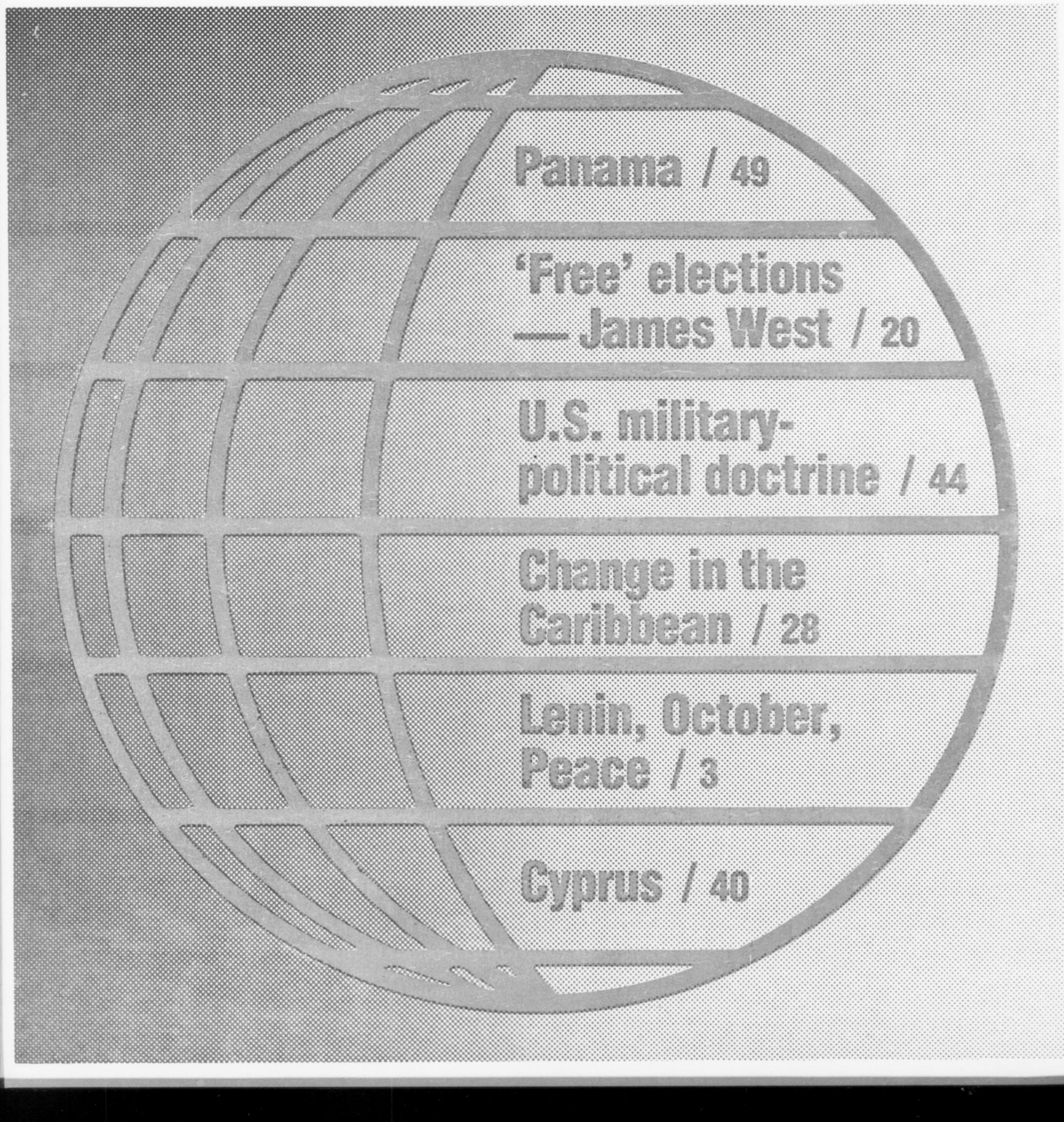
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features

Lenin, October, Peace

Konstantin Zarodov
WMR Editor-in-Chief

After the victory of the Great October Revolution, whose 63rd anniversary is now being marked by progressive mankind, Lenin drew a conclusion that the first socialist revolution introduced radical changes into world politics, bringing about a *shift in the central axis of international life into the sphere of contest between two different social systems.* This conclusion is of fundamental importance in understanding the problems of war and peace, of the whole of international life. It is the class conflict between the new social system and imperialism that became the factor which henceforth, Lenin said, was to determine the 'relations between peoples, and the world political system as a whole' (*Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 241). Without taking this into account it is impossible to correctly formulate, let alone solve, any problem in world politics, 'even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world' (ibid.).

The picture of the world today, of course, differs greatly from that portrayed by Lenin's scientific and political creativity, when the Soviet state took its first steps. However, among those who deal seriously — in practice or in theory — with the problems of world politics, hardly anyone will deny the fact that with the present unprecedentedly complex interlacing of diverse events and trends, it is the question of the forms of struggle between capitalism and socialism, of the balance of forces between them that constitute the core of international life.

Today, Leonid Brezhnev says, 'mankind finds itself faced with this choice: either the peoples and states set in motion all their forces to maintain peace, or they will be hurled into the maelstrom of a devastating world nuclear war.'* In these conditions, the historic achievements of the October Revolution and Lenin's ideas remain the key factors shaping the foreign policy of socialism and exerting an active influence on the Marxist-Leninist parties' strategy in the struggle for peace, and against the aggressive policy of imperialism. How is this expressed in concrete terms, and why is it important to accentuate this just now?

I

The Great October Revolution inaugurated the shaping of new relations of production, of the new socio-economic basis which now constitutes the foundation of the developed socialist society. From the standpoint of the question being considered here it is hard to overrate the importance of this fact. The abolition of private property in the means of production and, on that basis, of capitalist rivalry and the economic expansion of capital created the conditions in which the socialist society is free from classes, social strata or groups which have a stake in war or the arms race. Nor are there any capitalist monopolies under socialism which, by their very nature, seek to secure — with the aid of the policy pursued by the state which represents mainly their interests — the most favorable conditions for the realization of capital: the seizure of raw-material zones, the consolidation of their rule in countries where capital is most profitably used because of cheap labor, etc. Socialism is also free from the specific corporations of the military-industrial complex, which wax rich with the boosting of the manufacture and renewal of missiles, atomic submarines and other weapons, making profits that are two or three times as high as those of enterprises in the civilian industries. That is why there is also no brainwashing of the masses by means of a powerful ideological machine in the spirit of nationalism and chauvinism, as a necessary condition for extracting maximum profits from the arms race.

On the contrary, the very nature of socialism is such that it needs peace for its successful development; as Lenin pointed out at the dawn of the new system: peace, he said, 'will open channels for our influence a hundred times wider' (ibid., Vol. 30, p. 453). Socialism may have to build up its military-defense forces, but no one makes fortunes on this; indeed, the people have to deny themselves various necessities. They do so in order to defend what they cherish most: their life and the right to arrange it in their own way, for the benefit of the working people.

On this socio-economic basis a corresponding foreign policy naturally takes shape, whose principles were formulated by Lenin as embodied in the Decree on Peace, one of the first decrees of Soviet power. On this basis, also, are shaped the moral principles by which society lives and is guided in its relations with other nations; such a society legislates the prohibition of war propaganda and educates its citizens in a spirit of humanism, respect for other peoples, for all races and nations, in the spirit of international solidarity.

Does all of this mean that the socialist state has no economic and political interests of its own in the international arena? Of course not. But the socialist-community countries realize these in-

*Pravda, September 24, 1980.

terests through equitable and mutually advantageous relations with other countries, and it is not socialism that has invented and keeps practising the diverse discriminatory measures and embargoes which always tend to aggravate international relations. The military-political strategy of socialism has always been based on one idea: to restrain the aggressive policy of imperialism and to defend the revolutionary gains.

Our ideological adversaries — ranging from the monopoly hawks in the United States to the Peking chauvinists and militarists — seek to distort the real picture of international life to create a myth about some 'Soviet military threat,' to shift the responsibility for the growing tension in the world onto the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries and, using this as a pretext, to cobble together a global anti-Soviet and anti-communist alliance. This tactic of putting the blame on someone else is not new at all. The imperialist circles have constantly resorted to it (and now they are doing it most subtly and cynically), for they have a stake in the arms race but want to put a good face on a bad job and so conceal their true aims from the peoples. But that is far from being the whole problem. There are some among the fighters for peace in the capitalist countries who are inclined to believe that 'both sides' are equally to blame for rising tensions (this idea has been willingly and skillfully supported by bourgeois propaganda). Of course, one could be mistaken, for, as Lenin warned, even while being a sincere supporter of peace it is not hard to lose oneself 'in the thickets, the labyrinth of diplomatic tricks, a labyrinth which at times is artificially created and made more intricate by people, classes, parties and groups who like to fish in muddy waters, or who are compelled to do so' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 365-366). This can happen when one loses sight of the fact that every state policy — whether domestic or foreign — is rooted in the economic interests of the ruling classes, when one tends to forget about 'these propositions which constitute the basis of the Marxist world outlook' (ibid.).

Those who do not forget this, those who judge policies not on the strength of bourgeois propaganda inventions or well-doctored facts, but on the basis of an in-depth analysis of the trends determining the development and policies of states with different social systems, will never allow themselves to be misled. They will not allow themselves to be convinced that the responsibility for the breaks in détente, for the worsening of the world political situation should be 'equally' shared between the powers and blocs representing the opposite systems. Marxist-Leninists are very well aware that the urge for armed expansion, for militarism naturally — as Lenin's doctrine of imperialism shows — springs from the entrails of the capitalist society, which is dominated by monopolies. While socialism organically produces a peace policy, peace is now being imposed on capitalism, which is always fraught with wars, by the socialist, revolutionary and democratic forces. It is absurd, therefore, to use only the yardstick of international law and diplomatic protocol when judging the policies of the two sides. It is even more absurd to take at face value the diverse bourgeois-reformist inventions about the policy of the Soviet Union (which is entirely designed for the defense of peace), which claim that it is a 'great-power' policy, allegedly oriented on 'spheres of influence.'

What can one say about this kind of reasoning?

Socialism, the system to which the future belongs, is not, of course, opposed to the expansion of its influence. But in contrast to imperialism, these 'spheres of influence' are not determined by geographical boundaries (or by 'shield' or 'special interests' in various parts of the world, as the bourgeois press puts it), but by social boundaries. This means influence on the minds of the working people. Such influence is undoubtedly dangerous for imperialism, but it does not pose any threat to peace and security of nations.

In their efforts to refute the idea that socialism is essentially peaceful, our ideological adversaries make use of the fact that the Peking leadership's political line is aggressive. Indeed, the Peking leadership's acts help reaction to spread mistrust of socialism. But the point is that this aggressive course does not stem from the socialist basis but, on the contrary, from the distortion of the system of economic, social and political relations in the country. That this is a self-evident truth will be seen from the fact that the Chinese leadership's nationalism, chauvinism and hegemonism take the form of resistance precisely to the countries of existing socialism and coalesce with the aggressive course of imperialism.

Never in history have international political problems existed on their own, in isolation or independently of the main socio-economic conditions of social being, of class interests, which also determine the internal policies of states. In our day as well they cannot be regarded otherwise than in close connection with the processes stemming from the class structure of world society, with the contest between the forces of socialism and imperialism, revolution and counter-revolution, democracy and political reaction. That is why the issues which are now central to universal public opinion — lasting peace and the struggle of the working class and all other working people for the new social system, for its consolidation and development — are tied into a single knot and constitute the content of the dialectics of peaceful coexistence and the world revolutionary process.

II

One of Lenin's most important theoretical achievements was to show the substance of these dialectics. His scientific legacy contains an inexhaustible reservoir of ideas which bring to light the most important interconnections and reciprocal influences between the character and state of the world system of international relations, on the one hand, and the revolutionary changes which fill the

process in which the capitalist formation gives way to the socialist formation, on the other.

The conception of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which Lenin elaborated in detail soon after the victory of the October Revolution, was immediately in line above all with the historical conditions of the period when the fledgling Soviet Republic, bled white by the civil war, foreign intervention and economic dislocation, was acutely in need of peace in order to consolidate the initial gains of the socialist revolution. But the main idea did not at all boil down to an expression of the need dictated by the transient political situation. This was a conception which took into account the objective and law-governed perspectives of world development in the new epoch ushered in by the October Revolution and oriented on the utmost use of the real possibilities, which had appeared in history for the first time, for restructuring the whole system of international relations on principles which ruled out the practices of violence, diktat and — most importantly — war.

Over the past decade, with the advance of détente, Lenin's words about peaceful coexistence rang loud and clear and became popular all over the globe. However, on the pages of the political press they were frequently presented and interpreted as some kind of placid call for peace instead of persevering struggle against the policy of imperialism, which poses a threat to peace; their class content was killed. But it is well known that Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence resulted from his summing up of revolutionary practice and was a development of revolutionary science. It sprang from Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, as a corollary of the law of uneven capitalist development under imperialism, which he discovered, and was a necessary conclusion drawn from the idea that socialism could initially win in one or a few countries. It is a distortion of Lenin's conception to separate the problem of peace and the problem of revolution.

Nowadays, attempts are being made to discredit or even to peculiarly use the idea of peaceful coexistence for the purpose of preserving the foundations of capitalism, giving the imperialist forces a free hand, and perpetuating the exploitation of the working people and of entire nations. This is being done by contrasting the idea of peaceful coexistence and the process of revolutionary transformations in the world. Not only the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, representing that wing of it which Lenin designated as the 'extreme military party,' but also those who voice the interests of other socio-political groups and trends have been insisting that the goals and ideals of détente are incompatible with the struggle to do away with the exploiter system, that peace and revolution are incompatible. Their approach, in effect, comes to the following: either there will be no détente, or, there can be détente, if you like, but no revolutions, let alone assistance to the revolutionary forces, to the peoples fighting for their national liberation and social emancipation.

In the light of historical experience and present-day realities, this approach is shown to be untenable.

Who will claim, for instance, that the breakthrough to socialism in the October Revolution contained any contradiction between the interests of peace and revolution? There was good reason why Lenin emphasized literally within the framework of one phrase, the two-fold meaning of the turn brought about by the victory of the October Revolution in the course of world history: on the one hand, a turn from war to peace, and on the other, from the fighting between the imperialists to victorious battles by the exploited classes and peoples against the bourgeoisie and imperialist oppression (see V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 159).

Similarly, present-day reality gives no grounds at all for one-dimensional judgments which ascribe to the foreign policy of the socialist community, now a neglect of peace (when these assessments come from the right), now a neglect of the interests of the revolutionary movement (when the standpoint is moved way out to the 'left'). An unbiased view of the picture of international affairs unfolding before us will show a simple truth, which may not be palatable to everyone: the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries linked with it in a fraternal union is based on a constant blend and interaction of vigorous peace efforts and revolutionary internationalism.

Of course, while reaffirming the socialist state's undeviating urge for peace, 'we do not propose to be strangled to death for the sake of peace' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 42, p. 177). Today, this idea of Lenin's continues to be fully meaningful as one of the guiding principles of the socialist community's foreign policy. Its member-states object, unanimously and categorically, to having the people denied the right to carry on a struggle for national freedom, deprived of the opportunity of choosing their own way of social development, to having more Chilean tragedies, with the revolutionary forces standing on the sidelines — all under the pretext of maintaining peace.

Ever since the October Revolution, the Marxist-Leninists have resolutely exposed the doctrinal and propaganda tricks of bourgeois and reformist ideologists who seek to present the socialist countries' solidarity with peoples fighting for their freedom, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, and for a revolutionary transformation of society as 'interference' in the domestic affairs of these peoples, as 'export of revolution.' The social origins, the class substance of these ideological formulas, which are being used by the ideologists of imperialism, are quite clear: they cannot but attack any support of the forces undermining the domination of capital. There is no change of substance even when it is said that support is necessary and justified, but should not go beyond the framework of moral, diplomatic, political assistance; for otherwise, it is claimed, it would amount to interference in the domestic affairs of peoples. In the recent period one will hear such objections even when intervention by the counter-revolution has become

a fact. Is it not clear that here it is the form, not the class content of solidarity that is taken as a yardstick; and that this, for its part, amounts to limiting the interconnection between peace and revolution to spheres, beyond which, as a rule, remain the crucial sectors of the struggle: the warding off of external aggression, the overcoming of imperialist blockade, consolidation of revolutionary gains, etc.? Understandably, such views pose a great, one could say fatal danger to the liberation movement. One could easily imagine the state of affairs which would have taken shape in many sectors of the revolutionary struggle (say, during the intervention in Russia, during the Spanish people's national-revolutionary war against fascism) if in those periods progressive movements, to say nothing of the Marxist-Leninist parties, had been guided by such criteria.

That is why the fraternal parties elaborate their political strategy, taking account of the concrete but always class approach to various events, and certainly in accordance with the scientific methodology of historical analysis of the connections between war and revolution, between revolution and peace. Lenin has given us unfading models of the use of this methodology, for he was able to illumine the way to the victory of the socialist revolution in the conditions of a full-scale war, and to show that in a different situation, created by the triumph of the October Revolution, peace becomes a trusty ally of the revolutionary and democratic forces. Today, Leninism continues to be a real treasury of the ideas which indicate the only true blend of revolutionary struggle with the struggle for peace, guiding this struggle toward the attainment of this two-fold goal: 'the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars' (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 33, p. 55).

III

The victory of the October Revolution converted the struggle for peace from a policy of words into a policy of action, and the effectiveness of the policy, Lenin said, was bound to steadily increase as the working class and all the other liberation forces built up their revolutionary gains. Today, we can fully appreciate the profundity of Lenin's foresight. It is now quite clear that 'there is a force more powerful than the wishes, and the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us' (ibid., p. 155). The change anticipated by Lenin in the arrangement and balance of class forces in the world arena has taken place. But, in view of the operation of these objective factors, the conception of peaceful coexistence simultaneously contains the warning that opposite and equally objective trends were bound to develop, and that this would make the struggle for peace an uphill fight, because 'international imperialism is mobilizing all its forces against us' (ibid., Vol. 26, p. 316).

This latter aspect of the matter must not be discounted in any case. Once it is forgotten, one could find oneself in the position of those whom Lenin ridiculed for their naive notions 'that peace can be easily attained, and that the bourgeoisie will hand it to us on a platter as soon as we mention it' (ibid., Vol. 26, p. 345). It is all the more impermissible to forget this in light of the current attempt by the United States and NATO to change the balance of military strength in their own favor, while whipping up the imperialist build-up of armaments for the benefit of the monopolies, enshrining slanderous campaigns against the USSR and other socialist-community countries and seeking to undermine their unity by any means both from within and from without, as state policy in a number of capitalist countries. The fact is that all of this is nothing but the latest manifestation of the foreign-policy strategy of imperialism, which, beginning with the intervention against the young Soviet Republic, has for decades invariably been based on attempts, hopes and plans to resolve the conflict between the opposite social systems by means of armed force.

That is why to let the cause of peace 'run its own course' is literally suicidal. Hence the exceptional importance of the subjective factor, that is, the resolve, vigor and cohesion of all the states, parties, movements and political and social groups wishing to maintain international security and prepared to act for its consolidation.

In this context, it is impossible to overestimate the role of the socialist community in the worldwide resistance to the forces of war. With imperialism working hard to step up tensions, the Soviet Union, together with the fraternal socialist states, has emphasized its resolve to stand up for détente as the dominant trend in international life. That is not just a declaration of intent. It is also a series of concrete initiatives paving the way for a constructive quest for agreements on the broadest spectrum of problems agitating the world, ranging from the level and balance of nuclear missiles to a political settlement of the situation which has taken shape over Afghanistan, from an extension of the 'peace zones,' to disarmament, which Lenin called the ideal of socialism.

One will easily understand the importance, in this connection, of the efforts being made by the Marxist-Leninist parties for the further invigoration of the struggle for peace, and for developing its social basis. Of invaluable significance are the new peace initiatives put forward by the May 1980 anniversary meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries. The call for joint action in defense of peace sounded by the Paris forum of the European communist and workers' parties has also been heard and is meeting with support in broad circles of the anti-war movement. The work of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia has promoted the unification of socially and politically heterogeneous peace forces. All of these are important milestones on the road along which, the Marxist-Leninist parties believe, it is necessary to advance with determination, build-

ing up the strength of the world anti-imperialist movement of the peoples, of public opinion, and seeking to make it play an ever growing role in cutting short imperialist encroachments on détente.

'Peace cannot be concluded only from above. Peace must be won from below' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 318). These famous words, uttered by Lenin soon after the *Aurora* fired its salvo, continue to be the most important political motto for all the participants in the worldwide anti-war front. They are a warning against the passive attitude, against the sense of defenselessness and helplessness which tends to arise in some public circles in face of the powerful forces involved in world politics on the inter-state level of its development.

The representatives of the revolutionary working-class movement, believing that it is their duty to take a firm stand in light of the scientific, class view of the problems and solutions of world politics, do not close the door to cooperation with other social forces aimed to improve the international climate for the common benefit. They appreciate the positive contributions which realistically-minded representatives of every stratum of society, including the bourgeoisie, can and do make to improving the political climate. They are well aware, for instance, that it is not a bad thing at all for the cause of peace when, in the atmosphere of increased international complications, top-ranking statesmen in some capitalist countries join the leaders of the socialist countries in recognizing the need, possibility and usefulness of détente.

In his foreign-policy work and in his theoretical writings, Lenin drew attention to the need for the revolutionary party invested with state power to be able to establish and develop contacts with the pacifist-minded wing of the bourgeoisie. The leader of the Bolsheviks, whom his adversaries repeatedly labelled an 'incorrigible sectarian,' carried on an uncompromising struggle against the sectarian notions of some so-called revolutionaries who refused to recognize the fact that, in the bourgeois world, the socialist state could have partners both for agreements and for cooperation. But is is also well known that Lenin relentlessly and furiously opposed bourgeois pacifism. Is there a contradiction here?

Not in the least. After all, pacifism in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself, as an expression of its urge to carry on its commercial business activity in the world in tranquillity and, accordingly, to arrange good relations with any possible partners, including socialist partners, is one thing. Such pacifism, however complex a phenomenon, and given the wish of the bourgeoisie to realize its main purposes in domestic and foreign policy even on this peaceful basis, can to some extent help to transform the arena of struggle between the two systems into an arena of peaceful competition between states with different social systems. It is quite another thing to have the same bourgeois pacifism cast in the form of an ideology which is implanted in the minds of masses of working people so preventing them from understanding both the true causes and the dangers of war, and the ways of eliminating them. It is this kind of pacifism, which is designed for external consumption and for dulling the minds of the working people, that Lenin relentlessly fought.

In our day, exceptional importance is attached to this distinction which Lenin drew between pacifist trends, between pacifism 'among them' and 'among us.' And while the peace attitudes which now help to increase the ranks of the advocates of détente with the involvement of members of the bourgeoisie and so-called intermediate strata have the support of the communist parties, the Marxist-Leninists hold it to be totally unacceptable to make even the slightest concession to the ideology of 'peace-making on an extra-class basis.'

In the present world situation, which is being intensively poisoned by the acts of the United States, NATO and Peking, the fraternal communist parties of the socialist-community countries, all the Marxist-Leninist parties are charting their international course in light of a clear understanding of the class mainsprings of world politics. The Soviet communists, now looking forward to their party's 26th Congress, take the firm stand described by Leonid Brezhnev: 'It was Lenin who raised the banner of peace and cooperation between nations. We shall be loyal to this banner,'* The communists' class stand meets the aspirations of the broadest masses of people. It is another confirmation of the truth, which Lenin kept emphasizing, that the interests of the working class, of socialism can never cut across the interests of democracy, whatever the conditions. They are indivisible and constitute a single whole. The demand for lasting peace is the first demand of democracy as applied to the arrangement of international life, because man's prime right is the right to live in peace. And this right is asserted in the course of the revolutionary struggle, it is asserted by socialism, which began its real existence with the Great October Revolution.

Lenin, October, peace — these three words are closely bound together in the minds of communists and all progressive-minded men and women.

The beacon of socialism was lit by Lenin's genius at the beginning of the 20th century, so indicating in practice the road to a new and more just society, and together with it, toward new relations which would ensure a life in peace. Today, in the final quarter of this century, the communists, aware of the diversity and growing speed of change, and with them, a tremendous part of the population of the globe (which bears no comparison with that at the beginning of the century), say with even greater conviction and more solid grounds:

— the further development of the theory illuminating mankind's way to peace and social justice is inconceivable without Leninism;

— the liberation of the working people from social oppression, from the fetters of imperialism,

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**Pravda*, June 24, 1980.

from the threat of an unprecedentedly devastating war is inconceivable without reliance on the main revolutionary achievements of our age for which the source was provided by the Great October Revolution;

— the realization of the lofty social ideals of the working people, of the humanistic ideals of the whole of mankind is inconceivable without the struggle to consolidate peace — tireless, consistent, correctly oriented struggle — a struggle aimed against imperialism, the real source of the danger of war.

What the party expects of executives

Karoly Nemeth
Political Bureau member and Secretary, CC HSWP

Our party has always attached great importance to work with personnel. The 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (March 1980) reaffirmed the correctness of the party's policy on personnel as a part of the fundamental policy of building a developed socialist society, which is being successfully realized. The congress noted with satisfaction the stability of the domestic political situation and the solidity of working-class power and socialist national unity. The HSWP enjoys the working people's confidence and effective support. We owe these results largely to the quarter of a million executives who work at all levels in the economy and other public spheres and who determine in great measure the success in realizing the party's leading role, the implementation of its policy line and the strengthening of bonds between the party and the masses.

The responsibility of executives tends to grow as the HSWP policy of building a mature socialist society is carried out. To accomplish the chief task set by the party for the next five years — enhancing the socialist features of our society, laying the groundwork for further economic progress and consolidating the results achieved in raising the people's standard of living — we must work at a qualitatively different level, and this places higher demands on executives. The party's vanguard role and its responsibility to the people imply responsibility for ensuring that leading posts in the working-class state are held and socialist construction led by those whose competence and work methods meet present-day requirements. The party strives to work with personnel in such a way as to keep this work in step with society's quickening development and to increasingly adapt it, both in content and methods, to the tasks facing society.

What are the basic requirements in this work? Those who have been assigned to leading positions, whether party members or not, must meet a threefold requirement, as we see it: political trustworthiness, professional competence, and capacity for leadership.

What we mean by *political trustworthiness* is, first of all, unqualified allegiance to the socialist system and the state of the working class and the other working people. We know from experience how important it is to interpret a person's attitude to the country's power correctly, and so our party devotes special attention to this. It always stresses that executives holding this or that job have merely been entrusted with ensuring, safeguarding and exercising working-class power. Theirs is no personal authority but *service* to society. The people have put their trust in them, and so it is their duty to use this power for the people's good, and never to abuse it. The party sees to it that executives bear this in mind, and that even those of them who do not belong to the HSWP show a real party spirit, which means grasping the meaning of party policy and the interests of socialist development.

Professional competence today implies not only a specialized education, but adequate economic knowledge and definite work skills, which can only be acquired through work in a given field. We have government regulations specifying the kind of special knowledge a person needs to have to be eligible for an executive job. Besides, the party has stressed time and again that a person can prove his worth as a leader if his knowledge is *up to date*, so that he does not lag behind progress in his field, either at home or abroad. This is why we urge leading personnel to study systematically, and why we see to it that they master and actually apply new scientific and technological knowledge in their field. According to regulations, every executive must take a professional refresher course at least once in five years.

We lay special accent on *capacity for leadership*. Now that we are building a developed socialist society, executives are expected more than ever before to be perceptive of all that is new, display initiative and show a sense of responsibility, implying reliance on oneself, and ability to organize the complete fulfillment of tasks, proceeding with due regard for changing circumstances. That is the only approach that can help us to raise efficiency, improve the quality of our work, and make judicious and economical use of material and spiritual resources in every sphere of social life.

The party encourages and supports executives who insist on order and discipline. But meaningful management does not, of course, mean management by fiat, and should never affront human dignity. Determination should always be coupled with

humaneness, democratic methods of guidance and the greatest respect for working people's rights. We consider it a primary task in our personnel work to select, appoint and give political support to those who use these methods of leadership.

The party wants every executive to meet socialist moral standards more than anyone else. Society is entitled to expect a leader to serve the public interest with the greatest devotion, to be modest and selfless, and to contribute to collectivism by his life, work and behavior. Conceit, selfishness, disregard of other people's opinions, suppression of criticism, immoral exploitation of connections and opportunities, a craving for material and other privileges should be alien to any real leader. The party condemns such practices; it firmly maintains the purity of socialist moral principles and regards leniency or conciliation in this respect as particularly reprehensible.

Party work with personnel encompasses every public sphere. According to the party's policy of promoting alliances among the working classes and strata, any post in the country (except party posts) may be held by a non-communist. This principle enhances confidence in the policy of alliances and enlarges the mass basis of the proletarian dictatorship. The situation in our country today is illustrated by the outcome of the recent elections to the National Assembly and local councils: 31 per cent of MPs and over 50 per cent of deputies to local councils below the regional level are non-party people. Our aim in each particular case is to assign an executive job to the person best qualified for it.

The party never sticks to hard and fast patterns in either theory or practice, including the selection and education of personnel. We have always expected leading personnel to meet the threefold requirement mentioned earlier. We do not apply this rule dogmatically, but flexibly, taking account of existing conditions and subordinating it, so to speak, to our social and political objectives.

Obviously, appointments to executive jobs were a matter in which political considerations predominated so long as the fundamental issue of the class struggle, 'who will win?' was unsolved. At that time, historical circumstances and the interests of the working class and the people as a whole made political trustworthiness the most important criterion in selecting executives. To be sure, this requirement, aimed at guaranteeing the pursuit of a class policy, still comes first. But nowadays there is more to it than mere political trustworthiness. In advancing to a developed socialist society 35 years after liberation, we consider it natural that leading personnel should firmly support the socialist system ideologically and politically. Today they must show a high standard of political knowledge, be able to think on their own as they carry out party decisions and openly uphold the party line in any situation. We stress this because more difficult work logically breeds more conflicts, so that we need executives who do not shrink from difficulties. At the same time, present-day economic and social conditions compel us to emphasize professional competence and capacity for leadership. We need executives who are equal to accomplishing specific tasks at the present stage of socialist construction. This is something we consider very important.

What is the party's actual approach to personnel? What does it expect of a modern executive? Our experience suggests that the most effective approach is to steadfastly democratize control over work at every leading post.

There was a time, after the winning of power, when many new people had to be assigned to work in local government bodies and leading positions in the economy, science and culture. At the time, personnel management was centralized to the utmost, for this was politically indispensable. Present-day social conditions, however, call for different methods and, moreover, make it possible to use them.

The party has taken a number of steps to foster democracy in settling personnel questions. What is particularly significant is that decisions on such matters are now made by the elective party bodies concerned. We believe that far from diminishing, this increases the executives' sense of responsibility for work with personnel in their particular field of activity. 'Socialist democracy,' the 12th HSWP Congress pointed out, 'means both order and discipline, harmony between rights and duties, justified intervention in the affairs of society, active participation in labor, personal responsibility, and the assumption of responsibility in the public interest.'*

We can say by now that we have decentralized the selection of personnel to a considerable extent. We have halved the number of leading posts assigned by central party bodies, thereby extending the powers of regional party organizations. Furthermore, we have extended the sphere of responsibility of district party committees. Our principle is that every appointment should be made where the person involved is known best. However, we consider it important that the line of the central bodies should be properly maintained in work with personnel at all times.

The powers of party branches have been extended to allow them to express their opinion on prospective executives. In terms of current practice, this means that where a party branch differs with the higher body, the matter is referred to the body next in station.

We have introduced a competitive system, primarily in the spheres of science, culture, education and public health, to fill executive vacancies. Besides, appointments to these posts are for a definite period. Democracy in personnel management is also promoted by work collectives being offered greater opportunities through their representative bodies to have a say in the selection and evaluation of executives. The trade unions, for their part, have ample rights to give an opinion on personnel mat-

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*A Magyar Szocialista Munkaspart XII. kongresszusa. 1980. marcius 24-27. Budapest 1980, p. 92.

ters; so does the Youth League — in regard to young executives.

True, the available opportunities are not yet being used everywhere. We want people to realize and assume the greater responsibility that goes with greater powers. We are also doing our best to end the practice of multiple jobs, for it is unwise and, moreover, restricts democracy. In some cases it is inevitable that a leading person should perform several functions so as to provide party leadership for government work or to represent the party in a particular field. But we are against extending this; we want to bring more new people, including young men and women, into public life.

HSWP work with personnel is increasingly marked by democracy, frankness and trust, all of which stem from the very nature of socialism. This is why our party insists that there should be no room in this work for anything like secretiveness or reticence. It is our practice to have decisions concerning any person taken with his knowledge. Everyone is familiar with his whole dossier. In the party, adherence to this principle is guaranteed by our organizational structure, and in government bodies, by relevant legal rules.

We realize that to overcome the subjectivism still in evidence, we must continue to promote democracy in personnel management, increase public control over the work of executives, and ensure greater consistency in the elective non-governmental organizations' exercise of their right to make pronouncements on impending decisions. At the moment, we are pondering what other methods we can use in addition to the broader application of the principle of personal responsibility to improve public control over the performance of appointed executives. To this end we must specify with greater precision what exactly they are accountable for to the public and how best to take into account the opinion of the collective concerned in appointing them. We would like to use the regulations now in force and to develop them farther, above all in the economic sphere, so as to enable working people to intervene more concretely in the selection and evaluation of leading personnel. From this point of view, useful experience has been gained by producer cooperatives, whose members elect their leaders directly.

Life has shown that, if firmly upheld, the threefold demand made on personnel will yield proper results. Today the decisive majority of executives can, as we see it, cope with the job assigned to them; they are sure that the party's policy is correct, and serve it in good faith. But there are also those who do not always succeed in steadfastly accomplishing new tasks due to lesser capacity for leadership; they are rather sluggish and betray an inability to adapt to changing conditions. Does this necessarily imply that their appointment was a mistake?

The party's policy toward personnel is inspired by confidence in people, the thoroughly humane conviction that people can be educated and are capable of growth. We patiently encourage more fruitful effort by those who see their shortcomings and do their best to overcome them. We think it is very important educationally not to 'stockpile' shortcomings detected in people's work and behavior, but to discuss them in due time and openly.

The party regards criticism as a necessary method of education. We try to create in party organizations and work collectives an atmosphere in which people can discuss the performance of executives, their merits and demerits, naturally and frankly. Criticism, as we conceive it, is not directed against individuals but against their mistakes and errors and should help people to develop and improve. We accept the idea of the great Hungarian poet Attila Jozsef who said: 'I am not angry at you but for you.'

The party stresses that a decisive condition for our further advance is to make better use of people's potential. This also applies to the masses but concerns primarily personnel work. A key task is to ascertain people's creative abilities, their capacity for initiative and their desire for greater achievement and to put them at the service of society and socialist construction. We declare with conviction that people are the main factor in building a developed socialist society, and that it is essential to mobilize this factor to a greater extent and more effectively through proper personnel management.

An executive's actual performance, plus his behavior, is the chief criterion of his efficiency. It is well known that the working people judge the party and our social system largely by its leaders. Confidence in our policy may be said to grow from confidence in a given executive, and such confidence is won primarily by his ability to do a good job, work with people and live according to socialist moral standards.

Experience shows, however, that it is no easy task to apply this principle consistently. In our everyday practice we come up against obstacles stemming from objective circumstances and the human mentality. It is well known that where a breach of behavior standards comes up for discussion there always exists a danger of subjectivism, partiality, the influence of friendly relations, a one-sided approach or parochialism. We are opposed to every form of subjectivism and try to provide conditions guaranteeing as far as possible a principled and unbiased settlement of personnel questions. As I have said, the most effective way to this is to foster democracy in personnel management.

The certification of executives as an important method of evaluating their performance and behavior has proved its worth in our conditions. According to a party and government decision, certification is carried out every four years. We do not want this to be a formal procedure which fails to give a real idea of the potential, abilities and moral character of executives. We expect the certification commission not only to list good qualities but mistakes and shortcomings as well, and to recommend the conclusions to be drawn. Yet this is not always done. More often than not, it is only when the need arises to transfer an executive to another job or assign him to a higher post that many more short-

comings and weak points are brought to light than are mentioned in the commission's conclusions.

