doctrines of totalitarianism, which crudely and demagogically identify existing socialism with reactionary and even fascist regimes, hook the 'leftists' despite the fact that these doctrines were invented specificially for anti-communist purposes. It is not accidental that elements of these doctrines have infiltrated the 'anti-state' concepts bearing the imprint of anarchist and left-sectarian influence. They have manifested themselves in, for instance, Marcuse's assertions about the 'steady growth of totalitarianism and authoritarian centralization' in the Soviet Union,[50] or in Cohn-Bendit's writings identifying the 'bureaucracies of East and West.'[51] The Trotskyite verbiage about the 'bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution' in socialist countries is likewise to be found in the vocabulary of the 'left' radicals in the FRG,[52] while the Trotskyite Mandel bluntly calls for the overthrow of the 'Soviet bureaucracy.'[53]

Because they are devoid of a class position the 'sponti' groups are likewise susceptible to any anti-communist denigration of socialism.[54]

A more or less differentiated addition is injected into views of this kind by spokesmen of the 'Socialist Bureau.' Without directly identifying capitalism bluntly with the 'bureaucracy of existing socialism,' they nonetheless speak of a 'convergence of interests' and of the 'class structures in the East and West' overlapping through the 'identity of blocs.'[55]

In the case of the ultra-leftist allegations of the Maoist and Trotskyite groups about the 'restoration of capitalism' in the Soviet Union, and of their declarations about 'superpowers' or 'social-imperialism,' the Marxists have long ago proved irrefutably that both these theses are derived from bourgeois theories, [56] have been inspired by bourgeois ideology, and for that reason are eagerly used by the bourgeoisie and right-wing social-democracy in the mass media controlled by them.[57]

Also indicative is the fact that while it timidly 'criticizes' capitalism, the SDP Godesberg Program,[58] which is predicated on the same bourgeois anti-communism as the petty-bourgeois left-radical theories, gives a frightening picture of the 'totalitarian' system in the socialist countries, where the 'freedom' of the individual is allegedly destroyed.[59] The program appeals to the state as though it were a neutral arbiter standing above classes and conflicts in the FRG and concerning itself with justice in the interests of all citizens. This is that selfsame notion of a class-neutral state with the difference that it is pictured as benign, while petty-bourgeois radical hyperbolization portrays it as perverse, branding it Enemy number one.

Despite this distinction, both conceptions bracket the working class and the bourgeoisie, equating them in a subordinate position relative to what is described as an extra-class state. The class struggle thus disappears, while the alternative fades, for the suggested 'solution' figures in the form of a 'third way,' which spokesmen of right-wing social-democracy call 'democratic socialism' and which is seen by petty-bourgeois radicals as 'totally new models' differing from existing ones; this solution leads back to capitalism.

In the long run, the 'non-dogmatic' 'left' radicals are much closer to the ordinary anti-communism of right-wing social-democracy than possibly they themselves think. Their anti-communism, too, speaks of a 'bureaucratic structure' in the Soviet Union and waves the bogey of a 'communist party dictatorship.'[60]

In what way do these views differ from those of the big bourgeoisie, whose mouthpiece *Frankfurter Allgemeine* writes of socialism's 'totalitarian tyranny?'[61] Or from the views of the CSU politician and Bundestag Vice-President Stüchlen, who lauds Peking for its 'resistance' to 'Russian imperialism?'[62] Paradoxically, common bourgeois ideology turns both the 'left' and the right opportunists into brothers and in many cases bring them into dangerous proximity to the most reactionary positions. This is eloquently demonstrated by the praise bestowed by the West German Maoists on the CSU führer Strauss, who, in his turn, hails Maoism, and by their mutual hostility for existing socialism.[63]

The indications are that bourgeois spokesmen are fully aware that 'left' revolutionism objectively helps to preserve the existing system and therefore purposefully use and encourage it. Otherwise, what explains the fact that the FRG bourgeois publishing houses and publications systematically disseminate 'left' opportunist views up to anarcho-terrorism, which preaches violence? What would Bakunin have said had he learned that in 1972 the Ullstein publishing house brought out the first German-language edition of his fundamental work *The State and Anarchy*? Or how is one to assess the FRG television broadcasts, which in the autumn of 1977, when Dr. Hans-Martin Schleyer, president of the Federation of German Employers' Associations, was kidnapped, lauded anarchism as an instrument against 'degenerated' existing socialism? Many other examples of this kind could be given.[64]