An important principle commonly applied in our work among personnel is the stability of the body of leading personnel and their replacement on a planned basis. Stability benefits leadership standards, helps use experience and gives people greater confidence. But in order to ensure that the leading cadres develop soundly and to combat hidebound routine and conservatism, it is necessary to replace executives within reasonable limits and in an organized fashion. New people should be constantly promoted to executive jobs; this is demanded by the public interest and is also a requirement of socialist democracy.

We consider that it is the party's duty to the people to settle urgent personnel matters without delay. An executive who cannot meet increased requirements — with the result that the staff he heads is harmed — has no right to keep his leading position. It is only reasonable and fair that he should be relieved of his job. The desire for stability is sound as long as it applies to someone who can be relied upon. On the other hand, it would be as wrong to remove an executive overhastily as to procrastinate when this must be done.

Experience shows that some circumstances make it difficult to replace executives. Mention should be made at this point of a phenomenon to which our Central Committee has repeatedly drawn attention, namely, the fact that the transfer of personnel between party and mass organizations, on the one hand, and government bodies and economic agencies, on the other, is virtually a one-way street. Officials of party or mass organizations become government officials or economic executives whereas transfers the other way round very seldom occur. A further problem is that executives assigned to lower posts are seen by public opinion as having 'fallen from grace' although the shift is often prompted by the desire to give someone the kind of job he can do best and is really qualified for. Replacements carried out in time and for sound considerations leave less room for misjudgment and doubts and generate more confidence. We strive to do this, particularly by working methodically with personnel and training new people on a long-range basis.

Central and regional party committees, government bodies, economic agencies and cooperative institutions of national significance have adopted, by decision of the HSWP Central Committee, five-year plans for the training and reinforcement of personnel. The plans provide for the professional and political training and retraining of executives belonging to the body concerned, and for reinforcing personnel, training new people and testing them on the job.

Our party pays close attention to the reinforcement of executive personnel. Now that we are building a developed socialist society, we are in a position to select executives from a wide range of specialists with a university education. At the same time, we see to it (and this is prompted by the very nature of the socialist system) that now, as in the past, the best workers and peasants hold positions of responsibility in the political, economic and social spheres. Party organizations gradually pave the way for these people's promotion by training and educating them in advance and according to plan. Many able manual workers hold leading posts in the party, the state or mass organizations. Many of them acquire sound political and professional knowledge and are subsequently appointed to higher posts. We note with satisfaction that the proportion of such executives has been growing.

Life itself stresses the importance of the simultaneous presence of members of different generations in leading echelons. This implies adherence to the long-standing principle of combining the wisdom, self-possession, experience and — let me add — revolutionary faith of the old with the up-to-date knowledge, initiative and breadth of vision of the young. In the interests of educating a new generation of executives, we emphatically oppose anyone who clings to his post, takes a preconceived view of young people, and we prevent him from discriminating against youth.

The older generation which forms the core of the leading cadre is deeply esteemed in our country. The party appreciates the efforts of those who may now be said to serve as the connecting link between experience and youth. It takes care of veterans who have put in long years of devoted work. They have done much for our people and socialism. We still count on their experience and entrust them with important social work if their health allows it. Our party is also highly humane to comrades who have given their energies to the common cause for decades but who cannot cope with bigger tasks.

In ensuring personnel reinforcement, the HSWP makes a special effort to assign as many women as possible to executive jobs. We have made some headway in this respect over the past few years, but change is still too slow. To quicken its pace, we must overcome the lingering prejudices and outdated views. And, of course, we must offer women proper opportunities for political and professional training and draw them into executive work on a planned basis.

Our party concerns itself particularly with people's ideological and political education. Party and government decisions specify the political education required of persons holding this or that post. We have set up a system of political training and retraining. The Higher Political School and nationwide political education network function well. Party schools and specialized classes are yearly attended by 55,000 people, who acquire political and ideological knowledge. The All-Hungary Center for the Training of Leading Personnel and specialized schools under ministries and central departments play a notable role; government officials and economic executives take a political and professional refresher course there at least once in between party congresses. The primary purpose is to help every executive become a real leader of the new type selflessly serving the interests of socialism, respecting his people, loving his country

and inspired by proletarian internationalism, which is inseparable from patriotism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does much to help us in personnel training. Whole generations of Hungarian politicians and statesmen had an opportunity to study in the Soviet Union, where they assimilated the vast experience of the CPSU and acquainted themselves with scientific achievements. Every year thousands of Hungarian specialists, students and executives study or improve their knowledge at Soviet universities, party schools and in various classes.

In carrying out the decisions of the 12th HSWP Congress, we rely on the socialist countries' internationalist cooperation. A deep knowledge of the fraternal parties' theoretical and practical achievements in personnel management enables us to carry on this work more fruitfully.

The chief requirement of our progress is to build up the party's leading role and mutual confidence and bonds between the party and the masses. A requisite of this is to have in every executive job men and women 'who are distinguished for political staunchness and yet are not inflexible, know their job perfectly and have breadth of vision, take the initiative but do it wisely, are disciplined and expect as much of others but respect and heed the opinions of others and are never afraid to admit their own weak points, whose life and work set an example for the staff they lead and who are respected by them. That is just the kind of leader we need in every post.'*

The party's entire personnel policy is designed to ensure that this demand is met.

*Ibid, p. 118.

New lines of socialist integration

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The Comprehensive Program for the further deepening and improvement of cooperation and development of socialist economic integration of the CMEA countries has now been in effect for a period of nearly 10 years. It ushered in a qualitatively new stage in their economic cooperation, and has become a basic factor which over the past two five-year periods has ensured stable growth of their economy and has largely helped to neutralize the negative effect on it of the world capitalist market.

Cooperation in planning (above all bilateral and multilateral plan coordination), which is the main method for deepening the division of labor between the countries within the socialist-integration community, has risen to a new level. A number of exceptionally large-scale international projects have been realized, including the Soyuz gas pipeline, the capacity of the Mir electric-power grid has been considerably enlarged, the construction of the Ust-Ilim timbering complex is nearing completion, etc. Much has been done to have the CMEA countries' scientific and technical cooperation more fully meet the tasks of specialization and cooperation in production.

Mutual deliveries of fuel and raw-material resources are of primary importance for the fraternal countries. Thanks to their joint action in this field, and above all to the Soviet Union's internationalist approach, the other CMEA countries have been safeguarded from the upheavals of the energy crisis and have in the main been able to attain the goals which they set themselves at the beginning of the decade. In a message of greetings on the 30th anniversary of CMEA, Leonid Brezhnev said: 'Socialist economic integration has become an inalienable feature of the life of our community, a powerful and stable factor of the all-round progress of the fraternal countries.'

The dynamic economic development of the countries of the socialist community has further enhanced its role in the world economy. In the 1970s, East-West economic contacts, which provide the material foundation for international détente and for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, were intensified. Cooperation with the CMEA countries has given the developing countries a real alternative to the inequitable economic relations with the imperialist powers, which they had inherited from the colonial epoch.

The deepening of the fraternal countries' integration, their economic cooperation and mutual assistance have largely determined their successes in internal development and in the international arena in the 1970s.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the integration processes of the past decade have been exceptionally fruitful. In that period, our country in the main built up the material basis of socialism and got down to building a developed socialist society. Despite the complex external economic conditions, sufficiently high growth rates have been maintained and the structure of production improved: progressive industries like electronics, precision engineering and chemistry now have the crucial role to play. In scale and batch-size some of these structure-forming industries are up to the best world standards. There is hardly an enterprise in

our country which is working only to meet internal requirements. Some 30-odd years ago, Bulgaria was one of the most backward countries of Europe. It is now a fitting partner of the once economically more powerful members of the integration community.

Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP CC, said in the Report to the 10th Congress of the BCP: 'Bulgaria's socio-economic development inexorably dictates the need for further deepening international socialist integration, and even more closer ties between our economy and that of the other socialist countries ... There has been special development of all-round economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the USSR, which has constituted and will continue to constitute the main content of our external economic policy.' The successes of the past decade have fully borne out the correctness of this strategic line.

While fully appreciating what has been achieved, the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist community are aware that the 1980s will make new and much more exacting demands on multilateral and bilateral economic cooperation. The need to further improve CMEA's activity has largely determined the content of the discussion and the decisions of the 34th CMEA session held in Prague last summer. What are the main causes and factors requiring a radical improvement of our economic interaction?

First, as a result of past development, integration processes have attained a definite degree of maturity. Their further deepening, the optimization of economic structures and the gradual creation of an integrated international economic complex of the socialist community can be effected only by overcoming the dialectically ripening contradictions in cooperation and the timely introduction of new forms of cooperation, with new approaches to it.

Second, the CMEA countries have entered upon a stage of socio-economic development involving the intensification of every form of economic activity. Because the subjects of integration are state economic complexes, its general goals and specific lines are influenced by new elements in the economic strategy of the participating countries. Over the past decade there has been a change of approach in the selection of the main sources of economic growth and to setting the priorities in this field. The center of gravity is being shifted to the use of internal reserves, and an absolute and relative reduction in the assets-to-product ratio, and the material, energy and labor-intensiveness of products. We have been taking a more stringent approach in assessing the economic advisability of capital investments. There is much effort to obtain a better blend of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the advantages of the socialist system. Primary importance is attached to the intellectual factors of growth. Although the economic conditions and economic policy of the individual countries undoubtedly have their own specific features, these fundamental factors are characteristic for the whole community, because they spring from their common problems and the objective conditions of the present stage of socialist construction.

Third, integration has been going forward in a changing international situation. The start of the new decade coincides with an aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and its entry into the phase of recession, with growing instability on the commodity and monetary markets. The reactionary forces of the United States and of some other countries have mounted a massive attack on détente and its material basis: economic cooperation between countries belonging to the two opposite social systems. There is growing protection, discrimination and pressure in trade relations. One should expect a further sharpening of the fuel and energy problem. But none of this can change the main trend: the continued growth of the relative and absolute weight of the socialist community in the world economy. The democratization of international economic relations is manifested in the growing role of the developing countries, especially those taking the progressive and socialist orientation, as economic partners of the socialist community. These trends in international political and economic life are naturally reflected in the shaping of the fraternal countries' concerted line in deepening integration, developing relations with socialist countries which are not members of the CMEA, and with the main economic regions and groupings of the world.

Fourth, the much higher demands on integration spring from the start of a new phase in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism. For the socialist community, the forthcoming one or two decades will evidently be a period for building up the material and technical prerequisites for gradually forging ahead of the leading capitalist countries in the development of material production. Besides, whereas until recently the social productivity of labor and the fullest satisfaction of the people's vital requirements were central to this competition, these are now being supplemented by global problems like ensuring future energy requirements, establishment of an equilibrium between people's material activity and the environment, and the use of scientific discoveries for the benefit of the whole of mankind. The ultimate issue is which of the two opposite social systems will produce a better way of life and open up more favorable prospects for the advance of civilization.

At the new stage of the competition between these social systems, CMEA, the main economic organization of the socialist countries, is called upon to promote in every way the rational use of their common material and intellectual potential, initiating measures aimed to bring about rapid and efficient socio-economic development of the individual states and the community as a whole. From this it follows that in the 1980s there will be a need to improve the functioning of all the integration mechanisms in order to attain a higher level of development of the productive forces and the relations of production in our community. This applies to the approach in determining the main lines and

concrete content of integration, the methods for effecting cooperation and its organizational and legal framework. The efforts of the CMEA agencies and of the individual fraternal countries are now aimed at more efficient management of the intricate and dynamic processes of economic interaction within the community.

The improvement of CMEA's activity is not a one-shot task but a sustained and multilateral process. It is impossible in one article to deal with all the relevant problems, especially since the discussions on some of these have yet to produce straightforward conclusions and practical solutions. That is why I shall deal here only with the line of the forthcoming work for which, we believe, the necessary objective and subjective prerequisites have matured or are maturing.

In the past, the problem of shaping economic and industrial structures that were most valid from the standpoint of contemporary demands and that guaranteed roughly similar efficiency of the countries' economies and created the material prerequisites for the gradual alignment of socio-economic levels in the development of the fraternal countries was in the forefront of economic development, and accordingly in the international measures taken by the socialist countries. In general terms, this task has been fulfilled, and modern multisector structures of social production have already been shaped in most of these countries.

But now that the center of attention is ever more definitely being shifted to intensification and efficiency of production and quality of workmanship, there arises a need to modify and optimize the correlation of the sources of economic growth in accordance with the concrete conditions in each country. The further improvement of the economic structures becomes of crucial importance. To extrapolate these in the plans and programs of individual countries, and also in the CMEA as a whole, would amount to sharply limiting the potential for a qualitative remodelling of structures and mustering the tremendous reserves which socialist economic integration makes available. The use of its real advantages implies that the economic structures existing in each country will be regarded as 'open-ended,' meaning that they are subject to changes now and in the future, changes which would ultimately lead to the shaping of structures that are optimal not only from the standpoint of the individual economies, but also of the interstate economic complex taken as an integrated economic organism. This approach cannot, of course, be realized only by means of administrative and technical measures. It implies the creation of the appropriate theoretical, ideological and political prerequisites and, consequently, the adoption of decisions on economic and external economic strategy on the level of the leading party and state organs of the CMEA countries.

It is becoming ever clearer that, in the 1980s, development, deepening of specialization and cooperation of production and extensive introduction of their qualitatively new forms will be the main content of the integration processes within the framework of our community and the chief form of cooperation. This is due, on the one hand, to the greater economic potential, and on the other, to the requirements made by the scientific and technological revolution. Since the adoption of the Comprehensive Program, substantial results have been achieved in this field: nearly one-third of the aggregate commodity turnover is now being realized on the basis of treaties and agreements on specialization and cooperation. Altogether, over 120 multilateral and more than 660 bilateral agreements have been signed within the CMEA framework. In engineering alone, specialization covers over 10,000 items. The export of specialized engineering products to other CMEA countries has grown roughly twice as fast as the total export of machinery and equipment. The potential for developing cooperation in this field is virtually boundless, and it is here that the main possibilities for consistently expanding mutual exchange should be sought.

It was emphasized at the 34th CMEA session that 'the balanced development of international specialization and cooperation of production on a long-term basis is the key line in enhancing the efficiency of further cooperation between the CMEA countries in the decade ahead.' Attention was drawn to the need to concentrate specialization and cooperation on problems which are of major economic importance.

The experience gained up to now within the CMEA framework helps to draw definite conclusions concerning the basic specific features of the new approach to specialization and cooperation. First of all, it is complex and goal-oriented. Cooperation will cover every phase of the reproduction cycle: joint formulation of long-term goals and determination of the requirements of the market (quantitative, qualitative and technical); elaboration of a common scientific conception and technical and technological principles for the development of production; design and introduction of new type-series of final products, units and parts; the allocation of production tasks, the conclusion of long-term treaties and contracts for the purchase and sale of goods, and also the provision of technical and other services. This will help to combine in a single cycle research, development, engineering, production and marketing, so virtually doing away with duplication of production capacities and R and D projects, and making the maximum use of the intellectual and material potential of the partners. This principle reduces to a minimum the risk that this or that phase of the reproduction cycle will be regarded as an end in itself and separately from the requirements and strategic economic tasks of the individual countries and the community as a whole.

A feature of industry both in the socialist and in the developed capitalist countries nowadays is the disparity between the optimal and the acutally achieved scale of production of units, parts and assemblies. But the prospects for resolving this contradiction are fundamentally different in the

conditions of the two opposite systems. Under capitalism, the potential for organizing production on an optimal scale in accordance with the present level of scientific and technical progress remains largely unrealized, because this is hampered by monopoly restrictions, the struggle for marketing outlets, interstate competition, etc. On the contrary, in the socialist countries there are no objective obstacles stemming from the social system for carrying on production on the scale dictated by the scientific and technological revolution. Here, *the production optimum is not attained within the framework of the national economies, but within the boundaries of the socialist integration community.*

This opens up before the CMEA countries the broadest potential for the concentration and specialization of production. It helps to create economic, technical and organizational prerequisites for the use of the most modern technology, including industrial robots and electronics, and also total automation of every phase of the research-development-engineering cycle. Let me emphasize that product and unit specialization and cooperation do not mean that some countries turn out the final product, and others only the intermediate products, something that leads to the structural inequality of the partners. On the contrary, the progressive forms of specialization and mutual exchanges of the parts, units and assemblies produced enable all the participants in integration to design and engineer on a module basis much greater quantities of final articles and systems. Batch production here largely ceases to be an obstacle for the development of industry, because the problems of economic efficiency move from the final stages to those where the module elements are produced in optimal conditions.

Such forms of specialization and cooperation revolutionize all the attendant operations not only in the production of goods but also in their consumption; from design, development and engineering in accordance with standard catalogues for the whole community, to the establishment of a uniform system of technical and other services. The practical implementation of these forms, even in the conditions of the socialist system, naturally entails a number of problems, because it is impossible to abstract oneself from the existing material and technical basis and traditional economic ties. The solution of such problems shows most clearly the advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system in the organization of production.

The deepening of specialization and cooperation opens up before us the prospect of taking a tremendous stride forward in a short historical period in boosting the social productivity of labor. This is confirmed by the experience of the fraternal countries gained in the development of the Ryad computer system, the elaboration of a multilateral agreement on specialization and cooperation in the manufacture of atomic equipment, and the activity of Interelektro, an international economic organization.

Bulgarian experience is especially eloquent. Our country's active participation in developing the Ryad system, for instance, has enabled it to start the production of some computer items on a scale and in batches which for the time being have been reached only by a small number of leading world producers. Specialization within the CMEA framework has made the Bulgarian association Balkancar one of the world's major exporters of electric and other trolleys. In other conditions, a small country like ours would have found it impossible to compete in this field with powerful capitalist companies which had up until recently dominated the world markets.

The development of specialization and cooperation on a fundamentally new basis entails complex, regular and long-term stability of ties in research, development, engineering, production and consumption, and this sheds a new light on the place of the basic economic units — combine, association, etc. — in the process of socialist economic integration. Whereas in the past, when product specialization prevailed, the primary role belonged to foreign trade, and economic ties were regulated above all on the macrolevel, through interaction between central planning and sectoral agencies, nowadays because of the different content of many tasks these can no longer be tackled without the active involvement of the microlevel. The development of unit, part and technological specialization implies close and literally everyday contacts between the partner economic organizations, and this is incompatible with formalism or petty tutelage. Practice objectively requires the multilateral and bilateral creation of juridical and organizational conditions for much broader and more direct contacts between such partners, naturally on the basis of indicators and criteria agreed upon by the competent central agencies. These contacts could produce new forms of joint economic activity that will help to gradually overcome national separateness in the sphere of property relations, and to set up enterprises, organizations and other institutions of various types based on international socialist property.

The extension of the rights and responsibility of economic units in cooperation is not only objectively necessary for the development of socialist economic integration at the present stage, but also entails a change in the methods of economic management in the CMEA countries. For all the national specifics of such measures, a common urge to make economic organizations more independent would be essential for these. The importance of this process is not confined to an improvement of economic management: this is an important aspect of the democratization of social relations under socialism.

Greater attention to the microeconomic aspects of socialist economic integration should not in any sense be seen as an effort to minimize the importance of the macroeconomic element. The role of centralized planning, which is organic to socialism, is fully retained. But the new phenomena and trends in integration, together with changes in the principles and methods of economic management

in individual countries, cannot but have an effect on cooperation in planning activity as well. Such interaction 'at the top,' i.e., at the macrolevel, needs to be increasingly supplemented and backed up with joint planning 'below,' on the level of economic organizations taking part in concrete integration measures. The joint conceptions, prognostications and programs of such economic units will consistently offer 'building material' for plan coordination and the elaboration of long-term programs on the state level.

The theory and practice of the international socialist division of labor constantly face new problems for whose solution the past historical period does not offer any recipes. The problems in deepening integration in the 1980s are exceptionally large in scale and are an important aspect of our fraternal parties' creative guidance.

The dialectics of the national and the international in the development of the socialist community as a whole and also of its individual countries have acquired some new features. It is becoming ever more obvious that the sovereign and equal socialist nations can sustain their all-round progress only through the closest organic integration and the consolidation of the international community. Life bears out the conclusion that *the historical advantages of socialism are most effectively realized on the international scale, i.e., only as a result of the consistent internationalization of the productive forces and the relations of production.* National limitation in tackling strategic questions in socio-economic development objectively retards the use of these advantages.

In implementing the program of socialist economic integration, the CMEA countries are blazing trails along the leading lines of international economic cooperation. This innovation goes once again to confirm the growing role of existing socialism in the modern world. The practice of socialist integration produces qualitatively new principles and forms of cooperation. They are not only a prototype of the future. Their broader application can help to solve even today a number of cardinal problems in the world economy and international relations.

Is Peking's foreign policy 'de-Maoized'?

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Nowadays there is much talk about 'de-Maoization' in China. Is there any such process under way? Concerning China's internal affairs, we shall not deal with those here. Time will show. It is possible that the 12th Congress of the CPC, in particular, will give grounds for more definite judgments. The purpose of the present article is to acquaint our international readership with what the Peking leadership's foreign policy is *in fact*, especially those aspects of it which directly affect India and which are best known to us.

Concerning the foreign-policy doctrines, one would think, at first sight, that there are some shifts. Thus, while stubbornly insisting on the Maoist thesis about the inevitability of another world war, the Peking leaders seek to confuse international opinion and ward off its indignation by putting a new interpretation on the thesis and saying that 'the imminent disaster can be put off.' That presumably gives a new guidance to Peking's practice in foreign affairs making it look like an instrument to be used only to secure peace and maintain international stability.

The Peking leaders have been trying out all sorts of tricks in their efforts to assert this peaceful image of China. Last June, for instance, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPC Hu Yaobang had this to say in a talk with Yugoslav journalists: 'It is possible that the question of the inevitability of war was badly treated by Chinese propaganda and due to this fact some people got the impression of China as a militarily-minded country heading for war.' The truth, according to Hu Yaobang is that 'China is striving for peace ... China is looking forward not with pessimism, but optimistically and wants to mobilize all its forces to prevent war.' To achieve this goal, it is said, Peking is out to develop good relations with other countries, progressive and democratic movements, and closer and better relations with a number of Western communist and socialist parties are envisaged.

Some, including left-wingers, have unfortunately taken all these declarations at face value. Now and again there is an inclination to regard them as being more important than Peking's actual international practices. But the point is that the core of these practices *still consists of militaristic hegemonism and great-power expansionism.*

Far from being reduced, the hegemonistic ambitions of the present Chinese leadership have, on the contrary, clearly grown. It has declared the Soviet Union to be its chief enemy, and the struggle against it, the basis of its foreign policy. It sets itself the task of breaking up the world socialist community, of ranging the individual socialist countries against the Soviet Union and pitting them against each other. The Peking leaders believe that this policy is best promoted by the 'differentiated ap-

proach' to the socialist countries, and the communist and workers' parties. This entails a broad spectrum of methods, ranging from the development of all-round relations in some cases, 'neutralism' and flirtation in others, and sharp confrontation with the rest. The edge of Peking's attacks is directed against the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, and also against the socialist Republic of Vietnam.

China's aggression against Vietnam and Peking's military collaboration with the United States and other NATO countries have opened up a qualitatively new phase in the development of Maoist policy, a phase in which the stake is on use of force against the socialist countries jointly with imperialism and its puppet regimes.

For all this, some seem to think that somewhere beyond the sphere of Sino-Soviet relations, Peking's policy is still oriented upon peace and international stability. An analysis of the Peking leadership's actions in areas which have a direct bearing on our country's security shows that the opposite is true.

World public opinion is by now well informed of dangerous developments in the western part of the Indian Ocean, specificially the Persian Gulf area, which was chosen by U.S. strategists — in direct connection with the Middle East situation — as the site for a huge imperialist military build-up. A squadron of U.S. battleships is cruising there day and night. Washington political and military leaders make no secret of their intention to put the presence of their armed forces in this area on a permanent basis. That aim is served by their recent acquirement of rights to establish strongholds in Egypt, Kenya, Oman and Somalia. The Pentagon's program for backing up the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf area will require $20 to 25 billion. At the same time new efforts are being made to upgrade military facilities on the atoll of Diego Garcia. It is known from press reports, that during the first week of June, U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown held confidential talks with British Premier Margaret Thatcher regarding finalizing the use of Diego Garcia as a *place d'arms* of the U.S. 'rapid deployment force.' Silos for nuclear warheads for Polaris and Poseidon missiles have already been built at Diego Garcia. Atomic submarines with missiles that have a range of 2,500-4,500 kilometers and are based at Diego Garcia are trained on the Middle East, East and South Africa and South Asia. Huge strategic B-52 bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons and making flights over different areas of the Indian Ocean, can also be based at Diego Garcia.

The situation, as is evident, provides enough reason for anxiety in all countries of the area. Protests against the ever-growing imperialist menace to international security in this part of the world are mounting in India. Mauritius has asked Great Britain to return Diego Garcia to her.[1] The Organization of African Unity has backed up this demand.

In the declaration made in May 1980 by the Warsaw Treaty countries, the Soviet Union and other socialist states have once again assured states of the Indian Ocean region that they are ready to cooperate with them in turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The USSR and other socialist countries kept true to this position at the meeting of the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean.

Now, what is Peking's stand as regards this situation? Does it side with the forces of peace and security in the area? For the answer it is enough to quote from the *Time* report of the Carter-Hua Guofeng talks in Tokyo on the 10th of July: Hua 'promised Carter that the Chinese would not question U.S. moves in the Middle East. He expressed "very, very strong" support for American efforts to acquire military bases in Kenya, Oman and Somalia. . . .'[2] Wholely in line with this policy Peking supported the United States in objecting to the proposal for a special UN meeting on demilitarization of the Indian Ocean.

So, looking west from the Indian subcontinent, one can hardly recognize any positive change in the allegedly 'de-Maoized' foreign policy of China. Here it remains a source and instrument of alarming trends, undermining international stability and providing support for imperialist efforts to suppress national-liberation movements in the area.

Turning to the North one faces still more illuminating facts.

Virtually from the first days of the April revolution in Afghanistan, the Chinese leaders embarked on their crafty scheming against the country's popular government. Typically, while on a visit to Iran in 1978, Hua Guofeng urged the then ruling shah to impede the consolidation of a new Afghan regime. This being just a prelude, Peking started subversive action against the legitimate Afghan government, installing its agents there, setting at loggerheads various ethnic and religious sections of the population and cementing ties with counter-revolutionary pro-Maoist groupings. Thus, with Peking's active encouragement, the Afghan city of Herat became the venue of an illegal conference of pro-Maoist groups in January 1979. In its program statement, the conference overtly called upon all the enemies of the Afghan revolution to fight against it, using Chinese instructors and methods recommended by China.

Toward the end of 1979 a drastic intensification of Chinese subversive activities hand in hand with U.S. imperialist intervention virtually meant the beginning of an undeclared war against Afghanistan. Backed by the United States, China has spared no effort in training counter-revolutionary bands of mercenaries smuggled into Afghan territory. The Pakistani areas on the Afghan border chosen as main training sites have dozens of camps and strong points where instruction is given by Chinese and American military advisers. In China, such bases were set up in the province of Xinjiang. In 1979 alone these camps trained not less than 15,000 bandits.

Peking is massing its troops on the Afghan border. According to press reports, 10-12 divisions and 4 air squadrons were shipped to Xinjiang from China's central areas. The mountain regions lying along the 74-kilometer long Chinese-Afghan borderline have been turned into breeding grounds of constant tensions.

It is necessary to recall in this connection that among its 'lost territories' China names Afghanistan's eastern regions, above all, the mountainous Badakshan Province — a particular attraction for the Chinese intelligence service. In pursuit of its expansionist ambitions, Peking would like to lay hands on or at least extend its control to Afghanistan's eastern regions in order to secure a bridgehead for its further penetration in the western and southwestern directions.

Gilgit, Skardu and the Kogan Valley in the Pakistan-occupied part of Kashmir have been turned into a Sino-Pakistani base for launching secret raids into Afghanistan. Chinese arms and ammunition are regularly pouring in through the Karakorum Highway.

Acting under the umbrella of Washington and Peking, Pakistan's military dictator Zia has rejected the peace initiatives put forward by the Babrak Karmal regime and refused even to enter into direct talks with it.

While progressive opinion throughout the world has welcomed the Kabul government's proposals and the Soviet Union's action in withdrawing some troops from Afghanistan in response to an improvement of the situation there, Washington and Peking have cynically ignored these peaceable and constructive acts and are going ahead with their aggressive intervention against the Afghan people.

At the same time, subversive pro-Pakistani and anti-India organizations have begun openly activating themselves in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is an inalienable part of India. They are linking themselves up with the U.S.-China conspiracy against the Afghan revolution, utilizing the false slogan of 'defense of Islam.' A number of 'international conferences' have been held in Srinagar in the course of the last two years attended by delegations from Saudi Arabia and other reactionary states where violent speeches against India and the Soviet Union have been made, in the name of 'Islam in danger.' Side by side with all this, the military dictatorship of Islamabad is attempting to 'internationalize' the Kashmir issue once again, with the covert backing of the USA and China.

It would be a futile task to discuss whether the essence of Peking's foreign policy as revealed by all these developments is true to dogmatic Maoism or rather reflects some new 'de-Maoized' doctrine. What is really important is the fact that it creates a situation full of dangers for peace and security on the Indian subcontinent and in neighboring Asian areas.

In recent months, the states comprising the northeastern region of India (Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland) have been in a state of turmoil.

This region, with a population of nearly 20 million is very rich in forest and mineral resources and has got the largest power and water potential. Assam alone accounts for 60 per cent of India's tea and a third of its oil production. Moreover, this region borders on Bhutan, China, Burma and Bangladesh and is connected with the rest of India by a narrow strip of land. It is of vital strategic importance for India's security.

The turmoil in the northeastern region is rooted in the mass discontent of the peoples inhabiting it, because they suffer from a socio-economic backwardness that is much deeper than that of the rest of India. This is compounded by neglect of their legitimate demands on the part of the central governments which have succeeded each other since independence. This year, however, the discontent assumed the form of a sharp national conflict, and led to sanguinary inter-ethnic clashes, as a result of which thousands have already been killed.

The edge of the conflict was directed against settlers from other Indian states and Bangladesh (once known as East Bengal) who were all, without distinction, dubbed 'foreigners' and whose expulsion was demanded.

This legitimate question arises: why did such an explosion, which poses a grave threat to India's security, occur just now?

Both India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Home Minister Zail Singh have, more than once, spoken about the 'external forces' behind the present-day happenings in the northeastern region of India. The Indian public knows very well who these 'external forces' are.

As far back as the 1960s, Naga and Mizo rebels, falling back before government troops in the northeastern districts of India, abandoned on the battlefield Chinese-made weapons. At that time the first press reports appeared about special centers having been set up on Chinese territory, near the Tibetan capital of Lhasa and in Yunnan Province, where Chinese armymen gave instruction in guerrilla warfare to young Naga and Mizo tribesmen. With the help of Maoist armed bands and Naga tribesmen inhabiting northwestern Burma, a corridor, virtually uncontrolled by Rangoon, was formed to link Nagaland State and the Union Territory of Mizoram with the Chinese province of Yunnan. Insurgent recruits began to use it to pass through Upper Burma on their way from India to China. And they took the same route back after finishing their training, this time equipped with Chinese arms.

Having got a foot in the door to the Indian northeast, the Peking hegemonists set to throwing it wide open. Their agents, in cooperation with U.S. imperialist agencies, launched a massive propaganda campaign to whip up separatist sentiment among the inhabitants of Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura. The main emphasis was placed on capitalizing on the complex economic problems confronting India, and the mythical 'affinity' of the people of northeast India with the Chinese. The Assamese were told that culturally they were close

to the Tibetans, the Burmese Shan tribes and the Chinese, but had nothing in common with the Indians. The indoctrination of the people of Arunachal Pradesh, which, incidentally, fell under Chinese occupation in 1962, was pivoted on the fact that, like the Tibetans, they are Buddhists and recognize the Dalai Lama.

According to Indian press reports, thousands of Assam and Manipur separatists have undergone or are undergoing training in Yunnan, Tibet and in the Chittagong mountain area of Bangladesh under Chinese instructors. Having first appeared in two comparatively small areas — Nagaland and Mizoram — separatist agencies have spread in recent years to the entire northeast of India. In early April the *United News* of India reported the formation of a 'united front' of the separatist political organizations of all the seven northeastern territorial subdivisions. The insurgents also agreed to unite their armed formations in the so-called Seventh United Liberation Army. In early May the *Statesman* published Indian intelligence data revealing that armed separatist bands from Bangladesh had established contacts with Burmese insurgents and were planning to set up a 'buffer state' on a part of the territories of India, Burma and Bangladesh.

The United States and China bear the responsibility for the activation of separatist subversion and are out to destabilize the situation in India in pursuance of their global strategy. It is becoming increasingly evident that they are striving to dismember our country and sever from it the seven northeastern states and territories.

It is in this context that one has to examine the latest overtures of the Chinese leaders for 'normalizing' relations with India.

The so-called 'package deal' put forward recently by Deng Xiaoping, with deliberate vagueness for allegedly solving the border dispute between India and China, is nothing but a demand for legitimization of the fruits of China's aggression committed against India in 1962. It is to be noted that the territory belonging to India now in possession of China (and which the Chinese rulers want to keep, according to the 'package deal') has been turned into a military-strategic base for China's expansionism.

Nothing is more absurd than to imagine that while China has joined forces with the U.S. to threaten world peace, to commit aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, to add lavishly to the already existing huge U.S. arsenal in Pakistan, which is now even going to build the nuclear bomb; that while Peking openly aids secessionist forces in the northeastern region of India and continues its provocations on Vietnam's borders and threatens to teach Vietnam 'another lesson,' the Chinese rulers are sincere about building friendship with our country.

That is why the Report adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India at its recent session held in Delhi from July 12 to 15, 1980 declared: 'The U.S. imperialists and the Chinese rulers are working overtime not only to disrupt the unity of our country, but also to blackmail our country with a view to dragging it into their global strategy and thereby weakening our policy of non-alignment, anti-imperialism and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Zia's military regime in Pakistan and other reactionary regimes of the region are being drawn into this game by the imperialists, notably by U.S. imperialists, and Maoists, who are not only in open collusion, but actually coordinating their criminal subversive activities.

'The new maneuvers of the Chinese rulers regarding the solution of our border problem with China are being conducted with this sinister aim. One cannot expect from the Chinese rulers any genuine solution of the border problem when they are hand-in-glove with the American imperialists and are working for a military alliance against the Soviet Union and are collaborating with the reactionary fascist and racist regimes the world over.'[3]

Our party is, of course, for normalization of relations with China and for a solution of the border problem. But it cannot be done at the cost of our country's policy of peace, anti-imperialism, non-alignment and friendship with the Soviet Union and progressive regimes. It needs to be stressed that the Soviet Union has always come to our help in times of need and enabled us to foil the conspiracies of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, as well as the Chinese hegemonists, directed against our country. All the Chinese overtures to India are inspired with their design to weaken, if not totally disrupt, Indo-Soviet friendship. That is why all the avowed pro-imperialists and reactionaries in our country have overnight turned into champions of India-China friendship. On this score, the CP India says: 'Friendly relations between our country and China cannot possibly be restored unless the Chinese leadership gives up its reactionary hegemonistic and expansionist foreign policy and returns to the policy of world peace, to the Panch Sheel and the Bandung spirit.'[4]

Our party's views on normalization of relations between India and China are widely shared by public opinion in India. In a recent debate in the Indian Parliament on this subject, there was a broad consensus of opinion expressed by different political parties urging upon the Indian government extreme caution in dealing with the 'offer' made by China. While the U.S.-Maoist threat to the Indian subcontinent has become serious in the recent period, the forces in India that can challenge and defeat this threat have also shown their strength and capacity for effective action. There has been an upsurge of the anti-imperialist and peace movement in India over the last year, an upsurge in which very wide patriotic forces have participated. Indian communists have been in the forefront of this movement.

The movement against Chinese aggression against Vietnam, the movement for recognition of the Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea, the movement in support of the Saur Revolution in Afghanistan and the anti-imperialist revolution in

Iran, the movement in support of the Afghan government, which has asked the USSR for aid in order to safeguard the fruits of the Saur Revolution, the movement in support of the demands of the Palestinian people and for recognition of the PLO, the movement for demilitarization of the Indian Ocean and for return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius, the movement against U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean, the movement to safeguard the anti-imperialist basis of non-alignment policy, the movement in support of the peoples of Pakistan and Bangladesh for democratic rights — all these movements have gained immense scope and significance over the last year.

The anti-imperialist and peace movement in India has won significant victories in this period. Among these have been the recognition given by the Indian government to the PLO and to the Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea.

The situation that has taken shape at present in the Indian subcontinent demands an active, dynamic anti-imperialist role on the part of India. It demands the further strengthening and deepening of the bonds of friendship and all-sided cooperation between India and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The National Council of the Communist Party of India at its recent July session held in Delhi has emphasized this.

At this meeting the National Council called for an intense and sustained national political campaign against the threat to India's national sovereignty, unity and security posed by the conspiracies of the Washington-Peking axis in our region. It has called for alerting the Indian people 'against the dangerous situation in the northeastern region of our country, to the forging of the U.S.-Sino-Pak axis for encircling our country and threatening its unity and security, to the new maneuvers of the Chinese leadership on the Sino-Indian border issue to inveigle India into the U.S.-Chinese global strategy and to the danger to world peace that is caused by the U.S. warmongers acting in collusion with the Chinese leaders.'

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has sounded the call for 'popular level intervention on a massive scale' as 'the most urgent need of the hour.'

Such is the reaction of our party and people to Peking's international stand and actions, which India has had most immediately to face. We have been convinced from our own experience that if 'de-Maoization' has been taking place in China at all, it has, at any rate, not had any positive effect on its foreign policy, which has continued to be shaped in accordance with the worst recipes of Maoism.

1. The Chagos archipelago, which includes Diego Garcia, was separated by Britain from Mauritius when the latter was granted independence. — *Ed.*
2. *Time*, July 21, 1980, p. 32.
3. *New Age*, July 20, 1980.
4. Ibid.

Behind the facade of 'free' elections

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This year, political life in some capitalist countries was highlighted by elections — presidential, parliamentary and municipal. As this is written, intense electoral struggles are under way in some countries and have been completed in others. Analysis of their outcomes naturally awaits their completion. But it is already clear from the course of the struggles that the electoral processes of bourgeois democracy are, as communists have long maintained, both a political instrument of social oppression and economic exploitation of the working class and an arena of struggle of the masses for their needs and aspirations.

The elections held this year once again focussed on the sharpening contradictions of the capitalist system. At the same time, they gave a reminder of a truth which is sometimes forgotten: in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, the electoral machinery is not all that 'sacrosanct.' Wherever it fails to work, the 'democrats' rush to arms, as was the case, for instance, in Bolivia. Whenever the influence of the Communist Party in some capitalist country grows to the point where the progressive forces begin to threaten the positions of the ruling class, reactionaries of every stripe, led by U.S. imperialism, hasten to its aid, as we have repeatedly witnessed it in, say, Greece and Portugal. Every possible instrument and weapon is thrown into the fray: brazen economic blackmail and armed threats, refusal of credits, and 'advice' which sounds like an ultimatum. Everything is done to prevent the people from voicing its actual will at any price. And that is called democracy!

The electoral battles in the United States have provided much food for thought about bourgeois democracy. In particular, they demonstrated that our country, being the main pillar of capitalism-in-decline and its main shock force, has long since become the bearer of all the features of the political system which operates on the principle: 'Profits Before People.'

About a half-century ago, Lenin exposed the sub-

stance of the political system based on private property in the means of production. He wrote: 'Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 243).

It is sometimes claimed that these words of Lenin's are outdated. Over the decades, they say, a great deal has changed in the condition of the working people and the assessments which were relevant to the first quarter of the century are allegedly a very far cry from today's reality.

There is no point in arguing about this. Indeed, the condition of the working people in the capitalist countries has changed, but not in the way the advocates of the exploiter system claim. In the final quarter of the 20th century, the socio-economic situation in the capitalist world has been sharply aggravated, and it is now increasingly determined by constant mass unemployment, unbridled inflation, a growing cost of living, the heavy tax burden produced by the arms race, capitalism's inability to satisfy the masses' growing material and cultural needs, and a widening gap between the total profits of the monopolies, and the overall incomes of the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia. All of this gives a new dimension to Lenin's assessment, and confirms the truth of it.

The concentration of economic power in the hands of a few bolsters their political power and this, in turn, tends to further curb and whittle down bourgeois democracy. That being so, the bourgeois ideologists, and propagandists have to be even more adept at lying, dissembling, cheating and trying to convince the people that the bourgeoisie is faithful to the ideals of liberty, equality and brotherhood which it proclaimed in the days of its youth.

It would be a serious mistake, however, to ignore the fact that the monopolies, confronted with the demands of the working class, skillfully maneuver, make use of partial concessions and broadly resort to social demagogy. Nor should we underestimate the impact of the powerful mass media they control, which stridently advertise the 'perfections of the free world.'

While their room for maneuver continually narrows down, the bourgeoisie is still able to influence sufficient masses of working people to vote not only for the social reformist parties campaigning under slogans of 'social renewal,' but also for political leaders patently defending the interests of the exploiting handful. What is new, however, is that growing masses in a number of countries come to see through the maneuvers, are becoming disillusioned and have begun to take the road of radicalization. To help the working people see through to the truth and to show what lurks behind the façade of bourgeois democracy is a problem without whose solution it is impossible to advance toward the transformation of society on socialist lines.

Understanding the historical importance of this task is a prime factor motivating U.S. communists to perseveringly take part in the electoral struggles. We view them as an arena of struggle for reaching and mobilizing masses to fight for their vital needs and for exposing the big lies of the apologists of capitalism.

For our party, the crucial phase in the electoral campaign was the struggle for the right to register our candidates. Our purpose was to expose the limitations of bourgeois democracy, to involve the masses in the movement for democratic rights, and to show them a real alternative to the two bourgeois parties.

Nor was that an easy thing to do. For years now, monopoly capital has been ceaselessly attacking the CPUSA, resorting to intimidation, slander and distortion of its true aims, making use of a ramified apparatus for repression and the mass media which excel in the art of ideological corruption. But we work to transform obstacles into their opposite, knowing that by overcoming them, fighting to take part in elections, we obtain a rostrum from which we are able to explain the views of the communists, to acquaint people with our program for fighting our common way out of the economic and social crisis under the slogan of 'People Before Profits.' That is our answer to the sceptics who cast doubt on the 'practical significance' of the CPUSA's nomination of its own candidates, Gus Hall and Angela Davis, for the highest offices in the country and for congressional and local offices.

Whatever forms it assumes, the contest between the candidates of the bourgeois parties usually boils down to which of the groups of industrial and finance capital proves to be the stronger and which of their candidates manages more 'reliably' and skillfully to safeguard their interests. For the rank-and-file voter, the 'free choice' consists in the possibility of being convinced that one of the candidates is the lesser of two evils.

That is what happened, for instance, in our country after the scandal-ridden resignation of grafter Spiro Agnew, and then President Nixon, when the new White House incumbent Gerald Ford named Nelson Rockefeller as Vice-President. Jumping to the defense of this appointment, the U.S. media palmed off the idea that this scion of the mightiest dynasty of finance capital in the U.S. had, at least, the saving grace of being so rich he did not need to take bribes.

William Winpissinger, President of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), walking out of the Democratic Party's National Convention together with 90 trade union delegates as a sign of protest while Carter was making his acceptance speech, declared that the country did not have two parties distinct from each other: the Republicans and Democrats represented one party which merely had different names.

There was widespread dissatisfaction and even indignation among broad sections of the electorate at the choice of two imperialist politicians whose platforms were the same in all basic essentials. Even

the *Washington Post* admitted that "The "system" has produced two thoroughly unacceptable candidates — Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter — as the main choices, letting them win out over a number of others who were also . . . unacceptable."[1]

But while the voter is offered the choice of choosing between two evils, the business tycoons put their bets on both horses: they win, no matter who loses. Thus, Henry Ford II is listed as a contributor to Jimmy Carter's re-election campaign and also as a contributor to the Republican candidate for the vice-presidency, former CIA director, George Bush.

It is quite natural, therefore, that the promises of changes in the country's domestic and foreign policies, which the bourgeois candidates so freely make while on the hustings, are usually shed on the doormat of the White House. It does not at all matter whether the candidate claims to be an 'adamant conservative' or flaunts liberal catchwords — once victorious he very soon doffs his political camouflage. Installed in office, the new president rules the country as the plenipotentiary of the monopolists that he is.

The facts are there for all to see. In the 1976 elections Jimmy Carter swore to reduce the inflation rate which then stood at 6 per cent. In 1979, the rate had more than doubled to 13.4 per cent. Claiming to be a friend of labor he spoke of 'jobs for all.' But the government publicly admits to 8 million jobless while concealing the fact that its own studies place the figure closer to 15 million. Pretending to be a 'champion of peace,' Carter pledged to reduce military spending. Actually, from 1977 to 1981 it went up from $112.7 billion to $173.4 billion. Instead of the promised improvement in the material condition of working people, the average working-class family's real income declined by 6.9 per cent in 1979 alone, while corporate profits tripled in a few years to over $150 billion.

It is not surprising, therefore, that there are nearly as many voters who call themselves Independent as there are those who admit to being Republicans or Democrats. And the number of those who refuse to take part in the shell game of the two-party politics by refusing to vote has been growing from year to year. In their minds the traditional emblems of the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey have been transformed into a two-headed anomaly. This, incidentally, to some extent explains the fact that the 'independent' Anderson, a 'lesser-known evil,' who is basically no different from Carter and Reagan, and who wants a stronger two-party system, will nevertheless attract those who want no part of the political twins from the traditional parties.

The deepening general crisis of capitalism, the economic upheavals which have hit our country and the inability of the Establishment to set things right have resulted in growing demands in the United States for the formation of a mass anti-monopoly party standing up for the interests of the working people. The communists were the first to raise this goal and have been actively building, supporting and promoting the components for such a united, democratic front.

Only by creating an anti-monopoly party, we believe, is it possible to break out of the 'two-party' trap and political monopoly of big business, to dispel the illusion of the 'free play of forces' allegedly at work within the framework of bourgeois democracy. That is why the task 'to help build the new politics of political independence that will lead to an anti-monopoly people's party that can effectively challenge the two old parties of monopoly capital,' was placed by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, as a central element of the 1980 communist presidential campaign.[2] There is hardly any need to prove that in working for this goal we have no intention of winding up the Communist Party. In fact, we intend to work hard to strengthen it in every way.

The growing crisis of the two-party system in the U.S. is so obvious that even bourgeois politologists have to admit it. Thus, a Democratic Party theorist and a former president of the American Political Science Association, Austin Ranney, says: 'The national parties (the Democratic and Republican — *J.W.*) have been so *weakened* since the late 1960s that presidential politics has become in substance if not in form something closely approaching a no-party system.'[3]

There is a gradual erosion of the myth about the bourgeois multiparty system being a guarantor of 'government of the people, by the people and for the people.' It has long since become a screen to cover up the mechanism of the government *of capital, by capital* and *for capital.*

We find a similar metamorphosis in the separation of the powers of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, which is supposed to ensure 'checks and balances' in government against abuses and excesses, etc. In the beginning it was presented as a reliable means of preventing the tyranny of the 'God-given ruler,' and this was to some extent true. But as soon as capital consolidated its positions, the separation of powers became a device for frustrating the will of the people, limiting the administration of justice and ensuring the monopolies the flexibility they need when they are forced to make some concessions to the working people.

In our country, the 'sovereign anointed by God' came to an end with the end of British rule in 1776. In its place there has arisen the 'imperial presidency' ruling on behalf of the new divinity, monopoly capital. As much has been admitted by the *U.S. News and World Report*, a mouthpiece of top business circles. It wrote: 'Power in the hands of a President is power greater than that of any other leader in the world . . . It is a power to bring war or peace, strength or weakness for the nation, good times or bad times.'[4]

How ineffective is the separation of powers under capitalism as a safeguard against abuse was well illustrated by the memoirs of G. Gordon Liddy, one of the 'heroes' of Watergate, which were published recently. Upon his release from jail, he described details of the scandal which has become a synonym

of official Washington's dishonesty, deception and disgrace. If presented on the pages of a crime thriller, they could be discounted as the figment of a runaway imagination. It was no invention of a hyperactive fiction mentality but a piece of political reality today in the United States, the leader of the 'free world.'[5]

Apologists of the system have claimed that the very exposures of Watergate ensured that the 'system works,' that such scandals could never happen again. But similar scandals keep coming to light, as in the most recent period with sundry elected officials engaged in illegal and immoral activities, President Carter's attempts to cover up his brother Billy's illegal doings in accepting a big bribe to act as a foreign agent.

Who knows how many other Watergates, past, present and future, how many crimes committed for the 'good of democracy' still await detection? Let those who continue to believe in the sanctity of bourgeois democratic institutions ponder this point.

Apart from the 'pluralism' and the 'separation of powers' postulates, there is yet another, third pillar on which the propaganda constructs of the ideologists of bourgeois democracy rest. It is the skillfully suggested illusion of a 'universal brotherhood' allegedly reigning in the capitalist countries, which have been declared a model of democratic and civil rights. Behind this high-flown fiction about 'freedoms and equality of opportunity' there is diehard murderous racism, suppression of opponents and ethnic minorities, neglect for the future of the young and the welfare of the old and a high-handed, arrogant, self-seeking urge to impose their way of life and thinking on other peoples.

The U.S. Constitution has been flawed from the start. It withheld suffrage from those who had no property, from the Afro-American slaves, from women and young people. How many encomiums were delivered on the bicentennial of the United States in honor of the Bill of Rights, of which the propagandists of the U.S. 'model of democracy' so loudly boast! None of the bourgeois orators, of course, could claim that this document, any more than other amendments to the Constitution extending democratic rights, was handed down from on high, from a benign ruling class. Every concession had to be wrested in persevering, costly struggles.

But who among those who know our country at first hand — and not from glossy advertisements or Voice of America broadcasts — will dare to deny that these rights largely remain on paper? They are constantly being ignored and violated. The violations are now and again so glaring that they cannot be ignored even by the avowed advocates of the capitalist system.

The CIA is guilty of a great many cases of surveillance of Americans, says *Time* magazine. A short list of violations of human rights given by that journal includes clandestine entry into private homes, and the bugging of rooms and telephones. CIA and FBI practices are the model for imitation in other capitalist countries which now extensively engage in witch-hunting and other less than legal methods of persecuting progressive-minded people, such as in the FRG, where they are banned from employment in professions.

The heaviest blows are directed at the communists. Out of 2,370 illegal acts directed by the FBI against a multiplicity of progressive and other organizations, 1,388 — more than half — were specifically directed against our party. U.S. communists live and work in an atmosphere that is heavily poisoned by chauvinism, racism and anti-communism.

The legal, constitutional and other bans hamper us in our right to be on the ballot at every level. Still, we have scored significant successes. In 1968, our party was on the ballot in two states only; in 1976, we were on in 19 states and the District of Columbia. In 1980, we are fighting to make the ballot in 30 states and are approaching that goal at this writing.

And what can one say about such a fundamental democratic right as free speech if even during the election campaign the Communist Party is virtually denied access to radio and television, both extensively and noisily exploited by the candidates of the bourgeois twin parties? The same thing happens to everyone who dares come out against the Establishment.

The communists and other progressives take a resolute stand for civil rights and democratic freedoms as proclaimed in the constitutions of the capitalist states, although they by no means regard bourgeois democracy as their ideal. Their aim is to make use of the rights won by the people's struggles under the rule of capital to pave the way for a new society in which power will really belong to the working people and the word democracy will resume its true meaning, and be filled with real content.

The communists emphasize again and again that a truly democratic society is one that is free from the monopoly oligarchy, from fear of crisis and unemployment, a society without ignorance and lack of culture.

Genuine democracy must, furthermore, ensure — as socialism has already done — the working people's full participation in government.

Genuine democracy is impossible without equality in the broadest sense of the word, which implies the elimination of class, property, racial, religious and other similar privileges.

Finally, under genuine democracy, the only measure of a citizen's status in society is his creative contribution to the economic, political, social and cultural development of the country, for the benefit of all his compatriots.

This way is neither simple nor easy. In defense of the old system stand people who are well versed in political and ideological contests. Because they are realists they understand, of course, that the October Revolution in Russia was the turning point which, to quote the founding father of modern U.S. bourgeois journalism, Walter Lippmann, put an end to the epoch in which 'the model for a new government anywhere in the world . . . was liberal

democracy in the British, the French or the American style.'[6] That is precisely why the advocates of capitalist democracy seek to modernize the mechanism of the bourgeois democratic 'model' and to paper over the cracks which disfigure and erode its façade.

In its efforts to stop the erosion of confidence in the bourgeois state, official Washington has mounted a wide psychological warfare campaign against existing socialism, first of all against the Soviet Union. When Carter trumpeted the roll-call of the anti-communist hosts and came out in 'defense of human rights,' it was not difficult to discern one of the real aims of this loud campaign. By throwing doubt on socialist democracy the U.S. President sought to divert the attention of the world from the defects of bourgeois democracy.

Not only the communists are well aware that this campaign was organized by the same people who brazenly trample on workers' rights in the work place, turn a blind eye on the lot of the unemployed, scorn and oppress Americans of African origin and other minorities and ride rough-shod over the interests of the aged, children, women and youth. Its initiators are prepared to start an atomic war which could wipe out life itself on the Earth in order to preserve the obsolescent system of exploitation and oppression. It is the same 'human rights logic' which was called into play by the officer leading the Song My massacre in the Vietnam war: 'We destroyed the village in order to save it.'

As is known, Carter's campaign was supported by all the reactionaries of the world. The candidates of the monopolies tried to sail on the crest of the tide of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism into key posts in their countries, be it the FRG, Portugal, Japan, or Australia.

But in our day pious hypocrisy tends to miss the mark again and again. The storm of indignation which swept the world over the racist massacres and political assassinations in the U.S.; the wrath caused by the military gamble against Iran and by the support for the repressive regimes in Chile, Israel, El Salvador and other countries; the condemnation of the 'limited' nuclear war strategy, which threatens the world — show the broad understanding in our day of what is actually going on behind the vaunted talk of the bourgeois politicians.

With boundless faith in our class and ever closer to the pulse of the class struggle, U.S. communists, while still comparatively few in numbers, see the influence of our policies growing from year to year. Witness the important gains of communist ballot petition campaigns, the rescinding of the anti-communist clause in its constitution by the recent convention of the 982,000-member IAM and that union's approval of a resolution to support the formation of an independent working people's party, the similar stand taken by a convention of the United Electrical Workers Union (UE) and the fact that this union is winning many plant elections showing that basic industry workers are rejecting the many years' long red-baiting campaign against that union, and the fact that the leader of the California AFL-CIO has called for the formation of a new party of labor. One can cite many more examples showing that new, deep-going leftward trends are at work deep down in the ranks of the U.S. working class, which inevitably will express themselves politically in the electoral arena.

Nearly 200 years ago, John Adams, 2nd President of the United States (1797-1801), observed *apropos* of the political system of bourgeois society: 'Democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide.'[7] We communists oppose this tendency to suicide by fighting for broader democratic rights and taking part in the elections in the capitalist countries. But we go beyond that. Our ultimate goal is to put an end to bourgeois pseudo-democracy and pave the way for a society of real popular power.

1. See *International Herald Tribune*, June 13, 1980.
2. Gus Hall, *Labor Up-Front in the People's Fight Against the Crisis*. New York, 1979, p. 84.
3. *Daily World*, July 23, 1980.
4. Quoted in *Steel Labor's Road to Economic Security, Peace and Democracy*. New York, 1953, p. 31.
5. In the autumn of 1971, Liddy accepted Richard Nixon's proposal conveyed through a counsel to set up 'an absolutely first-class intelligence operation' to ensure Nixon's re-election. Liddy asked for a million dollars for these purposes and with the knowledge of John Mitchell, then Attorney-General, got together a group of what he calls professional killers who had accounted between them for 22 dead that far. The Liddy plan provided for the kidnapping of the leaders of progressive organizations, who were to be drugged and taken to Mexico; spies were to be infiltrated into the camp of Nixon's rivals; their radio and telephone conversations were to be bugged and their correspondence opened and inspected; political adversaries were to be compromised with the aid of prostitutes operating in the guise of 'high society ladies,' etc. (see *Time*, April 21, 1980, pp. 58-64).
6. *Atlantic Monthly*. February 1955, p. 30.
7. Quoted in: *The Crisis of Democracy*. Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission, N.Y., 1975, p. 115.

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Theoretical legacy in revolutionary practice

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Frederick Engels, one of the founders of scientific socialism, was, as Lenin said, the finest scholar and teacher of the proletariat after Karl Marx (V.I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 19). His versatile theoretical and practical activities left a deep trace in the history of the working-class movement and helped to turn the proletariat into a revolutionary, world-transforming force. It is 160 years since the birth of Engels, but to this day his legacy is of great importance for the international communist movement. Many fraternal parties mark this date by holding theoretical conferences, scientific symposia, and engaging in extensive political activities.

In the history of the working-class struggle a stage of importance, associated with the name of Engels, was the establishment and development of national mass Marxist parties. This process, beginning in the mid-1870s in Germany and France, became especially vigorous in the 1880s. Whereas in 1880 there were social-democratic workers' parties in nine European countries and in the USA, by 1895 — the year Engels died — they operated in over 20 of the more developed capitalist countries.

The working class became better organized politically during the period of relatively peaceful development, when a revolution in the near future could not be counted on. In those conditions, many new problems confronted the young parties. It was imperative, for instance, to determine the correlation of democracy and socialism, to work out the principles of the parties' attitude to elections and parliamentary activity, to trade union struggle and the allies of the working class, and so on. One very important task was to acquaint the masses with the aims, policy and tactics of the party.

As they emerged and grew, the national workers' parties were exposed to an increased influence of Marxism. Nonetheless, the working-class movement in that early period was also negatively affected by petty-bourgeois, social-reformist and anarcho-sectarian views and notions. Widespread in Germany, for instance, were the survivals of Lassalleanism and the ethically-idealistic emotional socialism which, as Engels put it in a letter to J. Becker in Geneva written in London on September 8, 1879, tried to dissolve the class struggle of the proletariat against its oppressors in the general brotherly union of mankind. There was also 'a kind of spurious socialism ... that without more ado declares all state ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic.'[1] In France, in the 1880s, there emerged a reformist trend called possibilism which in order to win followers and votes tried, by actually renouncing the proletarian character of the movement, to make it possible for everyone to agree with its aims. The champions of this trend cherished the illusion that capitalism could grow into socialism without revolution. British trade unions rejected political struggle as a means of achieving socialism. And the adherents of anarchism, which was especially widespread in the Romance countries, were always talking about socialism and class struggle, but denied the need for political organization and discipline in this struggle and boiled down its aims to 'winning freedom and sovereignty for the individual' and abolishing the state as such.

By developing, defending and popularizing scientific socialism, Marx and Engels helped the working-class movement to resolve its many and varied problems. They also gave the leaders of the movement their personal assistance in working out their party programs, policies and tactics. In the 1880s, this was mainly done by Engels who, because Marx was ill at the time, took upon himself the larger share of their international correspondence and their contacts with the parties.

Engels was not the formal head of any party, but in actual fact he was the trusted spokesman for, and the counselor and leader of socialists in many countries. He had ties of close friendship with German, French and Austrian socialists, as well as with British labor leaders. Representatives of the Russian, Polish, Belgian and Dutch revolutionary movements enjoyed his cordial hospitality on many occasions, while Spanish, Italian, Czech, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Romanian revolutionaries corresponded with him regularly. Lenin wrote: 'His advice and directions were sought for ... They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26). To give readers some idea of what this work of developing and strengthening the international working-class movement amounted to, it is enough to say that the letters Engels wrote to different countries from 1883 to 1895 comprised more than four volumes. And it is largely due to Engels that at the turn of the last decade of the 19th century, Marxism was able in the main to triumph in the working-class movement, and that the programs, strategy and tactics of the workers' parties came to be based on scientific socialism.

'The immediate goal of the workers' movement is the winning of political power for the working class

by the working class itself,' Engels wrote to F. Wiesen in Texas on March 14, 1893. He explained that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a historical necessity, he indicated the main directions which social transformations would take during the transition from capitalism to socialism, and laid stress on the need to master all the methods of revolutionary struggle. Exposing the nihilistic-anarchic attitude to political life, he insisted at the same time on the importance of participating in elections, which gave the workers' party a chance to demonstrate its constantly growing strength to the whole world. He gave a warning, however, that the workers' party should not overrate its success in elections or in strengthening its position in parliament: 'Universal suffrage is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state.'[2] Engels considered that the workers' party should not permit that 'the class character of the movement, together with the program, is everywhere to be dropped where more votes, more adherents, can be won by these means.'[3] He always insisted on a principled approach to political struggle as *a class struggle* of the organized proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

When helping the young parties to work out their international strategy and tactics, Engels stressed the importance of strengthening the unity of the working-class movement, developing contacts between the national parties, and affirming the principles of proletarian internationalism. In the early 1880s, there was no international organization of the working class which, like the First International, would have coordinated its struggle in the world arena. At the time, the 'brotherly alliance of the workers' union,' Engels said, 'could exist without any outward ties of a formal union.' But, at the end of the 1880s, when the need arose for an international organization of the working class, he mobilized the Marxist forces, first of all in the German and French parties, and himself took an active part in preparing the International Socialist Congress in 1889, with which began the history of the Second International. Credit is also due to Engels for the International taking a Marxist stand in the main.

Engels stressed that even in the framework of an international proletarian organization internationalism did not contradict the parties' national sovereignty. Internationalism itself stemmed from the objective community of the tasks of all proletarian parties and from the general theoretical bases — equally independent of concrete specific conditions — of their revolutionary activity. But the tactics of the parties are in many respects determined by precisely these conditions and 'must be decided on the spot, by those who are in the thick of events.'[4]

The international cooperation of the working class was perceived by Engels as the cooperation of equals, and he opposed any claims to hegemony in the international working-class movement. He saw the worth of holding creative discussions on urgent problems of the movement's development on the basis of common ideological principles, and called for cherishing the revolutionary unity achieved in the struggle against the common enemy.

Engels' conclusions on matters of principle, however, were discarded by the right-wing leadership of German and international social democracy. In the second half of the 1890s, after Engels died, Eduard Bernstein, who had been a friend of his and was one of the executors of his literary legacy, began to falsify and betray scientific socialism. And it was not the reformist leaders of the Second International who carried on the creative traditions of Marxism, but Lenin who thoroughly developed the teaching of Marx and Engels, enriched all the component parts of Marxism, and started it on a new stage of development. Twenty-two years after Engels' death, the Great October Revolution set the stage for the transformation of scientific socialism, until then existing only in theory, into historical practice.

In the 1880s, an important aspect of Engels' activity was the dissemination of the ideas of Marxism, the fundamentals of the proletariat's scientific world outlook. His work connected with the republication of many of Marx's works in different languages has to be mentioned first, for it was of crucial importance for mass propaganda, and for the political enlightenment of new members of the young national parties.[5] In those same years Engels prepared Volume 1 of *Capital* for reprinting, and Volumes 2 and 3 for print. They came out in 1885 and 1894 respectively. 'These two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx and Engels,' wrote Lenin (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26).

A number of works written in the 1880s by Engels himself develop the scientific ideology of the proletariat, elucidate the principles of the materialist conception of history, and expose the opportunist views of the aims and methods of the working-class struggle. Among these works special mention must be made of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, written exactly a hundred years ago,[6] not only because it was actually the first time that the fundamentals of the proletarian world outlook and its main propositions were set out systematically for the mass reader — an introduction to scientific socialism, as Marx called it — but also because it was the most widely circulated work of the founders of Marxism after the *Communist Manifesto*.

In our day, the world communist movement is fighting in historical conditions which differ in many respects from those in which the workers' parties had to struggle in the last three decades of the 19th century. The movement today has a different scale, different tasks, and incomparably richer political experience. Even so, many of the propositions and conclusions in Engels' small pamphlet are applicable to the present day.

Socialism: Utopian and Scientific is an example of how the propaganda of Marxist tenets can be combined with the creative elaboration of many of them. By tracing the main stages of the development of Marx's discoveries — the materialist conception of history and the theory of surplus value —

Engels showed how socialism had become a science and proved that the emergence of Marxism had been a logical process developing from the most advanced trends of scientific and social thought. He thereby defined the basic principles of the Marxist approach to science and ideology, which were subsequently deepened and developed by Lenin.

The analysis Engels made of socialist doctrines is not only a model study of their histories and a model of scientific criticism, but also an embodiment of the Marxist methodology in approaching non-Marxist and anti-Marxist theories of socialism. Engels' assessment of the various species of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialism remains as valuable today in combating revisionist and reformist illusions, and bourgeois ideology.

Nowadays, bourgeois ideologists assert that the propositions and conclusions of scientific socialism are inapplicable to modern capitalism since it has allegedly undergone a transformation and differs radically from 19th-century capitalism. For instance, Golo Mann, a historian, writes that the concept of capitalism is no longer appropriate for the economic system of modern society in the West, since a mixed form has now come into being which has no name but which is distinguished for its extraordinary adaptability.[7]

In reality, the concept of capitalism continues to characterize that society, and the conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels concerning its class nature and basic relations of production need no modification. Naturally, none of the Marxist-Leninists has ever said that nothing has changed in the capitalist world in the course of the last hundred years. But what is the substance of these changes? What is happening is not a transformation into a different society but a further development of capitalism with its basic features preserved, in the first place the exploitation of workers by capitalists appropriating the surplus value. What is more, the contradictions and antagonisms implicit in capitalism become aggravated as it attains more ripe and over-ripe forms and stages in its development.

It was at the end of the past century that Engels pointed to the direction in which this development would go. He registered the emergence of forms of monopoly property (joint-stock companies, trusts, etc.), developments which were later thoroughly analyzed in Lenin's theory of imperialism. Next, Engels noted a change in the economic role played by the bourgeois state which was turning into an aggregate capitalist. This aggregate capitalist was represented by other persons, members of other parties, but not other classes. It was in this context that Engels assessed the transfer of big enterprises to state property. In his polemic against those who claimed that Bismarckian nationalization was socialist in character, he proved that the bourgeois state's intervention in the management of production processes did not mean an introduction of, or a transition to, socialism, since the class nature of capitalism remained unchanged and its contradictions did not disappear.

These contradictions and, in the first place, the aggravated conflict between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation can be done away with only through a proletarian revolution. Any talk that structural reforms are capable of starting off the process of capitalism's self-removal and of creating elements of a new society in actual fact serves the purpose of preserving the capitalist system, or else it is built on illusion.

Engels' conclusions concerning socialism are just as valid. Unlike the utopian socialists, Marx and Engels did not devise ideal social systems, nor did they write 'recipes for the cook-shops of the future.'[8] Scientific socialism is not a product of speculative thinking, not an expression of abstract categories of truth, reason and justice. It is the result of a scientific analysis, first made by Marx and Engels, of actual historical processes and in the first place of the capitalist mode of production and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They based their forecast of the prospects of social development on a knowledge of its objective tendencies, on eliciting the direction of history's progress, and also the forces which, owing to their class position in capitalist society, would be capable of fighting for the realization of these prospects. The founders of Marxism scientifically foretold some of the basic features of socialism, regarding it as a negation of capitalism.

Before anything else, the means of production had to be transformed into social property. Next in order came a balanced development of the productive forces and regulated production 'according to the needs of the community and of each individual.'[9] The main goal of socialism was formulated as 'securing for every member of society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties.'[10] Summing up these conclusions of Marxism in his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels emphasized that only in those conditions could people master the objective laws of social development and in consequence become the masters of their own form of social organization. 'To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat.'[11] What Engels said was justified for his time, and it still stands today.

Lenin said: 'It is to the great historic merit of Marx and Engels that they indicated to the workers of the world their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally round themselves in this struggle *all* working and exploited people' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 165).

The legacy of the founders of scientific socialism remains as valid today. And the anniversary of Engels' birth is for us an occasion to go through this legacy again in search of prerequisites for solving the burning problems of our day.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 144.
2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 329.
3. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 354.
4. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 456.
5. The pamphlet *Wage Labour and Capital* was reprinted in 1884; in 1885, the first German translation of *The Poverty of Philosophy* and the third German edition of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, edited by Engels and with his foreword, were brought out; also reprinted were the pamphlets on the 1848 trial of communists in Cologne. The preface to one of them, entitled 'On the History of the Communist League,' became widely known eventually.
6. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* was written in the spring of 1880 at the request of Paul Lafargue for the French Workers' Party on the basis of three chapters from *Anti-Dühring*, and originally published in the journal *La Revue socialiste*, and then in pamphlet form. This work enjoyed an unexpected success, 'creating a revolution in the minds of many of the finest Frenchmen' (Marx). Next, it came out in a Polish translation, and then, in 1883, there were three German editions with a total of 10,000 copies which were illegally circulated in Germany. Translations into Italian, Russian, Romanian, Danish, Spanish, Dutch and English followed. In Engels' lifetime the work was published in 14 languages, and in some of them there were several editions. In the German Democratic Republic it will have its 21st edition this year, 1980. Since 1945 it has come out in two million copies, counting the times it has been included in collected works and collections.
7. *Welt am Sonntag*, November 18, 1979.
8. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 17.
9. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 146.
10. Ibid., p. 149.
11. Ibid., p. 151.

Winds of change in the Caribbean

In the recent period, the attention of world opinion has been drawn to the events in the Caribbean, where the liberation struggle has been intensified. In the 1970s, five new independent states emerged in this region. The communist parties are growing stronger, and the positions of the revolutionary-democratic forces are being consolidated. In view of the great importance of progressive changes in this region of the world, *WMR* continues its publication of a series of articles which was started by one on the revolution in Grenada (see *WMR*, No. 9, 1980). In the following issues, readers will be acquainted with the situation in other countries in the area.

FROM MARXIST STUDY GROUPS TO THE PROLETARIAN VANGUARD

Trevor Munroe
General Secretary, Workers' Party of Jamaica

For the English-speaking Caribbean countries, the communist movement is a relatively new phenomenon. When the communist and workers' parties were meeting in Moscow in 1969, there was no representative from this area with the sole exception of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) of Guyana. At that time, the most advanced anti-imperialist movements in our region were still at the stage of revolutionary democracy, and even then, with only fledgling organizations without a significant national political influence. In the early 1970s, this situation had begun to change, but as yet not qualitatively, as was shown by the fact that at the 1975 Havana Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, again the PPP was the sole representative from the English-speaking Caribbean.

Over the last five years this situation has undergone a marked change. Communism has now reappeared as a definite political trend within the national-liberation movement in the English-speaking Caribbean: leaders of Marxist-Leninist orientation now enjoy a significant political following among the working people in several territories; and as the Consultative Meeting in Havana in August 1979 noted: 'In most of the territories, communist, workers' revolutionary-democratic parties and groups were either being formed or gaining in strength as vital elements in the struggle against imperialism.' In March 1980, at the first anniversary celebrations of the revolution in Grenada, such parties, groups and leaders were represented from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Dominica, Barbados and Antigua — almost from all the territories and islands of our region.

The growing role of the working class in the national-liberation movement expresses the recent reinvigoration of anti-imperialism in the Caribbean. An examination of this tendency has many lessons for the communist movements in newly independent states as well as for the movements for national liberation.

The history of the communist movement in Jamaica shows that it had passed through several periods before a Marxist-Leninist party was formed. Each period had its own main task. Our experience of party formation, therefore, confirms Lenin's profound remark: 'It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of socialism or a Communist in general. You must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which you must grasp with all your might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link' (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 274). Party formation will suffer greatly if our forces are scattered. In that case right or 'left' deviations will easily prevail. The danger grows whenever the

fulfillment of specific tasks is either prematurely stopped or artificially extended.