Destiny of idols

In conclusion, the actual essence of 'left' opportunism may be illustrated with examples of the evolution of some of its known spokesmen. For instance, Horlemann, the former anti-authoritarian leader of the Socialist Union of German Students, who had waxed enthusiastic over the Vietnamese revolution, is now one of the heads of the Maoist 'CPG,' an anti-Soviet fanatic, and a proponent of a pro-imperialist defense of the fatherland. Rudi Dutschke, inventor of anarchist utopias and a student leader, is now a professional anti-communist, is writing books about the Soviet Union full of 'left' verbiage, and fraternizes with counter-revolutionary elements, one of whom is the so-called dissident Grigorenko, who is a friend of the CSU. Jens Litten, former Vice-Chairman of the Socialist Campus Union, has adopted an entirely new political hue. Having become an outspoken conservative, he tried to make a career in monopoly circles, taking a public relations job in a concern. In the long run, many former activists of the 'anti-authoritarian' movement joined fortunes with the social democrats.

These examples show that the protest of the 'leftists' vacillates between the main fronts of the class struggle, that in many cases it degenerates into lethargy, that petty-bourgeois radicalism, which grows out of a spontaneous protest against rightist policy, is frequently only a step on the road toward time-serving. Capitalism's general crisis has only further accentuated this regularity, intensifying the contradiction between the monopolies and the people and aggravating the class struggle. Today the question is whether the monopolies and their political agents will be able to turn the FRG into an authoritarian state with

total surveillance of citizens, carry through the gigantic process of redistributing the national product in their favor, nullify the social gains of the working people, and return to a confrontation with socialism, to the methods of the cold war, or whether the working class and its allies will secure a turn toward democratic and social progress. For the ruling circles the right and 'left' hues of opportunism are in this context a welcome aid that directs criticism and disaffection into a safe channel and, ultimately, back to accommodation. In this situation the GCP understandably 'defends scientific socialism against bourgeois ideology of all shades. It fights right opportunism, which is out to disarm the working class spiritually and subordinate it politically to monopoly capital. Moreover, it fights "left" opportunism, pseudo-revolutionary adventurism, and the divisive activities of the Maoist, Trotskyite and anarchist groups, that are hostile to the cause of the working class.'[65] Its aim is to form a broad alliance of all democratic and anti-monopoly forces, in order to pave the way for progressive transformations at a turning point in the development of the FRG.