Party formation in Jamaica has proceeded through four definite periods. In the first period (1970-1974) ideological study groups played the leading role. In the second period (1974-1976) propaganda, viz., explaining 'many ideas' to the working people from Marxist-Leninist positions, was the main form of our activity. In the third period (1976-1978) the communists completed preparations for the formation of the party, with mass agitation playing the central role. The fourth period opens in 1978 with the foundation of the party, and is continuing into the present. This is the period in which organizing among the working people necessarily comes to the fore as the main task.

This formation of Marxist-Leninist parties in countries like Jamaica, which are at a relatively low stage of development, requires that a number of features be considered. Some of these are: the relative weakness of the working class, its isolation from the world revolutionary process, and predominance of non-proletarian ideologies in the national-liberation movement.

The size of the Jamaican working class is smaller than that of the more developed countries of Latin America, constituting slightly less than one-half, and the industrial core, about one-fifth of the total employed labor force. This class, despite its relative size, was limited by objective factors. In the anti-colonial stage the national-liberation struggle was influenced by several factors: its recent formation and relative inexperience in class struggle; its low degree of concentration and technical level; its deep and many-sided ties with small land holding and petty commodity production.

British colonialism used the colonial state power ruthlessly to place every obstacle between the Jamaican national-liberation and working-class movements, on the one hand; and the working class in the advanced capitalist states, the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the socialist community, on the other. In the conditions when our proletariat was relatively weak and isolated and the middle strata were predominant in the leadership of the anti-colonial struggle, the Jamaican national-liberation movement fell under the ideological sway of a combination of British conservatism and racism, bourgeois liberalism, petty-bourgeois nationalism, Garveyism[1] and American cold war influences which fostered anti-communism among broad sections of the people.

This situation persisted up until the end of the 1950s. A notable change came in the next decade. The dismantling of the colonial system of imperialism in Jamaica in 1962 and, most of all, the change in the balance of strength in favor of socialism, the victory of the Cuban revolution, the growth of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems and the tendency toward détente — all this helped to break the isolation of the Jamaican national-liberation and working-class movements and awakened the working people to revolutionary anti-imperialist and communist ideologies.

A tiny handful of progressive university intellectuals formed the first ideological study circle in 1970. A concentrated study of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism was necessary to overcome theoretically petty-bourgeois nationalism which was predominant in the anti-imperialist movement in the 1960s and which revealed its limits in the defeat of the 1969 Black Power[2] movement. For the working class (whose interests at that time were expressed by progressive intellectuals) the task was now to clear the ground theoretically, uproot the weeds of alien ideology, and sow the seeds of the proletarian world view.

The ideological activity had to face a basic issue which confronts all communists in newly-independent states where no working-class party exists: namely, on what organizational basis does the proletariat fight for its political goals? Is it to struggle to transform the national-democratic party or struggle to establish its own party outside of but in alliance with that party? In many African states, for example, in Mozambique and Angola, and in some Caribbean countries, say, in Grenada, experience points toward the first course. In Jamaica a different situation took shape.

At the close of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, when it became necessary to organize the masses who had risen in the struggle against the colonial system of imperialism, two major parties were formed: the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and People's National Party (PNP).[3] By 1970, the former had been almost completely taken over by the Jamaican oligarchy and the pro-imperialist section of the national bourgeoisie. This force dominated over the right-wing petty bourgeoisie which, historically, played a leading role in the early life of the party. Revolutionary and proletarian social forces were removed very early from this party. It therefore offered no prospect for the proletariat to struggle for its transformation into a working-class party.

The People's National Party embodied within it the section of the national bourgeoisie which, while not breaking fully with imperialism, was, nevertheless, willing in its own self-interest to limit and weaken the imperialist stranglehold on the economy. It was joined by the sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle strata with an anti-imperialist orientation who led the struggle against colonialism and traditionally preserved leading positions in the party. The peasantry and the working class were also represented in the People's National Party, but in the post-1962 independence stage were under the sway of bourgeois and intermediate social strata.

Nevertheless, there existed an opportunity for working-class elements to struggle for the transformation of that party into a working-class party. Some of its members were close to the working class, sharing its ideology. Since the 1940s there existed a tradition of work by Marxists within the party. But the communists in the first study circles

judged, however, that such a course, while it would contribute positively to the national-liberation movement, offered less prospects for the working class than a line of development in which the working class would form its own party. Subsequent experience proved that assessment to be correct. In recent times the PNP drew closer to the masses, to the revolutionary democrats, but the groups adhering to the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the middle strata still retain important positions in the party and oppose any positive change.

Each new contingent of the communist movement will have to determine its line of development in accordance with national, local conditions. But the Jamaican experience confirms the possibility for the proletariat to 'start from scratch' in the struggle for its class organization.

The next period saw the formation of the Workers' Liberation League. The WLL was a pre-party proletarian political organization with the main objective of disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideas among the working people. Two of the main instruments in carrying through this work were the journal *Socialism!*, which was published monthly starting in June 1974, and the annual series of public lectures on scientific socialism. The journal examined current issues affecting the working people, explaining the connection between the ills of the Jamaican society, the system of imperialism and capitalism, and the ultimate necessity to eradicate these ills in a path of non-capitalist orientation leading to socialism; it attacked petty-bourgeois deviations disguised as Marxism-Leninism, and published documents of the international communist and working-class movement.[4] The series of lectures in 1974-1976 gave systematic knowledge to hundreds of workers.

This considerable activity could not have taken place, had not the main propagandists been prepared in due time. Equally, if the study circles had maintained the predominance of ideological work, it would not have been possible to sustain the broadening and deepening of the propaganda activity, and leftist currents dissatisfied with 'academic' study and wishing to jump ahead into 'practical work' would have gained strength.

As it was, leftist tendencies existed anyway, and sought to jump over this period to form a full-fledged communist party in circumstances where the conditions had not yet matured. The communists from the study circles which evolved into the Workers' Liberation League insisted that such an organization was what the situation required to move toward the formation of a Marxist-Leninist party. This di l not mean that agitation and organizing work did not proceed, nor that ideological activity was ended. The WLL activists continued their agitation primarily among the youth clubs and student associations with which they were in contact, and developed their organizing activity both within the major trade unions, and in the University and Allied Workers' Union (UAWU) which had been founded in 1971. These forms helped in the beginning to connect theory with the practical struggle of as yet small sections of the working people.

The period of the predominance of agitation was ushered in by the campaign for the 1976 general elections in which the Jamaica Labour Party in alliance with United States imperialism mounted a program of economic and political destabilization, and the People's National Party in alliance with the Workers' Liberation League developed a mass campaign on a broad anti-imperialist platform. The League launched agitation activity and became a significant force, particularly in drawing youth into active defense of the national-liberation movement against reaction.

This new emphasis was signalled by the publication for the first time of a tabloid fortnightly newspaper by the League at the beginning of the election campaign. This tabloid educated and roused working people against injustices in the factories, against impoverishment in the communities, against unnecessary compromises by the PNP leadership, and most of all, against the offensive of imperialism and reaction against the Jamaican people. The newspaper proved to be an effective instrument of agitation among the factory workers, the young unemployed, students and professionals. By 1978 its circulation grew to 5,000 copies.

In the election campaign, the League focussed on the single necessity of rousing the people against the reactionary leadership of the Jamaica Labour Party, and in favor of the anti-imperialist course of the People's National Party. The communists' pre-election address in a national radio broadcast evoked great interest among the population. It was heard by thousands of people. It broke the ice, so to speak, and aroused curiosity as well as some support for the position of the communists. The League distributed 50,000 copies of a booklet with the text of the broadcast address. At the local level, pamphlets on specific issues were published: on a strike in a given factory, a land struggle of the peasants, police brutality, price increases, etc. These pamphlets carried forward the growing contact of the communists with the people.

While organizing activity proceeded and developed between 1976 and 1978, it had to be subordinated to agitation, to gaining a generally favorable orientation toward creating the working-class vanguard. This agitation facilitated the development of the embryo of non-party organizations guided by the communists among workers, women, youth, students, teachers, journalists. Through them, the communists were proving in practice their devotion to the defense of the day-to-day interests of the working people and to winning broader support for their point of view.

In this situation, new questions appeared and had to be solved in the face of these fresh advances: How far in the democratic mass agitation to bring to the fore our communist views and our communist identity? Experience and ideological study assisted in avoiding the rightist response, namely, that we develop our democratic mass work and leave communist agitation 'for a later stage.' Equally, it helped

overcome the leftist tendency of a voluntarist imposition of communist views.

The main task was to defend the day-to-day interests of the people and through this demonstrate the oneness of our practical actions in defense of various groups of the working people and in defense of our ideals. This helped to disperse anti-communist prejudices even among the less advanced sections of the people.

In 1977 and 1978, the central focus of the Workers' Liberation League was mass agitation against the International Monetary Fund,[5] demonstrating by Jamaica's own experience and the examples of other countries the idea that dependence on the IMF meant suffering for the masses and subjugation of the country. As economic hardships intensified, the people's own experience bore out the predictions of the League, and even anti-communists had to admit it. As a result, new sections of working people were drawn toward the communists.

Organizing among the working people became the central task with the reorganization of the Workers' Liberation League into the Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPJ) in December 1978. The founding of the party was prepared by the objective course of developments which was proving the need for the proletariat to play a more independent role; it was also prepared by our entire consistent activity in the preceding period.

Because of this the founding congress could set the task of building the party among the working people as the central responsibility in the interest of strengthening the working class and the anti-imperialist alliance. In every area of our work the main effort had to be directed at organizing the party, strengthening its links with the masses, building non-party bodies guided by party members, multiplying the number of basic organisms, increasing the membership among the workers, and constantly raising the Leninist standards of party life. The party paper *Struggle* had to become not just a 'collective agitator' and 'collective educator,' but a 'collective organizer' as well. With this new orientation the party's membership and its following steadily expanded. This was registered in the growth in the circulation of *Struggle* by 100 per cent in one year only — from 6,000 to 12,000 copies between April 1979 and April 1980.

The success of agitation and propaganda, its subordination to organization-building faced the process of party formation with a problem that communists in all countries, especially in countries like Jamaica, have to face sooner or later: either to keep the standards high, with the likely consequence that the party remains small, or to lower the standards, with the hope that this will allow the party to grow more rapidly. The experience of the Jamaican communists points to the correctness of the first course, showing that new members should study systematically, pay their dues unerringly, engage in practical work among the masses, attend all committee meetings on time, be prepared to give their views fully and frankly on all questions, sell the party paper actively, fulfil central directives to the fullest — these are requirements which only the most advanced people are capable of fulfilling. There is no other way of building the party's links with the masses.

In the period when organizing becomes the main thing, the campaigns (to re-open closed-down factories, to find employment for young people, to bring piped water into a district, to set up a health clinic, to re-open a school, etc.) have to be linked directly to demonstrating the importance of the party and the necessity to expand its membership. Even to simply sell the paper, or only to win support for it, would help to build a party organization. For this purpose party members have to distribute the paper on a door-to-door, house-to-house basis in the communities of the working people.

In societies deeply penetrated by imperialism and subject to anti-communism, the workers must have permanent contacts with communists. Otherwise, the stereotype of the communist, carried with immensely greater force by reactionary propaganda precisely as the communist movement grows, as a person who is 'wicked and godless,' 'alien and joyless,' 'violent and subversive' takes root if it is not combated with the living reality of 'the communist next door' — a good citizen, a good neighbor with his likes and dislikes, the joys and frustrations of the ordinary working man or woman, but with this difference; he understands completely the basis of oppression and fights implacably against the system of exploitation.

At the stage of the party's organizational formation the Jamaican experience is that party comrades need to shed political timidity, to overcome exaggerated portrayals of anti-communism among the people in the bourgeois media and to discover for themselves that the working people are interested to know more about communist solutions to national problems.

With the new emphasis on organizing, old problems in the relationship with revolutionary democracy have to come to the fore. In the earlier periods when party-building was not the main task, competition with the revolutionary democrats in the People's National Party was confined to the ideological sphere and only very rarely predominated over cooperation. But when the proletariat seeks to build its independence organizationally, if it limits itself to what is acceptable to the petty bourgeoisie, it will not extend the possibilities to the fullest and will allow right-opportunist deviations. Thus, both propaganda and practical criticisms are called for when the bourgeoisie makes concessions to imperialism. We must defend our right to build the party and strengthen its positions even when it incurs the displeasure of our main allies in the national-liberation movement.

The founding and building of the proletarian party in all countries is a historical necessity of the present stage of mankind's development. The existence of a strong party of the working class objectively strengthens the national-liberation movement, and it should be demonstrated at all times to the petty bourgeoisie. The Jamaican communists

have proved that the founding of the Workers' Party of Jamaica, the growth and expansion of its membership and mass bodies enable the PNP to act with greater resolve at critical periods of the struggle against reaction. Of course, we must take into account the fears which the petty bourgeoisie harbor for the proletariat, especially the view that the working-class party is waiting for the moment when it can push aside the national democratic party. Dispelling such suspicions, communists show that the relationship with revolutionary democracy is principled and that it develops in a mutually beneficial fashion.

An objective national survey done in March 1980 puts the following of the Workers' Party of Jamaica at over 80,000, or about 8 per cent of the national electorate. This is a relatively small figure and, with actual voter support at 2.3 per cent, it appears insignificant, compared to the Jamaica Labour Party and to the People's National Party. Considering, however, that this following has developed in the short space of less than 10 years of the revival of communist activity, less than six years of public work, and a little over one year since the foundation of the party, the achievement must be looked upon as a certain success. This is seen more clearly when one considers the decisive role played by the party in the struggle to turn the country away from the International Monetary Fund and from dependence on imperialism, onto a path of independent development. And if further confirmation of the party's role were needed, the ferocity and extremity of the attacks by imperialism and by the oligarchy on the WPJ would certainly provide it.

We understand that providing the working class with its own vanguard and strengthening the national-liberation movement in the country could not have been possible without the overall advance of the world revolutionary process, in particular, without the strengthening of the world socialist system and the restrictions which this imposes on the ability of imperialism to crush national-liberation movements and the working class in newly-independent states.

1. Marcus Moziah Garvey (1887-1940), Jamaican politician and publicist, campaigned against the oppression of Black people, for restoration of their dignity. His concept was that racial unity must be achieved with no regard for class affiliation. His ideas were spread in the Black movement in other Caribbean states and the USA. — *Ed.*

2. The Black Power movement expressed the protest of Black people against discrimination and hard living conditions. The eclectic ideology of this movement was based on principles of racial solidarity. In the 1960s, it had a considerable influence on the political life of the USA and many English-speaking Caribbean countries, Jamaica in particular, where African descendants constitute a majority of the population — *Ed.*

3. The PNP has been the ruling party since 1972. Its leader, Michael Manley, is Prime Minister. The PNP government has carried out several progressive measures aimed at limiting the activity of foreign capital and overcoming economic backwardness. Its other aim is to pursue an independent foreign policy. In the recent period the Manley government has been subjected to increasing pressure by reaction and imperialism. — *Ed.*

4. The journal published the Declaration of the 1975 Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean. The study of it played an important role in overcoming leftist conceptions concerning the role of the national bourgeoisie in the national-liberation movement.

5. Immediately following the December 1976 national elections in which the People's National Party emerged victorious, a sharp struggle ensued within the movement around whether to strike out on an independent path against imperialism and toward socialist orientation or to enter into an agreement with the IMF which, in return for balance of payments support, would restrict the independent economic development of the country and inflict onerous burdens on the working people. By April 1977, the PNP leadership veered to the right and concluded the first of the two agreements with the IMF (the second one was concluded in May 1978) which remained in force until the break with the IMF in March 1980.

AGAINST THE STRATEGY OF THE MONOPOLIES

Armand Nicolas
General Secretary,
Martinique Communist Party

Martinique* is going through hard times. Colonial domination is being intensified with all the ensuing disastrous consequences for the working population. The situation is aggravated by the French government's new strategy in relation to its overseas departments in the Caribbean (Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guiana). This strategy is intended to achieve two main aims: first, to use our countries as aircraft carriers for the French monopolies to operate in the islands of the Caribbean and in Latin America, providing new markets and new sources of profit for them; and second, to exploit the wealth of the sea within a radius of 200 miles. Hence, the invigoration of French diplomacy in the Caribbean, and the numerous visits of high-ranking officials inviting the countries of the Greater and Lesser Antilles to 'cooperate with France.' It is by no means accidental that Martinique and Guadeloupe were the meeting place of the heads of leading capitalist powers. Hence the intensified naval presence of France, which has reinforced the Fort-de-France naval base and installed a trans-shipment port there, capable of receiving container-carriers.

This strategy (which the government calls economic departmentalization') signifies a step-up in the policy of integration not only with France but also with the European Economic Community and tends to make it a collective possession of the European Nine.

*Area 1,100 sq. km., population 310,000, mainly mulattos and Blacks. In 1674 Martinique was declared the property of France. In 1870 the population received suffrage and representation in the French parliament. In 1946, the struggle of the people for the abolition of the colonial regime won for Martinique the status of an 'overseas department.' It is governed by a prefect, appointed by the government, and an elected General Council with limited rights. — *Ed.*

The consequences of this new strategy are calamitous for Martinique. The economy has fallen into decline. The production apparatus is being dismantled (the production sector accounts for only 22 per cent of the gross domestic product) with a view to increasing the import of European goods, and our backwardness and our dependence on foreign countries are growing worse (our exports are a mere 21 per cent of our imports). Our country has all the classical hallmarks of a colony: there is a predominance of agriculture, which supplies a small number of export crops — bananas, sugar-cane and pineapples; industry is in an embryonic state, is mainly engaged in processing agricultural raw materials and accounts for only 6 per cent of the gross domestic product; 70 per cent of the imports and practically all the exports are monopolized by France.

The sugar industry is folding up: of the 13 factories which in 1962 put out 92,000 tons of sugar, only 2 are operating now with an output of a mere 6,500 tons. For the first time in its history Martinique is unable to meet its own requirements and is compelled to import sugar from France. The import of goods from the European Common Market countries has caused the ruin and closure of local enterprises. A number of industrial projects were cancelled in the interest of the monopolies.

The crisis has also affected agriculture. It has become extremely difficult to market bananas (which account for half the value of our exports) since the Common Market countries, with the exception of France, buy them elsewhere. In 1979, more than 50,000 tons of bananas remained unsold. As a result of this so-called crisis of overproduction, banana plantations on an area of 2,500 hectares (of the total area of 10,000 hectares) were liquidated by the government. The export of fresh pineapples has stopped altogether. And tourism, another important source of income, is slack.

Thus, Martinique is turning into a consumer market for goods made in France and the EEC countries. Our economy continues 'to keep its head above water' only because the central government allocates more than 1.5 billion francs a year to keep it functioning. Still, Martinique is not really 'kept' by France because the credits it receives go back to France in full in the form of payment for imported goods, and that, in the opinion of the Martinique Communist Party, is one of the most important features of French neo-colonialism.

Wages are steadily going downhill (the minimum wage is 22 per cent lower than it is in France). Unemployment is growing, and already numbers close to 60,000 people, or 40 per cent of the able-bodied population. And this in a country where the active population decreased from 91,330 in 1961 to less than 80,000 today.

One may speak of the French government's deliberate attempts to eliminate the Martinican proletariat and thus weaken the revolutionary movement. In 1945 we had 40,000 agricultural workers, and only about 10,000 today. There are whole regions where no agricultural workers remain at all.

Industrialization and accelerated economic development could help to solve the problem of unemployment, but the government is opposed to this, and wants to limit the birth rate and mass emigration. Every year, 6,000 young people emigrate to France, where at present there are more than 150,000 Martinicans. The vital forces are abandoning their country, and beginning from 1974 the population has been steadily diminishing.

At the same time the influx of Frenchmen and people from the countries of the European Nine is increasing. About 20,000 Frenchmen hold practically all the leading posts in the state apparatus and the private sector. They behave with the arrogance of conquerors and despise the local population. The party accuses the government of a deliberate 'demographic destabilization' which threatens the very existence of our nation.

The condition of the masses is also aggravated by the constant rise in the cost of living and the unbridled inflation (on the average its rate is 15 per cent a year, which is higher than in France).

The government policy hits not only at the working class, but at the middle strata as well. The owners of small sugar-cane and banana plantations sink deeper and deeper into debt and, in despair, abandon their plots. The artisans and traders are actually unable to avail themselves of the system of social security, they are exhausted by the heavy taxes, and their very existence is threatened by the supermarkets which are being set up by the local big bourgeoisie and the French monopolies. The Martinican doctors (350 in all) have to compete with specialists arriving from France and the countries of the European Nine, and also to suffer the consequences of the austerity practised in the health services.

The government has launched its offensive against the civil servants as well, and intends to abolish their high cost of living allowance, which it had taken them years of struggle to secure.

There is no respect for trade union and civil rights, nor for individual freedoms. The state-owned radio and television spread the wildest anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

School education, which developed well thanks to the insistence of the democratic forces, today serves the colonial authorities as a means of cultivating indifference and alienation in the pupils. Everything is done to deprive the national values of their identity, to obstruct the Martinicans' self-expression, and to assimilate them.

The working masses put up resolute opposition to colonial domination, to capitalist exploitation and the predatory policy of the French monopolies. The population to a man takes part in the strike movement. Demonstrations of protest which often end in clashes with the police are staged everywhere, roadblocks are erected and a general strike, known as 'dead town' days, took place in Lamentin.

What are the characteristic aspects of the struggle at the present stage?

First, the participation in it of social strata which once preferred a wait-and-see policy. Artisans,

small traders, and people engaged in the medical field now join ranks with the workers. Civil servants, including school teachers (there are more than 15,000 of them, or 20 per cent of the active population) have taken up the struggle again. Second, the mass participation of women and young people. Third, the workers' unity of action. A joint platform of demands has been worked out, and a coordinating committee set up uniting the most representative trade union organizations. Associations of artisans and small traders, as well as the trade unions of medical workers give every support to the efforts of the coordinating committee. Lastly, the working people now have a clearer understanding of the defects of the departmental, but in actual fact the colonial, status of Martinique.

The struggle for the immediate demands is merging with the struggle for national dignity. Thus, on May 22 the coordinating committee called for a general strike, demanding that, to mark the anniversary of the victorious uprising of Martinican slaves in 1848, this day should be proclaimed a holiday. The colonial authorities, alarmed by the upsurge of the people's forces and the growth of national consciousness in the Martinicans, resorted to brutal repressions. Armored vehicles and toxic gases were brought into play to disperse the demonstrations, and harsh sentences were meted out by the tribunals to the strikers. Paul Dijoud, Secretary of State for Overseas Departments, promised to give the peoples of these overseas departments a 'good kick on their behind,' and declared that they would remain French 'whether they liked it or not.'

Insulting statements such as these and the repressive measures used arouse the indignation of everyone in Martinique. Indignation also ran high when the authorities, in order to justify their actions and divert attention from them, raised a hullabaloo over what they called the subversive activity of Cuba in the Caribbean.

On the initiative of the Martinique Communist Party a front of struggle against the repressions has been formed, uniting the forces which are opposed to the colonial status of our country. This front has been joined by the Martinique Progressive Party, the Socialist Party, the groups championing independence, the biggest trade union associations, the democratic organizations of small traders, youth organizations, parents' committees, and others.

The struggle of the masses has won some major victories: one of the two sugar factories which had been threatened with closure continues to operate, the construction of supermarkets has been frozen, the law on unemployment benefits has been enforced, dismissals have been forbidden, and wages raised.

The Martinicans see more and more clearly that there can be no economic development, no flourishing of their national culture, and no social progress unless they free themselves from colonial fetters. Our people ardently want to preserve their cultural identity and to develop their national literature and the arts. They want to be free, to work and to manage their own country. Their slogan is — Martinique for the Martinicans, friendship and cooperation with all the peoples of the world, including the French, of course, and brotherhood with the peoples of the Caribbean countries.

All this greatly worries the imperialists, already frightened by the swelling revolutionary and democratic movement in the region. The Caribbean for them is a vitally important zone and they do everything in their power to keep the islands in their orbit.

The leading role in our people's struggle for national and social liberation is played by the Martinique Communist Party.* It has always given priority to the need of organizing the proletariat (in particular, agricultural workers). The communists helped to establish the main trade unions and the first national trade union association, the Martinique General Confederation of Labor. We also carry out active work in the mass organizations — parents' committees, women's associations, etc.

The MCP is the only political party functioning on the territory of the whole country. Striving for unity of the democratic forces and the working masses, the party actively participates in the work of various committees set up for particular cases (such as trials, closure of enterprises, etc.). Through the weekly *Justice* (in circulation, it is the second largest newspaper in the country), the theoretical journal *Action*, section and branch newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, and the appeals of communist deputies, the MCP accomplishes its extensive program of agitation and ideological work. The MCP also organizes local meetings of working people and mass demonstrations.

The prestige and the influence of the party have grown considerably as a result, and more people are joining its ranks. New party branches have been founded in the workers' midst, agricultural workers too, and, what is most important, in circles where our positions were weak — for instance, among the artisans and small traders, whose demands had for a long time been neglected. This mistake of ours has been corrected, and now these circles elect communists, seeing them as dedicated fighters, to represent them at talks with the government. Public opinion is far from indifferent to the opinion of our party on the situation in the country or its policy, and the official mass media cannot always pass it over in silence.

One of the main tasks of the communists is to combine the struggle for the immediate demands of the working people (higher pay, more jobs, etc.) with national demands. The MCP has circulated thousands of copies of its Survival Plan, which proposes partial solutions to the problems, but at the same time stresses the need to end the colonial status of department and achieve autonomy, with France handling only the defense, the foreign affairs and the finances.

*From 1921 it was a federation of the French Communist Party, and then in 1957 it became an independent party. — *Ed.*

The MCP was the first political force to reject Martinique's status of an 'overseas department' — a camouflaged form of colonialism — and, as long ago as the close of the 1950s, to propose the slogan of autonomy. This proposal was supported by the masses and was taken up by a number of other political parties and democratic organizations. Here is a fact that speaks for itself — the parties fighting for autonomy receive more than 35 per cent of the votes at elections.

The communists call upon the Martinicans to compel France to recognize the democratic and people's autonomy, in other words, an autonomous power which, supported by the working people and the anti-colonial forces, would pursue a policy of economic development and social progress (agrarian reform, industrialization, the creation of a state sector, diversification of foreign trade, etc.).

But why autonomy and not complete secession from France? The specific conditions of Martinique's historical development have to be taken into account when answering this question. The birth of Martinique's national self-awareness is a new phenomenon, dating back to the 1960s. Before that the democratic forces demanded 'equality with the French.' For a long time the policy of assimilation impeded the awakening of national feeling. The Martinicans considered themselves French, and the communists could not ignore this fact. Today, too, the bulk of the population is against seceding from France. Many fear that secession would have a ruinous effect on their socio-economic condition. The government capitalizes on these fears and resorts to outright blackmail, asserting that whereas Martinique has the highest living standard among the Caribbean countries now, it would become destitute if it seceded.

In spite of the busy official propaganda, the national self-awareness of the Martinicans has grown considerably of late. Taking this into account, the MCP adopted a new political line at its Seventh Congress (April 1980). While continuing to demand autonomy, the congress arrived at the conclusion that our party must be alerted to possible changes in our country and our region which might allow the Martinican people to achieve complete sovereignty.

The demand for autonomy is only a stage in the national-liberation struggle. The people themselves, confident that the day of Martinique's complete independence will come, will determine how long this stage is to last.

The liberation process on the islands of the Caribbean is developing at a fast rate. The influence of the progressive forces is growing in St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica. The people's revolution in Grenada is oriented on socialism. The solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces in the Caribbean is a tremendous force. The positive changes in our zone and the prestige of socialist Cuba are helping to further develop the national self-awareness of the Martinicans. The victories won by African peoples — in Angola, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and elsewhere — are also a great encouragement. We have the support of world public opinion and of the non-aligned movement. After all, the government of France cannot go on indefinitely resisting the double pressure: from our people and from world opinion. What the MCP is striving for is that French imperialism should not be in a position to force upon Martinique a neo-colonialist solution to the problems confronting us. To avert this, the working class must play the leading role at all the stages of the national-liberation struggle. That is why reinforcing the party — the vanguard of the working people — is becoming our main concern, and we are trying to intensify our educational work at the enterprises and in the villages, to raise the ideological level of the communists, to train cadres and bring new strength into our party ranks. To strengthen our ties with the masses, we must consider the interests of all the working strata, and strive for unity of the popular, anti-imperialist forces.

While availing itself of the support of the international communist movement, the MCP, for its part, helps to strengthen its unity, and cooperates with the French Communist Party, with the fraternal parties of other overseas departments, and the anti-imperialist forces in the Caribbean countries. Being an internationalist party, it has always shown solidarity with people struggling against capitalism, against colonial and neo-colonial oppression, and for independence, peace and socialism.

The communists of our country, true to the working class of Martinique, to their people, and to the cause of socialism, are bending all their efforts to accomplish their revolutionary tasks.

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OUR INTERVIEWS

FOR INFLUENCE IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

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Q. We are aware that students are among the most radical groups in society in Sri Lanka. Could you tell us how the communists work among them, and what are their positions and role in the student movement?

A. A short retrospect will help to gain a better understanding of the present situation. In the 1960s and 1970s, the social make-up of the student body in Sri Lanka underwent considerable changes. The country's growing requirements for skilled specialists in various fields induced the ruling circles to extend access to higher education even for those who did not belong to the propertied élite. As a result, the student movement became more receptive to revolutionary ideas, its politicization was intensified, and the basis was broadened for strengthening the communists' positions among the students. In the early 1970s, these positions were perhaps strongest.

But then the situation began to change. At that time, a United Front government was in power, and it included, alongside the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the party of the national bourgeoisie, also the communists and the socialists. In 1971, making use of the armed action by extremists within the People's Liberation Front, the right-wing leaders of the SLFP started a campaign of slander against the left-wing forces, carried out reprisals against the student movement, claiming that it was involved in the reckless act (at one time, our party supported this assertion, but subsequently reappraised its erroneous stand). The repression culminated in the fusillade of a student demonstration by the police in late 1976, and this was one of the reasons which induced the Communist Party to refuse to take part in the government in February 1977.

Because of the mistakes made in the period of its alliance with the SLFP, our party lost much of its own political face in the eyes of the masses of people and the democratic students. It shared the responsibility for many of the unpopular steps taken by the right-wing leaders of the coalition. The communists did not always succeed in mobilizing the student movement in support of the progressive proposals made within the framework of the United Front government. One could say that the students regarded them as persons in power (incidentally, at that time a communist was Deputy Minister of Education), persons on whom demands had to be made, and not persons who stood up for these demands. As a result, the Communist Party's influence in the student movement markedly declined.

Following the serious defeat of the left-wing forces in the 1977 election, the government was formed by the extreme right-wing pro-imperialist United National Party. While agreeing to some concessions and generously seasoning them with social demagogy, it actually continued the policy of clamping down on the student movement for democratic changes in education. However, the emphasis now was on the more extensive use of administrative instruments instead of legislative measures.

Here are a few examples to explain what I mean. The authorities are now trying to regulate the social make-up of the students in such a way as to limit the influx of students from the working strata, so hampering the spread of revolutionary ideas among the students. But this is being done in an indirect way, notably through the provision of material security for the students. We have no scholarships in the generally accepted sense of the word. A student may obtain a bank loan which he will have to pay off when he graduates. The amounts of the loans are such that in most cases (concretely this depends on each university, and the country has five of these together with two schools with the status of university colleges) they barely help to meet the cost of board and lodging, and frequently even fall short of this. So, by putting a ceiling on loans — and the students want larger loans — the authorities erect a barrier to the enrolment of young people from the less well-off strata.

The same purposes are served by the establishment of élitist universities. According to the system operating in Sri Lanka, school leavers do not enrol at some specific higher school, but have to take a general entrance examination. Those who pass it, are assigned to the schools by the University Grants Committee (which, as its name implies, should be dealing with purely financial matters, but actually deals with all matters relating to higher education, so invalidating the decrees on the extension of the rights and powers of the universities). This allocation makes it possible to select the acceptable students. The Peradeniya University, where I teach, is also becoming increasingly élitist. One of the reasons is, apparently, that it is relatively far away from the major industrial centers, where the class struggle is most intense and acute.

Constantly trying to intimidate the students in-

volved in the democratic and revolutionary movement, the authorities seek to push them onto the road of opportunism, and they succeed to some extent. A part of the students, fearful of repression and of the prospects of remaining jobless after graduation, tend to abandon active struggle. After all, everyone has seen communist students expelled on ridiculous pretexts, despite the fact that neither membership in a legal party nor adoption of this or that doctrine can provide any formal cause for victimization.

Nevertheless, very few students support the present ruling party. In the student movement there is a steady polarization of forces, with the left wing undoubtedly gaining the upper hand. But the trouble is, however, that it is divided. There is almost a score of left-wing organizations and groups in Sri Lanka's higher schools. United, the left would undoubtedly become the dominant force, but for the time being it is not easy to rouse them to joint action. The right-wingers are, quite naturally, quick to capitalize on this situation. The leftist groupings, although their influence has been markedly declining, have a fatal and downright provocative role to play.

Having self-critically analyzed and overcome the mistakes made in the period of the United Front, the Communist Party has definitely strengthened its positions in the student movement over the past two or three years. Following the line for a maximum development of the mass struggle, as mapped out by the 10th and 11th congresses of the CP Sri Lanka, the communists have invigorated their work among the students. Party organizations, which include teachers and students alike, are now operating in all the higher schools. Some of the students are members of sections of the Young Communist League. Together with the communists, they work actively in the National Students' Union, the broadest organization directing action on the scale of the whole country. The Joint Inter-University Students Representative Committee, which is not recognized by the authorities, is also a national coordinating center of the student movement.

Our party members take part in student debates, spreading the views and assessments of the CP Sri Lanka, organize rallies and demonstrations, discussions of problems of educational policy and the condition of the students. The communists resolutely support the basic demand of the student movement: democratization of education. This means student representation in all the governing bodies of the universities on the level of the Senate, the departments and sections, a greater say in deciding matters relating to the content of curricula, the need to bring higher education closer to the country's actual requirements, and the elimination of any discrimination and repressive practices. A CC Political Report on the domestic situation, presented for consideration to the 11th Congress of the CP Sri Lanka in March 1980, said that the communists' task is to stand up for the students' rights and to oppose any attempts by the authorities to restrict the young people's access to higher education.

By supporting the students' democratic demands, purposefully working in their midst, developing their revolutionary activity and exposing the government's social demagogy, the communists are engaged in a struggle for the hearts and minds of the young generation.

DOCUMENTS

DENMARK

Campaign for peace, détente and disarmament

The CP Denmark has called on the working people of the country to join actively in the campaign for peace, détente and disarmament started on the initiative of the communists. Within the framework of this campaign, demonstrations and rallies on the most important issues of peace and security, and the socialist countries' peace initiatives are to be held in many towns across the country. There is to be a collection of signatures for an appeal to the Danish Parliament urging it to take steps aimed to halt the arms race.

The purpose of the campaign, the communists emphasize, is to involve broad strata of the public in the struggle for strengthening peace, and to expose the dangerous plans of NATO and other forces of militarism. The communists believe that Denmark's withdrawal from NATO and its pursuit of a policy of peace would help to ease international tension and further strengthen détente.

FRG

Support foreign workers' rights

The Presidium of the Board of the German CP has issued a statement 'In Defense of the Rights of Foreign Workers in the FRG.'

The struggle to preserve and extend democratic rights, freedoms and social gains, the document says, is indivisible for the whole working class of the Federal Republic, which also includes the foreign workers and members of their families. Let everyone realize that as our foreign class brothers are deprived of their civil rights in our country, the rights of the whole working class will also be curtailed, and its ability to fight will also be weakened. Conversely, the better the condition of our foreign colleagues, as a result of solidarity and joint action, the more successfully their rights are defended and extended, the more favorable will be the conditions for the struggle to strengthen and extend the social rights and democratic freedoms of the whole working class, and the greater its fighting capability.

The Presidium of the Board of the German CP calls on all the workers, employees and officials at the enterprises and in management to support the demands in defense of the foreign workers' rights.

These demands, which the document sets forth in detail, envisage, in particular, the extension of the right to elect and be elected in municipal elections to those who work in the Federal Republic for

five or more years; the extension to foreign workers of social services; the right of free speech, assembly and association; and also the right to take part in the activity of trade unions and political organizations for the unity of the working class of the FRG; the need to guarantee access for the children of foreign workers to public education, occupational training for foreign young people, and their right to work.

The struggle to realize these demands, the document stresses, requires solidarity and joint action.

GUYANA

Criticism and self-criticism

The Executive Committee of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana has worked out a paper on 'Criticism and Self-Criticism.' Emphasizing this very essential principle governing the activities of the party of the working class, the Executive Committee says that criticism and self-criticism only become useful when made with good intentions in a constructive manner. To help in the most correct and consistent application of this principle in each party organization and by each member of the PPP, the paper explains the relevant propositions on the basis of practical experience.

It says, in particular, that criticism should be fair and impartial and no one should be spared from criticism because of personal friendship or high position in the party; criticism should not be one-sided: all the good work done by a comrade should not be forgotten because of a single fault, and consideration should be taken of the difficulties under which a task was carried out, the personal limitations of the member and the efforts made by the comrade; criticism should not be made in a highly aggressive manner and every person who is criticized should be afforded an opportunity to give a clear, truthful explanation of his actions, etc. As for self-criticism, the paper says, that is possible only if the proper atmosphere is created by the general membership as well as the leadership of the groups.

Criticism and self-criticism are instruments for improving party work, the paper says. Their effective application helps not only to pinpoint shortcomings and their causes, but also to make timely corrections and to avoid mistakes.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESS

NEPSZABADSAG

How the law is fulfilled

The central organ of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party reports that the Committee of People's Control of the Hungarian People's Republic, which examines complaints and proposals from the working people, has carried out studies in pursuance of a law adopted three years ago 'On the Examination of Complaints and Statements of Social Interest.' In an article on the results of the study, the paper notes the importance of this matter.

In the recent period, Hungarian citizens give a more critical assessment of the work of enterprises and cooperatives, and the activity of leaders. The working people do not ignore abuses, the superficial approach or lawlessness, and deal with matters relating to industry, agriculture, trade and also with the activity of the councils and other organs which are financed from the budget. Special attention is given to statements about acts which are incompatible with the principles of socialist economic activity, and the behavior of individual citizens (above all those in leading posts) which runs counter to socialist public opinion. A frequent topic in such statements relates to breaches of the interests of the population, like shortcomings in supply and everyday services, the paper says.

Now and again whole work collectives at enterprises and cooperatives write about acts which damage the interests not only of the given enterprise or cooperative but of the national economy as a whole. The studies showed that in response to such statements and complaints, which are of social interest, the necessary decisions and the relevant measures to correct the mistakes were taken in most cases.

In the course of the studies, the paper says, it was established that the leaders of local state organs, enterprises and cooperatives know the law adopted three years ago but frequently take the old approach to statements which are of social interest, an approach which has developed in practice, and not in scrupulous accordance with the legal rules.

The law draws special attention to the need to protect those who file complaints and make proposals. Such protection is now and again resorted to. There has not been a single case in which a complainant has not been assured of legal defense wherever this was required, the paper emphasizes. These studies help more fully to realize the political, social and legal interests of citizens.

O MILITANTE

The party's social make-up

The monthly *O Militante*, theoretical organ of the Portuguese CP, has published data on the social make-up of the party.

On June 5 of this year, the CP had 187,018 members, which means that one in 37 inhabitants in the country over the age of 18 years is a communist. Percentagewise, 45.1 per cent of all party members are industrial workers, 12.7 per cent agricultural workers, 19.2 per cent employees, 5.1 per cent intellectuals, 1.8 per cent small and middle landholders, and 16 per cent other strata of the population.

There is a clear tendency toward a rejuvenation of the party: from January 1 to June 5 of this year, 17,600 men and women joined the party, and of them nearly 49 per cent were under the age of 30 years.

NEW AGE

The Kerala experiment

The Left Democratic Front government in Kerala, the state in south India, which includes the rep-

resentatives of the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) succeeded in putting an end to the speculation by traders and even in lowering the prices of the prime necessities by 15 per cent. With the ceaseless growth of prices in India, the central organ of the CPI says, the Kerala government's initiatives are of tremendous importance for the whole country.

What is this 'Kerala experiment?'

The state authorities had the foresight to lay in sizable stocks of commodities in everyday demand — grain, vegetables, sugar, rice and vegetable oil — and these were sold to the population during the Onam holiday at lower state prices through a network of 'fair price' mobile shops. These measures helped to avert the inevitable price rise during the holiday season: in the past, the foodstuffs on the shelves of government shops were quickly sold out, and private traders used this to hike prices and so increase the cost of living in the state.

The central authorities have taken an interest in the 'Kerala experiment,' and the view is taken that Kerala's experience needs to be used in other states as well in order to improve the existing system of the government allocation of everyday commodities. On Kerala's example, the local authorities must always maintain control over the supply of the prime necessities to the population in the lower income brackets.

Kerala is sometimes known in India as a 'communist state,' because the communists have traditionally enjoyed a predominant influence among its almost 25-million population. Kerala has the highest percentage of literacy as compared with other Indian states: nearly 70 per cent, as compared with 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It has the most consistent agrarian reform. Its Legislative Assembly has passed a law on pensions for agricultural workers. Under a special program, unemployment benefits are paid to 200,000 persons.

The Kerala social distribution corporation, which is now run by the government, has 12,000 'fair price' shops which provide a steady supply of goods in broad demand to the population of the state. In popularizing the experience of the Left Democratic Front government in Kerala, *New Age* says that to meet the vital needs of broad strata of India's population it is necessary to expand the system of social distribution alongside the strengthening of the state sector in production. This meets the vital interests of a majority of the country's population, the paper emphasizes.

BEHIND THE FACTS

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

A national symposium on environmental protection was sponsored by the Communist Party of Austria in Vienna. It was attended by scientists, engineers, members of the production councils of enterprises in the country, and also representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the German Communist Party (press report).

This is the first time our party has arranged a symposium on this problem. Its importance is increasingly obvious everywhere, including Austria, where there are growing symptoms of an environmental crisis produced by capitalist development. In Austria the balance of the environmental policy is at least as negative as it is in other comparable capitalist countries. In some important spheres, legislation in the first place, the state of affairs in our country is especially alarming. This negative trend has continued, despite the fact that the socialists have been in power for a decade. More and more people are confronted with the problem of preserving and improving the environment, and there is already a movement in its defense involving various strata of the Austrian population. Communists who are members of enterprise councils and those working in the communities have been dealing with the environmental problem for some time now: for several years they have actively voiced the interests of the working people in town and country in this matter.

In putting forward this subject for discussion at the symposium, the party was guided by the following theses:

— the causes of the dangerous worsening of the environment do not lie in scientific and technological progress or in man's use of natural resources, but in the abuse of the new technology by the big capitalist concerns because of their thirst for profits;

— the worsening and disruption of the environmental balance is an all-European and global danger; it is being seriously intensified by the arms race and by NATO's build-up of armaments in Europe;

— action for environmental protection and the solution of the relevant problems should be regarded as an important line of the struggle against domination by monopoly capital, and for a democratic way out of the protracted crisis of capitalism;

— it is important to tie in this action with the policy being conducted at the enterprises and in the communities, with the policy in the sphere of the economy, social life, public health and science, and with measures ensuring safety and democratic control on the part of the working people;

— there is a potential for financing a truly anti-monopoly policy in environmental protection: on the national scale, through a budget that would meet social requirements to a greater extent; on a world scale, by switching at least a part of the vast military outlays to meet the needs of environmental protection;

— compared with other capitalist countries, Austria has relatively favorable prerequisites for conducting a democratic policy on environmental protection; there are extensive possibilities for concluding alliances with all the forces which want to pursue such a policy.

In organizing the symposium, we set ourselves the goal of giving this important problem the only correct — anti-monopoly — orientation and of formulating the communists' demands in this matter,

having analyzed the practical experience of specialists and party activists, and trade union leaders.

The tasks set before the symposium were successfully fulfilled. It was marked by the active work of all its participants and a meaningful discussion. A paper presented by Engineer Franz Hager, a member of the CC Political Bureau and head of the CC Economic Department, considered a broad spectrum of questions, including those relating to the working people's living conditions, work and leisure. He analyzed the interconnection between the economic, industrial, energy and agrarian policy of the state-monopoly system, and the environmental policy of the concerns and government agencies. He showed that the urge to extract profit is the crucial barrier which blocks any social measures in the interests of society.

It was emphasized at the symposium that the Austrian communists want scrupulous observance of the principle of responsibility: it is big capital that has to finance the necessary measures because it makes fortunes on the damage done to the environment. The communists seek constructive cooperation and a discussion with various 'ecological movements' and support groups of civic initiatives when these reflect social interests and requirements. Marxists quite naturally oppose any ecological illusions and the separation of ecology from economics. But, it was said at the symposium, this should not result in self-isolation from such trends which take a critical attitude to capitalism.

The invitation to the fraternal parties of the FRG and the GDR to attend this symposium made it possible to compare experience and exchange views on environmental policy under capitalism and socialism.

The Austrian participants in the symposium were especially interested in the experience of the German Communist Party in its relations with the 'green' movement, described by Thomas Neumann, a researcher of the GCP Board, and also in the formulation and implementation of the principles of environmental protection in a socialist society. This matter was considered in a paper by Dr. Martin Helmbold of the Institute of International Politics and Economics of the GDR.

The results of the symposium are reflected in many aspects of our party activity. The new program of the CP Austria will contain new data and demands on this problem. The party is working out its approach to environmental issues and is also preparing a popular pamphlet on this subject. Finally, the discussion will provide a long-term impetus for the communists' work in the communities and in industry, and for cooperation with scientists, engineers and technicians.

Michael Graber

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viewpoints

Cyprus and the EEC: bitter lessons of association

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The changed balance of strength on the international scene in combination with an unprecedented acceleration of scientific and technological progress is increasingly internationalizing diverse spheres of life. The most striking manifestation of this process in material production is economic integration. In the socialist and the capitalist worlds it acquires basically different and diametrically opposite forms as to class content, aims and aspirations.

Socialist integration unites fraternal and equal nations to secure a further growth of production by using the latest achievements of science and technology. Fostering society's progress, it helps to erase distinctions between countries, and economic backwardness, and ensure a continuous rise in the people's living and cultural standards. This is attested by the multifaceted cooperation among countries within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.[1]

In capitalist society, economic integration follows a totally different line. Although the birth of the EEC[2] was objectively an indication of the selfsame tendency toward the internationalization of economic life, the class form and nature of this organization predetermined an entirely different orientation for it. With capitalism's general crisis deepening, the EEC is no more than another attempt to save the foundations of the old world, to counter the growing influence of socialism, and preserve — in a modified shape — the system of oppression and exploitation. We Cypriots have seen for ourselves what EEC policy means for a small nation that won independence not very long ago.

Ten years have passed since the Cypriot government decided on association with the EEC. Talks began in March 1971, and almost two years later, in December 1972, an agreement on Cyprus' permanent association with the EEC was signed under Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome. The agreement

came into force on June 1, 1973. It provided for the conclusion of a customs union in the long term (on the expiry of the first decade of association). Much ground has thus been covered, and so we can take a sober look at the actual results of Cyprus' association with the Common Market. But first let us briefly trace the history of the question.

At the initial stage, when plans for cooperation with the EEC were discussed in our country, three variants of the character and forms of these future relations crystallized: full membership, association, or the conclusion of a trade agreement. The government favored association with the prospect of a customs union and gave a number of arguments in support. First, the benefits that it believed could come with the creation and reinforcement of a stable foundation for Cyprus' relations as a European state with Western Europe. Second, the desire to offset the adverse effects that the loss of British preferential customs tariffs — as a result of Britain's impending membership in the Common Market — would have on the island's economy and export trade. Third, the threat of competition from other Mediterranean nations that had already secured preferential treatment for their exports to EEC countries. Fourth, the need for measures to sustain and increase Cyprus' export of farm produce and manufactured goods.

From the outset AKEL was opposed not only to Cyprus' membership in the EEC but also to association with it. Our analysis of the capitalist integration under way in Western Europe showed that it was underpinning monopoly rule, now on a transnational scale, and giving strong nations supremacy over weak ones. Also, capitalist integration has a distinct political content: little wonder that the EEC is called the economic foundation of NATO. With active U.S. support, the Common Market has become one of the pillars of world imperialism, which is attacking the socialist system, the working-class and revolutionary movements in Western Europe, and the forces of national liberation and social emancipation in the developing states.

Further, we saw clearly that capitalist integration could not remove, let alone resolve, the deep-lying, inherent contradictions of capitalism. Ever since the EEC began functioning, the antagonisms among its member states and also between imperialism's main economic centers (the USA, Japan, and the EEC) have been growing. The 'poor outlying regions' of the EEC are being increasingly exploited by the big West European monopolies, whose policy toward the Mediterranean states is aimed at widening the framework of this exploitation. An analogous course is pursued in the Middle East and other areas of Asia, and in Africa.

In taking therefore, a stand against association with, or membership in the EEC, AKEL gave convincing proof that national interests — both economic and political — would be served best by simply signing a trade agreement with the EEC, as most of the Mediterranean nations have done. This would have enabled us to place our trade with the EEC on a basis of equality and mutual benefit without any political or other strings. Developments have proved our stand correct.

However, let us try to specify what association with the EEC for more than seven years has given Cyprus. To sum up the terms of the 1972 agreement, they are as follows:

— the preservation up to June 30, 1977, i.e., during the first phase of association, of preferential customs tariffs for Cypriot exports to Britain; the establishment of a quota for the export of potatoes; protectionist tariffs for sherry-type wines exported by Cyprus were to be in operation for not longer than two years, while the wine exports covered by them were not to exceed 200,000 hectoliters;

— a 40 per cent reduction of EEC import tariffs on citrus fruits and the abolition of tariffs on carobs;

— a 70 per cent cut in EEC tariffs on Cypriot manufactured goods.

For its part, the republic pledged that at the close of the first phase of the agreement on association it would gradually reduce its tariffs on imports from the Common Market by 35 per cent. In the second phase of the agreement (1977-1982) Cyprus and the EEC were to remove customs tariffs altogether and form a customs union.

At first glance one gets the impression that these benefits and preferences should have led to a growth of Cypriot exports. There is no denying that the preservation of preferential tariffs in the British market, even for a limited time, was of paramount importance for our country. As a result of long British colonial rule, the island's economy is oriented unilaterally toward Britain, and it remains the principal market for Cyprus' products, chiefly of its farm produce (citrus fruits, potatoes, wines, grapes, vegetables and juices). However, all the benefits of Cyprus' association with the EEC were reduced to this single advantage — the temporary preservation of British preferences.

We were told — and this was almost the main argument — that the nation was joining a market of 260 million consumers and that this would enable it to increase its exports. But practice tells a different story. During the first year of association, exports from Cyprus froze at the 1972 level, totalling £12 million, and in 1974 they dropped to £7 million. They continued to plummet in 1975 and 1976, falling to £5 million. In absolute terms they showed some increase in 1977 and 1978 (£7 million and £9.8 million respectively); in this case the inflationary rise of prices must be taken into account. The forecasts of the advocates of association, who expected our exports to expand, have thus proved very wrong.

There was a particularly drastic slash in Cyprus' exports to EEC nations at a most critical time for the island's destiny;[3] some people see this as evidence of objective reasons why association could not prove its worth. This assertion is refuted by, say, the fact that when exports to Common Market nations fell sharply, exports to socialist and Arab countries increased, in some cases very considerably.

The conclusion to be drawn is thus obvious:

cooperation with the EEC has not helped to boost our exports. But one has only to look at the figures for imports from EEC nations to find that in the same period they climbed from £32 million (1972) to £81 million (1978). In other words, the Common Market has been the sole beneficiary of association.

Let us now see how far the association agreement is consistent with such national aims and requirements as protection for Cyprus' growing industry, economic and technical aid, and trade with the socialist world.

We have noted that in exchange for EEC 'benefits' Cyprus agreed to reduce its import tariffs on goods from EEC members (by 35 per cent during four and a half years of the first phase of association). The 1972 agreement contains, moreover, a commitment that no new quantitative or other restrictions would be imposed on such imports, that their penetration into Cyprus would be facilitated.

A cause of considerable concern is that the terms of association make no provision for real protection for the island's developing industry. What protects it today against foreign competition will disappear as soon as the customs union with the EEC comes into force and customs tariffs are abolished. This development will be fatal to Cyprus' young industry, which will either be crushed by the industrial colossus of Western Europe or become its appendage. Needless to say, even then industry will develop in Cyprus. However, it will not be Cypriot but foreign. The economic and political consequences of this dependent development are not hard to foresee.

But while this prospect evokes legitimate protests from all patriots, it suits the EEC bosses well. No wonder that in all the years of association the Common Market has extended to Cyprus no economic or technical aid of any kind. Yet it was envisaged by the 1972 agreement, under which the EEC took commitments to provide such aid, but did not discharge any of them.

In the light of Cyprus' association with the EEC the question of our trade with socialist countries merits the closest attention. These countries are stable markets for Cypriot goods. In 1978 exports to that market added up to £8 million. More, the pattern of these exports is of special significance to our economy. They include farm produce, particularly products of the vine-growing industry, for which access to Western markets is either limited or closed altogether. This significance is widely acknowledged in Cyprus, even by its ruling circles. It is worthy of note that at the talks with the EEC the government sought to safeguard Cyprus' trade with socialist countries.

Indeed, the Common Market set no restrictions on this trade. Besides, the EEC countries themselves want more trade with socialist nations. But while there are no direct obstacles to our trade with these countries, there is the threat of indirect impediments. The reduction of import tariffs on goods from EEC countries by 35 per cent and then the complete removal of these tariffs will lead to a growth of our imports from the Common Market and, as a consequence, imports from socialist states will decrease. The latter, in their turn, will have to buy fewer Cypriot products, above all products that are not prime necessities, such as wines, whose importance to Cyprus I have already noted.

True, there are those who feel that Cyrpus' relations with socialist countries will not suffer in any way since imports from these countries are tariff-free. But this concerns only a few commodities, while for many others there are tariffs. It follows that there is, after all, the danger of trade relations with the socialist world deteriorating as a result of Cyprus' association with the Common Market. This matter merits our close attention. It is important to ascertain the possibilities of expanding trade and economic cooperation with the socialist world that undoubtedly exist and could be used, but for association with the EEC.

Lastly, take the problem of Cyprus' relations with the EEC in the context of the latter's Mediterranean policy. After it was announced, preferential treatment was accorded to almost all of the region's states, including those that had signed only trade agreements with the EEC. The right of duty-free export of practically all types of manufactured goods to Common Market nations was granted to, for example, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Customs tariffs on their farm exports were reduced (by 30 to 100 per cent). In exchange, these countries agreed that tariffs on goods from the EEC would be the same as on goods from other countries; in other words, no specific commitments were taken in this case. In 1976 similar terms were secured under bilateral trade agreements with the EEC by Egypt, Syria and Jordan. This is also true of the relations of Israel and other Mediterranean states with the EEC. Bilateral trade agreements with the Common Market grant the overwhelming majority of these countries far better terms for their exports while making no tariff concessions to the EEC.

The 1972 association agreement envisaged preferential treatment for Cyprus similar to that secured by other Mediterranean nations. But what happened was that after signing the agreement Cyprus found itself much worse off. Relative to this, in violation of the agreement, not a single element of preferential treatment was applied, while the EEC states used all the tariff benefits they had obtained.

Here is how the first stage of the association agreement is assessed by Spyros Filaktis, a senior official of the Ministry of Trade and Industry: 'The 1972 agreement on Cyprus' association with the European Economic Community was expected to ensure a stable and dynamic link between Cyprus and the EEC but in fact it led to inequality. This is shown by statistics on trade in the period from June 1973 to June 1978 during which the EEC had a favorable trade balance with Cyprus, of the order of £296,500,000. One of the main reasons for this dissatisfactory state of affairs for Cyprus was the limited character of the preferential treatment offered by the EEC. Although the agreement provided for tariff-free imports to EEC countries, the efficacy of

these preferences was narrowed in practice by the instructions concerning the origin of goods. As if this were not enough, we recently learned that the United Kingdom is studying the question of limiting the import of clothes and fabrics from Cyprus.'

To sum up, Cyprus' cooperation with the EEC in its present form is a bitter and instructive lesson. The trouble is that not everybody has learned this lesson, as a new round of talks in the latter half of the 1970s revealed.

The 1972 agreement provided that 18 months before the expiry of the first phase of Cyprus' association with the Common Market new talks would be started to consider the terms of the second phase. Accordingly, at the close of 1975, the Cyprus government broached the subject of talks, but the EEC replied that it was not prepared for negotiations. When the talks finally did get off the ground in May 1977 (two months before the expiry of the first phase) they produced no agreement on the second stage of association. The first phase was prolonged for 30 months, and when that term ended Cyprus was offered another prolongation for one year (this time to the end of 1980).

Why has the transition to the second phase not taken place? The principal reason is political. The point is not only that the EEC dislikes the political regime in Cyprus; the chief reason is that it wants to avoid irritating Turkey through closer relations with Cyprus.

Although the 1972 agreement is used more and more frankly to pressure Cyprus, its government continues to abide by its orientation on association and wants to bring about the next phase, a customs union. We are not wanted but we insist on being admitted. Political pressure is being brought to bear on us but the government pretends not to notice it. Meanwhile the results of the prolongation of the first phase proved to be even less favorable than those of the nearly five years of the agreement's operation. The terms for the export of Cypriot farm products have grown harsher. While formerly Cypriot potatoes, carrots, citrus fruits and grapes were exported to Britain tariff-free and were not limited by quotas, the new terms set both tariffs and quotas for these commodities. To quote Filaktis again, 'the prolongation of the first phase of the association agreement is evidence not of dynamism (in the relations between Cyprus and the EEC — *D.C.*), but rather of a stalemate, if not of regress, and the absence of any hint of progress.'

What is the way out of the situation? The answer, as I have already pointed out, was given by our party, not yesterday or today but in the early 1970s, when it opposed association with the EEC. The communists foresaw the economic consequences. More, AKEL did not take a negativist stand. We have never turned a blind eye to the existence of the EEC or to the need for some sort of relations with it. But instead of association we proposed that there should be a trade agreement with it, as is now practised by other Mediterranean states — almost all preferred such agreements to association. We maintained that the EEC would have to make concessions to Mediterranean countries despite their refusal to be associates or members of the Common Market. This is exactly what happened when the EEC announced its Mediterranean policy.

We are now told: Supposing AKEL was right, what is to be done today with the agreement already signed and the relations with the EEC in their present shape?

Unquestionably, the deeper we go in, the harder it will be to change the form of these relations. After the second phase of association is passed and we are brought directly to a customs union, it will evidently be impossible to change anything. But it should not be forgotten that what is at stake is our country's very destiny. For that reason AKEL urges a clear-sighted and patriotic approach to this problem, with the accent on the historical prospect and not on transient benefits and static advantages.

We believe that it is not too late to take serious measures, especially as the EEC (as I have shown) has failed to meet the terms of the 1972 agreement and then, for political considerations, held up the transition to the second phase of association. This gives us a unique possibility to suspend the association agreement and begin talks on a trade agreement with the EEC on the same conditions as those granted to other Mediterranean countries. This opportunity should not be missed.

Nor does another contention of the proponents of Cyprus' association with the EEC (government officials and some Cypriot politicians) hold water. While acknowledging that cooperation with the Common Market affects Cyprus' economy, they argue, nevertheless, that continued association with it is necessary because it is dictated by political considerations.

However, Cyprus has been and is a non-aligned nation. The preservation of this status is a basic condition for the settlement of the Cyprus problem. Non-alignment is in the nation's interest and in the interests of peace and security in our volatile region. In turn, non-alignment means equitable and normal relations with all the countries of the world and non-participation in any political or military bloc. These are fundamental principles of this globally recognized policy.

In this context, let us have a look at relations with the EEC. Is it a purely economic alliance? By no means. This was obvious from the treaty establishing the EEC. Along with economic aims, the EEC pursues clear-cut political objectives defined by the multinationals predominant in it. Moreover, the majority of the most influential states in the EEC are members of the aggressive NATO bloc, whose purpose is to ensure the global interests of the EEC and the USA by politico-military means. This shows what consequences association will have for Cyprus, to say nothing of membership, should it be brought about. For our country it would ultimately mean participation not only in an economic but also in a military-political bloc, which is fundamentally at variance with the policy of non-alignment.

Nor should it be forgotten that the EEC countries and the USA are heavily responsible for the tragic

events in our country in the mid-1970s — the reactionary coup of 1974 and the Turkish intervention. The imperialist powers persist in attempts to bring Cyprus under NATO control. To achieve this, they deliberately encourage Turkey's hard line and the chauvinistic, reactionary circles in the island's Greek and Turkish communities. In other words, not only economic but also political considerations make it clear how very greatly both the present form of relations with the EEC and the contemplated customs union contradict the interests of Cyprus.

The time has come for the government, the political parties and organizations, and for people to realize that the only acceptable policy for the Republic of Cyprus, especially in the present grave situation, is to establish and maintain trade relations with all countries on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, without any political or other conditions. This is the solution we are fighting for.

1. See A. Lukanov, 'New Lines of Socialist Integration' in this issue. — *Ed.*

2. European Economic Community (Common Market), an economic group of European capitalist countries (FRG, France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland, and from January 1, 1981 — Greece). The Treaty of Rome establishing the EEC (signed March 1957) became effective on January 1, 1958. The community's economic, social and political objectives are determined by its class nature as a state-monopoly entity. Its purpose is gradually to end all restrictions on trade between member countries, set common tariffs for trade with third countries, ensure the 'free movement of persons, capital and services' within the framework of the common market, crisis-free development and an easing of class antagonisms; and to unite the forces of West European capitalism against the world revolutionary and liberation movement. However, the actual functioning of the EEC for more than two decades has shown that its commercial policy measures constantly aggravate inter-imperialist contradictions both within the community and in the rest of the capitalist world. The capitalist crisis has gone deeper. The working people and left-wing and patriotic forces in many capitalist and developing countries are opposed to the anti-democratic and anti-people character of the Common Market and to membership in or association with it. — *Ed.*

3. This is a reference to the island's partial occupation by Turkish troops in 1974. — *Ed.*

The present military-political doctrine of the United States

Professor *Mikhail Milshtein* (USSR)

Within the overall system of the military-political doctrines of imperialism, the U.S. doctrine is the dominant one. This is due to many factors, and above all to the fact that in the capitalist world today, the United States is something of a citadel of imperialism and its chief military arsenal. It is the United States that has the main stockpiles of nuclear weapons among the capitalist states and the means for delivering them. It owns the bulk of these countries' nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines and strategic bombers. No other capitalist country has intercontinental ballistic missiles. The United States is the chief maker of conventional weapons and is at the top of the league in the sale and delivery of arms to other countries. The U.S. army is the largest in the capitalist world, with over 2 million officers and men. Like a giant spider, U.S. imperialism has spun the web of its military bases around the world; combat-ready groups of U.S. armed forces are now stationed not only in Western Europe, where there are 325,000 U.S. military personnel,[1] and in Southeast Asia, but also in the Indian Ocean and in the Persian Gulf area.

There is good reason, therefore, why the United States also has the dominant position in NATO. Although the troops it has committed to the bloc's joint military command make up only 10 per cent of the ground forces, 20 per cent of the air forces, and 30 per cent of the naval forces, together with the FRG troops they are its main striking force. U.S. units are better equipped than the armed forces of other NATO countries, they have better weapons, are more thoroughly trained and have modern nuclear warheads and the means of their delivery on target. One should also take into account that the United States covers almost 70 per cent of the NATO countries' military expenditures.

Americans fill the main leading posts in the military command of NATO's joint armed forces, including that of Supreme Commander-in-Chief, and the United States is in a position to impose its strategic conceptions on the bloc. That is why the U.S. military-political doctrine is, in effect, the leading military-political doctrine of imperialism. In a sense, it is a concentrated expression of the main aspirations of the militaristic and expansionist circles of the imperialist powers which want to preserve their class positions by arguing the need for a gigantic war machine and advocate a sustained build-up of armaments so as to attain military superiority and use armed force as the main instrument for their foreign-policy diktat.

There is much history to show that in the complicated international situation, with imperialism facing definite difficulties and suffering reverses and defeats along various lines of its expansionist policy, the aggressive, interventionist features both of its military doctrine and of its military policy as a whole tend to be especially pronounced. In this context, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the

CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, remarked: 'The more the potential of imperialism for dominating other countries and peoples is reduced, the wilder is the response to this by its most aggressive and short-sighted representatives.'

What are the characteristic features of the U.S. military-political doctrine in contemporary conditions? What is its main goal? In the most general terms, the answer to both questions could be formulated as follows: the main goal of this doctrine is to upset in its favor the military equilibrium that has taken shape in the world through a sharp increase of military expenditures, a spiralling of the arms race, and the development of even more dangerous weapons systems, especially in the strategic sphere, which tend to escape control. In other words, its goal is to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union so as to be able to conduct, with impunity, a 'strength' policy both on a regional and on the global scale.

All of this is expressed not only in the bellicose phraseology, which is so characteristic of many U.S. political and military leaders, and not only in the spread in the country of moods reminiscent of a state of war hysteria, but also in concrete steps posing a grave threat to peace and the security of the nations.

Let us recall the facts. The dynamic of the military budget is known to be the chief indicator of how the military-political doctrine of a state is oriented. In the forthcoming five-year period, U.S. military appropriations, to reach $173.4 billion in fiscal 1981, are to be annually increased by 4.2-5.4 per cent in real terms, that is, by $20-25 billion in current prices. By 1985, U.S. military expenditures are to attain the astronomical figure of $253.2 billion. But some spokesmen for the most bellicose circles believe even this figure to be inadequate and demand the spending on preparations for war to be increased to just short of a trillion dollars a year. The characteristic thing here is that whereas overall military expenditures for fiscal 1981 are to go up by 5.7 per cent on 1980, outlays on military R and D are to go up by 13 per cent. The outlays on strategic weapons are to be doubled as compared with the 1970s, and increased by over 53 per cent as compared with 1980.[2]

The main feature of the present stage of the arms race is that its center of gravity has shifted, on U.S. initiative, from the quantitative sphere to the qualitative, technological sphere. This is characteristic above all of the processes under way in the development of strategic weapons. The goal here is to upset the existing parity and to achieve a military-technical, which means qualitative, superiority over the Soviet Union on the crucial parameters. Here is what U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown says in this connection: 'The Science and Technology Program is the key to maintaining our technological lead.'[3]

This means, in particular, the stepped-up development, production and deployment of 200 new MX mobile intercontinental ground-launched missiles with multiple warheads and high targetting precision, at the sizable cost of between $33 billion and $120 billion. Many foreign experts believe that this new generation of missiles can actually be regarded as a first-strike weapon.

The existing U.S. ground-launched missiles — Minuteman-3 — are being re-equipped with Mark-12A warheads, whose striking power and precision are three times higher than the present ones. Intense efforts are also being made to develop a new generation of warheads for ICBMs ensuring maneuverability and terminal guidance.

New Trident-I systems are being supplied to the missile submarine fleet. The first Trident-I submarine is to be commissioned in 1981, and another four by 1985. Simultaneously, 12 submarines armed with Poseidon missiles are being re-equipped with Trident-I missiles with a range of up to 8,000 kilometers. The precision of Trident-I missiles is to be nearly four times higher than that of Polaris. Later on, it is planned to acquire the Trident-2 system with even more improved missiles of greater precision and range (11,000 km). Next year, the United States is to get down to manufacturing Cruise missiles. One also has to mention the intensive research under way in anti-missile and anti-space defense.

A special danger is posed by the decision of the NATO Council's December 1979 session on the manufacture and deployment in Europe of 108 Pershing-2 ballistic missiles and 464 ground-launched Cruise missiles with a range of over 2,000 km, some of which could carry more than one nuclear warhead.

The point is that some 800 U.S. nuclear-weapons delivery vehicles capable of hitting important targets on the territory of the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries have already been deployed in Western Europe. In addition, there are over 400 nuclear-armed aircraft on board U.S. aircraft carriers constantly patrolling the Mediterranean and the East Atlantic. Add to this the corresponding armaments of Britain and France, and you get a total of something like 1,500 such nuclear-weapons delivery vehicles in Western Europe. That is why the deployment of new 'Eurostrategic' missiles could bring about a qualitative and quantitative change in the balance of forces in Europe, and could upset the military equilibrium on the continent in favor of NATO and the strategic balance of forces as a whole. One should also take into account that the decision to manufacture and deploy additional nuclear weapons is a part of the extensive program, adopted by the NATO Council in May 1978 and intended for decades, to develop new weapons and military hardware so as to re-equip NATO's joint armed forces.[4]

General-purpose forces, meaning ground troops, the tactical air force, naval forces, the marines, etc., are also equipped with improved types of weapons and military hardware, including new tanks, theater missiles, aircraft, mobile facilities for transferring troops and freight by air and sea. This program lays emphasis on a 'rapid deployment force' designed for interventionist operations in areas not

covered by military blocs with U.S. participation. In other words, it is designed for armed intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, above all, Middle East, Asian and Latin American countries.

Let us recall the facts: almost 200,000 U.S. military personnel have already been assigned to the 'rapid deployment force.'[5] The backbone of this force consists of units of the 1st and 3rd Marine divisions, and also the 82nd Paratroop and the 101st Airborne divisions, three aircraft-carrier strike groups, and formations of tactical and transport aviation. Their primary task is to bolster U.S. positions and back up possible armed intervention in the Persian Gulf area.

All of this shows very well that the United States, having unprecedentedly increased its military appropriations, wants to build up a material basis for a sharp increase of military strength. For what purpose? In order once again to use the whole panoply of armed force, ranging from threats and militaristic shows of force to direct aggressions and interventionist acts.[6]

Consequently, the United States has, in effect, returned to its 'pre-Vietnam' role of 'world gendarme,' to the strategic conception of using armed forces beyond the boundaries of the American continent. This is a very important point. One would have expected the war in Vietnam, which cost the United States a great many human lives and hundreds of billions of dollars, to have taught the architects of its foreign and military policy a great deal. But just over five years after the end of that disgraceful war, the United States, defying the lessons of Vietnam, seeks to control world developments exclusively by military means and to conduct a 'strength' policy.

There is every indication that the only lesson some U.S. leaders have learned from the jungles of Vietnam is the urge not to drag out armed intervention over such a long period as the aggression in Vietnam.

General Andrew J. Goodpaster, one-time Supreme Commander of NATO's Armed Forces, and Samuel P. Huntington, the well-known U.S. politologist, who was involved in planning U.S. foreign-policy acts, wrote: 'A future Vietnam is more likely to last seven weeks than seven years. The United States ... will apply overwhelming force in order to achieve its objectives quickly and decisively. The emphasis will be on limiting the duration of the conflict not on limiting the means.'[7] This should be taken to mean that in 'a future Vietnam' the United States could use not only conventional, but also nuclear weapons. Indeed, in planning the use of theater nuclear weapons the United States has gone beyond the pre-Vietnam period and is recklessly threatening to use such weapons on foreign territories. The U.S. press reported that the Pentagon has worked out plans and scenarios for the use of tactical nuclear weapons in regions other than NATO's sphere,[8] including the eventuality of an invasion of Iran.[9]

Simultaneously with the development and deployment of strategic higher-precision offensive weapons, and the equipment of troops with qualitatively new types of weapons, the most bellicose circles in the United States have got down to reviewing some fundamental military-strategic conceptions in an extremely dangerous direction, especially those conceptions which deal with the priorities in the use of nuclear weapons and the possibility of winning such a war and its consequences.