1. B. Frei, *Die Anarchistische Utopie*; H. Adamo, *Über Terrorismus*, Frankfurt on Main, 1978, p. 139 et al; E.J. Batalow, *Philosophie der Rebellion. Kritik der Ideologie des Linksradikalismus*, Berlin, 1975, p. 13.
2. E.J. Batalow, Op. cit., p. 20.
3. *Programm der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*, Düsseldorf, 1978, p. 80.
4. V. Frei, *Die anarchistische Utopie*; H. Adamo, *Über Terrorismus*, p. 143.
5. S. Lehndorff, 'Studentenbewegung 1977 — 10 Jahre Danach,' in F. Deppe (Hrsg.), *2 Junri 1967 und die Studentenbewegung heute*, Dortmund, 1977, p. 47.
6. H. Adamo, *Die Wahrheit über die Anarchisten*, Frankfurt on Main, 1975, p. 46.
7. This is analyzed comprehensively by Reiner Krings in *Rote Blätter*, No. 6 and No. 7, 8, 1977; also in *Marxistische Blätter*, No. 1, 1979.
8. Günther Amendt's comments on an interview with representatives of 'sponti' groups: *Konkret*, No. 3, 1978, p. 16.
9. W. Gerns, R. Steigerwald, G. Weiss, *Opportunismus heute*, Frankfurt on Main, 1974, p. 101.
10. B. Frei, *Die Anarchistische Utopie*; H. Adamo, *Über Terrorismus*, p. 134.
11. H. Marcuse, *Der eindimensionale Mensch*, Neuwied/Westberlin, 1967, p. 267.
12. Bergmann, Dutschke, et al, *Rebellion der Studenten*, Reinbek, 1968, p. 58; a more detailed study is given in B. Frei, *Die anarchistische Utopie*, a.a.O., p. 97.
13. A Marxist criticism of these attitudes is given in Robert Steigerwald, *Der 'wahre' oder konterrevolutionäre 'Sozialismus,'* Frankfurt on Main, 1977, p. 83.
14. R. Dutschke, 'Antwort an Augstein,' *Kronket*, No. 9, 1967, p. 54.
15. Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, *Linksradikalmismus. Gewaltkur gegen die Alterskrankheit des Kommunismus*, Reinbek, 1968, p. 16.
16. Ibid., p. 194.
17. Ibid., p. 198.
18. *Neue Kritik*, No. 41, 1967, p. 18.
19. J.H. von Heiseler, 'SDS — Organisationstheorie,' in M. Schäfer (Hrsg.), *Die KDP. Gründung, Entwicklung Bedeutung*, Frankfurt on Main, 1978, p. 155.
20. This is exemplified by *Neue Kritik*, No. 54, 1969, p. 42, in its analysis of the September 1969 strikes in the FRG.
21. *Kommunistische Volkszeitung der Gruppe 'KBW,'* January 30, 1978.
22. Ibid., February 13, 1978 and February 27, 1978.
23. *Rote Fahne*, newspaper of the false-CPG, , January 25 and March 20, 1978; *Arbeiterkampf*, June 26, 1978; the views of the Maoist groups are discussed by Günter Weiss. 'Neue Momente bei den maoistischen Gruppen,' *Marxistische Blätter*, No. 2, 1978, p. 109.
24. R. Krings, in: *Rote Blätter*, No. 6, 1977.
25. *So oder so*, No. 16, 1977, quoted from R. Krings, *Facit-Extra*, Bonn, May 1978, p. 14.
26. *Konkret*, No. 3, 1978.
27. *Ansatzpunkte sozialistischer Politik in der Bundesrepublic, Grundsatzdokument des 'Sozialistischen Büros,'* Offenbach, 1971, pp. 8, 19; *Thesen des Sozialistischen Büros*, Offenbach, 1975, Part III, p. 43, Part VI, p. 88.
28. *Grundsatzprogramm der SPD, beschlossen vom Ausserordentlischen Parteitag der SPD in Bad Godesberg*. November 1959, Bonn, p. 29.
29. W. Gerns. *Krise der bürgerlischen Ideologie und ideologischer Kampf in der BRD*, Berlin, 1976; A. Leisewitz, *Klassenstruktur in der BRD heute*, p. 59.
30. H. Appelhans et al, *Die DKP — Keine Alternative für Demokraten*, Bonn, 1975, p. 21.
31. *Grundsatzprogramm der SPD*, p. 30.
32. R. Dutschke, 'Assoziation freier Individuen,' Westberlin, *Oberhaumblatt*, No. 5, 1967; Cohn-Bendit, *Linksradikalismus*, p. 20.
33. R. Krings, in *Rote Blätter*, No. 7-8, 1977.
34. W. Gerns, R. Steigerwald, G. Weiss, *Opportunismus heute*, p. 148.
35. *Rote Fahne*, newspaper of the so-called Communist Union of West Germany, April 22, 1978.
36. Bergmann, Dutschke, et al, *Rebellion der Studenten*, pp. 56, 77.
37. *Konkret*, No. 3, 1978.
38. *'Linke.' Phrasen-rechte Politik. Zur Politik und Praxis des KBW. Materialien eines Streitgesprächs am* May 22, 1975 in Bremen, Hrsg. vom Parteivorstand der DRK, Dusseldorf, p. 21.
39. Ibid.
40. *Zum Verhältnis von Sozialdemokratie und Kommunismus*. Bonn, 1977, p. 8.
41. *Grundsatzprogramm der SDP*, p. 13.
42. H.-J. Vogel, *Grundfragen des demokratischen Sozialismus*, Bonn, 1974, p. 17.
43. *Grundsatzdokument des 'SB,'* 1971, p. 19.
44. Ibid. This is restated in the 'SB Thesis' 1975 (*Thesen des 'SB' von 1975*, pp. 66, 88).
45. W. Gerns, R. Steigerwald, G. Weiss, *Opportunismus heute*, p. 114.
46. Ibid., p. 92.
47. These words are from an anti-communist document of the right-wing SDP leadership, forbidding SDP members from cooperating with the communists, (*Zum Verhältnis von Sozialdemokratie und Kommunismus*, p.8.).
48. K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 131.
50. H. Marcuse, *Die Gesellschaftslehre des sowjetischen Marxismus*, Neuwied/Westberlin, 1964, p. 84.
51. Cohn-Bendit, *Linksradikalismus*, p. 192.
52. Dutschke, Wilke (Hrsg.), *Die Sowjetunion, Solschenizyn und die westliche Linke*, Reinbek, 1975; *Einleitung von Dutschke Grusius und Wilke*, p. 9.
53. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, March 23, 1974.
54. R. Krings, in *Rote Blätter*, No. 6, p. 1977.
55. U. Schmiederer, in Links, May 1978, p. 19.