'The United States is now in the midst of a public debate about its defense priorities ... Much of this debate is reminiscent of the debates that occured 20 years ago,' says a study by the Brookings Institution in Washington.[10]

The U.S. Secretary of Defense asserted in a report to Congress that the Pentagon has 'recently completed a basic re-examination of our strategic policy.'[11] What kind of re-examination is this, and which way are the efforts of U.S. military-political strategists now aimed? Let us recall that for a long time there was wide acceptance of the view that nuclear war was 'unthinkable,' that there could be no winner in such a war, that the consequences of a universal nuclear war would be fatal for civilization, and that those who started such a war would be inviting suicide. Now, however, there is ever greater acceptance, even at the official level, of 'new' and extremely dangerous military-political and military-strategic conceptions arguing that the use of nuclear weapons for foreign-policy purposes is acceptable and advisable, and that victory in a nuclear war is possible.

Noteworthy in this respect is an article entitled 'Victory is Possible' which appeared in a recent issue of *Foreign Policy*.[12] Its authors are researchers at the Hudson Institute, which is known for its ties with the Pentagon and which frequently gives theoretical expression to the views of the so-called defense community (i.e., the military-industrial complex) of the United States. 'If American nuclear power is to support U.S. foreign policy objectives, the United States must possess the ability to wage nuclear war rationally.' The authors want the United States to plan a nuclear war in such a way as 'to defeat the Soviet Union and do so at a cost that would not prohibit U.S. recovery.'

Throughout the whole article, it is openly and cynically asserted that the purpose of a nuclear war should be nothing short of a 'destruction of Soviet political authority' and the establishment of an order 'compatible with Western values.' The authors add: 'The U.S. defense community today believes that the political control structure of the USSR is among the most important targets for U.S. strategic forces.' But how is the United States itself to survive in a nuclear war? Their answer is: 'A combination of counterforce offensive targeting, civil defense and ballistic missile and air defense should hold U.S. casualties down to a level compatible with national survival and recovery.'

It would not be worth reporting these delirious statements in such detail but for the fact that their authors are not alone and express the opinion not only of the U.S. 'defense community' but also the

official standpoint. The Report to the Congress by the U.S. Secretary of Defense says: 'U.S. and NATO strategy allows for a possible NATO first use of nuclear weapons, if that should prove essential.'[13]

The 'counterforce' strategy, which has been adopted as fundamental for strategic nuclear weapons, envisages their use mainly against military targets. General Graham, one-time chief of military intelligence of the U.S. Defense Department, wrote a book designed to prove that victory in a nuclear war is possible. He says: 'At the threshold of the 1980s there is no technological or military reason why any missile need be aimed at any but military targets and no reason why collateral damage to civil society resulting from the destruction of such targets should exceed the tragic devastation of previous wars.'[14]

The U.S. press reports that in his Presidential Directive 59 Carter officially announced the adoption of the 'counterforce' conception as the basis for the use of strategic nuclear weapons.[15] This means that in the new variant the United States has, in effect, returned to the old plan for a 'first,' 'crippling' strike, i.e., to plans for starting a thermonuclear war.

Extensive political and ideological preparation for war is also an important component of the U.S. military-political doctrine, centered on a propaganda campaign designed to blow up the notorious 'Soviet threat.' The 'Soviet military threat' myth is not a new one: it has a long history and has gradually evolved since its origination.

In the early years after the Second World War, the political aspects of the 'Soviet threat' dominated over the military ones in the sense that the 'Soviet threat' was presented mainly as a political 'threat,' and appeared to be identified with the 'communist danger.' That is understandable: the United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons and was sure that its superiority in military strength could long serve as a solid foundation for the successful pursuit of the 'strength' policy.

The pillars of this policy crumbled under the impact of the Soviet Union's economic, scientific and defense advances. Imperialism lost its monopoly on nuclear weapons much earlier than it had expected. That was a heavy blow for the United States, but Washington did not abandon its 'strength' policy. The Pentagon assumed that despite the loss of the monopoly position as the sole nuclear power, the United States was well ahead of the Soviet Union in the quantity of nuclear warheads, especially in delivery vehicles. In that period, the military-political aspects of the 'Soviet threat' concept came to dominate over the purely political ones, and the term itself was extended ever more frequently to be defined as the 'Soviet military threat.' The myth of this 'threat' was used primarily for justifying the build-up of armaments, mainly strategic offensive forces, to proportions that would maintain superiority in these forces over the Soviet Union. Rumors about a lag behind the USSR in some types of weapons were artificially fanned to justify this policy.

Thus, in the 1950s, there was a loud campaign alleging that the United States was dangerously behind in bombers, and the noise died down for a time after military expenditures were sharply increased and a program was adopted for stepping up the production of heavy bombers. But it soon flared up anew, this time over a missile 'gap.' As a result, the military budget was once again increased and construction of missile forces was started on an unprecedented scale. It was later officially admitted that in both instances the Soviet Union's potential had been overstated four, five and more times.

The distinctive feature of the current campaign designed to scare people with the 'Soviet threat' is that its organizers no longer claim that there is some partial U.S. lag in a concrete type of weapons. No, this time it is being said that there is a complex and all-round lag in many elements constituting the basis of the country's security. And as in the past, the Soviet Union's potential is being deliberately overstated, and supplemented with inventions about the USSR seeking to attain military superiority over the United States, to create a 'first strike' capability, etc. In other words, the whole situation has been upended.

Such are some of the highly dangerous trends in the development of the present U.S. military-political doctrine. What do they suggest? It is quite obvious that in the military-political sphere the upper hand is being gained by those who cannot reconcile themselves with the existence of a military equilibrium between the USSR and the United States and who want to upset it in their own favor so as to pursue their 'strength' policy with impunity. The advocates of this policy behave like reckless drivers ignoring the danger signs, refusing to reduce speed and continuing to hurtle ever faster toward disaster. They take no account of the irreparable harm that this policy could inflict on the security of nations, above all, on the people of the United States itself. They seem to have taken the bit between their teeth and keep proposing more and more plans for increasing military outlays, trying to scare their own people and their allies with the 'Soviet threat,' inaugurating long-term programs for the development and deployment of new, extremely costly and ever more devastating types of weapons, demanding that their partners in the military blocs should increase their own military appropriations and intensify their war preparations. At the same time, new dangerous military-strategic conceptions are being adopted and these, judging by everything, are based on the reckless assumption that the United States could achieve military superiority and victory over the USSR in a planned nuclear war.

What is the Soviet Union's attitude to the potential use of nuclear weapons, and to a nuclear war generally? We find the most absurd and biased assertions on this score in the capitalist countries. But the fact is that ever since the energy of the atom was first used for military purposes, that is, at the dawn of nuclear-missile weapons, the USSR has consistently and steadfastly advocated the prohibi-

tion of all types of mass destruction weapons. Leonid Brezhnev said: 'We are against the use of nuclear weapons, and only an emergency, an aggression against our country or its allies by another nuclear power could force us to use this extreme means of self-defense.'

Consequently, the Soviet Union regards nuclear weapons only as a means of self-defense and not as an instrument of attack and this categorically refutes U.S. propaganda assertions that our country is preparing to unleash a nuclear war.

The same applies to the Western propaganda claim that the USSR seeks to develop a 'first strike capability.' The 'first strike' conception is organically alien to the Soviet Union's policy and its military doctrine. It is the USSR and other socialist countries that proposed the conclusion of an agreement between the participants in the European Conference, including the United States, on the non-first use of nuclear and conventional weapons against each other. The adoption of this proposal would remove from the agenda the problem of the first disabling strike altogether. But the NATO countries do not respond to this constructive proposal.

In contrast to the NATO countries, the Warsaw Treaty countries have not increased their armed forces over the past few years. They have solemnly declared that 'they themselves have never aspired and do not aspire to military superiority; their military efforts are aimed and will always be aimed exclusively to ensure their defense capability.'

Of course, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries cannot but take into account the step-up of military preparations and the growth of extreme trends in the U.S. military-political doctrine. They will never allow the balance of forces to be upset to the detriment of their security.

There are, undoubtedly, sober-minded people in the United States who understand that in the present-day conditions a policy aimed to achieve military superiority through an arms drive and military actions markedly increases the danger of nuclear war and falls as a heavy burden on the nations. There is good reason why in the United States the most diverse strata of society want the earliest ratification of SALT II, being well aware that there is no alternative to halting the arms race. One would hope that the socialist countries' insistent calls to halt, to put off diverse programs for 'additional armaments,' and to abandon the development of new types and systems of ever more lethal and destabilizing weapons and the elaboration of dangerous military conceptions will, at long last, be heard, and that the process of détente will once again move forward.

1. See, *U.S. News and World Report*, June 9, 1980, p. 23.
2. *The FY 1981, Department of Defense Program for Research, Development and Acquisition.* Washington, 1980, pp. 1-1, 1-38.
3. *Department of Defense, Annual Report, FY 1981.* H. Brown, Secretary of Defense, Washington, 1980, p. 244.
4. In July 1980, during a meeting with FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Leonid Brezhnev proposed, on the Soviet Union's behalf, a discussion, in the interests of the security of the nations of the world, of the question of medium-range nuclear-missile weapons simultaneously and in organic connection with the question of U.S. forward-based nuclear systems, which should certainly halt the new and dangerous twist in the nuclear-arms spiral in Europe. The idea was to realize possible understandings in practice only with the entry into force of SALT II. However, the U.S. administration deliberately dragged its feet on this proposal.
5. *Morning Star*, June 20, 1980.
6. U.S. specialists, for instance, have estimated that between the end of the Second World War and 1975, the United States carried out 215 military acts involving either direct use or threat of force against other countries (see, B.M. Blechman, S.S. Kaplan. *Force without War.* Washington, 1978, p. 16).
7. Andrew J. Goodpaster, Samuel P. Huntington. *Military Civil Relations.* Washington, 1977, pp. 21-22.
8. *Baltimore Sun*, February 6, 1980.
9. *Chicago Tribune*, February 9, 1980.
10. *Setting National Priorities, Agenda for the 1980's*, Washington, 1980, p. 16.
11. *Department of Defense, Annual Report, FY 1981*, Washington, 1980, p. 66.
12. *Foreign Policy*, No. 39, Summer 1980.
13. *Department of Defense, Annual Report, FY 1980*, Washington, 1979, p. 86.
14. Daniel O. Graham. *Shall America Be Defended? SALT-2 and Beyond.* New York, 1979, p. 241.
15. *The New York Times*, August 6, 1980, *Washington Post*, August 6, 1980.

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Addition of forces: an art

Ascanio Villalaz
National Executive member,
Second Deputy of the General Secretary,
Revolutionary Democratic Party of Panama

The ruling Revolutionary Democratic Party of Panama (RDP) takes an anti-imperialist stand. It advocates continuation of the revolutionary process started 12 years ago by the patriotic military, a process the communists — the People's Party of Panama — support. The RDP wants a dialogue and cooperation with other progressive organizations in the country. Felix Dixon, member of the PPP Central Committee and representative of the party on the Journal, asked Ascanio Villalaz of the RDP leadership to answer a few questions.

How would you assess the revolutionary process in our country?

To answer this question, let us take a look at the past. At the beginning of this century, the USA launched its military intervention in Panama, so preventing the Panamanians from acquiring genuine independence and from carrying out the social reforms for which they had fought for years. In defiance of the people's will, the United States created a colonial enclave on our territory and imposed its control over the young republic. We were deprived of the opportunity to use our country's advantageous geography. Its territory was dismembered, and the process of social and cultural integration was ruthlessly cut short. Imperialism implanted in the country the economic, social and political structures which made it even more dependent and blocked the path to its independent development. The outcome is well known: inequality in income distribution, preservation of pre-capitalist structures in the countryside, economic backwardness, illiteracy, the growth of marginal strata, an acute housing shortage, etc. During the 65 years after the formation of the Panamanian state, contradictions mounted to a point where they set off the general crisis of the oligarchic regime, which appeared to be unable to keep the republican institutions functioning.

In 1968, a group of patriotic officers of the National Guard, led by Omar Torrijos Herrera, rose against the regime. This marked the beginning of the national-liberation process aimed to liquidate the colonial enclave, end the neo-colonialist dependence and overcome the economic backwardness.

The new regime that took shape in the country was legalized in the 1972 Constitution. Every stratum of the population was given access to the representative bodies — from the municipal councils to the National Assembly. Direct consultations with the masses have become a regular practice, making it possible to draw them into state control over the national resources and into the structural improvement of the economy. The new system of rule provides conditions for effecting transformations on the principles of justice, independence and democracy. The purpose is to ensure the country's all-round development for the benefit of the whole population, particularly the poor. And we try to effect structural transformations with a minimum of social inputs. This means that we take into account the extent to which various social groups are prepared to understand the need for change, and the transformations are carried out as the masses are organized for deepening and safeguarding them.

The new government has put an end to persecution on political grounds and has provided conditions for democratic pluralism. Relying on the state's resources and broad popular support, it has brought about a growth of the production potential and a fairer distribution of material wealth, extended the scale of social security and housing construction, and improved education and medical care. The government stimulates the operation of national enterprises and creates conditions for rational use of natural resources. It conducts an active foreign policy aimed at strengthening the independence and sovereignty of Panama; it stands for the free self-determination of peoples, for friendship with all nations; it advocates the principles of non-alignment and backs the efforts for disarmament, détente and peaceful settlement of disputes in inter-state relations.

The abrogation of the fettering 1903 Panama Canal agreement is the main achievement of the past decade. This was achieved due to the unity of the nation, which backed the patriotic demands for decolonization, due to the support of all nations, and the staunchness and foresight of General Torrijos.

However, foreign troops outnumbering our own armed forces are still stationed in the country. The USA resorts to all kinds of devices to introduce alterations in the new agreements and avoid their strict fulfillment. Therefore, our struggle is going on and the people of Panama still need broad international support. International solidarity will largely determine the progress of the revolutionary process in Panama.

On what basis was the Revolutionary Democratic

Party founded, and what are its principles and goals?

Having provided the basis for liberation, the National Guard decided to return to the barracks. It handed over political and administrative functions to a group of young civilians which had been formed in the course of the revolutionary process. This group had the task of preparing the formation of a party expressing the ideals of the movement led by General Torrijos. That was the origin of the Revolutionary Democratic Party. It is now the leading force in the patriotic and social struggle of our people.

It may be described as a political organization of Panamanian revolutionary democrats who have taken up the rich tradition of the liberation movement in Latin America as personified by José Marti, the ideologues of the Mexican revolution, and Augusto Cesar Sandino. The overwhelming majority of Panamanians have rallied round the RDP. It has become the largest party in the country's history, although little time has passed since its formation.[1]

Being a multi-class party, the RDP includes members of all social strata interested in deepening the revolutionary process: industrial and agricultural workers, peasants, intellectuals, small entrepreneurs, and a part of the national bourgeoisie adhering to patriotic positions and striving for the country's advance. It is a people's mass party pursuing an independent, principled policy. It is revolutionary, democratic, nationalist and anti-imperialist.

According to the RDP Program, the primary task is to mobilize all sections of the population organizationally and thus to ensure their direct participation in broad socio-economic and cultural transformations. The Program stresses the need to follow the course that has already been tested in our country in practice — a combination of the activity of the state, mixed and cooperative enterprises, on the one hand, and private enterprises, on the other. All of them should work together to fulfil the plan for national economic progress. We do not rule out the participation of foreign capital, if this will facilitate our economic growth.

What can you say about the prospects of the revolutionary process in Panama?

A clear answer to this question can be found in the RDP Program. When the last foreign soldier leaves Panama, the country will acquire genuine independence and its society will be based on the principles of justice and equality.

We do not lose our optimism, although our country is going through one of the most difficult periods since 1968. The Panamanian economy is still weak and is very sensitive to the changes in the world market. The consequences of inflation, the unprecedented growth in interest rates, a sharp rise in the cost of technology, oil, etc., make themselves felt. Panama suffers from unfair terms and discrimination in international trade, from the huge foreign debt (in recent years we have had to seek large credits abroad to finance the development program). The foreign debt and especially the rise in interest rates enable international financial organizations to bring economic and political pressure to bear on the country. All this has compelled us to temporarily slow down the implementation of the economic and social reforms demanded by the people.

The situation is made still worse by the activities of the reactionary circles of the local bourgeoisie, which have long been pursuing a policy of destabilization. They reduce investments and provoke a drain on capital. This increases the cost of living and unemployment and gives rise to a feeling of insecurity among Panamanians. These difficulties are exploited by the oligarchy and the right-wing parties. Controlling many news media, they confuse the politically ignorant sections of the population. Here they are readily helped by ultra-left groups.

Speaking about the vulnerability of the national economy, I should like to remind you of the alien organism in the country which is one of the largest financial centers incorporating more than 80 foreign banks, including the most powerful ones. Besides, Panama has never had either a central reserve bank or a currency of its own accepted as legal tender. This leaves it without the traditional instruments of financial policy, without the possibility to control the money supply.

Nevertheless, the negative impact of external factors has affected the position of the people much less than that of the neighboring states, and the living conditions of the greater part of the rural population have even been improved — all that because the oligarchic regime was liquidated. Without the changes brought in by the revolutionary process, the present external economic situation would be catastrophic for the country (El Salvador and Guatemala are obvious examples of this). Our economy has been strengthened by the activity of large state, mixed and cooperative enterprises and the setting up of the economic regulation and planning agencies.

The revolutionary process in Panama may enter upon a new stage of upsurge. The necessary condition for this is political organization. This problem is being solved energetically by the RDP with the enthusiastic support of the majority of the population. Our party is beginning to fill the relative vacuum that appeared when the military returned to the barracks. The keen insight of General Torrijos saved us from the retreat which was not precluded, for instance, in Peru where there was no mass organization and the people were barred from the fulfillment of revolutionary tasks.[2]

What, in your opinion, are the possibilities for the RDP's alliance with the political forces supporting revolutionary changes?

We are not sectarians and believe that the art of revolution is to add forces, and not to subtract them. The RDP does not intend to subordinate parties which identify themselves with the policy of transformations. We respect their legitimate rights and are prepared to cooperate with them in the solution of concrete problems, something we have done on

many occasions. In our opinion, cooperation should also extend to a number of other organizations as, for instance, progressive Christian and radical youth groups. Usually they are not included into the notion of 'political forces.' But these groups fully deserve political recognition, for they express the revolutionary aspirations of various sections of the people.

To speak about an alliance of political parties backing the revolutionary process makes sense if all progressive forces without exception can cooperate with each other. This requires that the parties favoring the idea of cooperation enter into a dialogue with those which have shown no interest in cooperation so far. As for the RDP, it should always be remembered that this large and young party has among its members people from various sections of society. Therefore, any concrete proposals for cooperation or alliance should be understood and approved by the members of this party in the first place. Nevertheless, joint efforts to accomplish some task help to consolidate friendly ties.

What is the RDP's attitude to international social democracy?

The RDP is not a member of the Socialist International, nor does it plan to be one. But it has established relations of friendship and solidarity with some of the parties in that organization and believes it should maintain contacts with the Socialist International. We are grateful to it for its willingness to understand them. RDP representatives attended as observers the Socialist International Congress in Vancouver, took an active part in the conferences of Latin American political parties in Oaxaca, Mexico, and in the conference of solidarity with Nicaragua held in Managua.[3] In our opinion, the decisions adopted at the two latter meetings are revolutionary and anti-imperialist.

It is known that there are organizations attached to social democracy that depend on foreign political parties and are to some extent linked with transnational corporations. They carry on a covert struggle for preserving neo-colonial status. But it would be a mistake to see this alone and fail to notice the activities of many social democrats who take an anti-imperialist stand and clearly contribute to the cause of liberation. The reality in Latin American countries provides the objective basis for ever increasing progressive tendencies among social democrats.

Assessing the character of the social-democratic movement in the region, one must not proceed from old prejudices or concepts based on a different reality. A dogmatic approach brings division, not unification. But the art of revolution, I repeat, is to add forces together, thereby facilitating successful advance.

1. The RDP was founded in 1978. — *Ed.*
2. See the article 'An Effective Lever of Our Strategy' by Carlos Nunez Anavitarte in the April 1980 issue of *WMR*. — *Ed.*
3. The meetings in Oaxaca and Managua were not sponsored by the Socialist International, but many delegations there represented parties of social-democratic orientation. — *Ed.*

The verdict is final

Hedayat Hatami
Iranian journalist

MEMOIRS OF THE FORMER SHAH AND THE VICIOUS ROLE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

Not long before his death, the former Shah of Iran published a bulky volume of reminiscences *My Answer to History*,* in which the dethroned monarch wanted to show, as he put it, 'how everything that was created with the help of the Almighty, with the enthusiastic effort of a whole nation, is put into disorder, disintegrates, and falls to pieces . . .' (p. 12). This idea is also expressed by the Albin Michel publishers in Paris who issued the book. One of their annotations says: 'Iran became the world's 10th economic power due to the dynamism and positive revolutionary views of the monarch . . . As the Shah explains it, "the vicious alliance of Red and Black," i.e., alliance between the left and the extreme reactionary elements, threw the country a few centuries back.'

The author failed to justify the hopes of imperialist propaganda. Even the bourgeois media, which had widely advertised the book before it came out in the hope of using the memoirs in the psychological war against the Iranian revolution, could not conceal their disappointment. 'The Shah learned nothing, understood nothing,' wrote a French weekly. 'This sick man who found the strength and time to write a thick book and to spend much time on editing it has remained what he has always been — a piece of conceit.'[1]

Indeed, the book makes it clear that until the end of his days the former Iranian ruler failed to understand the events which had led to the collapse of the monarchy. His attempts to convince the reader that the Iranian revolution is a step back, a victory of the 'reactionary minority' over the 'popular majority' allegedly supporting the Shah's regime, sound

*Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, *Réponse à l'Histoire*, Paris, Editions Albin Michel, 1979, 296 pp.

ridiculous. If we are to believe him, the millions of Iranians who took to the streets to demonstrate their hatred for the monarchy, the hundreds of thousands of striking workers, and the thousands of soldiers disobeying their officers and refusing to shoot at the people were 'the minority,' while the Shah himself, his family and a handful of traitors who zealously served the Shah and fled the country in fear of the revolution, were 'the majority.'

The Shah's economic policy failed, the book explains, because the 'backward' people of Iran could not keep pace with the 'white revolution,' which was turned into a 'black counter-revolution' by a group of conspirators, who deftly manipulated the dissatisfied 'irresponsible' sections of the population.

There is no use polemicizing now with the author's high-flown verbiage about the 'advantages' of his 'white revolution,' or about the regime's 'achievements' in industry, farming or culture. We in Iran and many people abroad are well aware of what those reforms led to — the socio-economic impasse in which the country found itself after the broadly publicized headlong rush into an epoch of 'great civilization.'[2] Perhaps the only thing of interest in the ex-monarch's memoirs is his revelations which shed a little more light on some of the events over the past three decades.

One of the most tragic events of that period was the 1953 coup, which resulted in the overthrow of the lawful Mossadegh government and the imposition of a pro-American regime headed by the Shah. The imperialists could not forgive Mossadegh his challenge to the local and foreign plunderers of the country's natural resources. Neither could they accept the fact that Iran, a supplier of oil to the imperialist powers, should leave the sphere of their domination. Hence the secret Operation Ajax conceived in the CIA's clandestine 'laboratories.' The Shah mentions the details of that operation: 'In August 1953, with the active support of the USA and Britain, which had, at long last, elaborated a common policy, and after I discussed this matter with my friend Kermit Roosevelt, the CIA's special envoy, I decided to do away with him (Mossadegh — *H.H.*)' (p. 68). However, the CIA plot which restored the Shah to his throne was not the end but the beginning of a drama that lasted for a quarter-century.

The author cynically described the 1953 coup as 'an uprising of the masses.' 'Those who toppled Mossadegh,' he wrote, 'were accused of being paid agents of the USA and Britain, of the USA in the first place. But the most accurate data show that during those events the CIA spent a mere $60,000. I cannot believe that this sum is sufficient to rouse a whole nation' (p. 70). As a matter of fact, says Alen Guerin in the book *The CIA Men*,[3] Operation Ajax cost all of $20 million. But there is no use arguing over the amount of money spent. The important thing is that the former Shah for the first time openly admitted that Britain and the USA had been the chief 'inspirers' of the coup in Iran, while the CIA staged it. No wonder then that the author speaks so warmly about the then U.S. president, Dwight D. Eisenhower ('I have not forgotten him: it was during his Administration that the United States supported me in the struggle against Mossadegh's policy'), and about the Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, whose foreign policy he describes as 'undeniably effective' (pp. 184-185).

In his plans to suppress the revolutionary movement, the Shah relied solely on the military strength of U.S. imperialism. As soon as the first signs of the coming storm appeared on Iran's political horizon late in 1977, he inquired about the scope of possible U.S. military aid. He reminded the Americans about their commitments and officially demanded that Washington should 'clearly define its attitude to the agreements in force.' The reply was clear and laconic: 'The United States always honors its commitments' (p. 242). Moreover, the USA decided to back up its promises with friendly acts of a personal nature. Late in November 1977, Carter invited Mohammad Reza Pahlavi to Washington, and a month later he and his wife paid a visit to Tehran to attend a New Year celebration with the Shah's family. At a banquet, the U.S. president proposed a toast to the Shah. He spoke of him as a man enjoying 'the respect, admiration and love' of the nation. A few days later, on January 9, 1978, popular unrest flared up in the ancient city of Qum, demonstrating the full measure of the people's 'respect, admiration and love' for the monarch.

After the mass demonstration in Tebriz on February 18, 1978, the revolutionary movement in the country began to spread rapidly. Again the Shah asked his imperialist patrons for support: '... When the situation grew tense, the U.S. and British ambassadors came to me with a promise of help' (p. 243). Now that they have promised it, I am free to act, he decided. Martial law was enforced in the biggest cities. On September 8, 1978, the army opened fire on unarmed demonstrators, killing thousands. The following day, Carter, that ardent 'champion of human rights,' telephoned the Shah to cheer him up. According to *Le Monde*, 'this was not merely a gesture of Platonic solidarity. The bullets fired by the Iranian security troops had come from U.S. arsenals ... The helicopters machine-gunning crowds of people and the tanks crushing the demonstrators bore the "Made in USA" label.'[4] But those who had engineered the operation did not achieve what they wanted. The people remember it as 'Black Friday.' The hatred for the bloodthirsty regime reached its peak.

At that moment, Carter sent a secret message to the Shah. According to the Iranian diplomat Feraydoon Hoveyda, who knew what was in the message, the USA gave the Shah a free hand to resolve the difficulties.[5] In other words, the U.S. administration sanctioned the stepping up of repression and assassinations, a policy aimed at drowning the Iranian revolution in blood. Army units took over the control of government departments. The police carried out reprisals in the streets, at factories, in the oilfields, in colleges. The Western press reported that direct imperialist intervention in Iran was being

contemplated. The country was flooded with CIA agents who relied on the infamous SAVAK.

It was not the first time that the two secret agencies joined hands. SAVAK owed its very existence to the CIA. This fact is admitted in the memoirs. According to the ex-monarch, the political secret service was established in Iran 'to cut short communist subversion after the bitter experience of Mossadegh's rule. . . . This mission was entrusted in 1953 to General Bakhtiar, who asked the CIA for help. Later many SAVAK agents were trained in the CIA headquarters at Langley. They were also sent to other Western countries to learn the methods used there' (p. 227). However, not only members of the People's Party of Iran, but also patriotic students, clergymen and workers were subjected to repression and physical annihilation. The preservation of the Pahlavi dynasty became far more important than the struggle against communism, admitted a SAVAK leader in an interview with a U.S. weekly.[6] This was precisely the task set before the Shah's police by its overseas bosses, who regarded the monarch as the most reliable champion of U.S. interests in Iran. There were some 500,000 men, women and children in SAVAK prisons and concentration camps, where they were subjected to fiendish tortures. But nothing could break the will of the Iranian people and prevent them from launching the last assault on the monarchy.

Imperialism's aggressive anti-Iranian drive ran up against the firm stand of the socialist-community countries, of all progressives the world over. Replying to a question from a *Pravda* correspondent in November 1978, Leonid Brezhnev warned: 'The Soviet Union resolutely declares that it is against any outside interference in the domestic affairs of Iran on the part of anyone, in any form and under whatever pretext.'

Having mentioned this statement by the Soviet leader, the author of the memoirs writes: 'On December 7, the United States officially announced that it would not interfere in Iran's affairs in any form. But whenever I met with the British and American ambassadors, they repeated in the usual manner: "We support you!" ' (p. 244).

Early in January 1979, the heads of the four major capitalist powers gathered in Guadeloupe to discuss, among other things, 'the political aspects of oil supply,' using this wording to hide the questions relating to the situation in Iran. It is the opinion of Iranian diplomat Feraydoon Hoveyda that at this meeting the USA clearly realized that the Shah was too discredited to have any chance of retaining his throne, and sought another way of keeping Iran as a reliable ally, whatever the outcome of the uprising, to quote a U.S. press report.

The U.S. and British ambassadors decided to persuade the monarch to leave the country for a 'rest,' entrusting the formation of a civilian government to a 'reliable' member of the so-called opposition. The choice fell on Shahpur Bakhtiar. The Americans promised him the support of the army. General Huyser, deputy commander of the U.S. armed forces in Europe, arrived in Iran. The purpose of his mission could be seen from the top-secret cable he sent to General Haig. The text was made public in June 1980 at the Tehran international conference investigating the U.S. acts of aggression against Iran. The actions which Huyser pressed for included the suppression of strikes at customs-houses, oilfields and banks with the help of the army. The blood-letting operation was to be supervised by Bakhtiar. The general said he had encouraged Bakhtiar to take such steps, and the latter had expressed a readiness to cooperate. But Huyser could not wait. If that fails, he said, I shall give orders (to the military — *H.H.*) to start a military coup right away.

The Shah's story also contains eloquent revelations about Huyser's visit. It clearly reflects the nature of Iranian-American relations at that time. The U.S. general had been in Tehran for several days, but the Shah knew nothing about it, though in the past such visits had been agreed upon in advance. 'The U.S. military,' the Shah recalled as something self-evident, 'were coming and going in their planes and did not need, of course, to pass through the usual formalities — they landed at military bases' (p. 245). But Huyser was different. 'A man in that post never plays hide-and-seek unless he has good reason to do so' (pp. 245-246). When they did meet at last, Huyser was most interested to know the exact date and hour of the Shah's departure from the country. 'General Rabii, commander of the Iranian air force, said in court: "General Huyser threw the Shah out from the country like a dead mouse" ' (p. 247).

True, the Americans shuffled the cards on Iran's political table as they thought fit. But the trumps they chose — first the Shah, then Bakhtiar, and lastly, the army — proved to be the wrong ones. The subsequent attempts of the Washington Administration to strangle the Iranian revolution also failed. Neither economic pressure, military gambles, like the U.S. troop landing in Iran, the endless plottings designed to overthrow the lawful government of the republic, nor the threatening presence of the U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf could or can bring the Iranian revolution to a halt.

The Shah is dead. Till his dying day he hoped that the Iranian people would 'change their minds,' call him back, and advance under his guidance to the mirage of a 'great civilization.' But the people have other goals, other interests and other ideals. Never again will they allow imperialism to decide the destiny of their country. The verdict of history is final, and is not subject to appeal. Tehran, September 1980

1. *L'Express*, December 15, 1979, p. 90.
2. In some of its previous issues *WMR* wrote about the disastrous consequences of the Shah's rule for Iran's economy. See, for instance, *WMR*, December 1978, January and April 1979, and April 1980. — *Ed.*
3. Alen Guerin, *Les gens de la CIA*, Paris, 1980.
4. *Le Monde*, June 17, 1980.
5. See Feraydoon Hoveyda. *The Fall of the Shah*, London, 1980, p. 39.
6. See *Seven Days*, March 29, 1980.

Terrorist alliance

AGAINST REPRESSION AND PERSECUTION

The kidnapping in Buenos Aires of Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the Paraguayan CP Central Committee, and his associate, Emilio Roa, has deeply shocked democratic opinion all over the world, and especially in Latin America. It is another crime in the long series of crimes perpetrated by the oligarchy and imperialism. 'An action of this nature,' says the PCP CC Political Commission in a statement, '. . . could not have been carried out in a populous neighborhood of Buenos Aires without the participation, support or connivance of the Argentinian authorities inspired by Stroessner's terroristic policy.'[1]

Maidana has spent 19 long years, or nearly one-third of his life, in the Paraguayan tyranny's prison cells. Inhuman conditions of detention, interrogations and tortures have sapped his health but have failed to break his spirit. His name is a symbol of selfless struggle for the people's freedom and happiness. Early in 1977, a worldwide solidarity campaign enabled him to regain his freedom and rejoin the struggle.

Maidana and Roa are not the only patriots to be kidnapped in Argentina. In addition to several thousand Argentinians, the same lot has befallen numerous Paraguayans, Uruguayans and Chileans. Some of them have disappeared, others were murdered or handed over to the repressive apparatus of the countries concerned. The security agencies of Argentina and Uruguay have cooperated with the political police of Brazil in tracking down and arresting patriots on Brazilian territory. Shortly before President Belaunde Terri of Peru took over, that country's repressive agencies and the security forces of Argentina kidnapped six Argentinian political exiles. Assassinated in Argentina were Juan José Terres, former president of Bolivia, Carlos Prats, former commander-in-chief of the Chilean Army, Zelmar Michelini and Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, opposition party leaders in Uruguay, and other persons prominent in Latin America.

The kidnapping of Maidana and Roa is a fresh indication of the close relations among the region's regimes and the existence of a tacit pact designed to decapitate the revolutionary democratic movement and step up the fight against the 'internal enemy,' or those who want to end the oligarchic rule and dependence on imperialism. Argentina has become something of a coordinating center in accordance with anti-communist strategy, a trap for militant opponents of reaction. It is anything but accidental that the 'disappearance' of Paraguay's communists was preceded by statements in which General Videla, the Argentinian President, hailed the fascist coup in Bolivia. The Fourth Congress of the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation, chaired by General Suarez Mason of Argentina, met in Buenos Aires almost simultaneously with the kidnapping of Maidana and Roa.

The important role assigned to Argentina's military in counter-revolutionary plans is also seen in the fact that the 13th Conference of Armed Forces Commanders of the OAS Countries (Bogota, November 1979) approved by a majority vote General Viola's proposal for closer coordination of the activity of all the intelligence services of Latin American countries. The main purpose of the 'Viola Plan,' it was pointed out at the Second National Forum for Human Rights (Colombia), is to check the growth of the liberation movement in Latin America.[2]

Thus we have an attempt to set up a dictatorial terroristic alliance under the aegis of Argentina (or with Argentina at the head) and with all-round support from imperialism. The emphasis is on official terrorism and legalized violence; recourse to them is becoming a part of the power structure, a requisite for the existence of most of the anti-popular regimes. Hence the big wave of repression, murder and kidnapping that is sweeping the continent. At the same time, this criminal policy is a manifestation of the new imperialist 'strategy of tension' adopted by the Latin American ultras. Its purpose is to give the population a 'shake-up' by brutal methods so as to make it more manageable and ensure that ordinary bourgeois law and order come to be seen, against the background of upheavals, as exemplary or preferable.

Dictatorial regimes commit acts of terrorism both through their own repressive agencies and with the aid of special groups existing 'alongside' them. In Guatemala, for example, it is the Secret Anti-Communist Army and the Death Squadron and in El Salvador, ORDEN and the White Warriors Union. In Chile, operations by the Martyrs' Avengers Commando have had particularly strong repercussions. Courageous exposures by its victims have provided proof that this powerful group, 'which does not scruple to kidnap, torture and murder people, is a component of the political police, which, in turn, is an agency controlled by the Ministry of National Defense.'[3]

It is the repressive apparatus of dictatorial regimes that circulates in Latin America long lists of 'missing political prisoners.' The fate of most of the missing is never ascertained. The lists are designed to intimidate the population and break the patriots' will for struggle.

Experience has shown, however, that in spite of the extensive use of repressive methods, including kidnapping, as in the case of Maidana and Roa, the people ultimately find a way to defeat the dictatorships. This is borne out by the recent victories in

Nicaragua and Grenada and by the gains of progressives in other countries. Nevertheless, concerted action by Latin America's dictatorships necessitates greater internationalist solidarity with the revolutionary democratic movement in the region. It is only the unity of our peoples, of all patriots, that will enable them to defeat the criminal schemes of reaction.

WMR Commission on Problems of *National Liberation Movements in Latin America and the Caribbean*

1. 'Salvar la vida de Antonio Maidana y Emilio Roa.' Asuncion, September 2, 1980, p. 1.
2. *Voz Proletaria*, August 21, 1980.
3. *Mensaje*, No. 292, 1980, p. 452.

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exchange of views

Capitalism in Latin America: the general and the specific

The series of articles, based on an international exchange of views on problems involved in the development of capitalism in Latin America and published in our journal,* evoked an interested response from readers. Both contributors and readers note that the theme touches upon questions of revolution in Latin American countries, on the strategy and tactics of the progressive forces, on the character of the socio-economic transformations, on the possibilities of advancing toward socialism and the rate at which this advance could be achieved. Notice is also taken of the fact that an analysis of the capitalist society that has taken shape in countries of the region complements the picture of contemporary capitalism as a whole. In conclusion of the discussion, we present two more responses we have received, which shed additional light on the problem.

THE OBJECTIVE BASIS OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM

José Cademartori
CC member, Communist Party of Chile

The mid-1960s marked the beginning of an accelerated economic development in Latin America, cut short in 1974-1975 when the crisis of the world capitalist economy had reached its peak. That period saw important changes taking place in the region. The level of industrialization rose practically everywhere, new industries using modern technology appeared, and the export of industrial goods was somewhat increased. In the general volume of production and the capacity of internal markets, the biggest Latin American countries caught up with and even surpassed some of the industrial capitalist states. At the same time, the unevenness of development inside the region was sharply aggravated. The establishment of capitalist relations in agriculture made the village more dependent on the town than ever, and fused the agrarian and industrial sectors of the economy together. The accumulation of capital went at a higher pace. Moreover, an increasingly larger part of the national income was claimed by big industrial tycoons, bankers, landowners and building magnates. The army of wage labor was enlarged, and the number and influence of the industrial proletariat grew. Urbanization enhanced the role of the middle strata in the towns. And the state intensified its intervention in the economy.

On the whole, the development of capitalism in the region has advanced substantially. Some countries have reached the medium level, and some are close to being ranked as capitalist states of the 'second echelon.'

In spite of all these changes, Latin America remains an integral part of the developing world. It is still dependent on the centers of imperialism.

Imperialist monopolies, without relinquishing their positions in the foreign trade of the Latin American countries, have redistributed their capital in other spheres of the economy. Their investments have been shifted from the mining industry and the infrastructure to more dynamic branches of industrial production, as well as to finance, internal trade and the services. Despite the decline in 1974-1975, the total volume of foreign investments increased continually. Branches of the transnational corporations continued to expand production and also the scale of their commercial operations. Their profits grew accordingly. Foreign monopolies have begun to set up mixed companies (involving local private or state capital). They conclude contracts for technical assistance and agreements for the final processing of output, they avail themselves of the network of big commercial enterprises and the finance corporations, they offer patents, engineering services, and so on.

*See *World Marxist Review*, June, August, November and December 1979, and April 1980.

What is happening is a transnationalization of the economy in the Latin American countries which, at first glance, seems to promote the widening of domestic markets, the modernization of production and the export of finished products. In actual fact, however, it is leading to a greater dependence on the foreign banks, to a flow of capital abroad, and a foreign-economic 'strangulation' of the region. This transnationalization deforms the structure of production, adapting it to the interests of the privileged minority, and on the other hand, leads to a decrease in consumption by the masses, to a depreciation of labor, and to a plundering of the natural resources.

The growth of the economy which prompted the development of capitalist relations of production has had a different effect on different sections of the bourgeoisie. The gap has widened between the monopoly élite and the petty bourgeoisie, between the powerful finance-industrial clans and the majority of the entrepreneurs who are experiencing serious difficulties just now. In the main, the introduction of the transnational model is of advantage to the upper crust of the bourgeoisie, and also to the big landowners.

As for the masses, they have it as hard as ever. According to the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, about 40 per cent of the region's population live in dire poverty, unable to afford even a minimum of goods and services. Half of these people live below the absolute poverty line, which means that they are doomed to starvation.*

The world economic crisis of capitalism (1974-1975) ushered in a new stage in the economic development of Latin America. The demand for many traditional export goods dropped on the foreign market. At the same time, the price of imported goods rose, especially of oil products. This, naturally, aggravated inflation. The balance of payment deficit became a chronic ailment, and the foreign debt swelled to an astronomic figure. The situation became all the more difficult because the leading capitalist powers cut the state allocations for long-term loans to Latin American countries, raised protectionist barriers and introduced discriminatory restrictions on the import of their goods. In consequence, the rate at which production was developing dropped sharply.

The anti-crisis measures taken by the government hit at the poorest sections of the population. Real wages went down, less was spent on social security, and the level of consumption by the masses dropped. The crisis also struck a bad blow at the middle strata, whose condition had improved somewhat in the preceding period of economic upswing. State allocations for the universities were cut, the private school system was encouraged, tuition was raised, thus making education another big problem. Rents went up, and also the city transport fares. Unemployment began to spread to young specialists as well.

*Economic and Social Development and the External Economic Relations of Latin America. E/CEPAL/1061, February 7, 1979. Vol. 1, pp. 148-149.

The upheavals in the world capitalist economy affect the countries of this region differently, depending on their level of economic development, their standing in the world market, and the policy of their governments. But none escaped a reverberation of the crisis. The hardest hit were countries in Central America, in the Caribbean, and those in the south (Argentina, Uruguay, Chile), as well as Peru and Brazil. And their governments did their best to shift the burden of the crisis onto the working people.

There is every indication that the present situation will remain what it is for a long time to come. Unless there are some profound changes in the world economy, the foreign-economic 'strangulation' of Latin American countries will go from bad to worse. Even if economic activity livened up, the deficit in the trade balance would inevitably continue to grow. At a slowed-down rate of economic development, unemployment and other social calamities would assume such a scale that the ruling circles would not be able to engage in any maneuvering. A further transnationalization, therefore, would bring about an aggravation of social contradictions.

Sometimes, quantitative and qualitative changes in the economy of this region are used as grounds for constrasting Latin America with the rest of the developing world and placing it in a sort of 'intermediate category.' Some authors, exaggerating the importance of the features implying an affinity of Latin America with Western Europe and its culture, strive to present the economic contradictions between the countries of this region and the centers of imperialism as too insignificant to matter.

In actual fact, the inclusion of more and more Latin American countries in the economic system of the imperialist centers has increased the dissimilarity of their interests. And although the methods of neo-colonial rule have become more subtle, there are pronounced anti-imperialist sentiments in the region and stronger tendencies to pursue an independent policy.

In many Latin American countries, the major enterprises in the oil-refining, mining and power-generating industries have been nationalized. A number of them have joined international raw-materials export associations, and are finding themselves in a better position to resist the foreign-trade pressure of developed capitalist powers. An important means of strengthening economic independence is regional integration, even though imperialism does try to use it for its own ends. Expanding the intra-zonal turnover facilitates the export of finished products and to a certain extent compensates for the loss suffered from the trade restrictions imposed by developed capitalist countries. Despite the fact that the process of integration in such unions as the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Central American Common Market is at a stalemate just now and the Andean Group is having serious difficulties, the quest for new forms of regional economic cooperation is going on apace. The Latin American Economic System, founded in

1975, is one example. The system promotes bilateral and multilateral relations among the countries that come under it. To work out and implement specific programs of cooperation, it has set up action committees in those branches and sectors of the economy whose development is especially important for the region. Latin American multinational companies are also being established on an inter-state basis. In 1978, an agreement was signed by countries in the Amazon basin on cooperation in the development of their infrastructure, the exploitation of natural resources and environmental protection. Inter-state finance organizations of a new type (for example, the Andean Development Corporation and the Caribbean Development Bank) are being set up with the purpose of accumulating funds for the solution of major economic problems in the interests of all.

While economic development has not lessened dependence on world imperialism, it is creating objective conditions for weakening its domination and finally shaking it off altogether. Already now, owing to their greater financial and production potential, some countries have come out into the world market with goods to offer at acceptable prices and within acceptable time limits. The increased number of qualified specialists allows the nationalized industrial complexes to be managed with greater efficiency, and better terms to be secured in talks with the transnationals.

With the industrial proletariat playing a bigger role, there is now a socio-class basis for a powerful anti-imperialist front. Among the factors contributing to the success of its struggle is the general shift in the alignment of world forces in favor of socialism. The socialist community helps to strengthen the economic independence of Latin American countries, and in the case of Cuba, for instance, which imperialism has subjected to a blockade, its relations with the socialist world are of crucial significance in its development. And other countries in the region also stand to gain from such cooperation. By the end of 1977, as many as 78 inter-state long-term agreements in trade, economy, science and technology* had been concluded between Latin American countries and the European members of CMEA. The socialist community's stable and dynamic market consumes a sizable part of the traditional agricultural products and raw materials whose sale in the USA, Western Europe or Japan is obstructed. In socialist countries, Latin America also finds buyers for a number of its industrial goods which could not be sold in the markets of developed capitalism because of the growing protection system. Owing to the consolidation of the contractual basis of cooperation, the Latin American countries received aid in accomplishing major projects in industrial production and the infrastructure, and were given access to modern technology on extremely favorable terms.

The solidarity of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries is gaining increasing importance. The progressive circles of Latin America realize that, even if all the countries in the region joined forces, no decisive headway could be made in the anti-imperialist struggle without close cooperation with all the developing countries, without a real understanding of their common interests, and without strengthened ties with the socialist world.

The Cuban revolution has disproved the false concept of 'geographical fatalism,' according to which the Latin American countries are 'naturally' doomed to subordination to the United States. This revolution has shown in practice that, given a broad coalition of the people and with the support of the socialist community, any country in this region, irrespective of size and geographical location, can achieve liberation, and that the building of a new society cannot be initiated without first dismantling the social basis of imperialism in the country. This is confirmed once more by Nicaragua and Grenada.

Big capitalists and landowners are still the most reliable support of imperialism. In many of the region's countries they have control not only of the economy but also of political power. This is ensured by fascist or traditionally military dictatorships, as well as by reactionary civilian regimes with façades of constitutionalism. In some countries, the big bourgeoisie and the owners of big landed estates occupy dominant positions in the economy, but do not hold all the means of political control. In relation to the government they take a stand of 'conditional support' or a 'critical alliance,' in other words, they support some of its measures and reject others. This concerns regimes under which the reins of power are held by members of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. And, finally, there is a third group of countries where the local allies of imperialism stand in open opposition to the government and strive to retrieve political power or, in any case, to have a share in it.

When working out its strategic line, the working class will see that these distinctions have an essential meaning. A correct assessment of the potential of imperialism and its local allies must be made when tackling the problem of building a broad anti-imperialist front. That is why every communist and workers' party determines its attitude to the government with account of the obtaining situation.

The struggle of the working class is greatly hampered by the actions of the ultra-left, the Maoists and the Trotskyists. Although some of these trends are losing their positions, they still have an influence in a number of countries, especially among the students, peasants and in some trade unions. In their theoretical 'findings' the ideologists of 'leftism' underplay the role of imperialism and its allies, and by so doing deny the dependent character of the region's capitalist development. The Maoists and the Trotskyists ignore the qualitative distinctions between the big and middle bourgeoisie. The inability of the national

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*See: *Trade and Economic Cooperation between Latin American Countries and Member Countries of CMEA. Research by the Secretariat of UNCTAD.* TD/243/Supp. 2, April 10, 1979, p. 10.

bourgeoisie to actively join in the struggle against world imperialism is perceived by the ultra-left as a complete absence of contradictions between them. Such slogans as 'Socialist revolution now' and 'Fascism or socialism' hinder the mobilization of anti-imperialist forces and the formation of political coalitions by the proletariat.

The influence of reformism in Latin America has lately been spreading among the middle strata, affecting even the masses. Some of the governments maintain a reformist stand. Sometimes the reformists go as far as to proclaim socialist aims, but with them the class struggle and the conflict with imperialism remain matters of secondary importance. In fact, what they come out for are ordinary bourgeois-democratic reforms that would only lessen dependence on imperialism instead of eliminating this dependence altogether.

A typical argument of the right reformists is that in the modern world the interdependence of different, sometimes the unlikeliest, countries is constantly growing and that it cannot be avoided either under capitalism or socialism. And since, they claim, it is with the capitalist world that the Latin American countries are interlinked culturally, historically and geographically, they can only develop in its orbit. Another interpretation is a mechanical division of countries into the 'industrial North' and the 'backward South' subordinated to it, and one more is identifying the 'two superpowers,' that is, the policy of domination and exploitation pursued by imperialism, and the course followed by socialism, based on principles of equality and cooperation.

Substituting the concept of 'interdependence' for that 'dependence' when characterizing Latin America's relations with the big imperialist powers is actually an attempt to conceal the subordinate position of the former. One might just as well speak of 'interdependence' between worker and employer. After all, the employer is also dependent on the employee, since the surplus value received as a result of the latter's toil serves to enrich the capitalist.

Both the leftist elements and the right reformers underplay the economic and political role of world imperialism, and so it is especially important for the development of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement to show up their theories for what they are really worth.

The proletariat of Latin America can and must guide the struggle for national liberation if it is to fulfil its historic mission. The communist and workers' parties in the region are making an enormous effort to unite all the sections of society which have contradictions with U.S. imperialism.

Along with the national anti-imperialist program it is imperative to work out a common platform which will define the tasks of all the anti-imperialist forces in the region. The communist parties and other anti-imperialist circles give their resolute support to the nationalization of natural resources and to the alliances of the producers and exporters of raw materials formed by Latin American and Afro-Asian countries. If nationalization is to bear fruit, the transnationals must be placed under stringent government control and prevented from meddling in the affairs of state-owned enterprises.

Latin America can and must unite, if only on the initial basis of a minimum program of demands, objectively shared by different countries owing to their common contradictions with the centers of world imperialism. And then Latin America will be able to put up a stand against the United States, the EEC and Japan, at the same time taking steps to extend cooperation with the CMEA countries and the countries of Asia and Africa.

The latest events have shown that in Latin America the battle for democracy and against military-fascist dictatorships is closely interwoven with the national-liberation, anti-imperialist struggle joined in by ever wider strata of the population.

DEPENDENCE DOES NOT RULE OUT THE EMERGENCE OF MONOPOLIES

Julio Silva Colmenares
Colombian economist

The division of countries into dominant and dependent ones is a consequence of the uneven accumulation of capital within the bounds of the world capitalist system. This objective reality must constantly be kept in mind when analyzing the specific features of bourgeois society in Latin America.

Two main orientations may be singled out in the capitalist evolution of different countries; the classical (developed) and the dependent capitalism. Countries which have taken one of these two roads differ in the level of their production forces, the maturity of their bourgeois society, and the forms in which their socio-economic laws are manifested.

When studying the situation in the zone of dependent capitalism, to which Latin America belongs, one has to deal with a number of new problems. One of them is this: in conditions of dependence, is the monopolization of capital a possible process built on an internal basis and resulting from the concentration and centralization of capital, or else from the parallel working of internal and external (imperialist infiltration) factors?

Many of the economically dependent countries have advanced quite far along the capitalist road. This is due to the inevitable concentration and centralization of production and capital and, in the final count, to the emergence of monopolies. In Latin American countries in which capitalism has reached a medium level of development, premises are taking shape for forming monopolies and a monopolistic sector of the bourgeoisie. A feature of this process is that it began when the main branches of the economy, taken on a world scale, were already controlled by the monopolies; in other words, when the capitalist world as a whole had reached its monopolistic stage of development. In those conditions, the rise of monopolies in Latin American countries showed how quickly the processes going

on in the centers of imperialism were carried over here.

It is significant that Latin America had practically been innocent of free competition. And monopolization here ran a peculiar course since it was not the monopolies that were prodding the state toward joint participation in economic activity (which is typical for the classical model), but the state itself that set the stage for the formation of the monopolies.

Although in their economic potential, in the development of the productive forces, and the maturity of their bourgeois society, the Latin American countries are very different from one another, they nevertheless have a number of distinct common features. What I have in mind is their identical historical past, their subordination to U.S. imperialism, and their lag in the economy, culture and technology. Colombia is a typical example.

In the past 10 years Colombia changed from an agrarian to an agrarian-industrial country. Specialists estimate that by the mid-1980s the industrial sector will have exceeded agriculture in volume of output. There is promise, therefore, that Colombia will be ranked among the industrial-agrarian countries.

The branches of industry which use modern technology (such as the metal-working, pulp and paper, and chemical industries, and also the mining of non-metallic minerals) developed at the highest pace of all. Within a period of 15 years alone (1957-1972), their share in industrial output rose from 26 to 42 per cent. The branch structure, however, still remains deformed, which can be seen from the extremely small share of heavy industry. Metallurgy, for instance, accounts for only 3 per cent of the total value of industrial output, the oil refining and basic chemical industries for 6 per cent, and machine-tool construction and production of transport facilities for 8 per cent. As for machine-building, all it produces are machine-tools of a limited assortment, simple farm machinery, separate units and spare parts. And so Colombia has to import (mainly from the USA) the essential industrial equipment, materials, key units and spare parts, and also the necessary new technology. Colombia has yet to build up the scientific and technological potential needed for a successful adaptation of advanced technology and the construction of her own models of modern equipment.

And so, while we can speak of definite technological progress, we cannot yet say that our country has actively joined in the scientific and technological revolution. Colombia's dependence on the technology imported from the main centers of imperialism increases with the general rise of the economy and the changes in the branch structure. The experience of our country vividly demonstrates the tendency to 'modernize backwardness' that is typical for dependent capitalism.

The rise in the level of economic development went hand in hand with a speeded-up concentration and centralization of production. The shouldering out of small and medium enterprises by big ones could be clearly traced. In the period from 1957 to 1972, small enterprises (up to 24 employed) lost 55 per cent, and the medium ones (25-99 employed) 38 per cent of the share they had in the total volume of output. Today, small-scale production (42.8 per cent of all enterprises) puts out only 4.8 per cent of the gross industrial product, while the large enterprises (16.3 per cent of all) produce 75.2 per cent. The process of concentration developed with the greatest speed in the most dynamic branches — metal-working and machine-building.

Accompanying the economic growth is the enlargement of industrial complexes. This, in turn, predetermines a change in the organic structure of capital, a rise in the level of its centralization, and consequently stimulates the monopolization of the economy. In other words, the emergence of monopolies in our country is neither accidental nor exceptional, but is the logical consequence of the development of capitalism, distorted though it may be by dependence and backwardness.

The interlacing of interests pursued by various groups of the big bourgeoisie has already brought about the emergence of a Colombian financial oligarchy which has control of the leading branches of the economy and influences all the spheres of public life. And, true to type, this process is unfolding with the active participation of foreign capital.

Our study[1] of the main branches of material production and the services industry has confirmed once again that in Colombia the monopolies began to emerge at a rather early stage of the country's capitalist development. They struck root mainly in the production of consumer goods, credit and finance, trade, and the service system. Some of the monopolies were nurtured by foreign capital and were actually subordinate to it, others were formed mainly owing to the patronage of the state. But neither of them had had a record of ripening slowly in conditions of free competition. Today, the process of monopolization is gathering momentum and exerting a growing influence on the economy.

The following figures will give a sufficiently clear picture of the influence wielded by monopoly capital. According to our calculations, the level of monopolization[2] in industry equals 75 per cent, in the financial sphere — 100 per cent, in building — 40 per cent, in mining — 90 per cent, in the electricity, gas and water supply systems — 100 per cent, and in the communication service — 70 per cent. On the whole it averages 50 per cent.

Monopolization has brought into existence the so-called financial groups, a qualitatively new stage in the development of capitalism. A financial group can be characterized as a union of capitalists operating in different branches and spheres of the economy. The group is subordinate to a single guiding center and pursues definite strategic aims. At the same time, the firms which belong to the union retain their legal and economic autonomy.

These financial groups are one of the forms in which the financial oligarchy exists. They are not an isolated part of capital (trade, monetary or industrial), and they emerge when all the three forms blend into one. A group is not registered in the name of a juridical person, and so it is very difficult to put it under control of the law.

Among the local groups we can single out the more powerful ones. The Santodomingo group, for instance, extends its sphere of influence to over 110 companies, and owns not less than 40 billion pesos of the total sum of their assets.[3] The Suramericana group has a hand in the operations of more than 100 firms, and has control over some 60 billion pesos. The Bogota group has command of a capital that exceeds 80 billion pesos and is placed in 70 companies. The Cafetero group has 40 firms in its sphere of influence, with assets exceeding 80 billion pesos. The Grancolombiano operates in 60 companies with a capital of 50 billion pesos. The Postobon-Lux has more than 40 firms and over 25 billion pesos under its control. The Valle del Cauca agro-industrial group is involved in 70 firms and controls assets equal to 15 billion pesos.

Identifying the companies which come under the sphere of influence of foreign monopoly groups is all the more difficult in view of the fact that many of them operate as joint-stock companies with a limited responsibility. In other words, their shares do not figure in the stock exchange or else they are registered in someone else's name. Even so we managed to identify 40 firms connected with the Rockefeller group (the assets it has control over equal 35 billion pesos); 30 companies connected with the Morgan group (20 billion pesos), and 35 firms connected with the First National City Bank (20 billion pesos). Actually, these figures should be considerably higher, since we were unable to trace all the connections of the U.S. groups.

Compared with such giants as the Morgan and Rockefeller groups, the Colombian financial groups look like midgets, of course. Still, their influence in Colombia should not be underrated and gauged in relation to the scale of our economy. The sum-total of the assets controlled by the seven Colombian groups equals half of our gross product, which in 1977 came to something like 700 billion pesos. Of course, these groups are linked with foreign monopolies to a varying degree, but in every case the local big bourgeoisie acts hand in glove with imperialism.

The relative maturity of capitalist society in Colombia is revealed first of all in that the greater half of the economically active population lives by working for a wage. Of the eight million people engaged in the economy in 1978, 56 per cent (or about 4,500,000) were urban and rural workers, day laborers, and office employees; 26 per cent (2,100,000) were artisans; 9 per cent (700,000) worked at family enterprises without pay; 4 per cent (300,000) were domestics, and 5 per cent (400,000) were listed as employers.

What we see is evidence of the social stratification common to capitalism. At the same time, we read in the Program of the Communist Party of Colombia, adopted by its 12th Congress in 1975, 'the socio-economic structure of the country lends unique features to the classes of Colombia's society and the form of their participation in political life.'

On top of the social pyramid is the small but sufficiently powerful financial oligarchy which, in alliance with imperialism, is counterposed to the Colombian people as a whole. With the increasing tendency toward concentration of production, manpower and profits, thousands of small and medium capitalists continue to do business in the financial groups' sphere of influence. However, they have to wage a hard struggle, encounter increasing difficulties in the development of production and face furious competition. In order to pay their 'tribute' to financial capital, they intensify the exploitation of their workers. These groups of the bourgeoisie and the middle strata of society, as they are called, maintain an intermediary position but on key issues they usually take the side of the oligarchy. Still, the role played by these strata and the chances of winning them over to the democratic forces should not be underestimated. They comprise a considerable percentage of the population, while their contradictions with imperialism and local monopolies are objective in character.

The accumulation of capital, of course, is achieved by impoverishing the masses. The share of wages and salaries in the national income is constantly diminishing. Whereas in 1970 it accounted for 46 per cent of the national income, in 1976 it was a mere 39 per cent. Living standards are dropping accordingly. In 1953, a worker's family spent 71 per cent of its budget on food and housing, and in 1976 as much as 81 per cent. There is, therefore, less and less money left for education, medical care, recreation and other such needs.

The main social force in Colombia is the proletariat, with factory workers as its vanguard. The concentration of the proletariat at ever larger enterprises in the few industrial centers creates the conditions for qualitatively changing its composition, mode of action, and class awareness. Fearing this, the ruling circles are doing everything in their power to impede the growing militancy of the proletarian masses. Trade union rights are constantly being infringed upon, different groups of working people belonging to the four trade union centers are deliberately set in opposition to one another, and attempts are made to isolate the youth from the workers. That, together with a number of other factors, explains why the Colombian proletariat is insufficiently well organized.

At the present time, the trade union movement involves no more than 15 per cent of the economically active population. There is, however, a nucleus of the working class rallied around the Trade Union Confederation of the Workers of Colombia, the second largest trade union organization in the country. The Confederation maintains a class stand, and urges the workers to combine their economic demands with political struggle. In the

course of the nationwide strike in 1977, the four centers set up a coordinating body — the National Council of Trade Unions. This body might play an important role in future actions when the need arises for unity of action by all the working people to prepare the base on which to build up an organization uniting the working class.

Whereas in the epoch of the capitalism of free competition the doctrine of the state's non-intervention in the economy was in force, the epoch of the monopolies witnesses the state's active involvement in economic affairs. Moreover, efforts are made to centralize political power which in increasing measure is serving the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. This can be observed in Colombia as well. The presidential form of government has been in existence for nearly a century. However, following the constitutional reform of 1968, the powers of the president have grown appreciably. On the other hand, the meddling of the military in civilian matters is increasing with every passing day. For more than a quarter of a century, practically without a breathing spell, the country has been living in a state of siege. The military administers 'justice,' has direct control over large rural areas, and is empowered to suppress any actions in protest against the high cost of living, unemployment and destitution.

As the financial oligarchy consolidates its rule it intensifies its reactionary policy in every sphere. But the Colombian people have risen in defense of their rights and they are putting up a stubborn resistance to this rule. And although big capital is making full use of the military apparatus, subjecting the political and professional organizations of the working people to brutal repressions, it cannot, for all its trying, outlaw the Communist Party or tame the trade union movement.

At the July 1979 plenary meeting, the Central Committee of the Communist Party came out with this warning: 'Dark clouds of a real threat of fascist dictatorship are gathering over our country.' In order to hinder the pro-fascist militarization of Colombia, the Communist Party appealed for the creation of a broad democratic front which could unite all the progressive forces and the sober-minded people belonging to the bourgeois political parties. These forces would be united under the banner of struggle for the realization of human rights and civic guarantees (for one thing, lifting the protracted state of siege), for higher wages, for the freezing of prices, and the nationalization of enterprises belonging to the monopolies which are directly to blame for the plight of the masses.

A front such as this could put up a powerful opposition to the regime, and it could propose its own alternative for the country's independent and harmonious development, based on rational use of the national resources and a rise in the living standards of the working people. The main task of the Colombian people, as formulated in the Program of the Communist Party, would remain on the agenda: 'To accomplish an anti-imperialist, anti-latifundist and anti-oligarchic democratic and people's revolution, as a part and the first step of a socialist revolution.'

1. See Julio Silva Colmenares. *Los verdaderos duenos del pais. Oligarquia y monopolios en Colombia.* Bogota. 1977.

2. The share of leading companies in the volume of commodity production and the services. — *Ed.*

3. At the time of this writing the exchange rate between the U.S. dollar and the Colombian peso stood at roughly 1:40. — *Ed.*

Mass consciousness: focus of ideological struggle

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A. Zdravomyslov. One of the most striking features of our time is the marked growth in the role of the subjective factors of social development. This induces Marxist sociologists to closely analyze the structure of social consciousness, with special emphasis on its new properties and characteristics. Thus, the term mass consciousness (MC) has recently been ever more frequently used by sociopolitical writers of various persuasions in their descriptions of the realities of capitalist society. I think that there is a need for specially analyzing the section of social consciousness which the term suggests. So I propose two questions for discussion: (1) What is the scientific content of MC? (2) What are the factors that determine the dynamics of MC in contemporary capitalist society?

David Lane. I accept your 'agenda.' Concerning the first question, by MC are meant sets of notions, orientations which express people's *needs* and their readiness to take some kind of political *action*. My own view is that MC in the developed capitalist countries is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Various classes, groups and strata of the population look at the world in different ways not so much because of the difference in their innermost needs, but because the modes in which individuals are

socialized and the forms of *information relations* in which the members of the various groups are involved are different.

A.Z. That is certainly quite true: MC is embodied in mass action and is connected with the mass media, with so-called mass culture. At the same time, I think, this is not enough to identify the phenomenon we are looking at among the other forms of MC.

Bourgeois sociological writings reveal a number of trends in the interpretation of MC. First, the idea of contrasting MC and mass culture to the élitist consciousness has been developing. This is the most anti-democratic approach. By MC here is meant something second-rate, fit only for the 'mob,' which needs to be directed, its emotions excited whenever necessary, or, on the contrary, diverted and pacified. The MC phenomenon is frequently considered under the influence of the Freudian tradition as an aggregation of irrational urges and moods.

A subtler interpretation is the assertion that consciousness divides men, creating in each group a special world of values, which is totally incomprehensible to other social groups. The proponents of this concept frequently resort to the authority of Karl Marx, although they actually have nothing in common with Marxism at all. It is not right to interpret the Marxist proposition that social consciousness reflects social being in the sense that consciousness merely expresses the status of a social group, its own economic and social condition.

I find all these approaches to the MC problem one-sided and over-simplified, and for that reason, incorrect. The clue to the problems of MC, above all the fact that by nature it reflects men's needs while being organically connected with ideologies, will be found in this thesis of Marx: 'Theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.'[1] Contrary to Daniel Bell's assertion,[2] no end of ideology is in sight. What is more, social life is being increasingly 'ideologized.' The power and the viability of an ideology depends on the extent to which it is accepted and assimilated in the structure of MC. That is why the elaboration and use of effective means of influencing MC are a key element of contemporary ideological struggle.

I should like to specify your correct thesis that in capitalist society MC is not homogeneous by adding that it is certainly inwardly contradictory, now and again containing downright antithetical premises, for instance, religious fanaticism and revolutionary attitudes, or consistent atheism in ideology and the observance of the rules and norms of religious morality in daily life, the attitude to work, people, etc. That is why it is not the logical, rational aspect of MC but rather its emotional aspect that turns out to be the dynamic basis of MC, what you might call the inner source of its self-movement. Hence the following conclusion that MC develops mainly in a spontaneous manner, above all on the basis of men's changing needs and interests, through their clash and 'comparison' with concrete facts and events of daily life, so producing negative or positive reactions in the sphere of consciousness.

D.L. Considering the factors which shape MC, I should like to draw your attention to the two following points. Under present-day capitalism, the requirements and interests of many social groups are mediated by people who act as gatekeepers. They are those who work in the mass media, politicians and, to some extent, trade union leaders. These gatekeepers are under the influence of two forces. On the one hand, they have to take account of the demands of the population, of the mass whose needs and interests they should express; but, on the other, they are constrained by, and are often linked to, the dominant economic and political institutions of capitalist society. Such interests are able to interpose their interpretation of needs, aspirations and requirements of the masses in a form which suits their own particular vested interests.

A second point I wish to make is that factors of a supranational character tend increasingly to exert a growing influence on life in society. The pressure put on the British government by supranational forces like the World Bank and other external groupings (such as NATO and the EEC) is very strong. This tends to make the practical solution of internal problems remote from the groups making up British society — an example here is the failure of successive British governments to secure adequate levels of investment in British industry. From this it follows that the development of MC must be considered not only within the national framework, but also in a larger, international context.

A.Z. That is quite true. The dynamic of MC is determined not only by the development of men's needs but also by the operation of various 'external' factors connected with the political, ideological life of society and the world as a whole. But in analyzing this dynamic, I think, one should start above all from the factors which are determined by the internal structure of MC itself. Sociology and social psychology in capitalist countries have made a thorough study of this phenomenon, filling the order of the bourgeois ideology and the propaganda machine that have a stake in working out effective means for manipulating MC. It is well known that MC is most immediately connected with people's daily requirements, with their habits and way of life, and that it includes established stereotypes of perceiving social phenomena. Relying on this property of social consciousness, bourgeois propaganda has concentrated on fostering a consumer mentality. This is done very simply by stamping out in MC notions, anything that is heroic, ideal, and highly moral and that raises man over and above the daily round, in an effort to turn man into a philistine who is concerned only with his home, his belongings, his scrap of land, his car, the amenities, etc.

The philistine does not pose any danger to the capitalist system, for such a danger to the established order comes from someone who is concerned with the interests of other people, especially if he is guided in his life by certain moral principles and is

capable of self-sacrifice. The whole wealth of human culture, human dignity and man's social significance do not fit into the consumer mentality. That is why bourgeois ideology seeks to erase from MC its folklore basis, its historical content, its humanistic orientations and respect for other nations, and to structure the whole system of propaganda on these three pillars: consumerism, nationalism and anti-communism, systematically intermixing these three topics in various proportions.

D.L. The consumer orientation of MC in bourgeois society you mentioned is, indeed, one of the pillars of its dominant ideology and has important functions to perform.

One must bear in mind that until relatively recently Britain was a dominant world power, it was a country with a very large foreign empire and one in which 'unifying' emotions like chauvinism and national pride were held by many strata of the population. Empire helped secure the ideological domination of the ruling class. With the relative decline of Britain, both as a political and an economic power, other types of orientation and forms of self-satisfaction have to find a place if men are to live with themselves. All political parties wishing to appeal to the mass electorate must accommodate themselves to the 'consumer ethic.'

In this context both social democracy and right-wing parties emphasize economic well-being — though spiced with state provision for basic human needs. This tends to blunt a wider political perspective or political alternative represented by groups which take a Marxist point of view. Such groups have tremendous difficulties not only in putting over their point of view, but they also have to accommodate the ethic of consumerism while trying to transcend it. I would be interested to hear how you would suggest that the rather pragmatic and piecemeal approach to political policy, which is the tradition in Britain, could be elaborated into a wider social critique.

A.Z. The solution of the problem which you have formulated and which faces the progressive forces in the capitalist countries, notably their working class, led by the communist parties, is each country's internal affair. But Lenin's critique of economism in 1902 (in his famous work *What Is to Be Done?*) is of abiding importance. In that period, Lenin worked out a program for the political education of the working class of Russia, and the gist of it was to introduce the scientific ideology into MC. The point was to show, through an analysis of any fact producing the people's active response, that social events and processes connected with the tsarist autocracy and capitalism in Russia had a common basis. The strategic orientation indicated by Lenin at the beginning of the century retains its validity today when it comes to introducing the scientific comprehension of reality and of the scientific ideology into MC.

However, I should like to emphasize that the influence on the masses by the predominant political institutions in bourgeois societies does not quite predetermine the development of MC, when this process is considered in the long historical perspective. The class interests of the working people and their expression in the Marxist-Leninist ideology ultimately turn out to be the most essential and long-term factors which determine its development.

As for the concrete phenomena on which the masses should be educated, I believe these now include, above all, the struggle for détente, a halt to the arms race, and the creation of conditions in the world in which there could be no return to the cold-war period. This accords not only with the interests of the working class, but also with the interests of other progressive forces which want to maintain, and multiply mankind's cultural values, one of which is the capacity for mutual understanding among nations, respect for the culture of other nations, and genuine internationalism.

D.L. I think that many people would agree with the general propositions that you express. However, many of the concrete proposals are distant from the sphere of MC. In present-day bourgeois society, in my country, at any rate, the problems of relations between nations are still overshadowed by the role of international corporations and power blocs. Where more democratic organizations — such as trade unions, left-wing parties — have been relatively backward is in forming organizations which are able to combat the strength of such groupings as international monopolies or power blocs such as the EEC. As for the problems of détente, I think that at the present time they are eclipsed, at least in Britain, by issues which are more domestic and appear more immediate: unemployment, inflation, trade unions and the state, preservation of social service provisions; such topics as instability in the Middle East and even the siting of nuclear missiles in Britain would come much farther down the list. People tend to regard them as falling within the ambit of specialists.

It would be very useful to know more of the European socialist countries which undertook socialist construction in the post-war period. Their experience is ignored or frequently given a biased twist in the bourgeois mass media. As a result, MC has at its disposal insignificant information about the state of things in the Central and Southeast European countries, and this is naturally reflected in the general characteristics of people's notions about the modern world.