56. For instance, the 'Communist Union of West Germany' explains that 'social-imperialism' means 'dependence of states' and 'suppression of the freedom of nations' (*Kommunistische Volkszeitung*, February 27, 1978). This is almost a word for word repetition of the right-opportunist interpretation of imperialism by Kautsky, who maintained that imperialism meant the annexation of undeveloped countries by highly industrialized nations, and was thus merely a form of the foreign policy of these nations. Lenin, it will be recalled, categorically rejected this definition, because it ignored the monopolies, separated economics from politics, and obscured imperialist class interests with various claims to power.

57. Willi Gerns, *Krise der bürgerlischen Ideologie und ideologischer Kampf in der BRD*, pp. 109-11.

58. *Grundstatzprogram der SPD*, p. 27.

59. *Grundstatzprogram der SPD*, p. 6.

60. *Zum Verhältnis von Sozialdemokratie und Kommunismus*, p. 5.

61. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 11, 1978.

62. *Unsere Zeit*, September 2, 1978.

63. These relations are discussed in G. Weiss, *Neue Momente bei den maoistischen Gruppen*, a.a.O.; Lilo Schneider, 'Wo strehen die verschiedenen maoistischen Gruppen?' *Marxistische Blätter*, No. 4, 1978.

64. This is dealt with at length in Hans Adamo, 'Vorgebliche und tatsächliche Ursachen des Terrorismus.' *Blätter fur deutsche und internationale Politik*, No. 215, p. 13.

65. *Programm der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei*, p. 84.

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facts and figures

Effects of capitalist rationalization on workers

The past few decades have shown that the scientific and technological revolution (STR) is giving humanity unprecedented possibilities for remaking nature, producing enormous material wealth and multiplying creative capability. However, capitalism uses scientific and technological achievements to make bigger profits and step up the exploitation of labor.

In the 70s, the economic condition of labor in capitalist countries has shown no improvement despite the growth productivity due to the advanced techniques and new technologies. On the other hand, the monopolies have acquired new sources of profit. During the 1973 boom, monopoly profits topped 1970 indices as follows: in Britain by 47 per cent, the USA 42, Italy 25 and the FRG 21 per cent.[1] Real wages in industry rose at a far lower rate. In the United States they registered a 2 per cent increase. During the 1974-75 crisis, real wages were virtually frozen. In 1975 those of industrial employees in the USA, Japan and Britain dropped by 5 per cent as against 1973; in Italy they remained unchanged, and in the FRG and France they rose by only 4 and 3 per cent respectively.[2]

Recent years have seen a sharp increase in the use and effectiveness of electronics. Micro-electronics (micro-processers, microcomputers, etc.) have become particularly widespread. It is now an essential component of the STR and strongly influences its trend, making it possible to raise productivity significantly while reducing capital intensiveness. The use of micro-electronics has led to considerable progress in rationalization in electrical engineering, printing and watch-making. Micro-electronics is finding increasing application in mechanical engineering. The use of industrial robots is spurring rationalization. Earlier forecasts that the possibilities of rationalization in this field would be exhausted by now were premature.

One might have expected tecnological innovations to make labor easier and more creative. Yet the use of advanced technology in capitalist society produces different results, increasing unemployment in the first place.

As well as raising productivity, rationaliization reduces demand for labor in relation to the bulk and value of production output and services. At the same time, the slowing down of economic growth forces the employment rate still further down. From 1970 to 1975, rationalization annually reduced the number of jobs by 3 per cent in West German industry alone.[3] As economic growth is small while employer strategy is aimed at increasing output with fewer employees by stepping up exploitation, very few new jobs are created.

The case of the West German printing industry points to the close interdependence between the STR, growing productivity, and the release of labor power. There, the switch from linotypes to computerized photosetting machines costs every sixth employee his job, and in the next few years the release of labor power will rob roughly another 10,000 printers[4] of work.

The impact of electronics is particularly strong in the watch-making industry. While the manufac-

ture of a mechanical watch required about 1,000 technological operations, an electronic watch is assembled from only five elements and the operation requires much less labor. As a result, nearly 14,000 jobs have been eliminated in West Germany's watch-making industry since 1970.[5]

In the AEG electrical engineering company new automatic assembly units will make thousands of workers redundant.[6] It is testing new robots in the storehouse of one of its television plants. Each robot, operating around the clock, would effectively do the job of three workers.

In the capitalist countries workers dismissed as a result of rationalization are swelling the already enormous army of jobless. The monopolies and the capitalist state, realizing the dangers inherent in so-called technological unemployment, try to ease its social and economic consequences by various means. But the measures they adopt — improving the skills of a work force made redundant or training people for new jobs — are ineffective and so cannot solve this acute problem. In the United States only 3 or 4 per cent of the jobless in the 70s were retrained and of these only 50 or 60 per cent found employment on completing the course. Government regulation, too, is plainly inadequate. Thus, the Belgian state budget last year provided for the creation of 40,000 jobs, the nationalized sector in France in 1977 gave temporary jobs to only 21,000 persons, and in Britain a mere 25,000 jobs are created annually under a provisional employment program.

The claim that the release of labor power in material production will be compensated by more job openings in government institutions and clerical work has not been borne out, for rationalization is speedily gaining ground in these spheres as well.

Speaking of the rationalization rate of clerical work in the USA, where it is highest, the West German business journal *Capital* commented that 'ever since 1960, the speed of processing information has risen tenfold every four years.' At the same time, expenditures had decreased by 90 per cent. 'If in, say, the early 60s a computer of the IBM-650 type, which took up a large hall, cost over one million marks, a similar computing capacity enclosed in a pocket computer costs one-thousandth of its former price at most.'[7]

The rationalization of clerical work may have truly catastrophic consequences in terms of growing unemployment,' said Volke Hauff, West German Minister for Research, in describing the social effects of micro-electronics.[8] In the United States white-collar workers already add up to 40 per cent of job-seekers. As for government agencies — central and provincial alike — they are in a chronic financial crisis.

Under capitalism this problem cannot in principle be solved, since there is no intelligent conscious, planned control of manpower resources. The capitalist is indifferent to the fate of his employees, whom he needs for as long as they can bring him profit; where a machine or an automatic device is more profitable he gives his employees the sack.

Rapid rationalization affords the monopolies new opportunities to intensify labor. Commenting on working conditions in the Tchibo company, the West German *Wirtschaftswoche* wrote that employees who prize their free time, family, and normal blood pressure should find a different job. And a member of the company's board said cynically: 'We are not a social insurance institution.'[9]

The STR produces qualitative changes in terms of growing intensity of labor, with physical strain giving way to nervous strain. Operators of automatic and semi automatic systems are expected to be more alert, so as to react promptly to light or sound signals. What is more, the nervous strain involved is kept up throughout the working day. Such protracted stress increases the incidence of nervous disorders as well as mental and cardiovascular diseases, which tend to become occupational. Investigations have revealed that at many automated plants, from one-third to half of the workers performing production operations suffer from nervous disorders and mental diseases. At the Padua electrical engineering plant, the proportion of such workers is close to 40 per cent, according to data made available by the Italian trade unions.

Sustained nervous stress and a steadily quickening work pace make for an increasing rate of accidents and early disablement. The industrial accident rate in the USA is exemplified by the following figures: every day, 55 persons lose their lives, over 8,000 are disabled, and 27,000 suffer serious traumas. In the FRG, 3,154 working people died from accidents in 1977.[10] That year the country's enterprises registered one accident every 17 seconds, a serious accident every nine minutes, and a fatal accident every three hours,[11] according to H. Ehrenberg, West German Minister of Labor and Social Affairs.

The above factors also account for the growing incidence of occupational diseases and early retirement. In the 1970-76 period, the proportion of persons affected by occupational diseases in West Germany increased by 54.2 per cent,[12] and in 1976 alone, 267, 235 persons had to go on pension prematurely.[13] Retiring age in West Germany is 65 but nowadays a worker's active life ends at 54 on the average. At Ford's workers are worn out by 40.

With a substantial number of working people, rationalization is accompanied by loss of qualifications and this, in turn, worsens working conditions, makes labor less satisfactory morally, and often entails smaller earnings. Loss of qualifications is a consequence of technical, technological, and organization rationalization. *Der Spiegel* writes: 'A skilled worker trained to operate a machine-tool manually becomes redundant. His job is taken over by an unskilled worker (or automatic machine — *Ed.*) whose only function is to feed blanks into the machine. . . .'[14] When electromechanical telephonic equipment was replaced by micro-electronics-based equipment the proportion

of highly skilled workers among the employees of this sphere dropped from 82 to 35 per cent.[15]

This disastrous impact of capitalist rationalization on the working people's condition shows that while state-monopoly capitalism does develop enormous productive forces as a result of the STR, it cannot develop these forces in the working people's interest, nor does it intend to do so. Capitalist rationalization merely heightens exploitation and impairs the social condition of blue and white-collar workers.