I think, generally, that two things are necessary when considering a program for serious changes in MC under capitalism: in some way these specific problems, of which people are conscious, should be incorporated in a general theory and, secondly, such a theory has to be translated into political activity. Otherwise, Britain will stagnate, or it may move forward in a piecemeal, *ad hoc* fashion. In Russia, at the beginning of the 20th century this had been done by Lenin, and it proved to be a prerequisite for a successful social and political revolution.

One should bear in mind, of course, that the situa-

tion in the capitalist countries today is much less favorable for solving such problems in a theoretical and practical way. The ruling classes are in possession of much more powerful means of influencing the masses, of controlling social life. The methods of capitalist exploitation and domination have changed and now are most sophisticated; also the state seeks to tone down some of the worst aspects of capitalism and present itself as above any single class. That is why it is now not only harder to formulate a policy for radical change, but also more difficult to put it into practice.

A.Z. Lenin repeatedly mentioned this specific feature in the development of the revolution in the West European countries, stressing that it would be much harder to start a revolution in Western Europe (than in Russia), but once it was under way the working class and the other democratic forces would find it easier to carry it through to the end (see *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 64). But since then the situation in the world, and in Western Europe in particular, has indeed changed. You have remarked on the new difficulties. But it is also important to see the new favorable elements in the working people's struggle against capital.

That is why I found your view of the perception of international issues, notably of détente, by MC in the capitalist countries to be much too pessimistic. I think that the connection between the arms race and internal problems is so obvious that it is fixed even on the level of ordinary consciousness. It is another thing — and there you are right — that the mass media and propaganda prevailing in the capitalist society seek in every way to break, slur over and conceal this link and focus public attention on purely domestic problems.

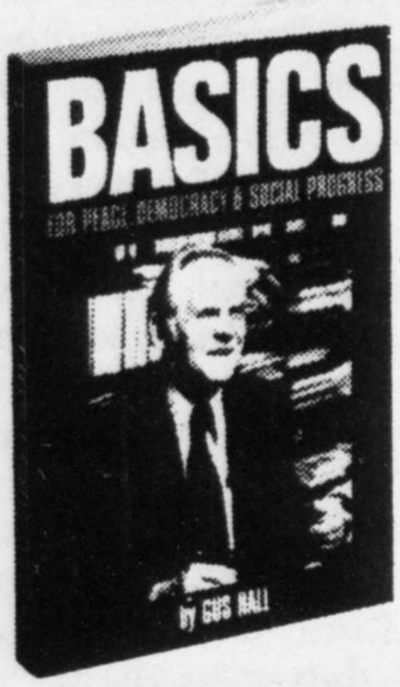
It is here, I think, that the role of ideological guidelines and orientations struggling for influence on MC should be most pronounced. Bourgeois ideology, expressing the interests of monopoly capital, seeks to contrast this broad and open view of the world with a fragmentary consideration of the numerous problems of being, with downright pragmatism and empiricism in organizing the social behavior of men. With its highly skilled propaganda apparatus, powerful system of technical facilities, and huge financial resources, it operates in such a way as to conserve the most anachronistic and primitive stereotypes in MC, 'shielding' it from the influence of progressive forces and the communist ideology and, in particular, from the truth about the situation in the socialist-community countries. The approach by Marxist-Leninist ideology is to show the masses the real connection between social and political problems in the world, and to introduce into MC scientific notions of society and the laws governing its development.

In the capitalist countries, this problem confronts the communist and workers' parties in the first place. The key prerequisite for its solution is loyalty to the spirit and substance of the Marxist-Leninist theory, close bonds with broad masses of people, the working class, their vanguard, above all, and a stand for the principles of proletarian internationalism.

In conclusion, I should like to note that the matter we have considered in our dialogue is much broader than the framework of the questions we have dealt with (and I hope that this is our common view). Considering the topicality of the discussion we have started, I hope that it will evoke a response from our readers and will be continued on the pages of this Journal.

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 182.

2. A prominent U.S. sociologist and the author of a 1960 book entitled *The End of Ideology*. — *Ed.*



BASICS

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A revolution of peace and social renewal

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION: DOCUMENTS, FIGURES, TESTIMONIES

There have been many milestones in the history of mankind's progress. But the Great October Socialist Revolution has a place apart among these, because its importance goes well beyond the framework of one state or continent. Its victory has been firmly imprinted on the minds of millions of men and women throughout the world as the main event of the 20th century, because it worked a radical change in the course of mankind's development, marking a watershed between two epochs and inaugurating the transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale.

At the request of our readers, we publish a survey of documents and testimonies on the impact of the October Revolution on the historical destiny of the peoples.

Principles unparalleled in history

From the very first days after the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government worked out programmatic documents of Soviet policy with respect to the oppressed peoples. This had a tremendous influence on the working people of the whole world in their struggle for national liberation and social emancipation, for peace, and for the exclusion of wars from the life of mankind.

The demand for the independence of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries rang out as a principle of state policy for the first time in history. The young Soviet Russia's famous Decree on Peace, written by Lenin and adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8) 1917, called on all the belligerents in the First World War to start negotiations right away on a just and democratic peace without annexations and indemnities. The Decree explained: 'By annexation the government understands, in accordance with the juridical consciousness of democracy generally and of the toiling classes in particular, any integration with a big or strong state of a small or weak nationality without its precise, clear-cut and voluntary consent and desire, regardless of when such forcible integration has been carried out, and regardless also of how developed or underdeveloped is the nation that is being forcibly integrated or forcibly held within the boundaries of the given state. Regardless, finally, of whether this nation lives in Europe or in remote countries overseas.'[1] Consequently, the maintenance of colonial regimes was declared to be 'annexation, i.e., seizure and coercion.'

The Decree, calling for the liberation of all the enslaved countries, envisaged the abolition of secret diplomacy and the publication of secret treaties exposing the policy of the imperialist forces. Characteristically, the first publication of these treaties was issued under this slogan: 'Long Live the Brotherhood of All Nations!' The introduction said:

'Each of these documents is betrayal of a people.

'Each of these documents is a stigma on the oppressors.

'Everything must see the light of day! Everything must out!

'Let the working people of the whole world know how their life was sold behind their backs by the diplomats. How they annexed their lands. How they brazenly enslaved the small nations.

'They put them down, and oppressed them politically and economically. They concluded ignominious treaties.

'Let everyone know how the imperialists took over whole regions at the stroke of a pen. How they drenched the fields with human blood.

'Every discovered document is the sharpest weapon against the bourgeoisie.'[2]

By January 1918, nine volumes of secret documents from the archives of the former Ministry of Foreign Affairs had been published. They included over 100 secret treaties, agreements, etc., exposing the anti-people's plunderous policy of the imperialist governments. The publication of these documents exposed before the whole world the crimes of the imperialist powers against the oppressed and small peoples, and promoted the growth of their national self-awareness.

The Soviet government's policy on the nationalities question also had a revolutionizing effect on the people's struggle against colonial oppression. The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, issued in November 1917, enacted complete equality and free development of all the nationalities in the country. All the nations were assured of the right to self-determination, including secession and the formation of independent states, all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions were abolished, and the free development of national minorities and ethnic groups proclaimed.[3]

The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia set up the principles of proletarian internationalism as one of the pillars in the construction

of a multinational state for the first time in history. It ruled out for good the oppression of one nation by another, proclaimed the establishment of an alliance of peoples on the basis of their equality, friendship, mutual assistance and full consideration of the specifics of each nationality and national group.

A direct continuation and elaboration of the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia was another document issued by the Soviet government on November 20 (December 3), 1917. It was the address 'To All the Toiling Moslems of Russia and the East.' And although the title contained only the name 'Moslems,' it was, in effect, addressed to the peoples of Asia and Africa, regardless of their racial or national origin or religious creed, to all those 'whose heads and property, whose freedom and homeland the greedy predators of Europe bought and sold for hundreds of years.' The fiery words of the Address rang across the world: 'Overthrow these predators and enslavers of your countries. . . . Throw the age-old invaders of your land off your shoulders! Do not allow them any longer to plunder your hearths and homes! You yourselves must be masters in your own country! You yourselves must arrange your life as you see fit. You have the right to do so, because your destiny is in your own hands.'[4]

The principles for the solution of the nationalities question in the spirit of proletarian internationalism were given a high assessment by many outstanding political leaders in the national-liberation movement. Thus, Sun Yat-sen said: 'A new Russia has been born, and on its own initiative it has abrogated all the unequal treaties and has given up all the special rights obtained in China in the past. Russia has given up the status of master, ceasing to regard us as slaves, and recognizing us as friends.' Jawaharlal Nehru declared in his book *The Discovery of India* that the Soviet Revolution had greatly advanced human society and lit a bright flame which could not be put out: it had laid the foundation of the new civilization to which the world could advance.

Many other documents testify to the liberatory and peaceful character and the high humanistic goals of the foreign policy which sprang from the October Revolution. Thus, an instruction issued by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Federation in Afghanistan on June 3, 1921, said: 'Our policy in the East is not aggressive, it is a policy of peace and friendship. In your whole work you must systematically bring out this main point, and, in particular, set yourself as the main goal of your activity in Kabul the development of our friendship with Afghanistan . . . You must study Afghanistan's needs and requirements and find out the desires of its government so that in pursuance of the Russo-Afghan Treaty we could give it all the assistance we can so as to promote its development and well-being.'[5]

Here is another document. A note dated February 4, 1922, from the plenipotentiary representative of the RSFSR in Persia (as Iran was then known —*Ed.*) to the Foreign Minister of that country, said that 'Russia's whole Eastern policy will continue to be diametrically opposite to the Eastern policy of the imperialist powers, for it strives for the independent economic and political development of the Eastern peoples and gives them every possible support. The people and Soviet government of Russia believe that their role and mission are to be a natural and selfless friend and ally of the peoples fighting for their complete economic and political independence.'[6]

Echo of great call

The Decree on Peace, and the early foreign-policy declarations and notes of the Soviet government in favor of a just and democratic peace evoked sympathy and support among hundreds of millions of people both in the belligerent and neutral countries. In Germany, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia (Austria-Hungary), meetings, rallies and demonstrations were held on the initiative and with the active support of the forward-looking representatives of the working class in these countries against war and in support of the call issued by the October Revolution for an immediate, just and democratic peace. On November 18, 1917, workers in Berlin staged demonstrations and rallies to demand of their government an end to the war and the conclusion of peace. Such demands were also put forward by workers in Leipzig, Stuttgart and other cities.

On November 24, 1917, a 100,000-strong meeting of workers in Budapest adopted a resolution voicing full 'determination to help the Russian revolutionaries in their struggle for peace.'[7] On November 12, workers' rallies in support of the revolution in Russia were held in Vienna. A resolution adopted by one of the rallies said: 'The will of the proletariat for peace has triumphed in Petrograd, and this gives us hope that the fratricidal war can at long last be ended through the joint efforts of the workers of all countries. We solemnly promise tirelessly and fearlessly to continue the struggle in our country for an end to the war and for an immediate democratic peace, which is vitally necessary for all the peoples.'[8]

In contrast to the stand taken by the governments and social chauvinists, the left-wing socialist leaders of Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Japan, Belgium, Serbia, Romania and other countries also voiced solidarity with the Bolsheviks and demanded an end to the war and the conclusion of a peace without annexations or indemnities. William Gallacher said that the workers of Britain, notably the proletarians of Glasgow, welcomed with exceptional enthusiasm the Soviet Republic's proposal for the immediate conclusion of a peace without annexations and indemnities, and on the publication of secret treaties.

The call of the October Revolution also met with support from the workers of the United States, a country which entered the war only in the spring of 1917, and whose territory was not singed by the flames of war. The Cleveland Committee of the

Socialist Party, for instance, issued a handbill, which said that the Bolsheviks' urge to unite the workers of all countries in the struggle for peace, a peace not in the interests of the ruling classes of the belligerent powers, but in the interests of the working class, a peace achieved not through diplomatic deals but through vigorous intervention by the workers, a peace without annexations and indemnities — is the only hope for saving civilization from destruction. It voiced firm support for this urge of the Russian workers.

Similar statements were issued by the workers of other countries on the American continent. The founder of the Socialist Workers' Party of Chile Luis Emilio Recabarren, wrote that the Chilean workers wholeheartedly welcomed the October Revolution, noting its enormous contribution to freeing the world from war, and believed that the effort by the Russian revolutionary government to speed up the conclusion of peace was a majestic and revolutionary act which would bring peace to the nations.

The Danish newspaper *Social-demokraten* published the early decrees of the Soviet power. Commenting on these, it characterized the events in Russia in these words: 'A revolution of peace.' In every country the noble ideas of the Decree on Peace were winning more and more wholehearted supporters. International proletarian solidarity grew, spread and strengthened in the struggle to end the war.

Mounting class struggle

The October Revolution exerted a strong influence on the development of the world revolutionary process.

On November 13, 1917, a general strike began in *Finland* and went on for a week. The workers secured the 8-hour working day, universal suffrage, etc.

The revolutionary crisis in *Germany* was rapidly coming to a head. In the course of 1918, 2.5 million industrial workers and employees in the country were involved in the strike movement. Apart from economic demands, the strikers also put forward political demands, notably the overthrow of the Kaiser government, universal suffrage with direct elections and secret ballot for men and women from the age of 20. That autumn, the Hohenzollern monarchy collapsed. The high point of the German proletariat's struggle was the establishment of the Bavarian Soviet Republic in April 1919.

In *Austria-Hungary*, as in Germany, a general political strike involving 700,000 industrial workers and employees broke out in January 1918. The Hapsburg monarchy was also overthrown. As a result of the mounting struggle by the working class in bourgeois *Hungary*, on March 21, 1919, power passed to the revolutionary government headed by Bela Kun, an active participant in the Russian revolution. This led to the formation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

On October 14, 1918, a general strike was staged by workers in *Bohemia*, which soon developed into a mass struggle for the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak state. A fortnight later, on October 28, the Austrian government was forced to recognize Czechoslovakia's independence.

In the spring and summer of 1918, disturbances broke out in military units in *Bulgaria*, with the largest uprising being staged in Vladaya. Tens of thousands of insurgent soldiers set up a military revolutionary committee, which demanded an end to the First World War, the conclusion of peace and the proclamation of Bulgaria as a republic.

In *Britain, the United States, France, Italy* and *Japan*, the strike movement attained its greatest scope in 1917 and 1918, with 8,367 strikes involving over 5 million industrial workers and employees. The capitalist world had never seen such a squall of strikes. Maurice Thorez said that even the most backward workers in France 'understood that *their* republic was being built in Russia, that the cause for which the Russian workers were so valiantly fighting and dying was their own cause, the cause of the working people of all countries.'[9]

In the course of an unprecedented sharpening of the class struggle, and under the influence of the experience of the revolution in Russia, the leading representatives of the working class in Europe, the Americas, Asia, Africa and Australia began to set up communist parties in their countries. By 1918, communist parties had been set up in Finland, Austria, Holland, Hungary, Poland, Germany and Argentina (International Socialist Party), and by 1919, in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Denmark, Mexico and the United States. Thus, within two years following the October Revolution, communist parties emerged in 13 countries of the world. In 1921, they numbered 34, and in 1928 — 46. William Z. Foster said: 'The communist parties of the Western hemisphere, like those of the Old World were not created, as such, by the Russian Revolution. Rather, they grew out of actual conditions in their respective nations and were matured by the experience of the great Russian Revolution in establishing socialism.'[10]

Under the immediate impact of the October Revolution, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples was also accelerated.

Thanks to the support of the Soviet Republic independence was won by Afghanistan, which in 1919 scrapped the unequal treaties with the British colonialists. The people's revolution won out in Mongolia, the Kemalist revolution was staged in Turkey, and the Kajar dynasty was overthrown in Iran. Numerous uprisings broke out among the Arab peoples, and there was a growth of the anti-colonial struggle in India and the mass movement against the Dutch colonialists in Indonesia, which culminated in the armed uprising in 1926-1927. China was swept by an anti-imperialist revolution. Africa came into motion: uprisings broke out in Dahomei and Egypt, Kenya and the Union of South Africa. All of this took place in the first decade after the October Revolution.

In 1919, the colonies and dependent countries had over 72 per cent of the world's territory, and

nearly 70 per cent of the world's population. Today, only 2.5 per cent of the world's territory, with less than 1 per cent of the population still remains in direct colonial dependence. In fact, the colonial system of imperialism has as a whole been eliminated.

Selfless assistance

The world's first socialist state did not confine itself to proclaiming the new principles of relations between countries and peoples. Since its emergence, it has applied these principles in practice, realizing the noble ideals of friendship, solidarity and utmost assistance to national-liberation movements. In 1921, Soviet Russia concluded treaties with Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey, the first equal international treaties in the modern history of these states. From 1920 to 1922 alone, the Kemalist government of Turkey, which was fighting against foreign intervention, was given aid in the form of 10 million gold rubles, 220.6 kg of gold, and also weapons and munitions. Appreciating this friendly act, Mustapha Kemal wrote in November 1920 'of the sense of admiration which the Turkish people have for the Russian people, who, not being satisfied with breaking its own chains, has been carrying on an unexampled struggle for over two years for the liberation of the whole world, bearing with enthusiasm unheard of suffering so that oppression should disappear from the face of the earth forever.'[11]

Iran is another example. According to the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 1921, Iran received material values worth 600 million gold rubles, and this helped markedly to consolidate its political and economic positions. Soviet Russia also gave material support to the Afghan people, Meanwhile, the young Soviet Republic itself faced tremendous difficulties caused by the imperialist intervention and the civil war.

The October Revolution created the conditions for the winning of independence by the peoples of many countries. On December 31, 1917, the Soviet government recognized the state independence of Finland, and four days later (January 4, 1918) the All-Russia Central Executive Committee approved the decision.

A dream of many generations of Polish democrats and revolutionaries was realized: on August 29, 1918, the Soviet government issued a Decree recognizing the Polish people's inalienable right to independence.

Practice since the October Revolution is visible confirmation of Lenin's idea that the working class, once in power, will not only translate into practice the right of the colonial and dependent peoples to self-determination but will also bend every effort to draw closer to them, and will help them to go on to the use of machinery, to the lightening of labor, to democracy, to socialism (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 67).

This way of advancing to socialism, altogether bypassing or cutting short the capitalist stage of development, has been traversed by many peoples in a brief historical period. More countries are entering upon this path today. The cause of the October Revolution lives and triumphs!

G.K.

1. *Decrees of the Soviet Power*, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1957, p. 12 (in Russian).
2. A Collection of Secret Documents from the Archives of the Former Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 1, second edition, 1917, p. 2 (in Russian).
3. See *Decrees of the Soviet Power*, Vol. 1, p. 40.
4. Ibid., pp. 114-115.
5. *Documents of the Foreign Policy of the USSR*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1960, p. 166 (in Russian).
6. Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 80-81.
7. Oldrich Riha, *Ohlas Rijnove Revoluce v CSR*, Prague, 1957, p. 75.
8. Friedl Fürnberg, *50 Jahre Die Sozialistische Oktoberrevolution und Österreich*, Vienna, 1967, p. 26.
9. Maurice Thorez, *Fils du Peuple*, Paris, 1960, pp. 33-34.
10. William Z. Foster, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, New York, 1951, p. 376.
11. *The Foreign Policy of the USSR, 1917-1944, Collection of Documents*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1944, p. 457 (in Russian).

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Book reviews

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY IN LAOS

Kaysone Phomvihane, *Revolutsiya v Laose: nekotoryie osnovnyie uroki i glavnyie zadachi* (Revolution in Laos: Some Basic Lessons and Main Tasks). Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, 256 pp.

The experience of struggle and the lessons of victory, the search for ways and the first few results in building a new society in Laos are undoubtedly important for an understanding of the modern revolutionary process, above all because the victory in the national-liberation struggle was won in that country under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), a working-class party taking a firm Marxist-Leninist stand. The crucial question for the progressive forces in many young states is: How can the working class and its political vanguard exercise their leading role in a backward country with a low economic and social level, with the majority of the population consisting of peasants. The book by Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, issued in 1980 in a Russian translation, helps to gain a better understanding of this problem.

The author starts out by recalling the history of the country's struggle for freedom and independence and in the main parts of the book — the second and the third — he concentrates on 'Some Lessons of the Victorious Revolutionary Struggle in Laos' and 'The Construction of a Peaceful, Independent, United and Prosperous Socialist Laos.' The main questions analyzed in the second part were examined by Kaysone Phomvihane in an article published in *WMR*.* It would be more reasonable, therefore, in reviewing that part of the book, to remind the reader only of some propositions concerning the leading role of the party in the Laotian revolution and to examine the concluding part in greater detail.

The successes or setbacks along the path of socialist orientation always depend on the forces which are at the head of a state, and the ideology they are guided by. In Laos (as in Vietnam 30 years earlier), owing to the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, the transition to socialist construction, by-passing the capitalist stage, was the goal of the revolution deliberately set well in advance. The LPRP succeeded in getting the whole nation, the peasantry above all, to support this goal.

Proceeding from Lenin's theory of people's revolution, the author says that the crucial factor of victory was that the party ensured a firm alliance of the working class and peasantry. 'The peasants become a mighty contingent in a revolution only in alliance with the working class,' he writes (p. 66). At the same time it was because of its working-class approach that the LPRP could correctly and creatively assess the peasant question and chart the ways of solving this main problem of national-liberation revolutions in our epoch.

'As for the fundamental question of a democratic revolution,' Kaysone Phomvihane writes, 'in the conditions of an agrarian country where the overwhelming majority of the population is peasant, our party believes that democracy is, first and foremost, democracy for the peasantry, and the liberation of the nation is, above all, the liberation of the peasantry' (p. 58). The consistent pursuance of a policy taking account of these specifics, which are typical of a backward colonial country with indistinct social differentiation and a nascent working class, enabled the LPRP, a working-class party, to lead the national-liberation revolution and, after its victory, to start building the foundations of socialism.

The proclamation of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic, the party's documents say, marked the completion of the national-democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in Laos. Kaysone Phomvihane describes the present stage of the revolution as a phase of 'perfecting people's democracy and transition to socialism' (p. 5). The Political Program adopted at the Second Congress of the LPRP in 1972 formulated this task: 'To prepare all the necessary conditions for direct transition to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development' (p. 174). This task was specified in the course of no more than five years of practical work on its implementation.

As the author analyzes the experience of these early years, he says that the legacy of the colonial and feudal past is still a heavy burden on the country. The productive forces and the relations of production have not, for the most part, undergone profound changes. In the liberated areas in the lowlands and in the cities, the capitalist mode of production remained almost intact at the final stage of the revolution, and feudal and pre-feudal modes of production were practised in the vast rural areas. The socialist mode of production is taking shape but is still weak and cannot have a decisive and

*Kaysone Phomvihane, 'The Victory of Creative Marxism-Leninism in Laos,' *WMR*, March 1977.

regulating effect on the national economy as a whole. The mentality and habits stemming from small-scale production are widespread, and the vestiges of feudalism and colonialism have not been completely eradicated (p. 179).

Similar problems confront virtually all revolutionaries in Asia and Africa who, upon coming to power, lead their countries toward transition to socialist construction by-passing capitalism.

The party believes that the main task today is to go over from small-scale scattered and poorly developed production to large-scale socialist production. According to the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the LPRP Central Committee (1977), the goal of the transition period is 'simultaneously to carry out three revolutions: in the relations of production, in science and technology, and in ideology and culture, with the scientific and technological revolution playing the key role and the cultural-ideological revolution advancing one step ahead of the others' (p. 182). The author dwells in detail on the meaning and essence of the three interconnected and interacting revolutions.

At the new stage, the tasks facing the ruling party in guiding society are ever more complex. While noting the significant achievements in party building, which helped to ensure the victory of the revolution and the transition to laying the foundations of socialism, he focuses on the shortcomings and ways of rectifying them. So far, he writes, the ideological work within the party, in the army and among the population has not undergone a radical change; the efforts to avert or eliminate erroneous views and negative phenomena are not yet sufficient; and the education, retraining and upgrading of skilled personnel fall short of the goals set. The organizational work, on the whole, does not fully ensure the accomplishment of the party's political tasks at the new stage (p. 231).

Proceeding from the LPRP's practical experience, specifically in recent years when the party came to power, and also from the experience of the international communist movement, Kaysone Phomvihane draws the essential conclusion that 'if a party underestimates or neglects the importance of the Marxist-Leninist education of cadres and the work to mold and temper proletarian consciousness, and allows petty-bourgeois, peasant and other non-proletarian views to prevail over the proletarian ideology, so replacing it, such a party will sooner or later make mistakes and suffer a defeat. It will not only be unable to guide socialist construction but will face the threat of degeneration, collusion with imperialism, and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism' (p. 236). The author regards adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as a major factor of victory and an assurance of future advance.

The foreign-policy guidelines of the LPRP, which are examined in the book, reflect loyalty to these principles. The republic helps to consolidate the unity of the socialist community, the national-liberation forces and the movement for peace, democracy and social progress the world over. 'The party asserts,' writes Kaysone Phomvihane, 'that the existence and development of the socialist system, which emerged as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is the decisive factor of social development in the modern epoch' (pp. 224-225). The LPRP categorically denounces and combats the scheming of opportunists of every stripe, who attempt to split and undermine the socialist system, who distort and betray the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. 'We greatly value and tirelessly strengthen solidarity with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries,' says the author, 'in the first place, the special relations and great militant alliance between Laos and Vietnam, regarding them as imperative for victory' (p. 225).

Kaysone Phomvihane points out that the Laotian people have always wanted to maintain relations of genuine solidarity and friendship with the Chinese people, but he strongly denounces the policy of aggression followed by the Peking leadership, whose actions pose 'a grave threat to the sovereignty and independence of Indochina, to peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world' (ibid.).

The book by the General Secretary of the LPRP, the ruling party in a country which, together with Vietnam, is in the forefront of socialism in Southeast Asia, will no doubt evoke interest in the fraternal communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, among fighters for independence and social progress.

Wolfgang Fischer

PLAGUED BY PREJUDICE

Postures for Non-Proliferation. Arms Limitation and Security Policies to Minimise Nuclear Proliferation. SIPRI, London, Taylor and Francis Ltd., 1979, 168 pp.

No task is more important for mankind than that of averting nuclear war. Hence the keen public interest in publications whose authors concentrate on possible ways of solving this burning problem and try to contribute as much as possible to the earliest attainment of this noble goal. The book under review, written by Dr. Enid C.B. Schoettle, was issued under the aegis of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, which adds interest to this publication. The very first pages show that its author is a competent scientist.

Dr. Schoettle gives a detailed account of the talks on the preparation and signing of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1965-1968), surveys the 1975 conference of the signatories to the treaty, and recommends measures which can, in her opinion, most effectively minimize nuclear proliferation.

The potential for nuclear arms manufacture in the countries which do not possess these weapons is already great and will continue to grow in the future. 'Fissile materials are becoming widely avail-

able as a by-product of industrial development and, in particular, of the increasing reliance throughout the world on nuclear energy' (p. 2). By the year 2000, world output of plutonium obtained in nuclear reactors may run to millions of kilograms, and 'between five and ten kilograms of plutonium are required to build an explosive device capable of doing significant damage to a medium-sized city' (ibid). The point is not only that the materials required to make an atomic bomb are becoming increasingly accessible — today 'making a bomb is scientifically simple.'*

Examining the problems of nuclear non-proliferation, Dr. Schoettle makes it clear that her position is determined by the interests of the non-nuclear countries, by their desire to guarantee their own security. That is, of course, a legitimate approach, for security is a part of the general problem of world peace. However, the author's logic, as she substantiates her position, is strange, to say the least. First, she lumps all the non-nuclear states into one category, regardless of social system and foreign policy, describing them as a community of countries opposed to nuclear states. Second, she interprets the policy pursued by non-nuclear countries in such a way that they appear to be equally dissatisfied with the position of the nuclear states as a whole. And third, she equates the aggressive U.S. course and the USSR's policy of peace, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization.

The fallacy of this reasoning stands out in light of the facts. The Sixth Non-aligned Summit Conference held in September 1979 in Havana, for instance, hailed SALT II and denounced the U.S. imperialist policy threatening peace and security in various parts of the world. The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty members are determined to counter the intention of the United States and its NATO allies to whip up the arms race (including nuclear arms) by further working for military détente. The Warsaw Treaty countries stated in a declaration issued last May that they are prepared to take special measures to guarantee the security of the non-nuclear countries in Europe. These measures, the declaration says, could oblige the nuclear powers to refrain from using nuclear weapons against European states which — whether they are members of military alliances or not — neither possess nuclear weapons of their own, nor have foreign nuclear weapons deployed on their territory. So far no constructive reply has come either from the USA or NATO.

Obscuring the differences between social systems, ranging the non-nuclear states against the USSR, and identifying the latter's policy with that of the USA, the author projects some bizarre postulates. Because of their small population and low economic level, she writes, some non-nuclear states may see the acquisition of nuclear weapons as the only guarantee of security. She names South Africa in relation to hostile African states, Israel in relation to hostile Arab states, and the FRG, Yugoslavia and Romania versus — the USSR. Nowhere is there a hint of the reactionary, aggressive policies pursued by Israel, South Africa, Pakistan and some other countries seeking to possess nuclear weapons. Instead, the writer gives prominence to the idea of enlarging the permanent membership of the UN Security Council so as to dispel the supposedly existing opinion that such membership is synonymous with the possession of nuclear arms. She does not explain how non-proliferation would be promoted by increasing the number with veto rights.

Many of her other suggestions, unfounded and contradictory as they are, could be called into question, but that is not the main thing. Indeed, the book would not be worth reviewing if it did not reflect the negative trend widely accepted in the books on foreign policy written by liberal-minded bourgeois scientists — the trend to equate the socialist USSR and the imperialist USA for the sole reason that both powers rely on their might, including nuclear might, which is why, allegedly, the two should be regarded with apprehension. But however laudable the subjective intentions of such researchers who wish to facilitate the solution of the disarmament problem by their work, objectively they confuse public opinion by supporting this harmful concept, and help the arms drive proponents.

It would be wrong to expect Dr. Schoettle, a bourgeois researcher, to produce a Marxist analysis of the foreign policies of the USSR and the USA and the disarmament problem as a whole. But readers had every reason to expect more objectivity and conscientiousness. Unfortunately, their hopes were dashed and the following is inevitably suggested: the fact that she is a program officer at the Office of European and International Affairs of the Ford Foundation, a leading U.S. monopoly think tank, may have had some bearing on the projections by Dr. Enid C.B. Schoettle, the writer.

Peter Boychuck

PEOPLE BETRAYED BY ZIONISM

Belaya kniga: svidetelstva, fakty, dokumenty (White Book: Testimonials, Facts, Documents). Moscow, Yuridicheskaya Literatura Publishers, 1979, 280 pp.

The whole world is stirred by the tragedy of the Palestinian Arab people. For many years now a dangerous seat of international tension has been brewing in the Middle East through the fault of Israel and its patrons across the ocean. And the ruling Zionist circles of Israel are as much to blame for the fate of the Jews whom they provoked into leaving their homes to settle the lands from which the Arab inhabitants have been driven out and who are at the constant mercy not only of the dry winds blowing from the Arabian desert but also of the winds of war. The Zionists have become all but the main force in the ongoing campaign triggered by the Carter administration for the defense of human rights allegedly being violated in the Soviet Union.

This criminal activity of the Zionists and what

*The Economist, March 1, 1980, p. 14.

lies behind it is convincingly exposed in *White Book*, compiled by the Association of Soviet Lawyers, which is a collection of testimonials, facts and documents dealing with the legal aspects of the emigration of Jews from the USSR and the consequences of their departure for Israel.

In the course of the last hundred years there have been several waves of Jewish emigration. But whereas in the past Jews fled to Eretz Israel (Palestine) or the 'gilded land' (United States) from social catastrophes such as Black Hundred pogroms in tsarist Russia or racial genocide in nazi-occupied Europe, those who emigrate to Israel nowadays are for the most part people looking for a *dolce vita*, people who don't know a good thing when they have it. And it is only on arrival at their destination that they begin to feel cheated. In a letter (quoted in *White Book*) addressed to Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, a large group of Jews, who had emigrated from the USSR but had already left Israel for Austria where they were leading a hand to mouth existence, admitted that it was their 'Philistine mentality' that made them emigrate (p. 75).

A Jew arriving in Israel from the Soviet Union comes up against things he had only read or heard about before and had never known himself, such as private ownership and the arbitrary practices of the capitalist proprietors, unemployment and high taxes, constantly soaring prices for essentials, and so forth. When he read about it back home, he dismissed it as 'propaganda,' all the more readily since the Zionists held out a promise of something like paradise on earth.

The testimonials collected in this book explode the myth of Israel being a 'Jewish paradise.' In actual fact it is a land of racial, religious and national intolerance, with people denied all rights. Here is a passage from a letter written by Haia Kilimnik, once a Soviet citizen: 'Daughter dear, believe me that I'm not exaggerating anything, I'm writing you the honest truth . . . I don't know how I still manage to stay alive. I'm ill but I have to get up early in the morning to go to work, because every day I am afraid the owner will tell me he does not need me any more, and if that happens I might as well stick my head into a noose . . .' (p. 67).

This is not a figure of speech. The book cites documentary accounts of immigrants committing suicide or being killed by the Zionists. The wife of I. Kaplan, a former Muscovite, hanged herself, despairing of hope. What caused the tragedy? In a letter written by the Kaplans to their daughter who had remained behind in the Soviet Union, the parents said: 'Things could not be worse for us, work is hard to find, the climate is awful, we don't know the language, and everything costs so much. The prices here are many times higher than in the Soviet Union.' (pp. 35-36).

On February 24, 1978, the Soviet Embassy in Austria was visited by S. Abramova, a former Soviet citizen who had fled from Israel. In her statement she said that her 16-year-old son Oleg had been killed by the Zionists on October 19, 1977, when they learned of his intention to leave Israel (p. 37).

Today, even the Zionist circles and Israel's government acknowledge their country's inability to adapt the new settlers. A third of the Jews emigrating from the USA leave Israel within three years, and a quarter of the West European Jews do not stay longer than a year or two. In the main they are young people. V. Kuvent, who emigrated to Israel in 1972 and returned to the USSR in 1975, wrote that all the Israeli authorities wanted the immigrants for was 'to use them as laborers or as cannon fodder' (p. 26). About 70 per cent of the Soviet Jews who receive exit visas to Israel change their destination on the way in order to seek their fortune in the backyards of Europe, the ghettos of the United States and Canada.

In order to get them back to Israel, Sohnut (an international Zionist agency engaged in recruiting Jews) wheedles more and more money out of its American patrons and the big Jewish bourgeoisie. In the next three years its budget will work out to the fantastic sum of $1.17 billion. The document approving the budget of Sohnut, which advertises itself as a sort of body of world Jewry and not a governmental organization, was signed at the close of 1979 in Jerusalem, in the offices of the parliament. Next to the signature of Sohnut's president, Aria Dulzin, stand the signatures of Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin and the American multimillionaire Max Fisher as chairman of Sohnut's board of directors. The document states that with the money, Israel must buy the necessary manpower to build at least 30 more settlements on occupied Arab territory.

The collection cites documents which shed light on the activity of the special services of imperialism and Zionism aimed against the Soviet Union. Their agents hunt up all kinds of criminals, black-market dealers, embezzlers of the people's wealth, ruffians and idlers to be presented as the 'opposition' inside the USSR, as 'dissidents.' The book contains material on the criminal offenses of these 'dissidents' and 'champions of human rights' who actually engage in ordinary espionage (pp. 264-273).

The documents cited in the book explain that in the Soviet Union criminal proceedings are instituted only against those persons who are guilty of committing actions provision for which is made in the criminal code. It was for definite actions and not for 'dissent' that A. Shcharansky, who in the West is portrayed as a 'champion of human rights,' was convicted in accordance with Clause A of Article 64 and Part 1 of Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code* (pp. 252-255).

The materials collected in *White Book* impressively show how the truth is distorted by the organizers of the anti-Soviet campaign under the specious slogan of 'defense of human rights.'

Aron Vergelis
Editor-in-Chief
Sovetisch Heimland, USSR

*High treason in the form of espionage and aiding a foreign state in conducting hostile activity against the USSR; anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. — *Ed.*

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