The reason for this is the drive for profit. To illustrate, we may quote L. Mahlein, Chairman of the Union of Printing and Paper Industry Workers of the FRG, who has said that there is no 'special guideline for technological development ... it is controlled almost exclusively by the law of highest profit, by the "whip of profit".'[16]

The only way to dovetail scientific and technological development with social progress in the working people's interest is to destroy the 'whip of profit' and the capitalist system which nurtures it.

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1. IPW-Forschungshefte. *Die Wirtschaft kapitalistischer Länder in Zahlen*. 4/1977, p. 121.
2. Ibid.
3. *Wirtschaftswoche*. No. 25, 1977, p. 15.
4. *Die Welt*, March 17, 1977, p. 11.
5. *Der Spiegel*, April 17, 1978, p. 85.
6. *Die Wahrheit*, May 3, 1977, p. 5.
7. *Capital*, No. 4, 1977, pp. 311 and 313.
8. *Wirtschaftswoche*, No. 25, 1977, p. 15.
9. Ibid., No. 19, 1977, p. 59.
10. *Deutscher Bundestag, 8. Wahlperiode*. Drucksache 8/1128, Bonn, 1977, p. 104.
11. *Bulletin des Presse-und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*. No. 119, 1977, p. 1089.
12. *Deutscher Bundestag, 8 Wahlperiode*. Drucksache 8/1128. Bonn, 1977, p. 105.
13. *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1978 für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Stuttgart and Mainz, p. 374.
14. *Der Spiegel*, April 18, 1978.
15. WSI-Mitteilungen, No. 5, 1977, p. 174.
16. *Druck und Papier*, June 20, 1977, p. 10.

New books

60 let borby USSR za mir i bezopasnost (USSR)—60 Years of Struggle for Peace and Security), Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1979, 438 pp.

This is a record of the Soviet Union's more than 60-year long effort to safeguard peace, and to ensure its territorial integrity and the security of its frontiers. The authors begin, naturally, with the first steps of the Soviet government and proceed with describing the USSR's struggle to set up a collective security system before the outbreak of World War II. They stress the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to saving mankind from fascist oppressors, and describe its enormous effort to ensure peace and peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

John Fox, William Johnston, *Understanding Capital*, Toronto, Progress Books, 1978, 111 pp. $3.95 (Can.)

This guide for studying Marx's *Capital* has been written by two sociologists on the basis of a series of lectures on the political economy of capitalism, which they gave at the Marxist Institute in Toronto. It contains commentaries on the basic ideas in Marx's book and a glossary.

Mikolos Jakab, *Tarsadaimi valtozas es a Magyar ertelmiseg, 1944-1948*, (Social Change and the Hungarian Intelligentsia, 1944-1948), Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiado, 1979, 282 pp.

The author examines the role of the Hungarian intelligentsia in the period of transition from general democratic to socialist transformations and the attitudes of various political parties to the intelligentsia and the latter's attitude to these parties. He gives a detailed assessment of the policy of the Communist Party of Hungary on this question, stressing the mobilizing and uniting role of the party, and noting drawbacks in its work among intellectuals. The book reflects the complex and contradictory attitude of different groups of the Hungarian intelligentsia to the people's power and shows how intellectuals ultimately joined in the effort to build socialism.

Panchanan Saha, *History of the Working-Class Movement in Bengal*, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1978, 239 pp.

This is a history of the working class of Bengal, one of the most industrialized parts of India, where the development of capitalist relations led to a numerical growth of workers. As they became more organized, they grew increasingly more conscious of themselves as a class and stepped up their struggle. The Great October Socialist Revolution gave an impetus to the working-class movement in Bengal and in India as a whole.

Socio-Economic Problems of Disarmament, Vienna, International Institute for Peace, 142 pp.

This study by a group of scientists examines the obstacles to disarmament, and gives the lie to the assertion that it is 'technically impossible' to stop arms manufacture and switch to peaceful production. The authors cite computations proving that such a switch is feasible, point out ways of ensuring employment, and show that various groups of countries and the world as a whole would benefit from arms reductions and would thus acquire the means for solving global problems.

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